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November 6-8, 2014
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Foreword

It is our pleasure to introduce this proceedings book that collects the papers presented at the international conference on *Heritage Tourism and Hospitality* hosted by Boğaziçi University and co-organized by Erasmus University, Adnan Menderes University and Elgin & Co. This event is to take place in Istanbul, Turkey, between the 6th and 8th of November 2014. The conference aims at providing a forum for academicians and practitioners to share and discuss ideas and to identify the challenges that affect heritage tourism.

Heritage tourism, including the conservation, management and communication of the tangible and intangible assets in a community, may result in both positive and negative impacts. On the one hand, it may represent an important source of income to the community while helping reinforce the cultural identity and preserve the existing heritage. On the other hand, heritage tourism may also result in inadequate development of the destinations leading to the destruction of heritage sites, and in the loss or damage of existing values and traditions. In order to ensure that the positive impacts prevail, all stakeholders need to work together and address the challenges that arise in the implementation of heritage tourism practices.

The articles in this proceedings book include a wide collection of both research studies and conceptual papers that address the topic from multi-disciplinary perspectives. Some of the issues discussed include identity and branding, heritage in the context of sustainable tourism development, challenges concerning the preservation and communication of heritage sites, partnerships and governance in the creation of heritage tourism, etc. It is our hope that during the conference many and interrelated issues are identified and sound solutions to the problems will be posed.

We would like to express our gratitude to the members of the organizing committee, and particularly Karin Elgin-Nijhuis from Elgin & Co. who has spent countless hours putting this conference together. In her capacity as Chair of the Destination and Industry Committee, Karin has worked tirelessly to ensure that the conference is a practitioner-friendly event, in which scientific evidence is intermingled with best practices and experiences from around the world. We also thank the international scientific committee and the reviewers, who have worked to ensure the quality of the submitted papers. Additionally we would like to acknowledge the support of our sponsors and partners in ensuring the success of the conference.

This proceedings book contains high quality papers, research notes and abstracts from a cast of international researchers. We hope that you will enjoy and find this collection of use to broaden and deepen your understanding of the fascinating field of heritage tourism, concerned not only with the contemporary uses of our common past, but perhaps more importantly with making sense of where we are in an ever-changing world in which we must manage our interactions effectively.

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Theme 1: Heritage, Tourism and Destination: Issues of Identity and Branding

Urban Culture-Led Regeneration in Monolithic Contexts: Issues and Challenges for Place Identity and Branding

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Abstract

The progressive shift from tangible to intangible competitive advantage in post-industrial societies has made culture a major engine in the development, renewal and regeneration of cities. The culture-led transformation of urban identity may be marked by continuity with urban heritage or innovations driven by external agendas which has also led to complaints about the loss of authenticity in urban landscapes, criticized as "Dubaisation", "festivalization" or "McGuggenization". This paper tries to contribute to this domain from the unusual perspective of cross-cultural management opening a new avenue of research based on the place branding conceptualization as a societal phenomenon. The framework is applied to an example of culture-led urban regeneration in the Alpine Italian city of Trento. The discussion and conclusion allows us to argue that culture-led urban regeneration of Trento results from a long term integration process of tradition and innovation which preserves a sense of place and build new competences facilitating a coherent place brand building. Theoretical and managerial implications of the study and points towards future research are presented.

Keywords: Urban regeneration; Culture-led innovation; Place identity; Monolithic context; Place branding.

Introduction

The progressive shift from tangible to intangible competitive advantage in post-industrial societies has made culture a major engine in the development, renewal and regeneration of cities (Castells, 2004; Hall, 2004; Hutton, 2009; Scott, 2010). Culture is therefore becoming a strategic issue on European, national and local political agendas (European Commission, 2001; OECD, 2005; CSES, 2010; Sacco, 2011, 2012), seen as a way to enable post-industrial societies to move away from the vicious circles of traditional development models and towards economic and social recovery (Richards & Marques, 2012). Culture-led urban transformation depends on the combining of urban heritage resources and traditional forms of production with innovative policy-making; it manifests both continuity with the past and profound change driven by external agendas (Govers & Go, 2009). Whether or not traditional urban culture can integrate itself with externally driven innovations and cross sector fertilization (Curried, 2007; Richards & Palmer, 2010) – and if it can, how it may do so – are crucial to a city's success in the growing globalized inter-urban competition. However, these issues are place-specific and the literature has so far largely neglected them.

This paper tries to contribute to this domain interpreting the recent theoretical debate on culture-led urban regeneration (Della Lucia & Franch, 2014) from the unusual perspective of cross-cultural management (Calvelli & Cannavale, 2013). It aims to open a new avenue of research, that of place branding conceptualization as a societal phenomenon (Go et al., 2014) influenced by place culture and values (Zenker & Braun, 2010). It focuses on the issue whether and how monolithic cultural contexts (Go & Trunfio, 2014) can reinforce the connection between place culture, identity and image (Hatch & Schultz, 1997) through collective actions, which preserve a sense of place and facilitate coherent place brand building based on local identity. The leading questions that drive our arguments and analysis are: how does cultural context affect the nature and scale of cultural-led regeneration? Which processes can enhance the coherence between local culture, identity and image in local development and place branding?

The paper is organized as follows: in section 2.1 the opportunities and challenges related to culture-led urban regeneration are introduced; section 2.2 frames culture as a place specific factor influencing the nature and scale of this regeneration process by introducing the integration-diversity cultural framework gathered from the cross-cultural management studies; section 2.3 presents some of the place identity and branding implications of this interpretative framework of cultural-led regeneration. In sections 3, 4 and 5 this cultural framework is applied to an example of culture-led urban regeneration in the Alpine Italian city of Trento. The nature and drivers of Trento's culture-led innovation are analysed and discussed and the conditions/steps for successful city brand building are set out. The conclusion considers the theoretical and managerial implications of the study and points towards future research.

Culture-Led Urban Regeneration. Opportunities and Challenges

The transition of post-industrial societies towards the symbolic economy (Zukin, 1995), along with the current economic crisis, has emphasised culture as a driver of urban development and/or regeneration (Richards, 2013). Urban regeneration can be defined as the transformation of a city that has shown symptoms of physical, social and/or economic decline – either because its development model is in crisis – e.g. Bilbao in Spain, (Plaza & Haarich, 2010) – or when it is facing rapid expansion (Impact 08, 2007).

To reposition culture in the urban value chain (DCMS, 2004), the selected models and the tools aim to affect the nature and scale of urban renewal (Langen & García, 2009). In the “culture-led regeneration model”, culture catalyses a widespread transformation, requalifying urban areas, developing infrastructure and services, animating places with new attractions and attracting investment, human resource and visitor flows. In the “culture planning model” and the “culture and regeneration model” the role of culture is less significant: complementarities with other policies are ignored and cultural activities are often small-scale and marginal in the city planning process.

Iconic buildings and events are currently among the main culture-led regeneration tools, often using publicly owned resources and supported by financial partners and sponsors (Hall, 1994; Roche, 1992; Getz, 2008, 2010). The staging of these cultural catalysts in cities, which provide new urban experiences, has led to very large investments in their hard infrastructure (Jacob, 2012). New buildings enhance a city's image, elevate its position in the global village and generate economic growth (Klingmann, 2007; Ockman & Fraust, 2007; Richards, 2010). Events increase the vibrancy of cities by attracting creative people and lifestyles to them; are flexible in targeting markets and serve as urban thematic branding strategies (Trueman et al., 2008; Zenker, 2009). Tourism is often seen as one of the most important drivers of the creation and capturing of value through these cultural catalysts (Richards, 2013).

Despite having provided a plethora of possibilities for city regeneration, socio-economic development and branding, iconic cultural catalysts (Getz, 2008, 2010) and consumption-led and experience-based culture development strategies (Evans, 2003; Richards & Wilson, 2006) have also led to complaints about the loss of authenticity of urban contexts (Smith, 2007), criticized as “McGuggenization” (McNeill, 2000), “Dubaisation” (Al Rabadya, 2012), “festivalization” (Quinn, 2006) and “eventification” (Jakob, 2012). The following of exogenous prescriptions and the copying of ideas from other cities through “policy tourism” result in the “cloning” and serial reproduction of urban landscapes and their transformation into aestheticized places of consumption, raising questions about the sustainability of culture-led urban regeneration process.

The reconciling of externally orientated agendas with local identities and needs is necessary for successful, enduring culture-led urban regeneration. The unique set of place/urban specific factors embedded in urban culture (Cox & O'Brien, 2012) both marks the nature of culture-led urban development and affects the innovativeness and content of urban regeneration policies (Hall, 2004; Scott, 2006; Penco, 2012). A city's history, cultural capital and creative institutions define the tangible and intangible cultural endowment that enables it to pursue culture-led development paths (Scott, 2006), both artistic-cultural and professional-productive (Hall, 2004). Beginning with these local heritage resources, urban regeneration policies are aimed at enhancing the strengths of a city's legacy, overcoming its weaknesses and equipping it to face the challenges of emerging scenarios (Dwyer et. al, 2009). The stronger an urban culture is, the greater will be the coherence of the policy-based transformation of its “genetic code” with local creativity and embedded knowledge (Della Lucia &

Franch, 2014).

A Cross-Cultural Perspective on Culture-Led Urban Regeneration

Over the years culture theory – grounded in the theoretical frameworks of anthropology, sociology and psychology – has been enriched by a variety of disciplinary perspectives, such as organizational, management and marketing studies. The different definitions of culture introduced by organizational theories and cross-cultural management studies converge in a conception of it as a pattern of shared values and principles, which influence a society's ways of thinking and acting. Hofstede's (1991) seminal work on cross-cultural management defines culture as the "software of the mind" that guides people's daily interactions and connections with environment and society. "The collective programming of the mind distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another" (Hofstede et al., 2010: 6). Culture is thus a collective phenomenon, which results from its social environment.

Cross-cultural management research has focused on organizational and national cultural contexts (Hofstede, 1980), analysing when and how culture can enhance intra and inter-organization relations (Fink et al., 2007), entrepreneurial conduct and organizational performance (García-Cabrera & García-Soto, 2008). However the cross-cultural management perspective has typically been neglected in local contexts (e.g. regions, cities). Go & Trunfio (2014) have just contributed to the cross-cultural theoretical debate in these contexts by reshaping Norman's integration-diversity model (2001). They have produced a matrix, which identifies four different cultural contexts – monolithic, multi-cultural, tribalism, island – by combining homogeneity – strong sense of place and shared and consolidated identity – and integration – presence of connected networks and centralised governance. These cultural contexts are categories with which predetermined interpretative cultural schemes of culture-led regeneration are associated. The application of this theoretical framework to the case of the cultural-led regeneration of Bilbao showed that a monolithic cultural context tends only to accept cultural similarities, nurturing potential conflicts between different cultural models (Calvelli, 1998; Cannavale, 2008). In the controversial case of the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, the dominant, monolithic local Basque culture displays its limitations and runs risks in seeking an hybridization with the global and monolithic culture of the Guggenheim Foundation (Go & Trunfio, 2014). The Guggenheim Museum, symbol of culture-led urban regeneration, represents a monolithic cathedral separated from the local culture.

While preserving a sense of place in the presence of innovative drivers of culture-led regeneration, the local culture can facilitate a coherent place branding based on local identity by building on the interdependence between culture, identity and image. Culture can be seen as a conceptual context within which organisational (and place) identity is formed and where the intention to influence a location's image is defined; identity is a self-reflexive result of dynamic cultural processes (Hatch & Schultz, 1997).

Place Branding as a Societal Phenomenon

When culture is conceived as a dynamic process characterized by interactions and changes, it becomes possible to define it as the convergence of inside-in – brand identity – and outside-in perspective – brand image (Meethan, 2003). Brand identity is defined by historical and cultural relationships (Kapferer, 1998; de Chernatony, 1999; Olins, 2002) and represents the "back office" of a place brand – embedded in the socio-cultural fabric and typically invisible to most outsiders. The socio-cultural relations and supply networking that determine brand identity – who we are and what distinguishes our identity from other places (Konecnik & Go, 2008; Lemmetyinen and Go, 2008) – have usually paid little attention to the traditional place branding literature (Rainisto, 2003; Hankinson, 2001; Papadopoulos, 2004; Kavartzis, 2005; Anholt, 2010; Lucarelli & Berg, 2011), which focuses on brands' "front-offices" – represented by the logo façade and various communication tools.

The complexity of the place branding theoretical framework (Govers & Go, 2010) has been mapped by Kaneva (2011) from three perspectives: that of consolidated marketing and management – called the technical-economic approach, a political approach and a cultural approach. The second of these, deriving from the fields of politics, international relations, public relations, international communication and public diplomacy, introduces the debate on international relations and reputations.

The third, focusing on culture and heritage, introduces linkages with sociological, anthropological and historical analyses and with practical and theoretical media studies.

The combination of these three different perspectives creates a conceptual space in which place branding can be interpreted as an evolving phenomenon in which stakeholders participate (Schultz & De Chernatony, 2002) through dynamic communication and negotiation processes (Hankinson, 2004; Sevin, 2011). Place branding is thus a societal phenomenon defined by the convergence of heritage and material icons, mental assumptions and symbols, shared knowledge and co-created virtual spaces. This process enforces place authenticity and innovation of the place identity, creating a foundation for the widening of place experiences based on a culture-led regeneration which is driven by the transition of post-industrial societies towards the symbolic economy (Zukin, 1995). It is very likely that new place products, experiences, activities and images will be grounded in local specific culture and creativity, creating liveable places for both residents and visitors.

The Case of the Alpine Italian City of Trento: Features and Methodology

In Italy policies around cultural resources have led to traditional development models in which the generation of value through culture is focused on traditional cultural tourism and local products (Sacco, 2012). Italy has a rich artistic and cultural heritage and culture plays a fundamental role in the shaping of the national identity and brand image as a cultural tourism destination (Golinelli, 2012). Italy has one of the largest cultural and creative industries in Europe, in terms of both GDP and numbers employed in the sector, and some of the cultural and creative sectors enjoy a strong international position (Santagata, 2009; Unioncamere & Symbola, 2011). Although traditional cultural tourism promises development opportunities for both the great art cities and smaller urban centres (ONT, 2009; TCI, 2009; BIT, 2010), the sustainability and competitiveness of these cities would undoubtedly benefit from complementarities with research and innovation, education and social inclusion policies and hybridizations between culture and traditional sectors (Sacco, 2012). However, with few exceptions these complementarities are usually still either ignored, or just not implemented (Sacco, 2012).

The city of Trento, provincial capital of the autonomous province of Trento in the northeast of Italy, is bucking the general national trend of small and medium-size cities, which focus on cultural tourism as their main lever for urban development (Lazzeretti et al., 2008; Capone and Cinti, 2009). In fact, Trento (pop. 115,000) is among the few urban systems experimenting with traditional and new culture-led development pathways based on knowledge-transfer and innovation.

This case is interesting for many reasons. Firstly, cities specialized both in the cultural and creative sectors, like Milan and Turin, are usually large and have extensive heritage resources. Secondly, cultural tourism in Trento is relatively recent and till ten years ago Trento was not a tourist town, although situated in a province which is a well-known and competitive tourist destination. Thirdly, Trentino is one of the few Italian regions which has invested in its culture infrastructure as a driver of sustainable local development as opposed to investing in a mere tourism marketing tool per se (Sacco, 2012).

This single case study (Yin, 2003) is an interesting way of investigating the place specific conditions, which can influence and promote culture-led urban regeneration and branding. This exploratory research is interesting to test an unusual theoretical framework of analysis, opening opportunities for quantitative and qualitative research.

Trento's cultural context type is investigated and discussed, based on the culture-led regeneration path that the city has undertaken, and the conditions/steps for successful city brand building are discussed.

This paper draws on both desk analysis (as archival records, institutional documents including local report and official projects) and field analysis (as focus group and interviews in deep of keys actors). This preliminary study combines different secondary data sources: research into the evolution of Trentino's development model (Marcantoni et al, 2011; Della Lucia, 2013); desk analysis of the Provincial Development Plans (Autonomous Province of Trento, 2002, 2006, 2009) and the sectoral policies (Strategic Plan, Tourism and Cultural Plan) of the municipalities of Trento over the last 15 years (Municipality of Trento, 2004, 2013; eTourism, 2009); research into Trentino brand image

(Trentino Sviluppo, 2012).

Place Specific Conditions Driving Trento's Culture-Led Regeneration

Trento's cultural regeneration is the result of the combining of local heritage resources and innovative public development policies (Marcantoni et al, 2011; Della Lucia, 2013). The history of this Alpine city, a product of its geographical position on the border between Central Europe and the Mediterranean world, has produced a significant – both religious and secular – artistic and cultural heritage. A long tradition of self-government has shaped the city, its services and networks of cultural and research institutions and its standards of living. This legacy has been enhanced by innovative policies, both provincial and municipal, and considerable – given the city's size – investments aimed at achieving a balance between local traditions and changes driven by market trends.

Since the 1960s the Province of Trento has invested – singlehandedly, and taking advantage of its autonomous status – in research facilities and the training, retention and attraction of qualified human resources to tackle the limitations of a fragmented and traditional Alpine economy for which the road to traditional industrialization was not smooth. Trentino's mountain landscapes, however, were also the determining factor in the endogenous development of a high quality and successful nature-based tourist industry in this Alpine province, which has developed public policies (sectoral, incentivization) and pioneering models of public destination governance and marketing in order to promote tourism.

The province's far-sighted investment laid the foundation for a knowledge economy which has led, over the years, to the gradual fertilization of the Alpine economy with the post-industrial economy. This hybridization is evident in innovations throughout the local system although physically concentrated in the main urban centres of Trentino, in particular the capital, Trento, where local government bodies are located. Sizable public investment has gone into the university, scientific and technological research centres, libraries and museums (also engaged in research and education) and a new policy to incentivize the innovation of local businesses has been introduced. New industrial clusters have been set up, as have technological districts linked to traditional industries (sustainable building, wood, gravel and stone). A number of institutions, including the tourist-territorial marketing organization, have been reorganized and a new kind of entrepreneurship, in the culture and creative sectors, has developed through the transfer of knowledge and skills to the service- production system.

In recent decades, the municipality of Trento has reinforced this knowledge-based urban development driven by provincial policies (Autonomous Province of Trento, 2002, 2006, 2009) and has embarked on the requalification of Trento as a cultural city in order to exploit its rich historical urban legacy. The original investments made in the Eighties in the restoration of historic buildings to house the cities' libraries, important collections of modern and contemporary art and science museums, were designed to provide local communities with educational and leisure opportunities. Only later did these resources become urban marketing tools and now, twenty years later, this choice has been consolidated by innovative policies and sizeable public investment in two iconic museums. The Strategic Plan 2001-2010 marked the beginning of a municipal planning logic of urban development that leverages sectoral, institutional and social interdependencies. The 2009 Tourism Plan has enhanced the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the city through the lever of cultural tourism. The 2013 Culture Policy, rather than just considering the relationship between culture and tourism, has developed a transverse cultural policy which integrates innovative urban development and sustainability (Sacco, 2010). The hybridizations between culture and traditional small industries and between culture and tourism are signs of real progress in this respect.

The Nature of Culture-Led Urban Regeneration in Trento

Both provincial and municipal policies have made knowledge and culture strategic assets for Trento's development, transforming the physical appearance of the city through sizable investments while remaining faithful to the urban historical identity. Policies have attempted to avoid the consumption of place and to lever opportunities for the reuse, requalification, or restoration of entire parts of the city according to criteria of beauty, complexity of function and environmental and social sustainability. These criteria have prompted the restoration of the cities' traditional relationships with the river, by renewing historical and industrial areas along its banks, and siting functions/buildings/services related to advanced training, research and culture and new residential eco-sustainable areas near it. The old towns have been connected to old villages, which have been revitalized, and new suburbs, and access to the cities has been improved. This process has raised the standard of living in Trento and meant that

education, research, culture and forms of cultural tourism, which did not exist a few years ago, are now part of the range of urban consumption experiences.

This status is evident in the national and international recognition of Trento's network of institutions of scientific and technological research and higher education, in the urban concentration of the main cultural institutions and associations of the province and the most dynamic sectors of the cultural and creative industries in the area (publishing and film) – which combine popular culture and local tradition with innovation and the contemporary – the hosting of cultural events (Festival of Economics and Mountain Film Festival) and the offering of services and amenities.

The investment in two iconic cultural catalysts, publicly owned and funded, is the cornerstone of Trento's qualification driven by knowledge and culture, but entirely in keeping with the urban past. Their realization was inspired by paradigmatic international experiments in culture-led regeneration, but they have been adapted to the local context, and have strong links with previous far-sighted public investment in research centres, which laid the foundations for these culture-led development processes. The Mart (<http://www.mart.trento.it/>) – designed by Mario Botta and inaugurated in 2002 – is the leading modern and contemporary art gallery in the province and one of the most important in Italy. It was established in Rovereto on the site of an old artisanal workshop. The Muse (<http://www.muse.it>) – designed by Renzo Piano and inaugurated in the summer of 2013 – is a modern science museum which has grown out of the Tridentine Museum of Natural Sciences, the oldest of the province's cultural organizations connected to its Alpine identity. The transformation of these collections was intended to be, and, indeed, was, a cultural catalyst for the regeneration of disused and marginal city centre areas, providing them with new attractions, services and residential buildings. Both institutions are members of international museum networks with similar cultural focuses. They are, however, still in the process of establishing the kind of trust-based relationships with other local stakeholders, both inside the culture sector and in other sectors, that would make it possible to create the critical mass of partnerships necessary for effective and systemic integration and culture-led regeneration.

Discussion: How Monolithic Contexts Facilitate Place Branding

Trento's cultural-led urban regeneration opens new avenues of research to analyse through the lens of cross-cultural management studies, how cultural contexts – characterized by specific conceptual schemes and values influencing decision making and actions – affect the nature and scale of culture-led regeneration. In particular, a main assumption of the cultural framework – which has been verified empirically – is that the place specific characteristics of a cultural context can guide people and organizations toward urban innovation and regeneration coherent with local identity. Local culture thus impacts on culture-led urban regeneration through public policies which facilitate (or reduce) the acceptance of cultural projects and the metabolizing of changes in the consolidated identity.

The culture-led regeneration of Trento shows that the city has remained faithful to its historical identity while injecting creativity and knowledge into traditional urban development models and their outputs through imaginative policies (in the past) and sizable investments (in recent years), thus ensuring innovation in tandem with continuity. The public investment in the Muse is the iconic cultural catalyst which best testifies to a tradition-innovation symbiosis aimed at enhancing the value of context.

The drivers and nature of Trento's physical and semantic transformation are analyzed within an integration-diversity cultural framework (Go & Trunfio, 2014). The continuity with the past displayed in the balance between a consolidated local identity and cultural innovations defines the status of Trento as a monolithic urban context, positioned at the intersection between high homogeneity and integration in Go and Trunfio's cultural matrix (2014). The highly homogeneous urban cultural context is particularly evident in the strong Alpine historical identity of the city, protected and reinforced by the province's special status in Italian law, which has always allowed it greater autonomy in formulating and funding development policies and collective actions. These have resulted in a consolidated urban personality, which coherently combines diverse cultural elements: quality of life and well-being, environment preservation, sense of place, socio-cultural identity, harmonious cohabitants, solidarity and independent governance (Trunfio & Liguori, 2006). The integrated nature of the city is evident in the will and attempt to reconcile its historical, knowledge-based and cultural profiles and to provide a product offering consistent with these identities by building on a centralized territorial governance designed to integrate private and public actors and to coordinate sectors, institutions, networks and enterprises (Go & Trunfio, 2011a; Go et al., 2013).

This exploratory analysis confirms that Trento's monolithic cultural context thus represents the ideal conditions for fostering a virtuous circle between urban culture (preservation vs regeneration), identity (consolidation/opening to new cultures) and image aiming at coherent place branding design and development. In turn, the socio-cultural relations and supply networking that contribute to place branding processes support this virtuous circle, reinforcing homogeneity and enhancing integration. In sum, the nature and scale of Trento's culture-led regeneration qualify it as an evolutionary process driven from within rather than as a paradigmatic change driven from the outside – as in Bilbao – where strong coherence between public choices and socio-cultural acceptance opens new avenues for collective value creation.

Conclusions, Limits and Future Research

This paper deals with the hybridization of the literature and empirical analysis on culture-led urban regeneration (Della Lucia & Franch, 2014) with cross-cultural management studies (Calvelli & Cannavale, 2013) in local contexts (Go & Trunfio, 2014) to provide new perspectives from which to conceptualize local development, governance and place branding. Culture can be seen as an 'umbrella' concept covering local identity, knowledge and core competencies on which build the competitive advantages of places.

The discussion on the positioning of Trento city in cultural matrix allows us to argue that culture-led urban regeneration of this city results from a long term integration process of tradition and innovation led from within which preserves a sense of place and build new competences facilitating a coherent place brand building (Della Lucia & Franch, 2014). The Italian Alpine city of Trento is an exemplary case of this virtuous culture-led urban regeneration driven by monolithic cultural contexts. Its culture-led urban regeneration and urban building design are a result of interrelated systems where the culture of context influences the nature and success of decisions and actions at the local level, and even at the organizational and personal level.

Though exploratory in kind, the paper opens new vistas of research and presents implications for practitioners and policy makers. The cross-cultural management approach calls scholars to reinterpret urban culture led regeneration overcoming the traditional management and marketing studies. If place specific conditions matter, from a theoretical perspective this means that the consolidated place brand theory based on marketing and managerial perspectives should be hybridized with cross-cultural management to open new avenues of research into the conceptualization of place branding as a socio-cultural phenomenon.

From a practical perspective, the diverse positioning of urban culture-led regeneration on the cultural matrix can help urban governance to support skills and knowledge development and absorptive capacity of local contexts creating the conditions for the competitive advantage of cultural-led regeneration processes. In turn, it can help to put an urban brand successfully and enduringly on the global map combining cultural changes with the consolidated identity.

Although the paper presents positive insights, it should be treated as exploratory and descriptive. Future research should, using quantitative analysis and comparative cases, investigate both the urban brand implications of culture-led regeneration in monolithic contexts and the coherence between projected and perceived urban images and the impact of urban brand on cultural tourism (and vice versa). These and other issues can be investigated by taking a governance perspective: how can stakeholder participation in the virtuous circle between urban cultural regeneration, identity and image be promoted and/or enhanced? How can cultural projects be levered to capture new opportunities for markets, organizations and city? What part should institutions in research, culture and education play in stimulating the development of a cultural entrepreneurship which opens new avenues for city value co-creation?

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Theoretical Perspectives on World Heritage Management: Stewardship and Stakeholders

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Abstract

This conceptual paper presents a theoretical foundation for the management of organisations, institutions and places that transcend generations, and are protected for the preservation of culture. Called ‘Heritage Custodianship Theory’, this is based on elements of stewardship and stakeholder theories. Research within the management of World Heritage Sites (WHS) demonstrates the importance of the overarching features of conservation and the need for effective managerial approaches for the protection of historical assets (Nicholas, Thapa, & Ko, 2009). However, the management of sites is complex due to their diverse ownership patterns, while the collective approach suggested is challenging due to the intricacy of the stakeholder network (Xu & Dai, 2012). Supported by a management plan, most WHS sites operate with an overarching managerial group/partnership containing diverse interests in relation to the site; however structure and involvement differs between properties and is reliant on the benevolence of various interests working together. This goodwill is often tested due to the differing aims and principles of the groups involved, at times making management difficult. Additionally, a common theme within WHS management is the challenging nature which is inherent in the relationships between wider stakeholders such as locals, owners and businesses and those with the responsibility for administering assets of such sites. Such relationships are highlighted to be difficult, with inclusion and support varying through time. While elements of stakeholder theory have been used to address such challenges (Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005; Yuksel, Bramwell, & Yuksel, 1999), it is proposed that additional theory be used to fashion a more comprehensive structure which not simply encourages inclusion and support, but augments and encourages the creation of custodian behaviours which endure through time. One such approach which can help managers to understand and cultivate custodianship behaviours at WHS is stewardship theory. Stewardship theory assumes that managers will make decisions in the best interest of the collective, are intrinsically motivated, trustworthy, and highly committed and attached to the organisation; a contrast to the self-interested manager (Davis, Schoorman, & Donaldson, 1997). Individuals can be nurtured to become stewards through various structural and situational underpinnings. The successful management of WHS relies on collaboration and pursued through mechanisms such as open dialogue, involvement and engagement structures, and empowerment (Chiabai, Paskaleva, & Lombardi, 2011) – all of which are central underpinnings to creating responsible managers according to stewardship theory. While WHS are not an organisation, their management relies on the collective responsibility of those owners who are involved and not involved in the sites administration. Therefore, stewardship behaviours appear appealing if they can be integrated in the network of owners which characterize a specific site. Consequently, the extant literature on stewardship and stakeholder theory is critically analysed in order to provide a framework for successfully creating custodianship behaviours both within and outside the management approach to site administration.

Keywords: World Heritage; World Heritage Sites, Stewardship; Stakeholder; Custodianship

Introduction

Based on United Kingdom (UK) World Heritage Sites (WHS) which are multiply owned, this conceptual paper presents the basis for ‘Heritage Custodianship Theory’: a theoretical foundation for the management of organisations, institutions and places that transcend generations, and are protected for the preservation of culture. The term ‘heritage’ is observed to be one of the most commercialised expressions over the past few decades. A comprehensive area of interest, heritage encompasses both tangible and intangible resources (Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2003). The development of heritage into an attractive industry has resulted in the acceptance that such assets require positive management

structures in place to assure that these resources are consumed and conserved in a sustainable manner (Evans, 2004; Fonseca & Ramos, 2012). The necessity for effective administration of the industry witnessed the establishment of what was initially known as 'heritage management' (Hewison, 1987; Millar, 1989), a term later developed to 'cultural heritage management' as what was recognised as heritage moved away from exclusively tangible assets to encompass the intangible (McKercher, Ho, & du Cros, 2005; UNESCO, 2014a).

The expanding acknowledgment of the need to manage and safeguarding heritage has resulted in an ever-increasing international awareness, most notably through the creation of WHS. Stemming from the World Heritage Convention (WHC) of UNESCO in 1972, a WHS is a property which is considered to be of exceptional and outstanding natural or cultural value to humanity (UNESCO, 2014c). Through nomination of carefully selected sites, national governments have embraced this opportunity, and to date 191 nations have ratified the WHC and with 1007 properties being inscribed as WHS. Examples include: Angkor in Cambodia; the Great Barrier Reef in Australia; Tulum in Mexico; and the Elephant Caves in the Sea of Oman. The convention advocates collaboration among nations to protect and conserve global heritage for future and current generations. Due to the high number of WHS and the homogenous nature of the markets in which they operate, this paper will be written from a UK perspective. Through embracing World Heritage, UNESCO promotes the numerous benefits which can be attained and includes: raising awareness for heritage protection; access to funds and investment; and stimulation of a tourist market (UNESCO, 2014e).

Ultimately, once World Heritage status is allocated to a specific site it is then the responsibility of the receiving nation to take full accountability for its management and protection of its 'Outstanding Universal Value' (OUV) (UNESCO, 2014d). In the UK World Heritage have no formal status in terms of organisational administration and no additional monetary aid. Protection is administered through individual designations and the planning systems of the relevant territory. Furthermore, each site must produce an updated management plan every five years (Bell, 2013; UNESCO, 2014f). Commonly supported by a WHS coordinator, the management structure of each site is dependent on the benevolence of stakeholders coming together in an often amorphous way (Bell, 2013; Harrison, 2004; Millar, 2006). Most sites operate with an overarching managerial partnership containing diverse interests in relation to the site; however structure and involvement differs between properties. For example, the Edinburgh's Old and New Town's WHS management group, which is responsible for the creation and implementation of the management plan, is made up of the City of Edinburgh Council, Edinburgh World Heritage and Historic Scotland, with input from other organisations such as Essential Edinburgh and Scottish Enterprise. On the other hand, Hadrian's Wall's WHS overall governance is provided by: a management plan committee of over 40 representatives, ranging from academic interest, local authorities, farming and business representatives, and non-departmental public bodies such as English Heritage and Natural England. The implementation of the management plan and monitoring of the site is undertaken by the management plan committee with the support of designated interest groups, and until recently the Hadrian's Wall Trust.

The challenging nature of WHS also stems from the multiple ownership patterns which characterise many sites (van der Aa, Groote, & Huigen, 2004). In the UK a number of sites have varying degrees of ownership patterns, with some having high degrees of both public and private ownership of assets. For example: around two-thirds of the vital properties within the Derwent Valley Mills WHS are in private ownership along with the bulk of the sites other buildings; Hadrian's Wall, which spans 73 miles, is predominantly privately owned, while around 10% is specifically for conservation and access; and the majority of the buildings within Edinburgh Old and New Towns WHS are in private ownership. Therefore, private owners have a vital role in protecting and valuing the OUV and supporting the delivery of the site's management plan as they can have a direct or indirect impact on the successful preservation of the site.

Studies on the management of WHS focus on: the motives and impacts of gaining World Heritage status (Harrison & Hitchcock, 2005; Shackley, 2012; Williams, 2004); the intricacies of the nomination process (Peleggi, 1996; van der Aa et al., 2004); and the effects tourism (Drost, 1996; Santos & Zabler, 2012). Research has also demonstrated the importance of conservation and the need for effective managerial protection of historical assets (Bell, 2013; Nicholas, Thapa, & Ko, 2009). Central to WHS is the need for a distinct level of collective responsibility, promoted through the notion that World Heritage owned by humanity. As UNESCO (2014b) states: "Reflecting the natural and cultural wealth that belongs to all of humanity...they symbolise the consciousness of States and peoples of the

significance of these places and reflect their attachment to collective ownership and to the transmission of this heritage to future generations.”

However, management is complex due to diverse ownership patterns, while a collective approach is challenging due to the intricacies of stakeholders each with their own agendas and values (Haddad, Waheeb, & Fakhoury, 2009; Hampton, 2005; Nicholas et al., 2009; Xu & Dai, 2012). There are challenges surrounding decision-making, involvement, and the benefits and negative impacts of tourism (Maddern, 2004; van der Aa et al., 2004; Wall & Black, 2004) often resulting in conflict where communication, support and protection are lost among central figures within the heritage environment (Hampton, 2005; Nicholas et al., 2009), especially among local communities (Davis & Weiler, 1992; Su & Wall, 2012). Despite this, the inclusion and support of stakeholders is commented on to be essential to the successful management of WHS, as Article 12 of the WHC states: “States Parties to the *Convention* are encouraged to ensure the participation of a wide variety of stakeholders, including site managers, local and regional governments, local communities, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other interested parties and partners in the identification, nomination and protection of World Heritage properties” (UNESCO, 2014c, p. 3).

The issue of stakeholder participation and collaboration at cultural heritage sites has become a focal point within heritage management research (Caffyn & Jobbins, 2003; Garrod & Fyall, 2000; McKercher et al., 2005). Often administered by public and the non-governmental sector, this entails the management of a diverse number of groups each with their own agendas, roles and motivations (Selin & Chavez, 1995; Su & Wall, 2012; Winter, 2004). This can include: heritage managers; governmental and non-public bodies; local communities; local/national/international businesses; visitors; the media; and private owners (Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005; Drost, 1996). Despite the need for managers to work with and involve differing stakeholders, the task is highlighted to be difficult (Al-Kheder & Khrisat, 2007; Wall & Black, 2004), with the argument that bringing all the relevant parties together can be challenging due to differing interests, the possible risks and rewards of collaboration, power dimensions, barriers to participation, and particular groups being overlooked (Landorf, 2009; Nuryanti, 1996; van der Aa et al., 2004).

Consequently, the fragility of stakeholder relationships in managing cultural sites has been recognised (Fonseca & Ramos, 2012; Liu, 2006; Selin & Chavez, 1995; Sharpley, 2002). However, such collaboration is essential to the management of heritage within the areas of: conservation; sustainability; government cooperation; local community involvement; pooling of resources; donations; volunteer help; and successful tourism development (Aas et al., 2005; Burns & Sancho, 2003; Winter, 2004; Ying & Zhou, 2007). Such benefits are especially important in the UK environment where subsidies from the public sector are continually declining. While difficult, a number of studies have suggested strategies which managers can embrace to create a collaborative environment which promotes the possibility of harmonious relations and conservational mentalities (Haddad et al., 2009; Lee, Li, & Kim, 2007; Xie, 2006). This includes: identifying and engaging with all prospective stakeholders; creating and sustaining collaborative structures; creating spaces where political, economic, and social concerns can be liberally exchanged; and giving people a voice within the decision making environment (Aas et al., 2005; González & Medina, 2003; Lask & Herold, 2004; Laws & Le Pelley, 2000; Yuksel, Bramwell, & Yuksel, 1999).

Within the context of WHS, the debate surrounding stakeholders has been equally intense (Hampton, 2005; Harrison, 2004; Millar, 2006) with many of the challenges, such as conflict, inclusion and diverging agendas, outlined above being as potent (Bell, 2013; Davis & Weiler, 1992; Haddad et al., 2009). For example, in the UK this can be seen through a number of instances such as: the controversy of the Caltongate development which has resulted in fragmented stakeholder views on the impact of development and protection of the sites OUV. A number of articles have used stakeholder theory as a theoretical lens to explore and offer solutions to such challenges. For example the perspective was used by:

- Nicholas et al. (2009) to investigate the factors that influence local community residents’ support for the Pitons Management Area as a WHS and their support for sustainable tourism development;
- Aas et al. (2005) to explore the relationship between heritage managers, locals, tourism development;

- Chiabai, Paskaleva, and Lombardi (2011) to explore sustainable cultural tourism management;
- and Garrod, Fyall, Leask, and Reid (2011) to investigate the purposes and processes of local-resident engagement by three Scottish attractions.

Within organisational studies, stakeholder theory rests on the foundation that the firm has a wider responsibility beyond that of producing value for shareholders (Freeman, 1984). Instead, organisations have a variety of individuals, or groups, with communal or conflicting interests – known as stakeholders – which must be effectively managed (Donaldson & Preston, 1995; Mitchell, Agle, & Wood, 1997). This assumption assumes that whether or not an organisation achieves its goals will be contingent on its capacity to engage with and manage the needs and desires of a broad assortment of interests that have their own specific concerns, or stake, in the organisation (Agle, Mitchell, & Sonnenfeld, 1999; Berman, Wicks, Kotha, & Jones, 1999). The studies above suggest that congruous environments which place emphasis on collaboration, involvement and empowerment should be created to fashion an atmosphere where mutual appreciation and joint decision-making is supported (Aas et al., 2005; Nicholas et al., 2009). Through this, a collective network can be developed where managers and stakeholders can work together to better protect heritage through elements of trust, mutual benefits and cooperative relationships (Chiabai et al., 2011; Lask & Herold, 2004).

While elements of stakeholder theory have been used to address such challenges (Aas et al., 2005; Yuksel et al., 1999), this paper proposes that additional theory, namely stewardship theory, be used to fashion a more comprehensive structure which not simply encourages inclusion and support, but augments and supports the creation of custodian behaviours which endure through time. Stewardship theory assumes that managers will make decisions in the best interest of the collective, are intrinsically motivated, trustworthy, and highly committed and attached to the organisation; a contrast to the self-interested manager (Davis, Schoorman, & Donaldson, 1997). Individuals can be nurtured to become stewards through various structural and situational underpinnings. The successful management of WHS relies on collaboration and pursued through mechanisms such as open dialogue, involvement and engagement structures, and empowerment (Chiabai et al., 2011) – all of which are central underpinnings to creating responsible managers according to stewardship theory. While WHS are not an organisation, their management relies on the collective responsibility of those owners who are involved and not involved in the sites administration. Therefore, context of the WHS management offers a unique opportunity to explore sites which have been inscribed with this international recognition yet require the engagement and cooperation of various owners to ensure its sustainability and successful conservation. Additionally, the multiple ownership patterns which characterises many of the WHS in the UK underscores the complexity of the context and offers an appealing setting from which this theoretical discussion is relevant. Consequently, the extant literature on stewardship and stakeholder theory is analysed in order to provide a framework for successfully creating custodianship behaviours within a diverse network of proprietors.

Stewardship Theory

“Historically, stewardship was a means to protect a kingdom while those rightfully in charge were away or more often, to govern for the sake of an underage king. The underage king for us is the next generation. We choose service over self-interest most powerfully when we build the capacity of the next generation to govern themselves.”

(Block, 1993)

Stewardship theory has been the increasing focus of management research (Davis et al., 1997; Donaldson & Davis, 1991; Hernandez, 2012; Wasserman, 2006) and has been defined as, “the attitudes and behaviors that place the long-term best interests of a group ahead of personal goals that serve an individual’s self-interests. It exists to the extent that organizational actors take personal responsibility for the effects of organizational actions on stakeholder welfare” (Hernandez, 2008, p. 122).

Originating within the area of corporate governance, the stewardship viewpoint emerged as a response to agency theory (Deutsch, 2005; Donaldson & Davis, 1991). Agency theory originates from the economics-based paradigm which perceives individuals as rational actors who seek to maximize their self-interest (Eisenhardt, 1988, 1989; Jensen & Meckling, 1976; Ross, 1973). Therefore, this approach assumes that individuals will peruse activities which, regardless of the effects on the organisations owners, will serve their own self-interests (Eisenhardt, 1989; Jensen & Meckling, 1976). Therefore,

often high cost, control mechanisms are necessary to restrict agent opportunism (Baysinger & Hoskisson, 1990; Lassar & Kerr, 1996; Shen, 2003), often coming in the form of monitoring approaches or incentives which aim to align the interests of the agent with those of the owners (Eisenhardt, 1989).

Davis et al. (1997) suggest that because agency theory focuses on manager-principle interest divergence, overlooks the complexities of organisational life and fails to look beyond economic reasoning, supplementary theory is required to explain, if anything, initiatives objectives to be aligned. Consequently, stewardship theory was created to examine circumstances in which managers, as stewards, are stimulated not by individual goals, but to act in the best interests of their principles/owners through pro-social behaviours (Cuevas-Rodríguez, Gomez-Mejia, & Wiseman, 2012; Kiel & Nicholson, 2003).

Stewardship theory originates from theology and relies significantly on thinking's from sociology and psychology (Cruz, Gómez-Mejia, & Becerra, 2010; Sundaramurthy & Lewis, 2003). This includes notions of: kindness; social contribution; loyalty; and self-actualisation. Stewardship theory presumes that there is no conflict of interest between owners and managers (Caldwell, Hayes, Bernal, & Karri, 2008; Donaldson, 1990; Godos-Díez, Fernández-Gago, & Martínez-Campillo, 2011). According to Davis et al. (1997, pp. 25-26), "...the essential assumption underlying the prescriptions of stewardship theory is that the behaviors of the manager are aligned with the interests of the principals." Therefore, managers will make decisions and perform in the best interest of the organisation, putting collectivist concerns before self-serving preferences.

Grounded in the postulation that the firm has responsibilities to society and a variety of ethical duties, stewardship theory, like stakeholder theory, expands the obligations of the organisation beyond the shareholders (Caldwell, Karri, & Vollmar, 2006; Donaldson & Dunfee, 1999). Therefore, stewards will protect the prosperity of all stakeholders, not simply shareholders (Anderson, Melanson, & Maly, 2007; Godos-Díez et al., 2011). The theory suggests that the major way to content all stakeholders with conflicting interests is to maximise the long-term value, or sustainability, of the organisation (Godos-Díez et al., 2011; Le Breton-Miller, Miller, & Lester, 2011; Tosi, Brownlee, Silva, & Katz, 2003). Therefore, the beneficiaries of stewardship behaviours can include: owners and shareholders; the organisation; employees; and external stakeholders (Caldwell et al., 2008; Donaldson & Davis, 1991; Donaldson & Preston, 1995; Hernandez, 2012). Grant (2007, p. 395) also suggests that the beneficiaries of stewardship actions are "...people and groups of people whom employees believe their actions at work have the potential to positively affect."

Other attempts to develop stewardship theory suggest a covenant owed to all stakeholders recognizing the importance of a systematic fit of organisational governance with the conditions of its environment (Caldwell & Karri, 2005). Unlike transactional contacts, covenantal relationships are grounded on the commitment between individuals to one another and on the devotion to shared values (Caldwell et al., 2008; Caldwell & Karri, 2005). This moral obligation binds those in the relationship to work toward a mutual aim, without taking advantage of one another (Caldwell, Hayes, & Long, 2010; Hernandez, 2012). Ultimately, people comprehend that they may not gain from every decision but remain dedicated to the relationship. However, while this covenantal relationship can be developed among actors within an organisation, its development with those individuals and groups outside it is more difficult to realize (Johnson, 2011). Others have linked stewardship with ethical leadership (Caldwell & Clapham, 2003; Caldwell, Truong, Linh, & Tuan, 2011), suggesting that leaders rise to the level of ethical leadership "when they earn the trust and followership of those whom they serve by creating integrated organizational systems that demonstrate the leader's commitment to honoring the steward's duties" (Caldwell et al., 2008, p. 157). Therefore, stewards attempt to honor a wide breadth of duties owed by the organisation to its followers.

According to Davis et al. (1997, p. 38) whether or not stewardship relationships occur, between the owner and manager, within an organisation is: "...a decision made by both parties to the relationship. The psychological characteristics of each party predispose each individual to make a particular choice. Second, the situational characteristics have an influence on the choice...". Contextual factors have become a focal point for a number of theorists (Donaldson, 1990; Donaldson & Davis, 1991; Wasserman, 2006) as they have the ability to either facilitate or confine the development stewardship

behaviours. According to research there are psychological, situational and structural factors that predispose whether or not individuals become stewards. These factors are outlined in Table 1.

Factors	Description	Sources
Psychological	- Represent the personal characteristics that could have an influence on an individual's behavior and frames decisions in terms of (1) stakeholder interests as a whole (an other-regarding perspective), and (2) long-term benefits (long-term orientation). - Includes: intrinsic motivations, personal identification, psychological ownership and greater use of personal power	(Boivie, Lange, McDonald, & Westphal, 2011; Fox & Hamilton, 1994; Frankforter, Berman, & Jones, 2000; Godos-Díez et al., 2011; Lan & Heracleous, 2010; Tosi et al., 2003)
Situational	- Signify an individual's perception of particular features of the organisation, and include: Management Philosophy; Culture; and Power Distance. - Involvement Oriented/High Commitment Management Philosophy are essential	(Davis et al., 1997; Donaldson & Davis, 1991; Godos-Díez et al., 2011; Huse, 2005; Shen, 2003; Van den Berghe & Levrau, 2004)
Structural	Linked closely with the situational underpinnings, the performance of a steward will be influenced whether the structural situation in which they find themselves in facilitates effective action	(Boyd, Haynes, & Zona, 2011; Cuevas-Rodríguez et al., 2012; Davis et al., 1997; Donaldson, 1990; Fox & Hamilton, 1994; Sundaramurthy & Lewis, 2003)

Table 1. Contextual factors which predispose whether or not individuals become stewards

As Table 1 highlights, individuals are more likely to become stewards if they are intrinsically motivated, identify and are committed to the organisation. Hernandez (2012) suggests that such underpinnings lead to the formation of two distinct psychosocial cognitive and affective factors which create stewardship behaviours: (1) individuals personally cherish actions that benefit the enduring well-being of others and are guided in their behavior by this long-term orientation and an other-regarding perspective; (2) an affective feeling of association with others stimulates individuals to feel bound to supportively influence the collective. Therefore, an individual's feeling of duty is formed in part by their emotional connection to the recipients of their actions. Hernandez (2012, p. 182) continues to suggest that these are linked to psychological ownership as she argues, "the internalized desire to protect that which is psychologically owned channels employees' cognitive and affective motivations to willingly subjugate their self-interests for the long-term welfare of the collective." This is supported by others who suggest that managers who feel a passionate sense of psychological ownership of the organisation is more likely to act as a steward (Wasserman, 2006).

Consequently, these psychological underpinnings can be nurtured through the situational and structural situation the individual finds themselves in (Eddleston & Kellermanns, 2007; Fox & Hamilton, 1994), with authors highlighting the need for a involvement oriented/high commitment management philosophy to be apparent within the organisation (Fox & Hamilton, 1994; Wasserman, 2006). For example, this includes: the creation of a highly collective environment, involving the empowerment on individuals; open communicative structures; fostering of a trust and long-term relationships; more personal responsibility and development; equity; team-working; and additional training (Hernandez, 2008; Segal & Lehrer, 2012; Shen, 2003). Such environments also have the ability to create the implicit covenantal relationship proposed by Caldwell and Karri (2005). Hernandez (2008, p. 122) further highlights that, "stewardship is not created through formal rules but rather is facilitated through organizational structures that help leaders to generate interpersonal and institutional trust, clarity regarding organizational strategy, and intrinsic motivation in followers, which, in turn, encourages followers to act with moral courage in service to the organization or cause."

Despite its supporters, stewardship theory has not gone uncontested. Firstly, stewardship theory is suggested to be generally under-researched, with too much focus being centred on distinguishing it from agency theory rather than advancing the knowledge of the concept (Hernandez, 2012). Some critics of the stewardship approach consider it is too naïve (Lan & Heracleous, 2010; Sieger,

Zellweger, & Aquino, 2013). Lan and Heracleous (2010, p. 303) suggest that in the absence of control measures, even in an environment of trust, "...we simply assume managers would do the right thing." This is supported by Marvel and Marvel (2008, p. 188) who explain that "...in an era of accountability and result-oriented management, reliance on trust may not satisfy constituents who seek evidence of effective service delivery."

Stakeholder Theory: Looking Towards to External Environment

Since its inception, stakeholder theory has become one of the most researched perspectives within managerial studies (Beekun & Badawi, 2005; Butterfield, Reed, & Lemak, 2004; Donaldson & Preston, 1995). Its origins can be traced back to the works of Freeman (1984, p. 246) who defined stakeholders as "those groups and individuals who can affect, or are affected by the achievement of an organization's purpose." Freeman (1984) regarded the stakeholder approach as a response to the increasing need for managers and organisations to understand and respond to a progressively unpredictable external environment. Simply, stakeholder management is about managing the relationship between the organisation and the different stakeholders in an attempt to improve its decisions, strategies and sustainability (Agle et al., 1999; Bridoux & Stoelhorst, 2013; Carson, 2009).

Studies relating to stakeholder engagement stress the need for such strategies to be inclusive and comprehensive (Dunham, Freeman, & Liedtka, 2006; Eesley & Lenox, 2006). Therefore, it is suggested that the essential core of stakeholder engagement is the ability of organisations to identify those that, "can affect or is [sic] affected by the achievement of an organization's objectives" (Freeman, 1984, p. 46). As such, studies suggest engagement encompasses recognising and ranking stakeholder concerns based on the managerial views of stakeholder saliency (Magness, 2008; Mitchell, Agle, Chrisman, & Spence, 2011; Weber & Marley, 2012). For example, Mitchell et al. (1997) argue that how a firm will respond to a stakeholder will depend on their level of the saliency variable of power, legitimacy and urgency. The greater the legitimacy, urgency and power of the stakeholder, the superior that group's saliency will be in the eyes of the organisation or manager. This approach has been popular and has been used or developed by other studies (Agle et al., 1999; Jensen & Sandström, 2011; Ryan & Schneider, 2003). Others propose that stakeholder significance and need changes over time and so managers must alter their strategies in order to effectively manage them (Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001; Verbeke & Tung, 2013) and suggest that saliency will be dependent on industry (Fineman & Clarke, 1996); on organisational orientation (Mitchell et al., 2011); or the culture of the organisation (Jones, Felps, & Bigley, 2007).

Based on both theoretical and empirical studies, substantial consideration has focused on how organisations should and do behave in order to manage stakeholders (Buchholz & Rosenthal, 2005; Freeman, 1984; Rasche, 2012; Vazquez-Brust, Liston-Heyes, Plaza-Úbeda, & Burgos-Jiménez, 2010). Some of the theoretical discussions include: Freeman (1984) matrix approach which suggests that can firms employ a range of generic strategies to deal with stakeholders based on their ability to be cooperative (opportunity) or competitive (threat); the belief that organisations should manage based on his "principle of fairness" (Greenwood & Van Buren III, 2010; Phillips, 1997, 2003); through allocating ownership rights to the most critically important (Zattoni, 2011); or through network positioning (Rowley, 1997).

What is apparent is the need to balance the needs of numerous, often conflicting, stakeholders. However, researchers have highlighted the complex process in which stakeholder interests are and could be balanced (Beekun & Badawi, 2005; Hosseini & Brenner, 2009; Jensen, 2002; Schwarzkopf, 2006). As Reynolds, Schultz, and Hekman (2006, pp. 285-286), "balancing stakeholder interests is arguably the most critical of stakeholder principles as it represents the principal mechanism by which managers "pay attention to," elicit, and maintain the support of stakeholder groups with disparate needs and wants." Therefore, balancing stakeholder needs could be suggested to be one of the most important tasks within stakeholder management (Lamin & Zaheer, 2012). Bendheim, Waddock, and Graves (1998) even found that best practices for balancing and trading off between stakeholder interests differ significantly among industries. Additionally, Lampe (2001) suggests that mediation is the most appropriate process for balancing stakeholder disagreements. Mediation requires the immersion of compromise, inclusion and cooperation into the firm-stakeholder relationship. Despite this, Reynolds et al. (2006) found that amalgamated resources and disproportionate levels of stakeholder saliency limit the ability of managers to successfully balance stakeholder interests.

How is Stakeholder Support Realised by Organisations?

Managerial attention to stakeholder interests is critical (Bosse, Phillips, & Harrison, 2009; Hillman & Keim, 2001; Julian, Ofori-Dankwa, & Justis, 2008; Ogden & Watson, 1999). Therefore, it is an essential task for management to administer stakeholders and gain their support (Mitchell et al., 1997), an issue which has received substantial empirical attention. Table 2 identifies some of the approaches which have been touted as possible avenues in which to gain stakeholder support.

Factor	Description	Source
Relationship Building	- Can be done through giving stakeholders more utility and a voice in the decision-making processes - Other factors include: participation; trust; the ability for firms to compromise; honesty; tolerance of differing locales; open forms of communication; consistent policies - Avoid relationships based on opportunism and self-interest	(Butterfield et al., 2004; Elms, Berman, & Wicks, 2002; Husted, 1998; Marenz & Wicks, 1999; Ulmer & Sellnow, 2000; Zott & Huy, 2007)
Reputation Management	- Support can be gained through impression management activities. Other factors can include: entrenching stakeholders within the firm's community; augmenting the perceptibility of company-stakeholder relationships; and through enhanced organisational communications such as mission statements. - Organisational reports should convey the relevant and desired information in regards to its social responsibility and contribution to sustainability.	(Carter, 2006; Rowley, 1997; Scott & Lane, 2000; Snider, Hill, & Martin, 2003; Weber & Marley, 2012)
Philanthropy	- Done through charitable contributions and support for stakeholders - Corporate generosity manufactures moral capital which can provide a defence mechanism for organisational assets and shareholder wealth	(Adams & Hardwick, 1998; Brammer & Millington, 2004; Haley, 1991)
Board Representation	Stakeholder representation could legitimise stakeholder interests	(Luoma & Goodstein, 1999; Moriarty, 2012)

Table 2. How do firms gain stakeholder support?

These strategies and managerial approaches to stakeholder management are suggested to have an impact on the performance of an organisation. A stream of research which has acquired substantial interest is that of the positive link between stakeholder management and performance (Bouckaert & Vandenhove, 1998; de Luque, Washburn, Waldman, & House, 2008), with a number of studies highlighting a positive impact. For example, Garcia-Castro, Ariño, and Canela (2010) and Kacperczyk (2009) all offer empirical evidence which highlights that firms paying greater attention to stakeholders' experience increase their long-term shareholder value. Despite this, other studies cast doubt over such assumption (Surroca, Tribó, & Waddock, 2010). For example, in their event study of transnational firms working in South Africa during the Apartheid regime, Meznar, Nigh, and Kwok (1998) found a negative relationship between company performance and stakeholder management.

In short, what stakeholder theory demonstrates is the need for firms and managers to look beyond the internal workings of their organisation towards the concerns and legitimate claims from the external environment. Stakeholder management requires organisation's to consider and peruse strategies which embrace the interests of stakeholders which could influence their future prosperity and successful functioning.

Stewardship and Stakeholder Combined: Creating Custodianship

The literature on stewardship and stakeholder theory provides an opportunity to offer a theoretical foundation for the management of organisations, institutions and places that transcend generations, and are protected for the preservation of culture. Stewardship theories optimistic postulations about manager's motives, which are highly committed to the organisation and make decisions based on the collective, complement stakeholder theory's elementary supposition that the function of the manager is

to balance stakeholder interests in the best interest of the organisation. While both theories are rooted in corporate thinking, both have relevance to the management of heritage sites. Stewardship theories' proposition that managers as stewards are collectively centered and will make decision based on the benefit of organisation and stakeholders fits well within the context of WHS. Elements of stewardship, such as the development of a collective environment, the empowerment of individuals, open communicative, the fostering of trust and long-term relationships (Hernandez, 2008; Segal & Lehrer, 2012), if successfully submersed into the managerial framework of such places could not only result in a more unified approach to site management but could produce a more cohesive environment for the successful protection of WHS. Such factors have been endorsed by previous studies on the management of WHS and cultural heritage sites which have explored ways in which differing stakeholders can become more involved both within and outside administrative approaches (Aas et al., 2005; Chiabai et al., 2011; Landorf, 2009; Winter, 2004).

Figure 1 demonstrates how both stewardship and stakeholder perspectives could be utilized as a means of creating collectively minded stewards – or custodians of heritage. As mentioned previously, while WHS are not an organisation their administration is commonly based on differing groups coming together with differing roles, remits and motivations to create a management plan and a suitable administrative approach for the protection of the OUV and sustainability of the site. These groups often represent different interests in the site, ranging from public and private bodies, local communities, landowners, businesses, and so self-interest and protection of their own claims or organisation's aims are somewhat unavoidable and can cause considerable obstacles (Bell, 2013; Davis & Weiler, 1992; Millar, 2006; Xu & Dai, 2012). For instance, commonly in the UK, the management of WHS is characterised by an overarching managerial group who have come together predominantly thorough goodwill. Therefore, stewardship behaviours if they can be inherent within the managerial groups which come together to administer WHS would seem beneficial.

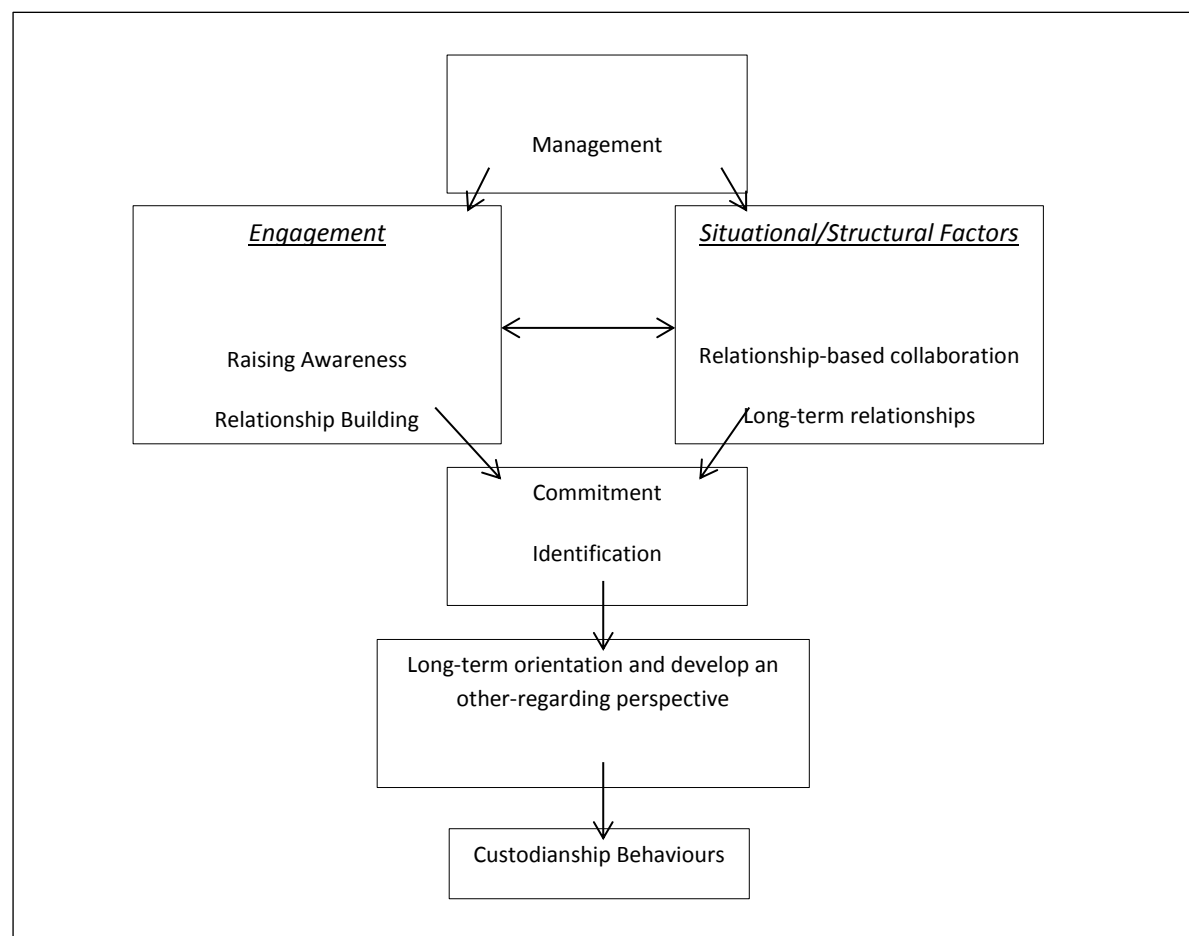


Figure 1. Creating Custodianship Behaviours

This group provides the starting point to which custodianship behaviours could be established through developing an involvement-orientated culture based on relationship-based collaboration, open communication and equity. This offers a distinct opportunity for managers from differing organisations and interests to develop the trust and mutual support necessary to foster the intrinsic motivations, commitment and identification towards the group. Through this individuals develop the other-regarding perspective and long term orientation required to create custodians of heritage who act and think collectively and value the long term sustainability of the group. As there is not contractual obligation for organisation to gather or to bind the interests of the WHS, the model also includes the creation on the covenantal relationship. Such relationships are significant within the World Heritage context due to the need for shared values and mutual obligation to work together for the long term sustainability of such places.

The creation of custodians must travel beyond that of the groups which assemble to manage the site. Within the parameters of WHS there are various stakeholders and owners that may not be involved in the management process/group, are overlooked by managers or are disengaged from the actuality and importance of their surroundings (Evans, 2004; Harrison, 2004; Nicholas et al., 2009; van der Aa et al., 2004); however, in order to create a more inclusive network of custodians of heritage their presence is vital. In some cases this may not be the fault of the individual but based on the reality that some sites are overly complex and span great distances. For example, Hadrian Wall WHS covers over 70 miles and has 700 different owners. Despite this, the support of external interests are essential as their actions and behaviours have the ability to impact the future prosperity of a given site (Aas et al., 2005; van der Aa et al., 2004). As stakeholder theory focuses on the process of engagement with external concerns of an organisation, the need for the management of a WHS to engage with and gain support for peripheral interests is significant. Through stakeholder engagement there is the potential for differing groups to become more involved with site management and appreciate the role of World Heritage within their environment, leading to the creation of custodians of heritage.

Therefore, as Figure 1 also highlights, the responsibility to ensure that wider stakeholder groups, and those who are commonly disengaged from the administrative set-up or who are detached from the WHS, is heavily reliant on the management group or partnership. Using stakeholder thinking, strategies must be put in place to engender awareness and support for the notion of World Heritage and its management. Through engagement this offers the opportunity, not simply for support, but to help encourage more individuals and groups to become involved within site management. Through this, elements of stewardship theory such as empowerment and personal responsibility gain impetus as they have the ability to offer environments where individuals and groups feel they can contribute to site management and value their surroundings.

However, the ability to generate stewardship behaviours outside the internal organisation, or in this case management group/partnership, may be challenging (Johnson, 2011). Despite this, even if simply support is gained, without enduring involvement in the overarching managerial structure, this could generate a sense of commitment and identification which may increase the likelihood of stakeholder groups gaining an appreciation of the site which could stimulate collective and responsible behaviours towards it. Between stakeholder and stewardship theory there is some consistent overlap in how support and trust is generated among individuals; for example through heightened participation, collaboration and building a sense of responsibility (Elms et al., 2002; Huse, 2005; Shen, 2003; Zott & Huy, 2007) open communication (Butterfield et al., 2004; Hernandez, 2008; Jones, 1995); augmenting the values of the organisation (Carter, 2006; Hernandez, 2008; Weber & Marley, 2012). Therefore, the possibility to create of stewardship behaviours through engagement seems conceivable if conducted effectively, is enduring, and not unplanned.

Conclusion

This paper offers a theoretical foundation, namely 'Heritage Custodianship Theory', for the management of places that transcend generations, generally considered to be in public, or mixed, ownership and are protected for the preservation of culture. Through a focus on the multiply owned UK WHS, the theoretical perspectives of stewardship and stakeholder theories have been explored and dissected in order to construct a way in which custodianship behaviours among a diverse set of stakeholders. The collectively minded steward as espoused by stewardship theory fits well with the

context of heritage sites due to the realization that such places require the effective and often understanding collaboration of diverse and competing interests. Through mechanisms such as relationship-centered collaboration, empowerment, open forms of communication and the fostering of trust, individuals who identify and commit themselves to the successful management of the site through collective behaviours can be realized.

This must originate from the management group/partnership which come together to devise the management plan and formulate the administrative approach to the site. Additionally, the formation of custodians of heritage must not be contained to the parameters of this management group; instead those individuals and groups outside such bodies must be engaged with and immersed into the WHS management environment. Through stakeholder identification and engagement these 'external' interests can nurtured to become custodians themselves through understanding the values of World Heritage while becoming actively involved within the activities within the site. While the proposed approach may be seen as challenging to harness, it must be noted that the successful conservation and protection of heritage is dependent of humanity working together, and this can only be realized through the acceptance that a cooperative and communal tactic is beneficial over an approach where self-interest subsidizes. Therefore, for managers there is an opportunity from which a starting point has been identified, and if embraced, has the ability for different and divergent interests to come together to communally to protect the assets which have so often been consumed by self-interest and conflict.

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Connecting With the Past: Meeting the Needs of Ancestral Tourists in Scotland

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Introduction and Literature Review

An ancestral legacy is often viewed as the epitome of heritage tourism (McCain & Ray, 2003) and can generate the feelings of personal attachment craved by many tourists (Timothy and Boyd, 2006). Ancestral tourism supports individuals who, despite an existing identity in one country, feel a connection to another 'homeland' (Palmer, 1999). McCain and Ray (2003) suggest that tourism associated with personal legacy offers an experience with functional, social, emotional and epistemic value dimensions (Williams & Soutar, 2009). However, there is scant research which considers the added value that ancestral tourism can provide to a destination despite the range of benefits that may be accrued by communities which meet the needs of ancestral tourists (Timothy, 1997). This abstract represents work in progress to explore how a destination attempts to meet the needs of ancestral tourists and the impacts that this can have on the destination.

Scotland, a nation which maintains and projects powerful brand signifiers of its cultural heritage (McCrone, Morris and Kiely, 1995), witnessed considerable emigration between the 18th and 20th centuries. Although much was voluntary and motivated by a search for economic opportunity, the enforced clearing of Scots as part of wider economic restructuring generates particularly evocative images. By 1914 more than 2 million Scots had emigrated, mainly to the British Dominions of Canada, Australia and New Zealand¹. An estimated 800,000 visitors a year are estimated to come to Scotland with ancestral motivations but a global Scottish diaspora (which could number between 40 and 80 million) is estimated to have a potential worth of several billion pounds to the Scottish economy over the next decade (Visit Scotland).

Research Design

We explored a range of attractions that ancestral tourists visit from national museums and archives to local heritage centres and museums and explored how the needs of ancestral tourists are met through a qualitative study with field visits to 29 museums, heritage centres, and archives throughout Scotland. We engaged in 32 in-depth interviews with curators, archivists, and volunteers alongside participant observation within the attractions. Interviews centred on issues such as types of ancestral visitors, the visit itself, challenges and future of the sector. Thematic analysis was conducted to evaluate the data using NVivo 10.0.

Findings and Observations

Key themes include ancestral tourist types, the emotional nature of experiences and imagined past brought by visitors and operationalizing ancestral tourism.

When discussing key terms identified within the literature, such as ancestral, genealogical, and roots tourism, participants identified overlap between terms but a broad consensus emerged which saw visitors somewhere along a spectrum from those travelling to experience where their ancestors were from, to those actively exploring their own family history (e.g. using public records).

my gut feeling is that they would sit together but genealogical tourism is for a specific, I am going to go and find out where my grandmother lived, I am going to the house that I know she

¹ Personal communication with David Forsyth: Senior Curator, Scottish Social History and Diaspora.

lived at (KB).

Some participants discussed a need tourists had to collect family history data as far back as possible. In a sense, they were attempting to 'bag generations' in an almost competitive way. Tourists identified as 'generation baggers' also sat within the group of more active ancestral tourists.

Most tourists seek information that will connect them in some way to their ancestors and the results can elicit strong emotions.

It can be quite powerful sometimes, actually there was one instance of a family, I think from Canada if I remember rightly, whose uncle had been an artist in the City and they did not really know much about him, wanted to know if we had anything by him in the collection, by chance we did have something in the collection but we also had a portrait bust of him which was done by another sculptor and we got those out in the collection for them and they were literally moved to tears by coming face to face with their ancestors (MB)

In some cases the connections generated through the visit can be even more real than viewing an artefact or document. In several interviews participants' recounted stories of connecting visitors to distant relations still living in the area or, in one case another visitor who had just left the building. However, providers are often required to explain that the ancestors are not quite who or what visitors expect them to be and this can elicit disappointment. At the Culloden battlefield where Scots fought on both sides this can be particularly emotive:

we get people who expect [their ancestors] to be on the Jacobite side and find out that actually their family was affiliated with the Government soldiers and Hanoverians and that is an interesting, it is an interesting thing to see, some people get very emotional about it and they seem to have invested a huge amount in this idea of being Scottish and being Jacobite when in reality the story of this uprising is incredibly complex and just because you are Scottish you are not a Jacobite and people are dealing with a Civil War (KB)

In some cases tourists look for some grand event to tie their ancestors to, or believed them to be much more prominent than the records suggest. In other cases, tourists held different expectations of what life had been like in the past, and were unable to (or did not want to) comprehend the information they had been given, one participant discussed the need for those involved in family history research to conduct 'myth-busting' (KB). In essence many visitors come to Scotland with what was seen by participants as an 'imagined past' which can present a challenge. In Sutherland a part of Scotland where the infamous highland clearances were most severe the curator of the Dunbeath heritage museum noted how:

sometimes they [visitors] think it was worse here than what it really was and that these folk were forced to leave but you explain the economic situation to them, the climate, the number of people in a family, six sons, they don't all stay at home and even today that doesn't happen so why should it have happened before.

The notion of tourists with an imagined past and the potential disappointment that the truth about ancestors can bring mean that those involved with ancestral tourism at the operational level walk a fine line between providing a memorable tourism experience and delivering an honest account of a visitors ancestral past.

The relative importance of ancestral tourism to Scotland was highlighted by many of our participants:

I think to Scotland more broadly it is very valuable in terms of the offering that we have in Scotland and it is very much based on heritage, history, people, stories, battles and I think that Scotland has got a very strong brand (KF)

However this importance ran contrary to the resources that many participants were able to commit to providing the uniquely personalised service that ancestral tourists require. Larger archive centres have clear charges for the time spent by professionals on genealogical work but for smaller, voluntary museums this can be more of a challenge and intensive research work by volunteers is often provided at no cost which reduces the potential economic impact that ancestral tourism might make to the economy.

Our research reveals a spectrum of ancestral tourists from roots tourists who appear to be satisfied with putting their 'feet on the ground' where their ancestors lived; to genealogy tourists who often visit with an obsession for 'generation bagging' and gaining detailed documentary insight into their ancestral past. Ancestral tourists often make a large emotional investment in their visit and require significant time from staff at an attraction. This creates challenges both in terms of resourcing attractions and offering an experience that is both an authentic but satisfactory to the expectations of the ancestral tourist.

We aim to contribute to heritage tourism studies by revealing how extensive and well preserved archives, local knowledge and a passion for family history can serve to generate unique and deeply emotional tourism experiences for ancestral tourists. Despite the often 'cottage industry' nature of many ancestral attractions (often reliant on volunteers and local 'good will') the outcome of the visit can often be greater satisfaction and a strong repeat visitation pattern.

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Heritage as an Asset in Building Place Brand Identity in Cultural Tourism Business

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Abstract

Heritage is defined as something that we inherit from the past and use in the present day. Heritage can be seen as a carrier of historical values, and therefore viewed as part of the cultural tradition of a society (Nuryanti, 1996; Timothy and Boyd, 2003:4). Recently, traditional heritage research has met a paradigm shift from tangible focus towards more intangible heritage (Richards, 2011). In this paper we argue that the cultural heritage of a place may have an impact on how entrepreneurs in cultural tourism business commit to the joint brand. The efforts of private entrepreneurs have been emphasized to be at the core of successful place branding (Vuorinen & Vos, 2013; Mittilä & Lepistö, 2013; Lemmetyinen & Go, 2010).

This paper concentrates specifically on one particular context: a rural municipality in Finland. In recent years, attempts have been made to attract new visitors, tourist and residents to the area. The municipality has also launched a development project that aims to strengthen the brand building by harnessing the cultural heritage of the area. We used ethnographic techniques with open interviews to explore entrepreneurs' views on how the heritage of the place is represented and connected to their business. By drawing on Wenger's (1998) framework of a community of practice, we aim to understand how entrepreneurs experience their attachment to a community and interpret how they commit to a joint brand identity.

Our findings show that in the process of building a joint place brand, the joint values of those involved have to be agreed on. The identity building process can be challenging for artist entrepreneurs. The active role of entrepreneurs in place branding needs to be emphasized. As a practical implication, we found that those responsible for the place branding activities need to be aware of how entrepreneurs belong to a community of practice.

Key words: brand identity, place brand, heritage, cultural tourism, entrepreneurship

Introduction

In this study, we take an entrepreneurial approach to cultural heritage in tourism. This approach is justified by Graham et al. (2000: 3) who consider the concept of heritage as a cultural and an economic good commodified as such. Cultural heritage in the modern world is not only a factor in the preservation of cultural memory, but also the political and economic capital (Romanova, Yakushenkov and Lebedeva, 2013:103). Romanova et. al (2013) state how in the twentieth century cultural heritage was seen - in the media, for example - as leisure whereas in the twenty-first century the consumerisation of the cultural heritage has taken a new place in the formation of civil society and also "*a growing commercial heritage industry is commodifying pasts into heritage products and experiences for sale as part of a modern consumption of entertainment*" (Graham et al. 2000: 1). Heritage can be seen as a carrier of historical values, and therefore viewed as part of the cultural tradition of a society (Nuryanti, 1996; Timothy and Boyd, 2003:4). Following these definitions, heritage is considered in this study as something that we inherit from the past and use in the present day. Furthermore, the concept of heritage will be viewed through the idea of representation (Graham et al. 2000; Hall, 1997). In order to explore how the cultural heritage can be used in building a place brand identity, we need to conceptualize entrepreneurs' interpretation of heritage. Following Hall (1997:3) "*it is by use of things, and what we say, think and feel about them – how we represent them – that we give them a meaning.*" Earlier literature (Mittilä & Lepistö 2013; Vuorinen & Vos 2013;

Lemmetyinen, 2013) emphasizes place branding as a multifaceted phenomenon with contradicting viewpoints, whereas we focus on exploring how cultural entrepreneurs and other stakeholders interpret heritage and how they could use heritage in place branding. This coincides with the way the stakeholders view the planning of heritage and finally with the kind of interdependencies that can be found between heritage and the local community (Nuryanti, 1996). In our study, we aim to understand how entrepreneurs commit to the joint brand identity. First, a review of the literature on place brand identity is introduced. Following this we illustrate the context of the study and thereafter provide the accounts of how entrepreneurs perceive cultural heritage and connect it to their business. We will then discuss the findings of the study. Finally, conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for future research are provided.

Place Brand Identity

Mittilä and Lepistö (2013: 143) have studied the role of artists in the context of place brand identity construction of an old rural Finnish ironworks village. Their results show not only the importance of their role in brand identity building, but also how these unfold as stories, artifacts and atmosphere as well as entrepreneurs. Mittilä and Lepistö (2013: 150), however, call for a proper infrastructure created by the authorities, which would support the artists in earning their living as entrepreneurs, especially in the rural context. Vuorinen and Vos (2013) have also studied challenges in forming a joint place brand in rural regions with the focus on cooperation between the various stakeholders involved in the process of building the place brand. They point out the need for the public organizations to create the preconditions for a joint approach, but at the same time they emphasize the efforts of private entrepreneurs at the core of the successful place branding. Lemmetyinen, Luonila and Go (2013) in turn, have studied the role of cultural production in building place brand identity and boosting its equity. Their content analysis revealed that the distinct reputation of a cultural production can act as a magnet attracting resources to the place it originates from (Lemmetyinen et al. 2013, 164.) Lemmetyinen and Go (2010), on their part, have examined the process of developing a brand identity from the network perspective and in the context of cruise tourism. The authors emphasize that the process of building brand identity actually began a long time before the launch of the joint brand. The key initiators had a strong belief in the need to develop the cruise product from a mono-destination into a multi-destination offering. In the evolutionary process of building brand identity in the network of destinations, Lemmetyinen and Go (2010) distinguished three levels of cooperation in the brand building as well as three phases in the temporal process of the same. The scales of cooperation were referred as 'functional', 'relational' and 'symbolic'. On the functional level, the actors of the network considered it more favorable to work together than to continue to promote the destination individually. The relational level of the cooperation was reached when the means of communication were developed to enable friction-free relations among the participants (see also Gnoth, 2000; Park, Jaworski and MacInnis, 1986). When the evolutionary process had reached the third and symbolic level of the cooperation, the joint values of the actors were manifested in the brand. At this stage, it is not that easy for competitors to copy this joint brand. In terms of the entrepreneurs' commitment to the place brand identity, it is relevant that the evolutionary process of building a place brand identity reaches the third level of cooperation. In order to reach this level, the role of coordination is important (Lemmetyinen & Go, 2010; Lemmetyinen, 2010). Looking at the temporal process of building the brand identity (Lemmetyinen and Go; Gnoth 2002), the symbolic level corresponds to the identification phase, whereas the earlier temporal phases, the initiating and the integrating, correspond with the functional and relational levels of the cooperation (see Figure 2 in Lemmetyinen and Go, 2010).

Methodology

Context for the research

This paper concentrates specifically on one particular context; a rural municipality in Finland. In recent years, attempts have been made to attract new visitors, tourists and residents to the area and the municipality has launched a development project that aims to strengthen the brand building by harnessing the cultural heritage of the area. The rural municipality consists of two bigger adjacent urban areas; a Rural Area and an Industrial Area (these pseudonyms will be used throughout the paper). The former has a long tradition in agriculture and the latter in industrial functions. To some extent, the residents still consider them as two separate areas and associate the Industrial area as a place for the wealthier people. In the heart of the Industrial area there is an old ironworks that was set up late 15th century. Even today, there are two big international factories keeping industrial functions going. There

is a big Corporation (for anonymity reasons we do not reveal the real name of the Corporation either) which owns many of the historic buildings in the area that were used to house the company officials and other employees. The Corporation is in charge of management and maintenance of these buildings (Grahm, 2014) and operates the guest services (accommodation, catering, leisure and tourism, meetings & events) in the Industrial Area, thus having a big role in its development. The Corporation is one of the oldest family businesses in Finland having grown into an international multi-trade organization. The Industrial Area has also a rich cultural heritage and architectural value. A well-known Finnish architect Alvar Aalto left his footprint in the area during the 40's when he designed many buildings, most of which are owned by the Corporation. At present, the ironworks and its surroundings form the Ironworks Village. Having emerged around iron and paper industries, the Ironworks Village is an interesting and culturally relevant destination. It is both a physical and natural environment for factory workers, companies, residents, visitors and old historic buildings. Evidently the Ironworks Village as a place has different meanings to different stakeholders in the Rural and Industrial area. On one hand, the Ironworks Village is an industrial area that provides housing and employment to its residents and on the other it is a recreational and travel destination for individual and corporate visitors. The interviewees in this study are positioned both in the Rural and Industrial Area.

Research materials and analysis

The research material comprises of the individual interviews of four micro-business entrepreneurs and a service director of a big Corporation. We used ethnographic techniques with open interviews to explore entrepreneurs' views on how the heritage of the place is represented and connected to their business (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994; Hammersley, 1992). We present the interviews in the form of narratives including several quotes to add the voice of the interviewees to the text (Wolcott, 1990). We based the analysis in our study on our sense making and interpretation of the interviews (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). By drawing on Wenger's framework on a community of practice, we analyzed how the entrepreneurs feel attachment with a community and how the heritage is connected to their entrepreneurship.

According to the community of practice approach, individuals accept or reject opportunities to participate more fully in their community of practice depending on the fit of those opportunities with their current sense of self (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998; Handley et al. 2006). Hence, participation is considered not only as an action (what we do) but also as a form of belonging (who we are and how we interpret what we do). Wenger (1998) suggests the following forms of belonging: engagement, imagination and alignment. *Engagement* requires authentic access to and interaction with other participants, i.e. doing things together, talking and producing artifacts. *Imagination* means exploring alternatives and envisioning possible futures requiring risk taking and a kind of playfulness. *Alignment* means to become part of something big connecting local efforts to broader discourses. Engagement, imagination and alignment work best in combination.

In the following section we present the narratives based on the interviews of Ruth, a service director at the Corporation, Pamela – a visual artist, Ellen – the owner of an old Design Sauna, Kate - the owner of an Art House, Nicole – the owner of a Boutique.

Findings

This section presents the narratives of the interviewees and our interpretation of how the heritage of the place is represented for them and how it is connected to their business. This shows the level of commitment to the place brand identity.

Ruth - A Service Director at the Corporation

Ruth is a service director at the Corporation being in charge of the guest services in the historic milieu of the two Ironworks Village. The guest services is a new line of business of the Corporation. Ruth says that it was natural for the company to name the line of business as guest services due to the long tradition of hosting the company guests. Ruth states that the company has long traditions, a strong cultural heritage and industrial history, which they have used in building their identity and their corporate image. She articulates that *"We certainly have the company roots here and it is wonderful that there are still these operations and functions. One of the most important functions of the Ironworks Village is that there is life and that is in my view a good base for the service business."* Ruth makes her

point very clear and argues that *“the ironworks is here living with us and developing further with the surrounding environment, it is not just becoming a museum.”*

How the heritage of the place is seen by the Corporation

The Corporation has a strong cultural and industrial history and Ruth sees a huge value in this by maintaining, preserving and developing the Ironworks area. Ruth emphasizes that the company wants to utilize the cultural heritage and history of the Ironworks in strengthening corporate identity and image. She also considers history and traditions to be connected with the company's continuity, credibility and innovativeness. Therefore the history and traditions of the ancestors are taken care of by ensuring that the business is profitable. Ruth visions the Ironworks to be full of life and not mere a museum: *“We have this image of an industrial history and you can still sense the life of work and industry here. You see the smoke of the factory chimneys and meet many foreign employees of the factories. Many of them also live in the area.”*

How the heritage is connected to the business of the Corporation

The future vision of the Corporation for the Ironworks Village is to offer a living environment for the people to be able to work and live there. This, in fact, is how it used to be when the old patriarchal living system existed in the Ironworks Village. Ruth considers that the Ironworks Village provides an excellent environment for a business that combines wellbeing, gastronomy and outdoor activities. She sees a lot of opportunities for this kind of business as people today are after both mental and physical wellbeing. In Ruth's view the nature of the area and pure nature in general will offer a lot of business opportunities also in the international market. (Imagination). The Corporation has made a business plan that presents how the area looks in 2030. The company has decided to target certain customer segments by prioritizing business-to-business clients and groups. The company has created a marketing slogan; *“unique experiences”* that Ruth brings up in various occasions. The company has also created product concepts that they offer also through social media channels including Facebook and Instagram. They have a sales office that actively contacts potential customers for the Ironworks Village. Ruth mentions that visibility and visuality are important aspects when building a brand. The company has been renovating many of the historic buildings, which Ruth considers to play an important role in their marketing and brand building. (Alignment). Ruth says that local companies are natural partners for the Corporation and she mentions, for example, small handicraft artists, pop-up art galleries and wellbeing businesses as potential co-operation partners. Cultural tourism is clearly present in Ruth's talk. (Engagement).

Commitment to the Brand Identity

At the earlier stages of the cooperation, when the brand identity process had not even begun, the representative of the Corporation was involved in the discussions of developing a joint brand for the Ironworks Village. There were, however, some changes in the personnel and the connection to the other actors in the network were weakened. The more intensified cooperation began again for a couple of years ago with the new CEO of the company as well as Ruth as the manager responsible for the old Ironworks Village. At the moment it seems that the company values the cooperation in the area and is committed to work for a joint brand.

Pamela - A Visual Artist

Pamela is a visual and performance artist. She is also running a perfume shop and an art gallery. She has created service packages for tourists around her artistic activities. Pamela clearly identifies herself as an artist and she says that: *“art is my number one and doing art and showing it to people is my first priority and then comes my shop and tourism.”* Hence, art is her true passion and an outlet for sharing her feelings to her audience. It is quite evident that for Pamela making provocative art in her birth home and honoring her family's history is her life's work. She has gone a long way to study different cultures to understand life from different angles and regards all human senses essential and as the basis for her creative work. Her family history is very much present in her talk and she considers her parents and grandparents to have been artisans of some sort. She also emphasizes the importance of women's independence and she is proud to sell quality cosmetics and perfume in her mother's and grandmother's footsteps. Pamela says that her mother and grandmother worked towards women's rights and she articulates that it has been her duty as well. Pamela thinks that it maybe is this women's movement stemming from the family history that separates her from the others (the other artists in the area).

How the heritage of the place is seen by Pamela

History and visibility are important values for Pamela. She would like to bring people closer to the visual world and closer to both family and Finnish history and to show that they are intertwined. She sees her own family history go hand in hand with the general Finnish history and she says that “*we are not separated from the world but we are part of Europe.*” For this Pamela gives an example of her grandfather who started a furniture factory at the end of the 19th century in a bigger town. Pamela definitely sees parallels between her own entrepreneurship and her mother’s and grandfather’s business. She continues her family’s traditions by running the shop that her mother once established and by placing orders to international suppliers as her grandfather and mother did.

How the heritage is connected to Pamela’s entrepreneurship

Pamela says that her mother’s cosmetics shop was the first one in the countryside in Finland. There was no wholesale either from where to order cosmetics products. A friend of the mother had a drugstore and she advised her to order products from a film studio in Berlin. The local perfume shop back then sold the same lipsticks that Marlene Dietrich and Greta Garbo used in their films. Pamela describes how her mother ordered soaps from Germany, France and Great Britain and how she now orders soaps from Syria, India and Italy. She sees a continuum of how she and her ancestors made international business: “*I have international correspondence exactly in the same way as my mother and grandfather had.*” (Imagination). 20 years ago, when her mother had passed away, Pamela inherited the shop and in the beginning she was unsure what to do with it. For her mother, the shop was ‘quite an ordinary shop’ – but for Pamela it became something more than that. She had her atelier next to the shop and she describes how the customers did not know whether they stepped into a shop or an artist’s atelier. She was then able to separate various activities around the shop and her art when they built a gallery. Pamela says that there are four pillars in what she prefers to call as her ‘complete artwork’; an atelier, a shop, a gallery and a residence. Pamela’s perfume shop is not an ordinary cosmetics shop but clients book an appointment to her perfume salon and they are served sparkling wine while Pamela is ‘tasting’ the right perfume. For an audience of 2 to 4 persons this is one of her main ‘performances’. Pamela is a genuine perfume expert: “*I’ve studied the history and production of perfumes for over 20 years, different types of perfumes and how they were used during the Pharaohs’ time in Egypt and what is the meaning behind the different perfumes.*” Pamela also reveals that she will open a perfume museum where she will display the old cosmetics products of her mother. The museum will be decorated with the furniture made by her grandfather. Pamela’s product packages are available in a tourist office in the nearby town and on the Internet. (Engagement). Pamela has been a member of a local network that consists of about ten entrepreneurs in arts and handicrafts. She mentions some of the entrepreneurs by name with whom she has had a more active cooperation with in marketing. The local municipal cultural office has coordinated the network and publishes a brochure annually, presenting each artist’s and entrepreneur’s products. The brochure is also available on the Internet. Pamela mentions two networks to which she belongs. One is an association for artists in the neighboring town nearby and another is an art council. She explains how she has learned from the art council that every time a new exhibition opens it is of importance to send a press release and arrange a press conference. She has managed to get a few contacts among the journalists who visit her 4 or 5 times a year: “*I’m a gallerist so I’ve collected a list of about 100 persons who I bomb with invitations to my exhibition.*” Pamela says that this is also how they do it for a historically relevant 700 year old Castle’s seasonal art exhibition in the city of Turku in Finland. (Alignment).

Commitment to the Brand Identity

Pamela’s commitment to the Brand Identity of the Ironworks Village does almost not exist. She may have some sporadic business connections with her colleague whose enterprise is located in the Ironworks Village. She may see some functional benefits in the cooperation and also the relational level is somewhat reached, but there are no signs for a symbolic level commitment to the cooperation.

Ellen – The Owner of an Old Design Sauna

Ellen has set up her business in an old Design Sauna. The building was designed by the world-famous Finnish architect Alvar Aalto in the 1940’s. At the time it functioned both as a sauna and a laundry for the workers in the neighboring factories. Before buying the property that today houses an elegant cafeteria decorated with Aalto furniture, a sauna, a design shop, and an art gallery, Ellen worked as a full time care-taker of intellectually disabled people at an institution. In 2005 her father had noticed that

the sauna was for sale and she and her brother decided to buy it. She says that her father had dreamed of the Sauna for many years. *"It took only 15 minutes for my brother and me to make the decision (to buy). We wanted to believe in our father's dream. [...] It feels like this building is meant for us."* The sauna, located at a riverbank, has a lot of sentimental values to Ellen. She has spent her childhood in the area in a house also designed by Aalto. Ellen tells how she already in her childhood home got used to seeing items designed by Aalto and how she has grown up in this architectural environment even though the family belonged to the working class. Things did not always go according to the plan and today, after four years Ellen says that she has a very versatile business that she prefers to call a circus.

How the heritage of the place is seen by Ellen

Ellen says that her family has been born in the Ironworks Village and lived in a house designed by Alvar Aalto. Her mother, father and grandfather all worked at the Corporation. *"Therefore, I've been raised in this industrial environment so I have probably grown into the Ironworks Village and as I said the sauna waited for us to be renovated."* Ellen senses that she has her roots in the Ironworks Village and it is rather easy for her to tell people about its history. She also tells an anecdote of the caramel cake that her 85 year old mother makes and that it became a cake of the house for the Design Sauna. The story of the cake refers to Ellen's family history. Ellen also mentions a childhood's friend Peter who is a design professor at an art university and who seemingly plays an important role in supporting Ellen and her brother in their endeavour to preserve and promote the cultural heritage of the place. Ellen is seemingly proud of telling about her connection to the professor.

How the heritage is connected to Ellen's entrepreneurship

In a way, Ellen has become the owner of Design Sauna by chance. She feels that this situation was just waiting for her and her brother, and that they actually were realizing their father's dream. Ellen's family history, the history of the sauna and the corporation are intertwined. Ellen has been strongly attracted to arts in general and to the design of Alvar Aalto in particular – it is part of her childhood's heritage and how she and her brother wanted to convey that to others by decorating the Design Sauna with Aalto's design furniture. Ellen's dream is to combine her background as an art therapist with her work at the Design Sauna. She hopes that one day she could provide work for disabled people and that she would have a gardener who would also take professional care of a group of disabled people. This is the way his brother who is working in the capital of Finland does it. (Imagination). So far the entrepreneurial work has taken so much time from Ellen that she has been too busy to develop her products. *"The other ladies in the artistic network have products to offer to their customers. I still have to learn how it works [...] I have dreams for this."* (Alignment). Ellen tells that she belongs to the network of artists and artisans and is a bit astonished that she was asked to join this type of network in which all the others are artists. Clearly she is proud of being invited to join in the community of local artists. She says that some of the handicraft artisans have moved away from the area and some of them have closed their business. Ellen mentions several times how pleased she would be to collaborate with others, but it is not so easy for her to leave the house. She also tells about an event that the local people arranged a couple of times but the cooperation was not 'very rosy' and she and her brother had to work rather alone by themselves. Ellen is seemingly happy after noticing that the Corporation mentions the Design Sauna on their web pages. She says that she should thank her brother for this. Clearly Ellen has respect for the Corporation and she also says it out loud, but at the same time she hopes that the Corporation could have a bit more cooperative mind. (Engagement).

Commitment to the Brand Identity

Ellen has a wholehearted commitment to the brand Identity of the Ironworks Village. She has been devoted to this area already from her childhood and this feeling of affinity has become even stronger after she began her business in the area. However, this does not mean that she would not see issues that could have reached a deeper level of cooperation, especially as regards the municipality as well as the role of the Corporation. She is opposing to the dominating role of both of these players and appreciates a more equal relationship as a norm.

Kate – The owner of an Art House

After inheriting a family estate in 2005, Kate had an idea to start up a cultural center where she has her art applications and paintings on display. She also needed some income to cover the costs for the house. Kate organizes different courses, for example, in cooking, reading, music, poetry and art. Kate introduces herself as a visual artist. She says that she studied textile arts and worked as a textile artist for a long time. She takes pride in the fact that she is mostly self-educated. Her passion is to provide

people with different cultural and artistic experiences. She says that *“when I inherited this house it was obvious that I would do something that I could afford to keep the house and myself alive, so I thought I could create a cultural center where doors would be open and I could provide people with different services, experiences and most importantly my art, which is the most essential way to make ends meet.”* Kate has also a connection to the Corporation as she worked as a graphic designer at the factory a long time ago.

How the heritage of the place is seen by Kate

At the end of 1920's, Kate's grand-uncle bought the house in the Rural Area and from that on it has been in her family. The house is located in the same area where Kate has roots and therefore it was a natural option for her to make something out of it. The house has been built in 1905 and Kate says that it has an interesting history as it housed different kinds of public sector officers that have lived and worked in the region. For Kate, the house itself is the most important and it represents the heritage she values the most, authenticity and genuineness. In all her activities she tries to find ways that would bring income to the maintenance of the house.

How the heritage is connected to Kate's entrepreneurship

Kate categorizes herself as a handicraft artist. Although she does not mention the local community of the artists and handicraft entrepreneurs she clearly sees the resemblance to the area of Fiskars, which in Finland is a famous community of local entrepreneurs. According to her, the activities in Fiskars are concentrated in such a small area, which makes a great difference to the area of Ironworks Village. Kate and some other artists are located in the Rural Area and therefore she does not feel affinity to the Ironworks Village, which for Kate is the specific interest of the municipality in their place branding activities. She wishes that the whole area covering the Rural area would be the target for the development and not only the Ironworks Village. She sees the potential of the whole areal and hopes that it would be known in the whole of Finland and that groups would come from everywhere: *“I have a feeling that the services offered by the Ironworks Village kind of ‘surge’ all the potential visitors.”* (Imagination). Hence, Kate has plans to offer a cultural package of her own together with two touristic attractions that are located nearby. She says that for her Facebook has been a good way to market events. During summer, her products have been available in the summer café run by a youth organization in the Ironworks Village. Kate has also actively handed out her brochure, which is not up-to-date, and she also distributes her business cards everywhere. She often visits exhibitions around the region but she finds it rather time-consuming and too much effort but she finds it important to sell her art: *“one should try all the time to get to the places which give you and your products more visibility.”* (Alignment). Kate thinks that the local people do not use her services as much as they could and mentions envy as a possible reason. The fact that she lived abroad for a long time may have an effect on it as well. She seems to be a bit disappointed that the locals do not show any interest because she considers that all of the handicraft artisans, as herself, are very talented and differ from each other and all of them are doing their art from their hearts and wish to be able to offer their best. When asked about the communities she might belong to, Kate says that professionally she does not have any community to join. Neither does she belong to the local artist association. Nowadays she does not take part in the common development events of the area, because she sees, that these have not been any good. She has a very strong opinion that at the end she has to take the responsibility of her business by herself alone: *“I do not want to take part of those events any more, since I am doing this work alone and everything that happens here is because of me. I plan and make my products, I market them and try to communicate about them, I clean my house and do everything by myself.”* (Engagement).

Commitment to the Brand Identity

Kate would clearly see the benefits of more intensified cooperation in the area and would like to be part of the joint brand identity building process at all its levels. However, since her Art House is not located in the core of the Ironworks Village, she feels a bit left aside. She is critical towards the tendency in which the municipality's concentrates only to the development of the Ironworks Village, which according to her leaves the entrepreneurs in the Rural Area offside.

Nicole – The Owner of a Boutique

In 2013, Nicole opened up a boutique in the Industrial area, which offers quality fashion brands for women and men. The shop is located in a shopping mall. Before opening up her business Nicole worked as a hair dresser. She feels that all the pieces just fell into their places when the quality clothing boutique closed its business and she decided to take up the challenge and continue selling brand clothes

in the same space. When choosing a name for her shop she studied the local history and came up with a name that represents the local cultural heritage and prestige that she wants to convey to her customers. She picked up the first names of a man and a woman of an old local industrial family. It was important to her that the name of the shop has a real connection and a story to tell because her customers are mainly local inhabitants. When asked about the communities in the region, Nicole mentions a name of the local artisans' network and a Design Sauna by name. She does not see a need for her to collaborate with other entrepreneurs than with those in the shopping mall. She would rather focus on the Industrial Area and keep up its prestige.

How the heritage of the place is seen by Nicole

Nicole originally comes from the nearby region and her husband was born in the Industrial Area. She tells that when she opened the shop and studied the history of the region, she became intrigued by the heritage of the place. Up until that moment, she had not experienced it to be anything meaningful but when she got to learn the local history and she became more aware of the significance of the history and cultural heritage of the area. She sees that the cultural heritage of the place has been emphasized more than earlier and the place branders (municipality) are able to utilize it more and also that the residents value it more than before.

How the heritage is connected to Nicole's entrepreneurship

When Nicole was considering a name for her business, she told that she was looking into the history of the Industrial Area and while doing this she encountered different old families and their stories. There were two names that clearly came out and these two seemed to be suitable to reflect the image of the shop: quality and dignity. When she opened her shop the name aroused plenty of interest and the old residents were able to attach it to the history of the area. There were, however, inhabitants that did not realize the connection to the local history. Nicole has also Alvar Aalto's vases in her shop. This way she wants to honor the local history and the famous architect. According to Nicole, when creating a brand for the Ironworks Village, the coordinators should consider it as an important element and the Rural area and the Industrial Area should be marketed as distinct areas, the Rural area representing the history of the place and the Industrial area representing the modernity. (Imagination). It is obvious that for Nicole it is an important issue that her shop is located in the Industrial area. She has always lived in this part of the municipality and she tells that she has a great respect for the history of the area. Together with the other entrepreneurs in the shopping mall, Nicole arranges different kinds of events and, via these, tries to raise awareness of the values in the Industrial area and keep up its good quality. (Engagement).

Commitment to the Brand Identity

Nicole clearly sees the benefits of the joint brand identity and feels affinity with the brand of the Ironworks Village. She is committed to the brand as long as it is meant to cover only the restricted Industrial Area and the enterprises there. She sees it possible to have cooperation with the entrepreneurs in the Rural Area as well but only on the functional level.

Discussion

There could be seen some similarities in how the entrepreneurs interpreted the cultural heritage of the place. For example, all of them saw the cultural heritage of being something very tangible; it was represented through the physical houses in which they were working and living. For Pamela, the building represented a return to her roots. It was the place where her parents lived and where her mother had her perfume shop. Into this place, she had brought not only the furniture made by her grandfather but also his way of doing business the first representing tangible and the latter intangible cultural heritage of the family. Ellen also returned to her roots when she bought the building with his brother. It was a dream-come-true for the whole family. For her the building represented the cultural heritage of the place. For Nicole, the building does not represent the tangible heritage of the place but rather an intangible representation of it. The heritage of the place is strongly manifested in the functions of the Corporation. For the Corporation, the historic buildings provide tangible resources, which they utilize to strengthen the image and identity of the business. The intangible heritage of the Corporation is represented in the development of a new line of business with the help of long tradition and a strong cultural heritage. This new service business includes wellbeing, food and nature and it is a straight continuum of the hospitality and guest services that the owners of the Corporation have always offered to their business contacts. The entrepreneurs did not refer to themselves as entrepreneurs but characterized themselves as artists or passionate art-lovers. Ellen's Design Sauna, Kate's Art House

and Pamela's perfume shop show that the preservation of the building gives a reason for the entrepreneurship. It is remarkable how the intangible heritage is an essential part of the service offering, for example Ellen's passion of Alvar Aalto's design or Pamela's luxury product concepts. In Nicole's case, the heritage is represented in the name of the shop but it gives a copycat feeling. Considering the informants' commitment to the joint place brand identity the Corporation has become lately a more active actor in the Ironworks Village and it has intensified cooperation with the entrepreneurs. As early as in the 90's, the Corporation participated in discussions about creating a joint brand for the area. At that time, a representative of the Corporation was involved in these discussions. There were, however, some changes in the personnel and the connection to the actors in the Ironworks Village was weakened. A couple of years ago the brand identity discussion was boosted again when the new CEO of the company launched a new service business line with Ruth as the director responsible for the activities in the Ironworks Village. At present, the Company clearly values the cooperation in the area and is committed to building a joint brand. The Corporation's place brand identity is about to be on the symbolic level. Kate's and Pamela's commitment to the joint place brand is limited meaning that their place brand identity remains on the functional level or to some extent reaches the relational level. Ellen's feeling of affinity to the Ironworks Village is strong and she highly values the cultural heritage of the area. However, she has not been able to reach the symbolic level of cooperation. Nicole is not committed to the joint place brand to this extent but she prefers one for the Ironworks Village and another for the Rural Area.

Conclusions

In this paper, we studied whether the cultural heritage of a place might have an impact on how entrepreneurs in cultural tourism business commit to a joint brand and how they share common values and representations of the values stemming from the heritage of the place. We based our study on the previous research on building brand identity for destinations in the cruise business (Lemmetynen and Go 2010). Our findings show that in the process of building a joint place brand identity the functional, relational and the symbolic levels of cooperation are needed. Our study indicates that there are several reasons why the symbolic level has not been reached. First, the joint values of the involved have not been discussed. Second, the identity building process for artist entrepreneurs may be challenging. The entrepreneurs in cultural tourism do not refer to themselves as entrepreneurs but rather characterize themselves as artists or passionate art-lovers. When building a joint place brand, it is therefore relevant how entrepreneurs develop their identity in relation to others in the same activity (Wenger, 1998; Handley et al., 2006). Third, the active role of entrepreneurs in place branding needs to be emphasized (Vuorinen and Vos, 2013). By applying Wenger's mode of belonging to a community of practice we were able to explore the entrepreneurs' commitment to the place brand identity. As a practical implication, we found that those responsible for the place branding activities need to be aware of how entrepreneurs belong to a community of practice. It is essential that the place branders support a type of collaboration where all the stakeholders are treated equally. It may be difficult to feel affinity if there are obvious inequalities imbalances in the relationships. In order for the stakeholders to feel affinity to the place brand stemming from the heritage of the place, there needs to be common consensus on how the entrepreneurs and other stakeholders interpret the heritage of the place. In seemingly close locations, there may be reflections of historical discord which need to be discussed thoroughly. In future research, our objective is to focus on the role of the municipality and other development agencies in building place brand identity and using heritage as an asset in the context of cultural tourism.

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Investigating Structural Relationships Between Tourism Experience, Country Image and Post-Visit Intentions Towards National Products. Evidence From International Heritage Tourists in Italy

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Abstract

The main purpose of the paper is to analyse the influence of tourism experience on perception of country image and to assess how each of these constructs - and the interaction between them - affect post-visit attitudes toward products “made-in” the heritage destination. The proposed research model is tested through an empirical survey conducted at the international airports of Rome and Naples on a sample of international heritage tourists intercepted at the end of their journey. The overall model and constructs relationships are tested through a Structural Equation Model (SEM) with Lisrel. Results show that For researchers, the proposed study aims to clarify the link between the heritage tourism experience and the so called “made in” effect; as consequence, the model developed in this study arises from the main literature on tourist experience, place image/branding and product-country image. Results suggest that general country image and tourism destination image are able to mediate the effect of tourist satisfaction on post-visit behavioral intentions. Moreover, empirical findings show that a high-quality tourist experience is able to affect not only intention to return and willingness to recommend the country as a tourism destination, but also to induce more positive intentions toward the products made in the sojourn country.

Results from our study may underline significant implications for international marketing of both heritage tourism destinations and local firms; on one hand the former can understand how the tourism experience influence post-visit attitudes and the role of local products in place-image formation and perception. On the other hand the latter - especially the small and medium firms with a strong linkage to the place of origin - can use heritage destination features as leverage in their international branding strategies, in order to enhance export performances in the foreign markets. Thus, our results could support the identification of innovative collaboration area between national/regional governments and local companies by stimulating a more integrated approach in international marketing.

Keywords: Heritage tourists; Tourism satisfaction; Country image; Product-country image; Post-visit intentions

Introduction

Country image is recognized as one of the most relevant research streams in the international marketing literature. Recent reviews estimate the number of journal articles published in this field at over the 1000 mark with an increase of about 150 per cent over less than a decade (Roth and Diamantopoulos, 2009; Papadopoulos, 2011). Results from this large body of knowledge seems to provide reliable support to the notion that country image can be considered as an extrinsic cue, similar to price and brand name, which can be used by consumers to draw inferences in making product evaluations (Eroglu and Machleit, 1989; Kotler and Gertner, 2002). In such instances, research dealing with the effects of country image on buyers' behavior toward products associated with various origins is usually referred as product country image (PCI) (Papadopoulos, 2004).

The role of place image on consumer behavior has also been investigated in the field of tourism, where it has mostly been conceptualized in term of tourism destination image (TDI). Such construct refers to the effects of beliefs, ideas and impressions that a person has of a destination (Kotler et al., 1993). Starting from the 1970s, research on TDI has resulted in more than 200 published articles (Elliot et al., 2011). According to a review from Gallarza et al. (2002) the most investigated topics include the conceptualization and measurement of destination image (Hunt, 1975; Echtner and Ritchie, 1993), the influence of image on traveler choice (Woodside and Lysonski, 1989; Pearce, 1982), its formation (Baloglu and McCleary, 1999; Gartner, 1993) and destination image management policies (Echtner and Ritchie, 2003).

Although both PCI and TDI are well developed research streams and they both investigate how perceived images affect consumer decisions, so far academic literature is still lacking in clarifying the nature of interaction between them. The relationship between country image, tourism and national products has been investigated by Kleppe and Mossberg (2005) – albeit without adopting an empirical approach – and by Hallberg (2005), who find that international travel experiences lead to changes in consumers' attitudes toward products made in the sojourn country. In a recent work Elliot et al. (2011) state that components of country image (affective and cognitive) are able to affect both product beliefs and destination beliefs and that such beliefs, in turn, play a significant role in influencing product and destination receptivity. However, although such studies contribute to shed some light on the existence of a 'cross' effect between country image, tourism and attitudes towards the national products, at present it could be argued that the overall understanding of the nature and role of such relationship remain still unclear.

This paper aims at extending this stream of research by investigating: (a) the influence of tourist satisfaction on perception of general country image (GCI) and of tourism destination image (TDI); (b) the influence of GCI on TDI and (c) the influence of GCI and TDI on post-visit behavioral intentions toward the country as a tourism destination and toward its national products.

The proposed research framework is tested on a sample of international heritage tourists intercepted in two international airports (Naples and Rome) at the end of their journey to Italy. On the basis of results, this paper concludes with discussion of its theoretical contribution to country image and tourism destination image literature and provides managerial implications for both public sector and national companies.

Research Model and Hypotheses

From the theoretical point of view, the research model proposed in this study builds on literature dealing with the influence of travel experience on place image formation (Papadopoulos and Heslop, 1986; Gartner and Hunt, 1987; Echtner and Ritchie, 1993; Hallberg, 2005) and with the relationship between country image and post-visit attitudes (Mansfeld, 1992; Bigné et al., 2001). Moreover it extends concepts and issues included in the 'integrative model of place image' recently developed by Elliot et al. (2011).

The structure of the model is represented in Figure 1. The main underlining hypothesis is that perceived results of tourism experience have a positive influence on the general components of country image (cognitive and affective) and on the specific components of tourism destination image and that such images, in turn, are able to predict post-visit intentions toward the country. As a consequence, constructs presented in the model are: (a) tourism satisfaction (TS), defined as 'the extent of overall pleasure or contentment felt by the visitor, resulting from the ability of the trip experience to fulfil the visitor's desire, expectations and needs in relation to the trip' (Chen and Tsai, 2007); (b) general country image (GCI), defined as 'a generic construct consisting of generalized images created not only by representative products but also by the degree of economic and political maturity, historical events and relationships, culture and traditions, and the degree of technological virtuosity and industrialization' (Roth and Diamantopoulos, 2009, p. 727) and identified through the cognitive components (cognitive country image) and the affective components (affective country image) (Allred et al., 1999; Roth and Diamantopoulos, 2009; Elliot et al., 2011); (c) tourism destination image (TDI), which includes the beliefs and judgements regarding the country as a tourism destination (Echtner and Ritchie, 2003); and (d) post-visit intentions, evaluated both in term of intention to return and positive word of mouth towards the country as a tourism destination and in term of post-visit consumption attitudes towards the national products.

In detail, the study proposes the following research hypotheses:

H₁: Tourist satisfaction has a positive influence on the cognitive components of the general country image.

H₂: Tourist satisfaction has a positive influence on the affective components of the general country image.

H₃: Tourism satisfaction has a positive influence on tourist destination image.

H₄: The cognitive component of country image has a positive effect on the affective component of country image.

H₅: The cognitive component of country image has a positive influence on the tourism destination image.

H₆: The affective component of country image has a positive influence on the tourism destination image.

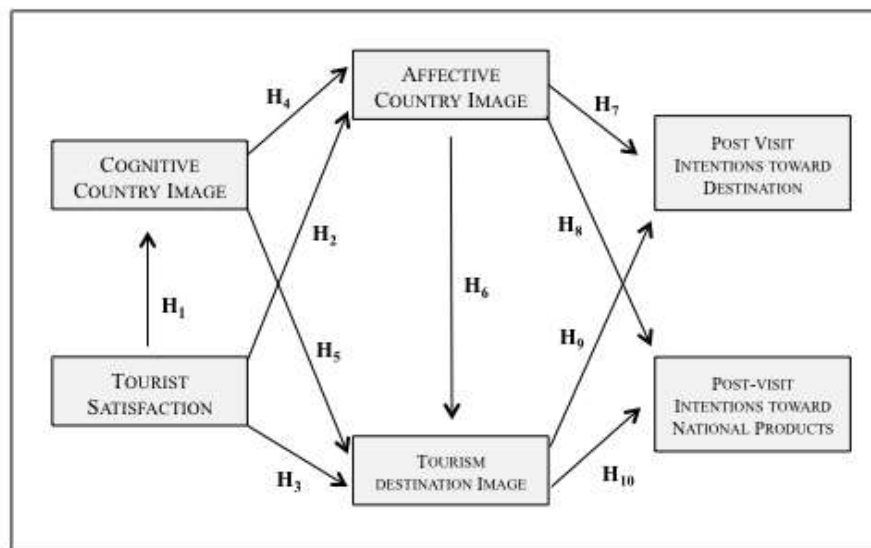
H₇: The affective component of country image has a positive influence on post-visit behavioral intentions toward the sojourn country.

H₈: The affective component of country image has a positive influence on post-visit behavioral intentions toward the products made in the sojourn country.

H₉: The tourism destination image has a positive influence on post-visit tourism intentions toward the sojourn country.

H₁₀: The tourism destination image has a positive influence on post-visit tourism intentions toward the sojourn country.

Figure 1. The theoretical model and research hypotheses



Methodology and Results

In order to test the proposed model a survey was conducted in two international airports (Naples and Rome) on a sample of foreign heritage tourists intercepted in the departure area before leaving Italy. Respondents were identified via random systematic sample by trained students and interviews were based on a self-report questionnaire. A preliminary question served to select respondents who were in Italy for tourism purposes. The research instrument was a structured questionnaire written in English and organized in three sections: (i) tourist experience, place image and post-visit intentions; (ii) attitudes and familiarity towards the Italian products; (iii) general demographic information. The questionnaire was preliminarily tested on a small sample and minor changes were made in the measures according to results.

At the end of the survey, 542 questionnaires were coded for data analysis. The sample demographics indicate that respondents were both male (51.2 percent) and female (48.8 percent). The largest part of the respondents were aged between 35–44 (34.9 percent) and 25–34 (27.7 percent). Most represented countries include England (22.2 percent), USA (12.8 percent), France (10 percent), Germany (8.4 percent), Spain (7.8 percent) and Russia (5.2 percent). In term of destination familiarity, a significant portion of respondents (36.9 percent) was in Italy for the first time, 26.2 percent had visited the country once in the past, while only 8.4 percent had been to Italy more than five times. Almost 80 percent of respondents (79.7 percent) had already bought or tried Italian products in the past.

Model constructs were measured on the basis of scales adapted from similar studies in the field of tourist satisfaction, product–country image and tourism destination image (Table 1). Namely, tourist satisfaction was assessed through an eight point Likert scale built on the basis of items provided by Baker and Crompton (2000) and Bigné et al. (2001). Components of country image – cognitive country image (CCI), affective country image (ACI) and tourism destination image (TDI) – as a consequence of the tourism experience were measured on the basis of contributions provided by Papadopoulos et al. (1988) and Elliot et al. (2011). Finally, post-visit behavioral intentions were measured through measures provided by Cronin et al. (2000), Bigné et al. (2000) and Elliot et al. (2011).

According to Anderson and Gerbing (1988) a two-stage approach was followed in which the measurement model was first confirmed and then tested. In the first stage, it was assessed the internal consistency and reliability of composite measures (Table 3.1). Results provided adequate support to measurement choice: Cronbach's Alpha ranged from 0.71 to 0.86 suggesting that all the latent measures were acceptably reliable. Additionally, with the exception of affective country image, the average variance extracted (AVE) reached the suggested value of 0.50 (Fornell and Larcker, 1981; Bagozzi and Yi, 1988).

Table 1. Model measures and validity check

	Mean (Stand. Dev.)	Cronbach Alpha	AVE
<i>Tourist Satisfaction</i>		0.80	0.53
In general, I'm very satisfied with this travel experience in Italy	5.98 (0.98)		
This travel experience definitely exceeded my expectations in terms of overall quality and satisfaction	5.66 (0.98)		
In comparison to other similar places I've visited before, Italy is a much better destination for tourism and leisure	5.57 (1.15)		
My choice to make this travel to Italy was a wise one	5.91 (1.26)		
This travel experience in Italy was well worth my time and effort	5.91 (0.93)		
<i>Cognitive Country Image</i>		0.75	0.50
High quality of life	5.40 (0.93)		
High technology level	5.19 (1.01)		
Advanced education level	5.01 (0.96)		
High wealth	5.30 (0.93)		
<i>Affective Country Image</i>		0.71	0.46
Friendly people	5.93 (0.97)		
Trustworthy people	5.67 (0.88)		
Pleasant place	5.35 (0.91)		
Safe environment	5.30 (1.01)		
<i>Tourism Destination Image</i>		0.76	0.55
Attractive scenery	6.27 (0.83)		
High-quality attractions	6.04 (0.88)		
Lots to see and do for tourism	6.14 (0.95)		
Well organized tourism services	5.35 (1.13)		
<i>Post-Visit Intentions toward the Destination</i>		0.78	0.78
I will surely visit Italy again in the future	6.14 (0.99)		
Once at home, I will suggest that my friends visit Italy	6.19 (0.99)		
<i>Post-Visit Intentions toward the Italian Products</i>		0.86	0.75
Once at home, I would like to buy more Italian products	4.64 (1.40)		
Once at home, I will suggest that my friends buy Italian products	5.60 (1.37)		

After confirming the measurement model, the structural model was then tested with maximum likelihood simultaneous estimation procedure. With the exception of χ^2 the main indices show that data fit the structural model reasonably well: namely, AGFI = 0.82, CFI = 0.93 and NNFI = 0.91. As shown in Table 3.2, all the paths are in the hypothesized direction of the proposed model. Namely, tourist satisfaction plays a significant role in influencing perception of country image; empirical findings show that a higher level of tourist satisfaction is strongly related to the improvement of cognitive country

image (maximum likelihood estimate = 0.55, t-value = 9.00), affective country image (0.17, 2.68) and destination image (0.41, 2.57), providing support to H₁, H₂ and H₃.

Consistent with expectations, parameter estimates from path analysis show a significant causal relationship between components of general country image and specific country image. Specifically, tourists' perception of cognitive country image has a positive influence on both affective country image (0.67, 7.96) and on destination image (0.33, 2.86); such results confirm H₄ and H₅. In contrast, H₆ is rejected as the affective country image does not affect destination image (−0.33, n.s.); this result provide support to findings provided by Elliot et al. (2011).

As for the relationship between components of country image and post-visit behavioral intentions, the overall pattern of results provides full confirmation to all the hypothesized relationships. Namely, a positive perception of affective country image and destination image does influence both behavioral intentions toward Italy as a tourism destination (0.25, 4.37; 0.38, 6.00) and desire to buy Italian products (0.23, 3.64; 0.31, 3.35). Such findings support H₇, H₈, H₉ and H₁₀.

Table 2. The hypothesized relationships: standardized coefficients and fit statistics

Hypothesized Relationships	Standardized Coefficients (t-values)	Results
H ₁ Tourist satisfaction – cognitive country image	0.55 (9.00)	Supported
H ₂ Tourist satisfaction – affective country image	0.17 (2.68)	Supported
H ₃ Tourist satisfaction – destination image	0.41 (2.57)	Supported
H ₄ Cognitive country image – affective country image	0.67 (7.96)	Supported
H ₅ Cognitive country image – destination image	0.33 (2.86)	Supported
H ₆ Affective country image – destination image	−0.33 (−0.29)	Not supported
H ₇ Affective country image – post-visit intentions toward the destination	0.25 (4.37)	Supported
H ₈ Affective country image – post-visit intentions toward the national products	0.23 (3.64)	Supported
H ₉ Destination image – post-visit intentions toward the destination	0.38 (6.00)	Supported
H ₁₀ Destination image – post-visit intentions toward the national products	0.31 (3.35)	Supported
Fit Statistics:		
$\chi^2 = 884.08$ (d.f. 174; $p < 0.001$)		
AGFI = 0.82; CFI = 0.93; NNFI = 0.91		

Conclusion and Implications

The relationship between tourism and country image is of relevant interest both in place marketing literature and for public and private practitioners. The ability of a country to provide high-quality tourism experiences may lead to significant improvements in perceived country image which, in turn, is able to affect post-visit attitudes. Arising from the current findings provided by research on tourist satisfaction, product–country image and tourist destination image, our study proposes and tests a theoretical framework aiming to investigate: (a) the influence of tourism experience on cognitive and affective components of general country image and on specific components of tourism destination image; (b) the relationship between general country image and tourism destination image; and (c) the existence of a 'cross' effect between tourism and consumption intentions toward the national products.

Results from the survey conducted on a sample of heritage international tourists intercepted at the end of their journey in Italy provides support for all the hypothesized relationships with the exception of the

link between affective country image and tourism destination image. Such results suggest that general country image and tourism destination image are able to mediate the effect of tourism satisfaction on post-visit behavioral intentions. Moreover, our study supports the notion that a high-quality heritage tourist experience is able to affect not only intention to return and willingness to recommend the country as a tourism destination but is also able to induce more positive intentions toward the products made in the sojourn country. In this way, the existence of a significant interaction between tourism and product image is confirmed.

Following the above, the research model and results presented in this paper are able to suggest several theoretical and managerial implications. From the research point of view, this is the first study to provide a comprehensive framework aiming to investigate the relationship between tourism satisfaction, country image and post-visit intentions. Previous research on this topic has investigated the image differences between travelers who have visited a destination and those who did not (Fakeye and Crompton, 1991; Milman and Pizam, 1995) or image modifications due to actual destination experience (Pearce, 1982; Papadopoulos and Heslop, 1986; Hallberg, 2005) but none of them have assessed how the results of the tourism experience affect the relationship between the components of country image and post-visit consumption patterns. Moreover, this is one of the few studies to consider country image as a consequence rather than an antecedent of tourism satisfaction. In this way, the proposed model is the first to capture the mediating role of country image on the relationship between tourist experience and post-visit intentions. Finally, this is one of the few studies to investigate the link between tourism, country image and national products in the Italian context. In spite of the significant correlation between the image of Italy, tourism and the promotion of national products so far there is no empirical evidence about the underlying mechanisms of such relationship.

From the managerial point of view, results from our study are able to identify a potentially innovative area of collaboration between national governments and companies for the development of integrated marketing strategies aiming to connect the general country image to the destination image and product image. For example, local companies with a strong image linkage with the heritage image of the country could target the most relevant international tourism markets in their country selection strategies in order to take advantage of the positive perception of the general country image and destination image of Italy. Moreover, they could integrate components of affective country image and tourism destination image in advertising strategies toward such countries. At the other end, national governments could incorporate the image of national products in their 'nation brand' advertising campaigns with the aim of promoting the country and attracting international tourists. Finally, the significant influence of tourist satisfaction on the perception of country and destination image and on related post-visit attitudes provides greater consideration to the role of service quality, not only as a measure of tourism performance but also as an instrument for country promotion.

While this paper is one of the few to examine the link between tourism satisfaction, country image and post-visit behavioral intentions, it also has a few limitations which, in conjunction with the findings, serve to suggest directions for further research. First, this is a single-country study. Because different contexts were not considered, the validity of the results is limited to the country under investigation. Second, our model does not incorporate familiarity towards the country as a tourism destination. Therefore, results may differ between tourists who have already visited the country one or more times in the past and first-time visitors. Also, familiarity with the national products was not considered. As a consequence, a further study could analyze the moderating role of product and destination familiarity in the relationship between tourist satisfaction, country image perception and post-visit intentions. Third, the model does not assess tourists' heterogeneity with respect to demographic and psychographic variables: since such variables have been found to affect both the relationship between country image and product attitudes (Chao and Rajendran, 1993; Gurhan-Canli, Maheswaran, 2000) and on destination image formation (Baloglu, 1999) they might be the object of subsequent investigation. Finally, another possible area of enquiry is attitude changes over time. For example, a follow-up study could assess tourists' post-travel consumption behavior in order to assess if a positive tourism experience is able to produce long-term effects. Results from this study could provide additional insights into how national companies and policy makers can collaborate in marketing strategies aiming to provide more concrete exposure of national products/brands and tourism destinations in connection with consumers' international travel.

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Heritage Museums and the Branding of Self

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Abstract

The Westfjords of Iceland have seen steady depopulation related to a declining fishing industry over recent decades, while cultural policies emphasizing regional development have taken shape alongside the growth of the tourism industry. Such policies have resulted in a proliferation of private enterprises-cum-cultural institutions across the countryside, many of which challenge the representational styles and ideologies of older heritage museums. In the context of a master's thesis in Coastal and Marine Management, two qualitative case studies examining heritage museums in the region were conducted in order to determine what meaning local communities attribute to the types of heritage represented by these museums, and what values they associate with the museums as cultural institutions. Fieldwork consisted of twelve in-depth, phenomenological interviews with professionals connected to each site and a focus group discussion among five Westfjords residents with no ties to either. Data analysis consisted of applying open and data-driven thematic coding schemes to interview and focus group transcripts, respectively. Findings revealed that both museums are at the center of important debates about identity, representation, museology, and cultural tourism in Iceland and embody various complex issues in international heritage scholarship. Many of these issues are interlinked with questions of heritage destination branding and raise concerns about the packaging of identity, history, heritage, and culture for tourism marketing purposes. This paper describes the main findings of the aforementioned research and examines them within a critical analysis framework for heritage destination branding based on two prominent texts from the tourism marketing literature.

Keywords: Cultural tourism; Destination branding; Iceland; Maritime heritage; Museology; Westfjords

Introduction

Iceland is in the midst of unprecedented social and environmental changes. By consequence, the culture and identities of its rural communities are being challenged. The Westfjords, in particular, have struggled through periods of economic and demographic disequilibrium that continue to impress upon cultural identity.

In undertaking master's research in Coastal and Marine Management, the author set out to explore the ways in which people living in the Westfjords experience culture and how they perceive its representation by two different types of maritime heritage museums, maritime heritage being central to the history and identities of local communities (Magnusson, n.d.; Tulinius, 2003; Skaptadóttir, 2000; cf. Stefansson Arctic Institute, 2009). The Sea Monster Museum in Bíldudalur, Southern Westfjords, and the Westfjords Heritage Museum in Ísafjörður, Northern Westfjords, were selected so that sub-regional attitudes to cultural heritage may be investigated and representations of tangible and intangible heritage may be compared and contrasted. While the primary purpose of the study was to produce a descriptive account of the relationships of individuals and communities with their heritage and its representation, the underlying goal was to demonstrate applications of ethical theory in the context of cultural heritage museology.

The purpose of the present paper is to draw parallels between the museological representation of cultural heritage and identity and heritage destination branding, using the author's research on the former as a baseline. A key component of this discussion is a critical analysis of the ethical stakes in tourism marketing and heritage destination branding, premised upon their production and use of cultural images.

Background and Theoretical Overview

Fisheries, Culture, and Tourism in the Westfjords

The Westfjords constitute a remote peninsula in the northwest of Iceland, carved out by numerous deep fjords and rugged, mountainous terrain. The region has a rich history of maritime practices, a strong presence in the Icelandic sagas, and vibrant folklore and musical traditions (cf. Þór & Óskarsson, 2003). It is heavily invested in the fisheries (Magnusson, n.d., cf. Jóhannesson, 2005), however, its population has diminished significantly in recent decades due in part to economic duress in this sector (Magnusson, n.d.; cf. Stefansson Arctic Institute, 2009; cf. Jóhannesson, 2005). There is a small body of literature on the stakes of rural women and youth in such demographic change (cf. Júlíusdóttir, 2010; Bjarnason & Thorlindsson, 2006; Skaptadóttir, 2000).

The Westfjords abound with cultural resources connected to their history of fishing and farming, although the emphasis tends toward the maritime aspect (cf. Bernharðsson, 2003). Cultural resources have gained increased significance over the past twenty-five years, as national cultural policies have developed alongside regional development policies (Hafsteinsson & Árnadóttir, 2013; Hafsteinsson, 2010; Júlíusdóttir, 2010; cf. Harrison, 2002) and tourism numbers have risen dramatically (Icelandic Tourist Board, n.d), creating new economic opportunities. Still, much of the nation's *intangible* heritage has only been taken up fairly recently in the interest of promoting cultural tourism (Hafsteinsson & Árnadóttir, 2013). Furthermore, cultural tourism in Iceland is in its infancy, as the number of visitors whose purpose is to experience the natural environment is double that of those whose motivations are cultural (Óladóttir, 2013).¹ Added to the fact that on average, under 10% of visitors to Iceland venture to the Westfjords (cf. Óladóttir, 2013), it is fitting that regional tourism operators see opportunity in developing the industry as well as reason in developing a cultural tourism brand to complement the nature and wilderness-oriented brand that has popularized Iceland as a destination.²

Cultural Heritage Museums in Iceland: Political Climate

Answering to the cry of depopulating rural communities, the government of Iceland has sought to promote a "cultural economy" (Júlíusdóttir, 2010, p. 67) that encourages the strengthening of community bonds through uptake of local cultural identity (Hafsteinsson & Árnadóttir, 2013; Júlíusdóttir, 2010), which is seen as "a fundamental basis for social stability and pride" (Harrison, 2002, p. 357). Cultural identity and heritage, in this view, are resources, and cultural tourism the means by which to restore economic and social security in rural regions (Júlíusdóttir, 2010; Harrison, 2002; cf. Jóhannesson, 2005).

The election of a neo-liberal government in 1991 occasioned a cultural policy stressing "individual initiative, responsibility, and freedom" (Hafsteinsson, 2010, p. 269)—ideals that permeated regional development policy as well. Thus culture came to be associated with "entrepreneurial spirit" (Júlíusdóttir, 2010, p.67; cf. Hafsteinsson & Árnadóttir, 2013), resulting in a burgeoning of privately owned heritage museums across the countryside (Hafsteinsson, 2010; cf. Hafsteinsson & Árnadóttir, 2013). These institutions qualify as either 'centers' (*setur*) or 'exhibits' (*syningar*) according to the definitions set forth by the Icelandic Museum Law (*Safnalög*). The most notable implication of the law's distinction among centers, exhibits, and museums (*söfn*) is that the latter are state-owned and obliged to operate as public, non-profit heritage preservation entities ("2011 nr. 141 28. september/ Safnalög. Þingskjal 1981, 139. löggjafarþing 650. mál: #A safnalög # (heildarlög)," n.d.); "2011 nr. 141 28. september/ Safnalög," n.d.). Centers and exhibits, on the other hand, are loosely defined in terms of ownership and responsibilities, and have no preservation obligations ("2011 nr. 141 28. september/ Safnalög. Þingskjal 1981, 139. löggjafarþing 650. mál: #A safnalög # (heildarlög)," n.d.). Debates have been sparked as to the heritage value and the planning, establishment, and methods of dissemination of such institutions (A.H. Pálsdóttir, personal communication, February 2014). Scholars are divided among those who perceive them as interesting and worthwhile museological enterprises (cf. Hafsteinsson & Árnadóttir, 2013; cf. Bernharðsson, 2007; 2003) and those who feel they are "vulgar" and criticize the lack of academic involvement in researching content and planning exhibits (A.H. Pálsdóttir, personal communication, March 2014).

¹ This is most pronounced in the high (summer) season. In the winter, the gap closes somewhat, so that nature tourists outnumber culture tourists by roughly one and three-quarters (Óladóttir, 2013).

² See <http://www.inspiredbyiceland.com/> for Iceland's most notable branding campaign (The Boston Consulting Group, 2013).

State of Knowledge and Contemporary Debates

Heritage is a broad concept debated across a vast array of academic arenas (Day & Lunn, 2010), and conceptions of it aimed at shaping policy are subject to ideological clashes rooted in tensions between the mundane (Atkinson, 2008) and personal (Kean, 2008), and the monumental, outstanding, and universal (Wolferstan & Fairclough, 2013; cf. UNESCO, n.d.). Viking heritage is most vigorously touted as the centerpiece of Icelandic identity and constitutes the country's overarching cultural tourism brand (cf. Jóhannesson, 2005).³ This raises questions about authenticity and commodification (Halewood & Hannam, 2001). Nevertheless, Viking heritage is an integral part of Iceland's cultural landscape (cf. Jóhannesson, 2005), moreover, one of international importance (cf. Sindbæk, 2013; cf. "VIKING MONUMENTS AND SITES / Þingvellir National Park - UNESCO World Heritage Centre," n.d.).

The cultural landscape is a multi-tiered space; geography overlaid with meaning through signs and symbols that portray how a community constructs its identity around its history (McDowell, 2008). It is central to understanding the relations of people and place, particularly where tourism research is concerned (cf. Jóhannesson, 2005). Among these relations is the layering of identity across spatial scales (cf. Graham & Howard, 2008), a matter latent in discussions of Icelandic culture, politics, and society (cf. Júlíusdóttir, 2010; Bjarnason & Thorlindsson, 2006; Skaptadóttir, 2000;) as well as visible in the at once locally distinct and nationally united (Skaptadóttir, 2000) identities of the regions. Nations are prone to "privileg[ing] the national at the expense of other scales" (Graham & Howard, p. 8) in conceptualizing heritage, particularly in the form of maritime museums (cf. Leffler, 2004; Hicks, 2001). This has been the case in England and the United States until, and sometimes in spite of (cf. Leffler, 2004), an emergent preoccupation with social history (Day & Lunn, 2010; Leffler, 2004; Hicks, 2001). Similarly, maritime museums have tended to promote elitist narratives of history (Leffler, 2004) or romanticize the past (Day & Lunn, 2010), thereby fostering uncritical views about cultural heritage (cf. Day & Lunn, 2010).

The debates surrounding the politics of Icelandic museology mirror debates about the nature and representation of heritage. Hafsteinsson & Árnadóttir (2013) argue that the newer cultural exhibits and centers across the countryside, by means of creative design (cf. Bernharðsson, 2007; 2003), engage in a *new ethnography* of rural Icelandic communities that challenges the conventions of the more traditional collection-based museums (cf. McLean, 2008). This resonates with Holtorf's idea of a "new [European] heritage" built upon the creation of social identity through collective mythologies (lecture, 2011). A similar ideology might be attributed to contemporary Icelandic cultural policy, which promotes innovation in heritage representation with an emphasis on entertainment value, while underlining public perceptions of state heritage institutions as boring and stagnant (Hafsteinsson & Árnadóttir, 2013). The local initiatives undertaken as a consequence of this policy are seen as fostering social cohesion through economic competition and a renewed interest in culture (Hafsteinsson & Árnadóttir, 2013; cf. Jóhannesson, 2005). On the other hand, as *community* heritage initiatives, they must be wary of "contribut[ing] to the creation of stereotypes [or] the isolation of non-members [of the community]" (Crooke, 2008, p. 420). Similarly, as they have been criticized for exaggerating the cultural value of certain subjects (e.g., ghosts, sea monsters, pagan practices) for tourism marketing purposes, it is incumbent upon them to maintain integrity in their research, collections, and advertisements.

Such debates raise ethical concerns with regards to the form, content, and methods of cultural representation by heritage museums, particularly in relation to tourism. In considering this connection, however, it is necessary to note that the discipline of ethics is underrepresented in tourism research (cf. Fennell, 2006; Fennell & Malloy, 1999) and virtually nonexistent in the Icelandic discourse (Þ. Árnason, personal communication, June 2013; A. H. Pálsdóttir, personal communication, August 2013). On the other hand, it is possible to look to Western ethical theory, which is concerned with the 'good', the 'right', and the 'just' as features of ethical action, whether deontological (means-oriented) or teleological (end-oriented) in nature (Fennell, 2009; 2006; cf. Jamal & Menzel, 2009). Because justice and rights are fundamental to Western conceptions of the good and, therefore, to the basic moral principles of much of Western society (cf. Fennell, 2009; 2006), they are central to existing

³ This is evident from the number of times the word 'Viking' turns up in an internet search of restaurants, hotels, shops, tour companies, and tourism products, services, sites, and activities in Iceland.

formulations of ethical tourism (cf. Fennell, 2012; 2006; cf. Butcher, 2009; cf. MacBeth, 2005; cf. Hultsman, 1995) and the discourses surrounding them (cf. Fennell, 2009). They are likewise integral to a discussion of the ethical stakes in cultural representation and museology.

The Branding and Marketing of Cultural Landscapes: Two Perspectives

Both museology and marketing rest upon the production of images. Harrison (2002) argues that museums can make a “unique contribution to... the creation of [a] sense of place” that “is seen by many people as a potent marketing agent” (p. 361) and that, by the same token, “the whole of the community landscape should be the subject of the ‘museum’ presentation” (p. 359). The sense of space to which he refers is, in effect, the cultural landscape, i.e., a space defined by the values through which its inhabitants identify with it. In order to determine the extent and boundaries of this space as well as to create a strong brand identity for it, heritage managing agencies must take their cues from this value system (Harrison, 2002). Moreover, the willingness of local communities to participate in a brand is essential to the *appropriateness* of the brand and thus of its marketing (Harrison, 2002).

Pritchard & Morgan (2001) view the cultural landscape as a “socio-cultural” construct (p. 167), adding that it is “a form of representation and not an empirical object” (Rose, cited in Pritchard and Morgan, 2001, p. 168). Thus it is shaped by social and political discourses (Pritchard & Morgan, 2001). Identity is not the only hand in the construction of cultural spaces, as the latter also exhibit power dynamics, among others. This has important implications for cultural tourism sites, on one hand, and destination branding/ marketing, on the other (Pritchard & Morgan). As producers of cultural images, heritage museums and tourism marketing campaigns have a great deal of influence on public perceptions of the people and places they represent (cf. Pritchard & Morgan, 2001). The question is to what degree either can be said to genuinely portray people and places rather than advance an image shaped by power struggles or assertions (cf. Pritchard & Morgan, 2001).

Representations of tourism destinations are worthy of a critical analysis with a view to unmasking these dynamics (cf. Pritchard & Morgan, 2001). A community’s main stake in its representation is the possible privileging of some identities over others, along with the concretization of this privilege from the moment that the tourism advertisement comes to be accepted, in the tourist imagination, as representative of reality (cf. Pritchard & Morgan, 2001). It is for reasons such as this that the involvement of local communities in the planning and marketing of their locality as a cultural landscape is necessary (cf. Harrison, 2002). Both tourism representations and marketing enter into a direct relationship with social, economic, and political ideology (Pritchard & Morgan, 2001). Thus, in Harrison’s view, the museum must function as an extension of the cultural landscape, such that it connects “much more dynamically with the local community” and is “presented on the community’s terms” (p. 357). Similarly, branding must seek to be an expression of the cultural landscape rather than an appropriation of it (cf. Harrison, 2002).

Methodology

Data Collection

Two case studies formed the basis of the author’s research into cultural heritage representation in the Westfjords: the Sea Monster Museum (SMM) in Bíldudalur and the Westfjords Heritage Museum (WHM) in Ísafjörður. Each was built upon a series of in-depth, phenomenological interviews (five and seven, respectively). The sample population consisted, typically, of individuals acting in a curatorial, consultative, or decision-making capacity with regards to the museums, and was based upon a selection process combining random purposeful, snowball, and opportunistic methods (cf. Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Questions were open-ended and the interviews were directed both by an interview guide and the flow of informants’ thoughts, sentiments, and experiences, as per the premise of phenomenological interviewing (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Kvale, 2007; Gibbs, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Lowes & Prowse, 2001; Moustakas, 1994).

As a secondary method for data collection, a focus group discussion was moderated among five Westfjords residents with no professional ties to either museum. The purpose of this was to further investigate issues that had arisen throughout the course of interviewing, as well as to gain alternate perspectives and level out the age, gender, and ethnicity biases inherent in the interview sample. A maximum variation sample was sought for the focus group, so that a wider variety of perspectives

might be gleaned from women, informants of different ethnic backgrounds and ages, and informants from various professional arenas, including those requiring knowledge about matters pertaining to cultural and heritage. While the sample included more women than the interview sample had, logistical difficulties prevented the inclusion of more than one individual with a non-native Icelandic ethnic background or any aged between adolescence and roughly fifty years. Most of the participants turned out to be or to have been, at some time in their lives, heritage producers, though unconnected to the site of either case study. Questions put to the focus group addressed definitions and conceptualizations of Icelandic identity as well as themes absent from the interviews, such as what Icelandic heritage might mean to an ethnic minority.

Data Analysis

A two-tiered open coding scheme was used to analyze interview data. Condensation of the meaning of informants' narratives into thematic units (cf. Gibbs, 2007) produced a set of descriptive codes which was inscribed in the margins of the interview transcripts. Alongside this process, analytical memos pertaining to various segments of interview text were kept and the subtler themes emerging from them were colour-coded. This level of coding served to organize more interpretive material.

In order to explore the internal relationships among the codes at each level as well as across levels, hierarchies were determined among them. The codes were subsequently grouped according to these hierarchies. Once the documents listing these groups were printed, each group was cut into a separate piece of paper and arranged into various positions in relation to the others. Thus patterns and divergences among them became discernible. This process generated overarching analytical categories which, in turn, made it possible to formulate broad statements expressing the nature of the findings.

By contrast, a "concept-driven" coding scheme (Gibbs, 2007, p.44) was applied to focus group data. That is, a set of *a priori* theoretical categories was devised based on information and issues generated by the interviews, and the focus group transcript was condensed into thematic units using these categories as a guide.

Results

Cultural Identity

The SMM and the WHM engage with different concepts of cultural identity and are managed, operated, and informed by individuals who experience it at different spatial scales. The SMM has very strong roots in the local community, having been conceived, planned, and built by natives of Búdudalur in the interest of bringing business to a hometown in decline. Thus it is bound to local identity in numerous ways. The owners believe that in giving sea monster stories "a beautiful home", they are preserving as well as paying tribute to the folk culture of the area, which they distinguish by a characteristic propensity and talent for storytelling. Additionally, the SMM is shaped by the visions and experience of a handful of creative individuals, each of whom sees in it the embodiment of some personal interest, value, or ideology. Thus individual identities weave their way through the cultural landscape and contribute palpably to the image of local identity associated with the museum. There is, however, evidence of disapproval of the museum and/ or its subject matter from a minority in the community, signalling that the SMM to some degree enters into a negative relationship with local identities.

The WHM, by contrast, though regional in flavour, is perceived as being of primary importance to national identity. Whereas attachment to the local community is generally soft, most informants identify strongly with being Icelandic and feel that the country's maritime heritage is a very important contributor to one's "sense of self". Cultural identity is typified by the assertion of a national character. The dominant view is that identity is defined by history—that the history of the nation is not only the story of where Icelanders come from, but an explanation of who they presently are. Consequently, there is a perceived need for an institution that houses this history and formalizes the national character. The latter is qualified, by turns, as 'proud', 'raw', 'direct', 'loud', and 'crazy', and is moulded by traditional maritime practices, endurance of harsh environmental conditions, and rapid progress toward a higher standard of living. Most informants feel that cultural connections to the sea have been severed where contemporary youth are concerned. Thus the WHM is an invaluable reminder to them of their roots. Similarly, it is considered, by most, an important representative and promoter of Icelandic culture in its function as a cultural tourism site.

Focus group participants present much more nuanced images of cultural identity. Where one experiences it as a matter of self-differentiation from other cultures, another, of foreign origin, identifies with certain aspects of Icelandic culture by virtue of gender. For the others, cultural identity is either abstract or as yet unevolved in Iceland. They agree, however, that maritime heritage is central to Westfjords regional identity, but add that there are many other factors in it, such as Viking heritage, the natural environment, and social dynamics and change. An important facet of the latter is the influx of residents of foreign origin who have immigrated to the region to work in the fish processing factories, thus transforming the region's society into an increasingly multicultural one.

Representation and Heritage Museology

Because the WHM's portrait of heritage focuses almost exclusively on early 20th century fishing, focus group participants find it limited. Similarly, some WHM informants maintain that the region's farming history, equally integral to its identity, merits representation. They are hardly attentive to the fact, however, that the WHM lacks representation of the ethnic minorities who have been filling the gaps in the workforce over the last three decades. Focus group participants, on the other hand, feel that these people are an integral part of society and deserve to be represented. However, there is marginal attention, in either group of informants, to the representation of women, although it is recognized by some that more effort could be made to highlight their role in the development of the regional fishery. Regardless, WHM professionals are often stifled in their ability to execute new ideas by financial constraints—a fact that is recognized within the focus group. In addition to expanding the scope of their displays to include farming heritage, WHM professionals have a keen interest in taking up more modern museological practices and thus adopting representational styles that will offer dynamic heritage *experiences* rather than merely static displays.

Focus group participants vocally agree that museum exhibits must be experiential and storied. This includes presentations of entire landscapes as heritage museums, although there is a danger of turning presentation into *production*, i.e., staged, inauthentic representations closer to “showbusiness” in demeanour. In this regard, most focus group participants perceive the SMM as offensive to cultural identity, arguing that its perceived presentation of sea monster tales as genuine beliefs in the existence of these creatures “really twists foreigners’ ideas of Icelanders and their culture”.

Given the complexity of beliefs about sea monsters in Bíldudalur, the SMM's goal is not to present the folklore as fantasy or reality, but to offer an immersive experience wherein the visitor is invited to engage with its subject matter and left to draw his own conclusions about it. Thus, informants advocate the SMM's multimedia artistic design as a vehicle for this ideology. Similarly, the WHM is attempting to take an approach that invites the visitor to participate in activities allowing him to engage directly with items from its collection (or replicas of these). The collection, made up of domestic and fishing industry-related artefacts primarily from the nineteenth and early/ mid twentieth centuries, is seen as the primary channel for connecting to the past and therefore to cultural identity. Because of this, the exhibit is central to the WHM's function as an embodiment and outward expression of cultural values. It is thus important that exhibits be fashioned toward upholding this museological ideal.

Cultural Tourism

The SMM was conceived as a tourist attraction and is fundamentally a business meant to stimulate the local economy. Although the anticipation that grew around the museum's construction initially reawakened local identity and pride, the novelty has worn off. Locals generally no longer visit except to gather socially at the coffee shop in the lobby. By contrast, tourists have responded very positively to the SMM. While their motivations for visiting are unknown, informants observe that they leave the museum either entertained or fascinated with the knowledge they have acquired regarding the culture surrounding sea monsters.

There is a pressing need among SMM operators to bring changes to the museum, which has remained the same since its opening. As the tourism industry is the SMM's near-exclusive source of income, there is an emphasis on meeting its expectations. While this motivation is economic, informants also display a concern with having a story to tell about the town and surrounding area, rather than leaving it to be the place people “stop and have a hamburger” on their way elsewhere.

WHM informants place the museum's cultural value above its economic value and are concerned about its status among Icelanders. However, tourism provides its main visitor base and thus most of its income, notwithstanding government funding. Because of this, the planning and execution of its operations is often preoccupied with servicing the industry. Informants' views about the cultural value of tourism are mixed. Some feel that it is important to promote one's culture, whereas others simply see it as an "interesting" matter of comparison for foreigners. Whether or not the WHM leaves an impression on visitors about the contemporary character of local communities, the region, or the nation, is of negligible concern. It is thought important, however, from an economic perspective, that the experience of heritage it offers leave an impression so that tourists may recommend the Westfjords as a destination to family and friends.

The focus group discussion yields the idea that heritage becomes an entirely different subject from the moment it enters the business arena. Most participants feel that Westfjords heritage museums must be managed as businesses in order to contribute in a salient way to the regional economy. In this sense, even those most virulently opposed to the SMM as a cultural institution see it as a clever business initiative grounded in a novel marketing strategy. However, wary of admitting anything and everything to concepts of heritage or, conversely, of excluding important aspects of it, participants propose that heritage management take an integrated approach, involving private-public sector partnerships and the participation of local communities.

Discussion

The SMM and the WHM are simultaneously subject to and participant in changing conceptions of cultural heritage in Iceland, thus they mirror the social, political, and intellectual systems in which they are embedded. Similarly, they exemplify many of the problems that fuel contemporary debates about identity, heritage, and representation.

Both museums privilege identity on one scale at the expense of others; local identity in the case of the SMM, and national identity in that of the WHM. While the SMM risks inflating representations of Icelanders' beliefs in the supernatural, the WHM is in a more precarious position in socio-political terms. Like its British and American counterparts, the WHM conveys what is arguably an elitist historical narrative (cf. Leffler, 2004), anchored in the highly respected image of the fisherman. Its subdued representation of women, who had a crucial historical role in processing fish, and its lack of representation of ethnic minorities, who are the lifeline of fish factories nowadays, are indicative of unreflexive ways of thinking about heritage and identity and risk alienating members of the community who do not partake in the "authorized heritage discourse" (Smith, 2008; cf. Júlíusdóttir, 2010). Additionally, given the traits associated with national identity (cf. section 4.1), the WHM must be careful to avoid promoting stereotypes (cf. Crooke, 2008).

Both museums treat representation as a meeting of style and ideology, and are participating, to varying degrees, in the democratization of heritage through exhibit design. However, this democratization pertains to the exhibits' intellectual accessibility to the public, and is partly motivated by an economic interest in servicing the tourism industry. From the perspective of Western ethical theories of justice and rights, it must not mask matters of privilege and exclusion such as are noted above. A deeper democratization, particularly of the WHM's exhibits, is necessary in order for these to break free of the power and class structures latent in Icelandic society (cf. Pritchard & Morgan, 2001), especially if the sociological literature (cf. section 2.1) is any indication of the risks inherent in maintaining these structures, and if the views of focus group participants are to be taken as cues as to how Icelandic and Westfjords identities are conceived by contemporary citizens.

In many ways, Harrison's (2002) concept of the museum and the cultural landscape as extensions of each other is present, particularly given that there are individuals in each community who are interested in designing their landscape as a museum presentation. Further, that the same individuals encourage integrated, community-based heritage management validates Harrison's (2002) claim that the local community must believe in the heritage project, identify with the cultural brand it is to be attributed, and, ultimately, be willing participants in its adoption and marketing. Bíldudalur is currently branded as the home of the sea monsters, as the SMM is the only tourist attraction in town. Similarly, the WHM is, arguably, the heart of Ísafjörður's cultural landscape, and might be seen as an embodied brand of Westfjords heritage. Each museum has a responsibility, then, to exercise reflexivity in its actions and to

maintain a finger on the pulse of the local community, as cultural landscape and identity are mutable (McDowell, 2008; Harrison, 2002; Pritchard & Lowes, 2001).

In ethical terms, these concerns can be expressed as questions about rights and justice. Notwithstanding the legal definitions of these terms, managers of heritage museums and sites may ask themselves, first, if their conceptions of the cultural landscape (e.g., in the form of an exhibit) is an accurate and just representation of it. That is, on one hand, what and whom, exactly, are their institutions purporting to represent? On the other, are all members of society who might claim a right to the cultural landscape as conceived by these institutions considered for representation? Is the underlying narrative historically and socially just, i.e., is it free of political ideology and equitably distributed among the individuals and groups who peopled it? Secondly, as destination branding and tourism marketing are influenced by “the same processes” that “shape the relationship between culture [and] identity” (Pritchard & Morgan, p. 167), the same types of questions must be transferred to the cultural images that are produced to these ends. It is only thus that a museum can be called a good museum, and marketing good marketing.

Conclusion

The research, presented above, into cultural heritage representation in the Westfjords took place in a setting with minimal ethnic heterogeneity and class/ power struggles, therefore the findings were relatively straightforward. Based on issues raised by the findings, museums and heritage agencies elsewhere may re-examine their concepts and representation of cultural identity with a view to determining whether they are gendered or racialized (cf. Pritchard & Morgan, 2001), or otherwise preferential in their portrayal of people, place, and values. Departing from this point, they may continue to engage with questions of representational ethics on a wealth of matters, as befits the social dynamics inherent in their societies. These may play out among any combination of indigenous, settler, and ethnic minority populations as well as groups, however dominant or marginal, of heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, or transgender individuals, and various language, political, spiritual, or religious groups, to name only the most conspicuous.

The main contribution of the research presented herein for museums and heritage managers, particularly those responsible for destination branding, is the reminder that both have a great deal of social and moral responsibility in relation to producing cultural images and setting forth cultural representations. While this may appear obvious, there are many opportunities for creative license and economic growth in cultural tourism which may enter into conflict with this responsibility. In the face of such potential conflicts, then, it is important for heritage producers and tourism operators as well as marketers to bear in mind that heritage tourism “combines two powerful cultural forces of modernity” (Porter, 2008, p. 267). In light of this, the relationship between cultural representation in their communities and the contemporary cultural, social, and political climate is no small matter, as this very relationship is a dialogue with history and thus has the power to strengthen or suppress identities. Thus where reflexivity and research are concerned, it is recommended that heritage producers examine the nature of social dynamics in their communities—are these problematic? If so, how can museum exhibits be designed in ways that avoid ingraining existing social problems, if not in ways that expose and/ or challenge them outright? Regional development is a current preoccupation in the Icelandic context, and a theme central to it, as evidenced by the title of the 2014 Icelandic Regional Development Conference⁴, is the plight of women in rural fishing communities. Thus, for example, heritage producers in these communities might ask if local museums are, however unwittingly, contributing to the alienation of women via their conceptions of cultural heritage, and conduct research aimed at enriching their understanding of women’s experiences of the latter. Similarly, marketing strategies may be used as tools for investigating the desires of heritage consumers in terms of learning about people, culture, and history, and whether or not these desires are being met in the museological context. As such, the marketing initiative may help to flesh out cultural representation as conceived by traditional modes of heritage production.

⁴ ‘Fishing villages on the rise. Is the future calling? And where are the women?’ Icelandic regional development conference, Sept. 19- 20, 2014, Patreksfjörður. See http://www.uwestfjords.is/conferences_and_lectures/the_icelandic_regional_development_conference_2014/

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Cultural Heritage Interpretation in Gender Context: Case of Female Tourist Guides in Turkey

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Abstract

Women work in different parts of tourism industry. Problems of women in tourism are varied. On the other hand, be them female or male, tour guides play great role in cultural heritage interpretation processes. They are cultural brokers of tourism destinations. Tourists, in particular those with less experience and information about the attractions and destinations they visit, gain a considerable amount of their knowledge about cultural heritage through official tour guides. Cultural heritage is not always easily accessible for visitors and tour guides. A certain level of physical condition is required for long tours including sometimes monasteries, ancient sites and so on at isolated and rough areas. Since tour guides play an important role in shaping the mindset of visitors, this profession is carefully controlled by governmental tourism organizations. In this qualitative study semi-structured interviews produced primary data about professional status, discourse/semantics of feminized tour interpretations, and problems of women tourist guides in Turkey. Not only tour guides but also directors of tour guide guilds/associations are interviewed. This study aims to question the cultural heritage interpreters (tour guides) in a gender context. Firstly; the reasons women choose tour guiding as a profession is tackled. Secondly, the impacts of gender (positive and negative) are questioned regarding professional tour guiding performances and how being female tour guide differentiates discourse and semantics of interpretations. Finally; in order to develop a future perspective for better cultural heritage interpretation practices and improvement of feminine tour guiding new rules and working conditions are probed.

Keywords: Cultural Heritage Interpretation; Tourist Guide; Gender; Turkey.

Introduction

Women and gender issues have been increasingly popular in social spheres including science since mid-19th century (Bendason, 1994). Challenging issues of women rights and feminism included several myths such as “Mother Eve, virginity, sacredness, inferiority/weakness”. Development of women rights has been a long and tiresome process that still goes on. Status of women in non-Western societies is still an important and vivid theme. A revival of interest in women rights and feminism has started since 1960s especially in modern and developed societies. However, agenda of women living in developed countries and third world have been disparate (Michel, 1993). “Women in Islamic societies” is also a contemporary research topic for many disciplines. Despite substantial rights brought by Islam to women of Middle-Ages (Bendason, 1994), a multitude of debates continue regarding women rights and gender issues in countries with Moslem populations including Turkey. Turkish women witnessed several developments in the last century and increased their rights such as voting, becoming member of parliaments, accessing relatively all types of jobs. In short in Turkey women passed from anonymity status in society to a much more active position (Koray, 1995). Tourism in Turkey is a recent socio-economic phenomenon that is being research topic from different aspects. Women and gender issues in tourism studies are rare in Turkey.

Turkish tourism industry has been studied from various perspectives and a considerable number of studies analyzed this economic phenomenon from supply and demand sides. Supply side studies generally highlighted the rich natural and cultural heritage (resources, assets) of Turkey. However, few studies tackled the issue of cultural heritage interpretation and the role of cultural heritage interpreters in Turkey. Based on this gap in literature four research questions are probed within this study. Firstly, motivations of Turkish women to choose tour guiding as profession were searched. Second research question is about how gender can impact (positively/negatively) professional tour guiding performance including discourse. Thirdly, female tour guides’ working conditions are questioned in comparison with that of male tour guides. Finally, future directions for gendered issues of tour guiding practice in

Turkey are sought. There is need to understand the impact of female gender on tour guiding performance and cultural heritage interpretation performance. If female gender's impact on tour guiding performance can be identified and differentiated from men's performance employment conditions can be tailored for female needs. Moreover, tour types can be better allocated between female and male guides. Ultimately tour guiding practices and quality of tours offered can be developed by understanding gendered dimensions of the profession. Another critical issue concerning female tour guides is the quality of cultural heritage interpretation. In Turkey, interpretive guiding is a new concept in tourism industry. Female gender may have impact on interpretation processes and discourses offered by women can create significant changes in cultural heritage tours offered. This study, therefore tries to fill two gaps in literature at once; questioning cultural heritage interpretation practices in Turkey in relation with tour guides as cultural brokers and gender issues in Turkish tourism from the supply side of the industry. In brief; the current situation and practice of tourist guiding profession in Turkey will be questioned through gender contextualization.

Literature Review

Gender studies in tourism are multifaceted and increased since 1990s. Violence against women tourists, sex trafficking, AIDS disease, gender discrimination, growing amount of women in tourism as employees and visitors, indirect impacts of tourism on local women residents are some of the recently underlined topics. This text argues that women in tourism is not a sole entity, in contrast they form several different groups (working or travelling) all having particular concerns. In this respect, women tour guides are one of the least researched groups. Gender issues are also of interest to researchers for managerial reasons. As such, gender differences among information technology (IT) professionals were investigated and significant gender differences were observed regarding perceived value of technology discussion groups, since women perceive a higher value in participating discussion groups for social reasons (Cameron and Butcher-Powell, 2006).

Globally, there is a growing need of skilled workers in world economy. In near future around 1 billion people will be of working age. Majority of this population resides in developing countries. 85 % of global working age population aged between 15-25 years is from developing countries. Despite the need for skilled labor this population cannot get proper training in many countries. Efficient and effective vocational training is a real need where public and private employment requirements are met. Gender capacity building is one of the key issues regarding training needs of this population. Gender training and awareness is needed to avoid stereotyping and familiarize them with social norms and constructions. While developing competencies for future professions relative participation of young men and women should be analyzed. Resources should be equally provided to both genders. A critical objective of gender capacity building is to allow each gender's participation in non-stereotypical areas (Mansson and Farnsweden, 2012).

Gender training in tourism is part of this debate. Women's role in tourism is a bi-faceted phenomenon. Firstly, women are consumers of tourism industry and therefore are part of tourism demand side. Secondly, they are at the supply side of the tourism industry providing several services at hotels, travel agencies, transport companies and so on. Tourism can help empowerment of women especially in developing regions. Tourism creates opportunity to women for participation to workforce. However, women in tourism are still underpaid, under-utilized, under-educated, and under-represented (UNWTO and UN Women, 2010).

Impact of gender on professional issues has been part of gender researches. The number of female workers in tourism varies by destination. Women are especially over-represented in some segments of tourism industry such as accommodation. In accommodation industry they are mostly employed as low- to mid-skill jobs (housekeeping, laundry...) or as independent workers or entrepreneurs. Ethnic, racial, and nationality status affect gendered employment and entrepreneurship situations. Women of marginal ethnic group face constraints. Women belonging to high-status groups can better overcome gendered professional concerns since they have financial resources, social capital, and necessary skills. Family status is another basis to understand impact of gender on tourism employment. As such; wives, mothers, and money-earner daughters suffer more in tourism professions (Staritz and Reis, 2013).

Women have greater influence than men on travel decisions but in the employment side their influence on decisions are minimized recalling sex segregation in the industry (Jordan, 1997), while feminine labor is exploited by tourism firms; women may receive higher autonomy, deeper socialization and

increased business ownership (Gentry, 2007) through tourism jobs. From the marketing perspective, women and men are segmented as homogenous separate markets since they have different consumer behaviors. Demographic situation of tourists (sex) can therefore explain some gendered situations. For instance, men are believed to prefer playing golf, while women prefer shopping during conference participation-related leisure activities (Swarbrooke and Horner, 2007).

There are studies exploring the rights of women tourists (Brown, 1999); underlining the increasing percentage of women in travel demand (Caballero and Hart, 1996; Westwood et al., 2000) highlighting changing behavioral aspects of women travelers (McNamara and Prideaux, 2009), entrepreneurial differences between male and females (McGehee et al., 2007). Women on the production side of tourism industry received less attention of scholars, but existing studies reveals gender differentiation concerning wages and career advancement (Munoz-Bullon, 2008; Thrane, 2008). Sexualization of work is a real concern in tourism industry. Service employees of cruise lines are historically expected to embrace stereotyped and sexualized roles (Baum, 2013). Women are subject to legislation affecting human resources management in tourism firms. For instance Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and Equal Pay Act 1970 in UK try to prevent discrimination on the grounds of gender and provide equal pay for the same employment regardless of gender (Heitmann and Roberts, 2009: 63). Contrarily, Ryan et al. (2009) found no significant impact of gender to leadership competencies at hotel management. Women can indirectly have impact on tourism industry's skill gap, because as their birth rate slows down the demographic profile of the society changes too. Demographic challenges can threat the nature of employment in tourism industry (Galbraith and Bankhead, 2012).

Studies emphasizing gender issues in Turkish tourism are scarce but increasing in quantity. For instance; Burke et al, (2008) found that satisfaction levels are similar among Turkish hospitality managers of both sexes. Another study (Tucker, 2007) tackles how tourism changed regional community and women's working conditions in Cappadocia-Turkey. Oktik (2001) analyzed impact of tourism on rural women. Nevertheless, there is inadequate research focusing problems of female tourist guides and their communicational aspects regarding interpretation of cultural heritage.

Tourist Guides as Cultural Heritage Interpreters

In tourism literature there is need to differentiate related jobs about tour guiding. Tour manager, tourist guide, tour guide, tour director, escort, translator, docent, on-site guide, city guide, and interpreter are some of the terms used in relation with tour guiding profession. Guides mostly serve to tourists that visit a curiosity or destination with a group. Travelers which displace much more independently than tourists (e.g. backpackers) may also use guiding services when necessary despite their leaning for freedom during their travels.

"Tour guide" is the American term used for tourist guide. The term "tourist guide" is used in European context (WFTGA, 2014; Wikipedia, 2014). However, there exists a multitude of tourist guide types. For instance; an "on-site guide" offers guiding/interpretation services on foot or with some sort of vehicles at a specific building or other attractions. At museums "docents" offer free and volunteer guiding services for visitors. Then, docents are on-site tourist guides serving at museums free of charge. At larger extent "city guides" take visitors to the attractions of the city with motor coach or other vehicles driven by their drivers. If vehicle driver and tourist guide is the same person, then this is a "driver guide" which not only narrates about city but also drives the vehicle. City guides can be called as "private/personal tourist guides" when they serve exclusively to smaller groups or sometimes individuals. Private/personal tourist guides mostly serve with their own vehicles or taxis. We can classify tourist guides by their employment status as well; some are "freelance/independent tourist guides" which have freedom to work when and where they prefer while others are "full time tourist guides" employed by travel agencies or tour operators. The types of tourist guides can be multiplied according to their specialist skills; these guides are called "specialized tourist guides". Examples can include adventure/outdoor guides (diving, mountain climbing etc.), Egyptologists and so on (Mancini, 2000: 4-5). Other terms related with this profession are; "local tourist guide" (synonym for city guide), "meet-and-greet guide" which welcomes tourists and assists them during their arrival and departure to the destination (Braidwood et al., 2000: 6).

In travel industry selling dreams and understanding imaginary of potential travelers is a must. Travel agencies need to be designed to excite people and break them from their daily routines (Holloway, 2004: 255). As such, interpretation of tourist guides becomes important during tours. Interpretation is a

critical role of tourist guides because they not only inform the visitors about heritage elements but also entertain and embellish tour experience with this skill. Women and men may have different communicational skills and their discourses during heritage interpretation may be perceived differently by visitors.

Tour Guiding Profession in Turkey

The importance of cultural and heritage tourism is on the rise in Turkey. Markets of these tourism types are growing. Cultural tourists are also attractive because they spend more, minimize negative effects of seasonality and value sustainable use of environmental and cultural resources in the destination. Professional tour guides play a critical role in satisfying this niche market of cultural tourism. Tour guides play such a great role in shaping overall experience of cultural visits and perceptions of cultural tourists (Çetin and Kızılırmak, 2012).

Cultural tourists have to pass a considerable amount of their time with tour guides if they wish to immerse in the culture of the destination visited. Tour guide becomes not only a message converter, linguistics interpreter (translator) or an event organizer but also a personified representative of the destination culture and lifestyle for visitors. In particular, first-time visitors feel the great impact of tour guide on destination image. From this perspective, tour guides may positively or negatively shape destination image of visitors. It is not only what tour guides tell to visitors, but also how they tell, how they act in their personal daily routines. Then, their knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviors are of critical importance (Akmel, 1992: 219). The history of the tour guiding in Turkey goes back to the end of 19th century (Batman, Yıldırğan and Demirtaş, 2000: 1). In Turkey tour guiding is one of the eldest tourism-related professions with established rules. Since Ottoman period (1890) tourist guiding profession has been an interest for local and central Turkish authorities. The critical role of tourist guiding was that during a time when tourists and citizens had limited access to unbiased data, tourists were vulnerable against the disinformation that could be created by the few and sole holders of country data in foreign languages. On the other hand, some political problems of the country could be overtly spoken to the visitors in some cases with not much attention to the rules of objectivity. Additionally, many guides and tourists would produce their own tales, city myths, lies, stories and interpretation based on their own way of thinking and education. Old problems such as illegal tour guiding, organizing illegal tours without a travel agency license, concentration of tour guides in three most spoken languages (English, French, and German), disrespect of travel agencies to the basic daily allowances of tour guides, lack of guides in some rarely spoken languages are to be tackled by Guilds, Associations, and the Ministry of Tourism (Akgun, 2004). Despite early efforts to establish rules of tourism industry sectors and professions; the first Law in tourism industry was approved by the Turkish Parliament for travel agencies in 1972. Since that year tourist guides in Turkey discussed the need of having professional Law like that of travel agencies. In 2012, finally their Law is approved by the Grand National Assembly of Turkish Parliament.

According to Tour Guiding Law Numbered 6326, article 2, sub-articles “h” and “i”; tour guide is the real person who has the right and authority to offer tour guiding service according to the act law at stake. Within the same law, the service of tour guiding is explained as “on the condition not to act as travel organizer (agency) activity, to take the person or groups of domestic or foreign tourists to promote and visit the cultural, touristic, environmental, natural social and similar values according to the cultural and tourism policies using the foreign language chosen before the trip, or managing the tour programs organized, sold to consumer and written on the documents of the travel agencies on behalf of them.” (6326 Sayılı Turist Rehberliği Meslek Kanunu, 2012). However, in this Law there is no reference to “gender”, “women”, or “feminine” issues. The Law is totally indifferent to gender issues in tour guiding profession in Turkey.

Currently, 38 different languages are spoken by Turkish tour guides. According to the density of language use three European languages are mostly spoken ones. 7.290 tour guides are licensed for English language. Second; the German language with 2.537 tour guides, following the third French language speakers with 1.757 tour guides. Italian speaking tour guides are 674 and number of Russian speaking guides are 671 on the sixth line. Polish, Urdu, Armenian, Macedonian, Slovak, Icelandic and Malay are the other languages that are spoken by Turkish tour guides. In total; 15.802 tour guides are licensed and 66 % of this population (being 10.436 persons) are males and 34 % of them (being 5.366 persons) are females (Kültür Turizm Bakanlığı, 2012). This is a huge development when compared with the old times in 1935 for example, 53 tourist guides were graduated from the courses opened by

municipalities. From the first years of the Turkish Republic, the tourist guidance courses were organized by the municipality or ministry. At the present, most of the newly graduated tour guides are knowledgeable of at least one foreign language and they need to have either associate or bachelor degrees (İRO, 2014).

Çetin and Kızıllırmak(2012) argues that the reason why the number of women are less may be that the difficult working conditions and sometimes it requires to sleep out of the living place. According to the research by TUREB (2012), the average age of tour guides generally concentrates between 30-40 years. The youngest tour guide is 19 years old, oldest one 93 years old. There are 11 tour guides at the age of above 70. After the age of 40, the number of active tour guides decreases. This is an obligatory result proving that the tour guiding is a job that requires good physical condition (Çetin and Kızıllırmak, 2012). 72.28% of tour guides (11.422) are actively working in regional and national geographical levels. On the other hand 27.72% (4.380) of the tour guides (holding license) are not working actively (TCKTB, 2012).

There are several reasons for not practicing tour guide profession in Turkey. Common reasons are given as working in other jobs (therefore preferring a fixed and stable job to tour guiding), being full-time government officer or civil servant requiring permission of superior ranks for each tour, being too old for the job, not considering the job as a regular/permanent job, holding (keeping) the guiding license card just for prestige, image of tour guiding job as seasonal, difficult working conditions, and other reasons. Also, the lowest daily payment determination of the job being too low, not gaining the job the prestige that it merits, the illegal workers practicing the job without license/card, the problem of image, the lack of specialization, the guide-travel agency conflicts are shown as other problems by TUREB -Association of Turkish Tour Guides (TUREB, 2012).

When asked to tour guides they complain typically about the increasing number of tour guides, hence creating fierce competition and hardening to find new tour duties. The low profile of the job is another concern of tour guides. Tour guides expect and wish that number of cultural tourists willing to take guided cultural tours increase in the short run. Turkey has rich historical and cultural heritage. It is possible to spot in every part of this country the traces of various civilizations settled in these lands and continuing regional/local customs and traditions. This richness should be turned into an advantage in terms of tourism and the cultural and historical tourism seems to be the remedy for this change (Çetin and Kızıllırmak, 2012).

Research Design

In modern research practices mainly two broad research designs are followed; quantitative and qualitative. A third approach is to use them in a mixed format. Qualitative design can be used as a pragmatic solution when quantified data is inappropriate, unnecessary or impossible to obtain (Veal, 1994). Qualitative method has been neglected especially in American leisure and tourism research field during 1960s and 70s. However, after 1980s a growing interest for qualitative methods in leisure and tourism studies is recorded (Veal, 1994). There are various methods followed and data collection techniques applied in qualitative approach such as in-depth interviews, focus-groups, participant observation, ethnographic studies (Veal, 1994). In this study semi-structured interview method was chosen to collect data from subjects. Questionnaire technique was not applied because accessing to an acceptable sample from more than ten thousand tour guides dispersed throughout Turkey would be costly and time-consuming. Semi-structured interviews can bring up original insights about the nature of the phenomenon tackled. Qualitative design was considered to be suitable for this research because of the novelty of the topic in Turkish tourism.

Interviewing is a form of qualitative data collection and gives insights about realities and worlds of chosen people from their own eyes. One of the greatest advantages of interviewing against questionnaires is the elasticity during data collection (Clark et al., 2000). Individual interviews are probably the most widely used method in qualitative research. They take different forms but a key feature is their ability to provide an undiluted focus on the individual. They provide an opportunity for detailed investigation of people's personal perspectives, for in-depth understanding of the personal context within which the research phenomena are located, and for very detailed subject coverage. They are also particularly well suited to research that requires an understanding of deeply rooted or delicate phenomena or responses to complex systems, processes or experiences because of the depth of focus and the opportunity they offer for clarification and detailed understanding (Lewis, 2003: 50-51).

Data Collection

In this study, fifteen (16) semi-structured interviews were realized with tour guides and directors of tour guide guilds/associations in Turkey to obtain relevant qualitative primary data. The number of respondents was limited to 16 because some of them were chosen from board of directors of tour guide guilds. By selecting tour guides with managerial experience author(s) hoped to reveal valuable explanations from seasoned professional experts who also had chance to observe the profession from a macro-level. Data collection process continued from 2010 to 2014. The reason for this long procedure was primarily the limited accessibility of tour guides since they would displace frequently within the country or abroad. On the other hand, directors of tour guide guilds in Turkey are generally busier than tour guides because of their extra responsibilities related with guild or association. Another reason of this long procedure was the changing nature of study over time. The context of the study gradually evolved from mere problems of tour guides in Turkey to gendered aspects of guiding and cultural interpretation in Turkey. Respondents answered four general questions: a) why women choose tour guiding as profession; b) impact and relation of gender (positively/negatively) with professional tour guiding performance including discourse etc.; c) questioning the need for new rules concerning women tour guides' working conditions; d) future directions for gendered issues of tour guiding in Turkey? While asking these questions authors aimed to gather data that can help to create meaningful patterns and processes; new types of knowledge and their meanings, and they tried to discover structures and relationships within the verbatim as descriptive qualitative data analysis process necessitates.

Results and Discussion

As Table 1 predicts below; 15 subjects were questioned basically in 3 years (2010, 2012, and 2014). Academic mobility of authors (national and international) has prolonged data collection process. 9 of respondents were female and 6 were male. Age variation goes from 20s (2 subjects), 30s (5 subjects), 40s (6 subjects), to 50s (2 subjects). Most of respondents have deep experience in tour guiding profession as their expertise cover up to 30 years. However, one respondent had mere 13 months of experience as a new tour guide. 7 out of 15 respondents had managerial roles and leadership roles in tour guide guilds and/or associations. 6 of 15 interviews were realized face-to-face, other being via telephone. Of 15 interviews 3 took place in 2014, 3 took place in 2012, and 9 took place in 2010. Duration of interviews varied from 5 minutes to 17 minutes. Collected data were elaborated after typing and recording verbatim as word documents. Recorded texts were then coded, regrouped, and patterns with significant relationships were determined from the text. The data text was reduced to a shorter version where synthesis of research was underlined. Finally, after one more analysis and reading basic issues summarizing the phenomenon were named.

Table1. Profile of Respondents

No	Coded name	Gender	Age	Duration of tour guiding license acknowledgement	Managerial role in tour guides' guilds or associations	Method of contact	Time of Interview	Duration of interview
1	SD	Female	30s	13 years	Yes: TUREB (Turkish Tour Guides Association)	Telephone	January 2010	5 minutes
2	AK	Female	30s	13 years	Yes: İZRO (Izmir Chamber of Tour Guides)	Telephone	January 2010	15 minutes
3	ŞA	Female	50s	Approx.. 30 years	Yes: İZRO	Telephone	January 2010	10 minutes
4	MA	Male	40s	Approx. 20 years	No	Telephone	January 2010	10 minutes
5	ŞY	Male	40s	Approx. 20 years	Yes: İRO (Istanbul Chamber of Tour Guides)	Telephone	January 2010	10 minutes
6	AB	Female	30s	13 years	No	Telephone	January 2010	7 minutes
7	NG	Female	30s	Approx. 15 years	Yes: BORED (Bodrum Tour Guides Association)	Telephone	January 2010	17 minutes
8	DU	Male	40s	Approx. 20 years	Yes: ÇURED (Çukurova Tour Guides Association)	Telephone	January 2010	10 minutes
9	YU	Male	40s	Approx. 20 years	Yes: İZRO	Face to face	2010	5 minutes
10	AR	Male	37	7 years	No	Face to face	2012	7 minutes
11	ARA	Male	28	6 years	No	Face to face	2012	10 minutes
12	ARB	Female	24	13 months	No	Face to face	2012	10 minutes
13	PS	Female	45	17 years	No	Face to face	2014	17 minutes
14	ARC	Female	50	2 years	No	Face to face	2014	15 minutes
15	AE	Female	40	17 years	No	Telephone	2014	7 minutes

Table2. Synthesis of Responses

<i>Women's motivations for tour guiding profession</i>	<i>Female tour guide interpretation performances</i>
Economic, family status, educational, psychological, feminist	Negative impact: power-gender conflict, sexual harassment, physical condition; positive impact: high interpretation and discourse skills due to communicational competencies, feminine solidarity, religious (halal) tourism demand from middle class.
<i>Gendered professional regulations</i>	<i>Future professional issues</i>
2012 Tour Guiding Law indifferent to gender, support needed for young female guides, mothers and wives.	Visitor health training for female guides, training female guides for emergency and crisis situations.

Motivations of Turkish women for choosing tour guiding profession

Some women choose the job *to earn their lives* or to make money. The profession of tourist guiding has a positive and glamorous image among young Turkish ladies. Non-monetary benefits play a great amount of role in convincing Turkish women to choose the tourist guiding profession. Among these benefits we can state a relatively independent and highly active/dynamic work environment, chances to learn about new culture, practice foreign language, travel free of charge can be stated. Women of high socio-economic families in Turkish society mostly prefer to work as tour guide because they receive high-level education. Tour guiding is *perceived as a high class, glamorous job* providing socio-psychological satisfaction by young women. Some women see guiding as an interim activity to make necessary capital for further investments or entrepreneurial plans. Women graduating from humanity studies with adequate linguistics skills are most likely to be interested with the job. Wandering and travel lust is another reason. Un(married) women in Middle-Eastern countries could not travel alone easily in earlier decades, but tour guiding gave them freedom to work and travel alone. Some desperate young graduates fluent in *foreign languages* consider guiding as an interim job during unemployment periods. Women feel *power* and taste *authority*, and develop leadership skills. Some women like *storytelling*, narrations by nature. They have *curiosity* to learn the “*Other*”, foreign people and cultures. Intergenerational *family tradition* of tour guiding helps to encourage young ladies to work as tour guides. During their childhood they learn about profession and receive license when they are capable of.

New gendered professional arrangements/regulations

Sexual harassment is rare but can generate from visitors and/or vehicle drivers. Most of the times drivers seem to need more training and new regulations for sexism, discrimination, mobbing. Another subject is about the sexist discrimination applied to female and male students of guidance. University male students can be apprentice at the summer holidays because they are advantageous for the agencies as they carry and put the baggage to the buses. The female university students don't do that bell-boy job. That is why they don't have the right to be apprentice during their studies at the summer period. This means that, male students directly begin to practice guidance job when they graduate while female students should at least stay yet one or two years as apprentice after they graduate from school. This is an unfair situation. Apprentice is a severe problem for young ladies studying tour guiding discipline at universities. Since they are weak biologically, travel agencies prefer to hire male apprentices. This choice is reasonable for them because they expect apprentices to act like bell-boys that can carry suitcases from buses to hotels and vice versa. Another problem area is the existence of “pseudo-guides”, called “shadow guides” literally in Turkish. These guides have license from a language that is different from the tour group and they attend the tour sometimes silently sitting on their seat, and sometimes while tour leader (not guide) interprets attractions they only translate tour leaders' words. Some modifications are needed for women in tour guiding profession. The job needs to be designed differently for female tourist guides. Modifying working conditions for women does not violate the equality principle and human rights since women guides have their own physical, psychological, and social characteristics. These gender-specific working conditions can improve tour guiding quality as a general outcome.

Interpretation performances of female tour guides for cultural tourists

Gender has negative and positive effects on women tour guides especially. In positive side; feminine beauty, seduction, sensuality, higher communicational skills create easier job offers. Motherhood produce disadvantages more than advantages but this vary according to travel agencies' policies. Some mother tourist guides are given favorable conditions (early live, easier and shorter itineraries) by travel agency managers. Women guides experience sex segregation (some tours are offered to men such as the long Anatolian tours because they are thought to be tiring for women). Women guides request private rooms at hotels during the tours which travel agencies doesn't like because of costs incurred. No pay differentiation has been stated so far. Sexual harassment (by visitors, bus drivers, colleagues) is rare but a matter of complaint shared by male guides too. Some women guides would not like to work at remote destinations, at night, under heavy climatic conditions, visit relatively dangerous attractions (i.e. underground cities causing claustrophobia in Cappadocia), and transfer passengers from airport late at night. Travel agencies may prefer male guides for tours including commissioned sales pauses at shopping malls, believing that male guides promote souvenir shopping better than women. Most of the times agedness, physical endurance, marriage, pregnancy, maternity, motherhood, hygiene and sanitary conditions at tourism attractions, menstrual cycles are key concerns for female guides. Travel industry is male dominated and travel agency managers, tour bus drivers and other employees of the industry do not like to obey women tour guides (power conflict), especially when they are young. In terms of semantic discourse analysis (meaningful, symbolic, behaviors, acts, linguistics, non-verbal gestures, behaviors, signs, pictures etc.) female tour guides seem to have advantages in heritage interpretation since they are beautiful, interested more in details, attentive, careful, like aesthetics issues, and they look after themselves better than males.

"... In another tour, a woman was telling the problems that she lived with her boyfriend. She left her education while in faculty of law just to get married with him. And a while later, the man left her for another woman. She hated men because of this reason. She was in depression during our private tour. She needed to talk about it. What I did was to lead her to become an advocate and to protect the other women and women rights. She became very happy when she heard that. She took big decisions about her life. All these show that guiding also has a psychological dimension beyond the geography, stones, archeology and history. I advise to this kind of women to make up lemonade if life offered them sour citron."... (PS).

Three patterns about gender impact on tour guiding performance: positive, negative, and neutral (tour type and guide personality/characteristics determine the situation). Some travel agencies exclusively ask for female tour guides because tour groups demand only female guides. Among these groups are; feminists, women travelers that pay significant attention to Islamic rules (can be though part of Halal or Islamic tourism). Women rights associations, women-related organizations and associations also prefer female guides.

Future professional issues for female tour guiding practice

Improved tourist guiding services will eventually lead to higher levels of visitor satisfaction. Labor Law should be revised with related tourism laws to provide new rights to women tour guides such as longer parental leaves, priority to return to work after growing children, offering shorter daily excursions and city tours to women. All guides should receive education about the emergency help and crisis management. In case of the serious health problems of the guests, the agency should inform the guide and pass the information to the guide. (For example in the case of epilepticus or diabetic diseases, they should have their medicaments next to them not in their baggage under the bus).

Conclusion

Finally; two overall opinions emerged from the study; *pro-women* professionals those suggest to improve work conditions of female tour guides and *status quo* supporters. The latter group would first solve shared problems of the tour guiding profession (training, better payment, social security, low season unemployment and so on) and find gendered issues early to be discussed. Changing professional and social conditions seem to empower the former group. The tour guiding job seems to have gained a lot more prestigious place since the first years of the Turkish Republic when, according to the Fishermen of Halicarnassus (Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı), the tourist guide books were written by foreign authors in their travel books, to have been one of the three plaguy things for Turkey (fire, plague, and

guides). Early tour guides of Turkey were not competent in many dimensions of the profession. The travel agencies, all the tourism authorities and even tourists had had enough troubles because of these people who did not merit the loyalty of the job and who of course could not succeed to present the correct image of Anatolia. At that period, the tour guiding job was looked down on by the upper part of the society. The Fishermen indicated from the pen of Gökovalı that the job should be given the prestige, should have divine importance just like teaching (Gökovalı, 2014). It is clear that, there has been a long way which is already traversed, and there still is a long way, even hill to climb to the top. Women and men, all Turkish professional tour guides are just there to succeed it.

Tour guiding profession has differentiating aspects for female guides. Therefore; female guides should be offered tours according to their life-cycles, family-status, physical capacities, motherhood status, marriage status, and age. This can be called positive discrimination which can motivate ladies to serve better to tour groups. Regarding semantic discourse analysis ladies can enjoy many advantages during their cultural heritage interpretation efforts. Female guides and group interactions have special socio-psychological patterns. Feminine solidarity takes place during women-led tours. To resume; female guides seem to have increased levels of communicational competencies and aesthetic/design tastes which make them prone to cultural tours. There are managerial implications based on research findings. Managers of travel agencies and tour operators should develop a gendered approach to improve their relationships with female tourist guides. Female guides with special needs should be paid attention such as mothers with babies to care, senior guides with limited mobility, and wives with multiple responsibilities. In Turkey there are new travelers creating solely feminine tour groups and asking for female tour guides. This niche market can grow and demand for female guides can increase too.

This study has limitations. Firstly, it is qualitative and findings are based on interviews with a limited number of participants via semi-structured interviews. Therefore; results should be considered cautiously without generalizing it to whole society of female tour guides in Turkey or elsewhere. For future studies; these initial data from Turkey need to be tested by quantitative studies with new scales and structured questionnaires.

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Branding Atatürk and Charlemagne onto my T-shirt

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Abstract

This paper is about branding. *Branding national myths and symbols (BNMS)* for profit and recognition. It argues that any touristic merchandise/souvenir we buy must and does reflect that collective group identity - irrespective whether it is obvious visually to us immediately. Any merchandise as a visual representative of any ideology will manifest either as '*not visible + silent*' (Sitki: 2008) or as '*not silent + visible*' (Sitki: 2008) of any group's identity. This paper will examine the 'creation' of myths and symbols of Europe/EU and Türkiye and their respective Father Figures, Charlemagne and Atatürk as reflection of their own (and together) collective group identities. The relationship between Europe/EU and Türkiye is three-fold as expressed in this formula: '*us/other + other*' (Sitki: 2008). This tri-level relationship has manifested in tangible forms for both sides throughout their mutual history. This manifestation is touristic merchandise/souvenirs as each will carry the identity of the other away back home.

Keywords: Branding national myths and symbols, Türkiye, Europe/EU, Tourism, Touristic merchandise/souvenir.

Introduction

This article will explore the relationship of Europe/EU and Türkiye from a myths and symbols perspective. These two collective groups have over the years have had (and continue to) play a triple role to each other. They have been each other's allies; they have been allies and enemies; and they have been just enemies. This premise is expressed in this formula '*us/other + other*' (Sitki: 2008). The personal myths and symbols of their respective Father figures have been artificially 'created' to match and in response (both negative and positive) to the needs of their individual collective group identities. So far their respective touristic merchandise reflects this within and without relationship. The next stage of their relationship could be about mutually acknowledging their mutual roles in each other's identity. This action will be demonstrated in coffee mugs, post-cards and even t-shirts.

Branding National Myths and Symbols: The Elephant Matrix (Attachment A)

Branding is the last layer/final stage of any collective group's internal and external identity. Branding is the outward 'selling' or commercialisation of a group's internal myths for external 'other's' consumption. This is demonstrated by this formula:

$$'myths + symbols = branding' \text{ (Sitki 2009)}$$

To explain this premise I need to demonstrate how the roles of an antagonist (us) and his protagonist (others) are really one and the same. They play each other's roles and in turn help each other to create their opposite roles. These actors' roles need one another to function at their optimum level while thriving at this intimate competition. This competition between them enables them to be friends, and enemies simultaneously as circumstances dictated. To be able to play out these roles both characters needed their own set of myths and symbols which define their roles internally and externally. At times these myths and symbols were mutually misunderstood. These myths and their corresponding symbols have been borrowed from each other and they have been 'created' in direct response to one another. Türkiye and Europe/EU have always played interchangeable roles in the 'creation' of each other's internal and external identity. Each possesses a vital and defining 'body part' of the other's Elephant. Within Türkiye's internal and external identity there are *western/Christian/European* factors; and Europe has *Islam/Saracens/Selçuks/Osmans* elements within its identity.

In the next act of this play- which has yet to be written – each of these primary characters needs to decide their own role and in turn, the role of their 'other'. Europe/EU and Türkiye need to take into consideration the mutual role they have played in the 'creation of one another's collective group

identity. Neither of their collective group identities can be branded without the inclusion of the other, as shown in this formula:

‘Western/Christian/European/EU + Islam/Saraceans/Selçuks/Osmans/Türkey’ (Sitki: 2008)

This formula highlights EU’s ‘Unity in Diversity’ by demonstrating the ‘unified’ ‘myths + symbols’ which represent the ‘diversity’ of Türkiye and Europe and EU together and individually.

The premise of ‘*branding the national myths and symbols*’ will be applied to Europe/EU and Türkiye and how to create this premise into touristic merchandise as ‘invisible tourism’. Our language silently continues to reinforce the division between ‘us’ and our perceived ‘others’. Our acknowledgement of the role/contribution our other has made to our identity can lead to mutual understanding between us and our other as we share our similarities, and not our differences. Our mutual sharing of the origins of our collective myths and symbols can be branded to demonstrate our acceptance of our ‘other’. For Europe/EU and Türkiye to understand each other, their myths and symbols need to be included in their discussions. The myths of both Father Figures have been artificially created and super imposed for longevity and to become synonymous with the identity of their ‘tribes’. The biggest hurdle for both these collective groups’ is whether both can ‘openly’ accept, adopt and acknowledge one another’s contribution to the internal identity of each other’s collective group identity. If the Father figures are willing to accept/adopt each other’s sons (+ daughters) as their own, then it remains to be seen if their off-springs can follow suit. Or for that matter both collective groups’ to ‘*brand their national myths and symbols*’ in acknowledgement of ‘unified’ and ‘diverse’ Europe/EU and Turkey. And this will be the image on my T-shirt.

Branding 'The Elephant Matrix'

The ‘Elephant Matrix’ demonstrates that the collective identities of Europe/EU and Türkiye are two sides of one coin. Türkiye has tied (temporarily/ permanently?) its external identity to Europe/EU’s internal/external identity. Secondly, as Türkiye has been trying to gain Europe/EU identity and membership it needs to be included here. Türkiye’s and Europe/EU’s collective group identities are interchangeable, and are interdependent for the survival of their internal identities that these questions need to be answered:

- Who are the Europeans?
- Who is not European?
- Why some nation states are considered European and some not?
- Where does Europe’s geographical border start/end?
- What is the internal/external identity of Europe/EU?
- When will Europe/EU achieve their ‘diversity’?
- How should this internal/external identity be achieved?

The Elephant Matrix attempts to answer these questions by using the thoughts of A A Berger with the thoughts of H Musurillo and K W Deutche. Their perceptions are used to construct the structure of this cause-effect diagram. This matrix is drawn up using Kaoru Ishikawa’s cause and effect or fish-bone diagram (Kondo 1994: 86-91). H Musurillo’s terms provided the internal identity factors, while the three terms of A A Berger provided the ‘imaginary’ time-line for this diagram. As the collective group identities of Türkiye and Europe/EU are inter-dependant, it is necessary to demonstrate this *silent* but not *missing* relationship. Admittedly, this ‘Elephant Matrix’ is a simple model and is not extensive nor complete piece, but one which continues to evolve. It represents selected historical events which have had great political and social impact on both groups. The model can be completed once an extensive plebiscite is carried out where ever Europe/EU’s borders are drawn/decided to be and who the Europeans are. Either way, Türkiye will have to be involved in this plebiscite. Then these questions will be answered from below, and not super imposed from above. And their journey will be depicted on all touristic merchandise/souvenirs.

Results and Discussion

Charlemagne, as Europa Pater and the 'creation' of Europe's internal identity myth

This section explores the premise behind the 'us/other + other' (Sitki: 2009) formula and Turkey's triple role with Europe/EU. In the first instance, 'Us/other' both collective groups join together to fight a common enemy: there is a unification of identity between both groups. Second 'Us/Other' their union does not lead to merging of identity between both groups even though they are 'united'. 'Other' there is no unity and no merging by both groups. Turkey's triple role can be expressed in this 'cyclical-word' formula (Sitki: 2009):

Asu / Islam / Selçuk / Osman Empire / Republic of Turkey + Ereb / Christianity / Europe / European Union (Sitki: 2009).

This formula demonstrates the inter-dependent and inter-linked relationship between the collective identities of Europe/EU + the Republic of Turkey. Both their *present* 'created' collective group identities have their 'geneses' in Asia Minor. Their collective group myths and symbols support this formula. Europa was born, raised and abducted by Zeus from Asia-Minor. The present collective identity of the Türks was created on the same soil. They have variously played the role of 'us' and as part of 'others' to each other. The 'cyclical-word' formula has also been used to illustrate the emerging fission between the Türks as a collective group, and their immortal leader.

This 'cyclical-word' formula will be applied how King Charles' crowning, and subsequent metamorphing to Charlemagne, Father of Europe. Charlemagne, or King Charles's '**personal identity**' (Berger 1999: 128) starts as he is born as the son of Pepin the Short, King of Franks, and as the grandson of Charles Martel – the 'Hammer' (Martel or Tudites) who defeated Moslems at the Battle of Poitiers¹; Grant 2005:66). It wasn't long before the propaganda machine of the day started to portray Charles as the next generation of Roman Emperors, the Thirteenth Emperor, as it were. Lamb writes that Charlemagne's negative side to his character were glossed over by the '...cantilenes [of] folk tales, and monastic rewriting of the life and deeds of the son of Pepin the short...' so that '...by some alchemy of human imagination, Charlemagne became the hero, not of court chronicles or of his own Franks but of whoever wrote, told, or sang in the new calamities of western Europe. He became, the heroic monarch of humanity at large' (Lamb 1954: 301).

Charles had been on his Frankish throne for 27 years when Pope Leo III was elected as the next Pope after Hadrian I in 795. There was an uneasy relationship between Charles and Pope Leo III. Charles had already sent letters and instructions outlining his expectations of how a religious figure ought to behave. Charles' letters are full of '...admonitions on how the monarch expected him to act, how he expected him to pray for him, intercede with God for the success of his arms, ...' (Easton and Wieruszowski 1961: 40-41). The recently appointed Pope Leo III's 'reign ...[started with] disturbances and disorders in Rome, always an unruly city, culminating in an attack on the person of the pope in 799 by a band of conspirators. They accused Leo of adultery and perjury and attempted to tear out his tongue and eyes' (Easton and Wieruszowski 1961: 41). Leo needed military protection and was willing to overlook his predecessor's complaint letters to win Charles' support. Charles, in turn needed the support of a religious figure to fulfil the '...spiritual over-lordship of Christendom, as a useful assistant in temporal matters...' (Easton and Wieruszowski 1961: 40-41).

Charles, it seems, had no trust in the new pope, perceiving him to be 'a dangerous rival to his own rule in Italy' (Easton and Wieruszowski 1961: 40-41). Charles' crowning signifies the shift of political and religious power away from the Eastern/Greek Orthodox church to Church in Rome. Charles' name change to Charlemagne (or Carolus Magnus, in French or Carlus Magnus in Latin, or Karl der Grosse in German, or El Gran Carlemany in Andorran) is his '**national identity**' (Berger 1999:128).

After Charles' crowning the city of Constantinople and the East Roman Empire shifted to become part of Charles' perceived 'others'. The Byzantines would 'ridicule ...the new Caesar' and would show up his 'awkwardness' and possibly, his illiterate background. Pope Leo, who refused to recognise Empress

¹ www.newadvent.org/cathen/03629a.htm

Irene's reign as Empress of Constantinople, was a continuation of '...Roman Emperors who ruled both East and West' (Easton and Wieruszowski 1961:43).

King Charles' crowning can be explained by H Musurillo's four symbols: *artificial*, *event*, *verbal* and *gesture* (Musurillo 1993:319). These four symbols have been given a wider interpretation by this paper, than the one Musurillo originally had intended for them. These are:

- *Event symbolism* is Charles becoming Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire
- *Gesture* is Pope Leo III's act of crowning Charles
- *Event symbolism* is St Peter's Church in Rome '*silently + visibly*' confirms Rome as the centre of Christianity
- *Event/artificial* symbol is Charles' Frankish Kingdom will be synonymous with Greco-Roman collective myths and symbols.
- *Verbal* symbolism is cries of the 'Roman people' in the Church wishing '...“life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God, great and pacific emperor of the Romans”...’²
- *Artificial* symbolism is Charles' crowning superficially merges Christian ideology with politics, giving it military might.

Karl Heldmann based on Einhard's writings³ suggests that a Frankish king would not have 'aspired to the rank of the Roman Emperor...had not a specific event served as the direct cause for such an eventuality'. At his crowning, Charles grows into his '***national identity***' (Berger 1999:128) and becomes '...champion of the Lord' (Lamb 1954:308). He now has the '...bless[ing] the church of St Genevieve' (Lamb 1954:308). Charlemagne now considered himself as a Christian ruler. Pope Leo and other church bureaucracy realised that the 'welfare of the Church' in Rome now 'rested' on Charles' shoulders (Easton and Wieruszowski 1961: 41).

King Charles' crowning is an '*event symbol*' as it is '*silent*' and '*not hidden*' as its presence manifests in various church sanctioned '*artificial*' symbols. It also achieves the desired outcome of restoring the power and stability to the church in Rome. Externally, Charles's physiognomic transformation into Charlemagne, as the head of a newly 'created' collective group identity shaped by religious ideology, is signified when Pope Hadrian offers him 'a long tunic and a Greek mantle, and shoes made in the Roman fashion' (Thorpe 1969: 78-79).

There are two versions of what Charles' contemporaries or his '*us/others + others*' (Sitki 2009) thought of his crowning. Charles' '*us/others*' are his allies and enemies simultaneously, who remain different from him. His '*others*' are his perceived enemies or outsiders. Charlemagne's contemporary, Harun al Rashid, the Abbasid Caliph ('*us/other + other*') sent Charlemagne, a '...clock, the first that was seen in Europe, which excited universal admiration. Harun al Rashid, refused to '...consider an embassy from Charlemagne, which figures so prominently in Frankish annals, worth mentioning in his own records' (Easton and Wieruszowski 1961:39). At the time of Charles' crowning there were two other monarchs with comparable imperial power and both were in the east. The first eastern ruler, '...Tassilo sought only to enlarge his Bavaria. The other, Abd al Rahman, Emir of Cordobba, was a Moslem and hence a pagan' (Lamb 1954:84). Charlemagne's position created the '*us/other + other*' dichotomy: how could a Moslem Emperor be an ally, and be the enemy simultaneously? Charlemagne '...had no objection to dealing with Muslims when it suited his purpose' and as such invaded Spain to fight the Saracens on behalf of Muslim factions but was unsuccessful (Easton and Wieruszowski 1961:38).

King Charles' new name and identity: creation of Charlemagne

Charlemagne's new name/identity can be expressed by these two formulas:

'Frankish ruler + Christian liberator + military man/defender of the Roman Empire' (Sitki:2009)

'personal' + 'national' + 'occupational' identity (words by Berger 1999:128; formula by Sitki: 2009)

² Einhard, Readings No 8 D to 8H, in Easton and Wieruszowski 1961:42

³ Einhard, Readings No 8H, in Easton and Wieruszowski 1961:42

His deliberately created image emerge of ‘...Charlemagne’s deeds [were] exaggerated in this way. But it is extraordinary that in legend he became what he had never been in life’ (H Lamb 1954:302). Harold Lamb questions the subtle shift in the portrayal of Charles’s ‘*national identity*’ image as Charlemagne in political, religious and at times social arenas, and by being adopted as their national hero in different cultures. Charlemagne’s ‘*national identity*’ is further ‘silently’ cast wider as subsequent Christian Emperors claim direct lineage to him. Alessandro Barbero proposes that, Charlemagne’s newly acquired title of ‘Father of Europe’ formed the basis for Europe/EU collective group identity. Jiri Pehe expands on Barbero’s point by adding that the EU is a Christian, that is, principally, Catholic⁴ collective group identity, since Charlemagne’s Empire was ‘unified’ in the name of religion, by religious figure (Barbero 2004). His ‘*occupational*’ and ‘*national*’ identity blur into one as he is portrayed as being the

‘universal benevolent monarch’ (Lamb 1954: 306) whose fame and greatness ‘...came to stand for something remarkable. Charlemagne, unlike most other kings, seemed to belong not to one nation but to all the nations of western, Christian Europe’ (Lamb 1954:5).

Albrecht Dürer, the 16th German painter, ‘*silently + visibly*’ confirms Charlemagne as the Father of the French and Germans when he paints him with Fleur de lis, and the German eagle⁵⁶

Branding Charlemagne as Father to Asu’s children

Charles’ two names ‘*personal identity*’ and his ‘*national identity*’ titles signify an external shift by his collective group to convert them to be his ‘*occupational identity*’ title. The initial two forces were Catholic/Roman Church behind the Frankish Empire of Charlemagne as they resented the splendour and enlightenment of the Eastern/Greek Orthodox Church. Sultan Mehmet II’s claimed to be *Kayser-i-Rum* or *Cesar of (Eastern) Rome* after his conquest of Constantinople after May 29 1453. After his conquest and claim, he subsequently, earned the title of being Europe’s ‘*us/other + other*’ (Sitki: 2009) and shifted Europe’s notion of their ‘other’, from Eastern Roman Empire to the Osmans (Neumann 1999: 43).

His predecessors had absorbed the Selçuk Empire and were known as the Sultanate of Rum (meaning from Rome), as they had taken land from Byzantine Empire or Eastern Roman Empire. Frederick III objected for Sultan Mehmet II’s personal use of ‘Father of Europe’ ‘*Kayseri-Rum*’, or ‘*Imperium Romanum*’ titles. The German King Frederick IV was crowned as Emperor Frederick III of Holy Roman Empire in 1452 by Pope Nicholas V. Frederick III’s objections raised an interesting question. How are these titles to be acquired? Are these titles acquired through Christianity only, or are they earned through merit, or won as part of geographical booty?

Thereafter, Sultan Mehmet styled himself by his ‘inherited’ title of ‘*Kayser-i-Rum*’. Sultan Mehmet II’s self-styled epithet of *Kayser-i-Rum* is an ‘*artificial*’ title what combines ‘*event*’ symbolism, as expressed in formula:

‘*Event*’ symbolism + ‘*artificial*’ symbolism + ‘*artificial*’ symbolism (Sitki: 2009)

Or if we substitute the above formula with these words:

29 May 1453 conquest + *Kayser-i-Rum* + start of Osman’s ‘cultural-*cringe*’ to be seen ‘western’ (Sitki; 2009)

Sultan Mehmet II’s self-titling is ‘symbolic possession’ of his new ‘realm’ Constantinople and the ‘visible’ beginnings of Osmans’ ‘cultural *cringe*’ of being of the west (Geertz in Wilentz 1985: 16; Phillips 2006). Sultan Mehmet kept the conquered city’s name. Constantinople was changed to Istanbul (to mean, in the city in Greek) by Mustafa Kemal in 1930. Emperor Frederick III argued that to question his ‘right to rule is not only unseemly but impious’ (Beattie 1964:161). Sultan Mehmet II equally believed that his claim was ‘divine or ritual kingship is very much a matter of degree’. He felt

⁴J Pehe 3/2006 on www.eurozine.com/articles/2006-12-04-pehe-en.html

⁵ www.baronage.co.uk/bphtm-02/moa-15.html

⁶ www.albrecht-durer.org/Emperor-Charlemagne.html

that he needed to uphold the continuation of these rituals and ‘...symbolisms given overt expression is a way of asserting, and so reinforcing, values which the people who have the ritual hold to be important’ (Beattie 1964:154).

Branding Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as Father to Ereb’s children

Mustafa Kemal’s reforms, vision and his personal actions/attire were all deliberately designed to ‘modernise’ his flock. In his mind, to ‘modernise’ and ‘westernise’ were synonymous to achieve the blending of ‘us/other’ in his mind. Unlike the myths of Charlemagne, the west has played a pivotal role in shaping Kemal’s flock’s external identity and their future aspirations. That is Mustafa Kemal, intentionally or unintentionally continued the Osman Empire’s practice of ‘cultural cringe’ for anything ‘western’. The Republic’s newly ‘created’ internal collective group identity based on the myths and symbols of Gök Türks clash with the super-imposed western/modernisation philosophy. Symbolically, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s birth, life, death, unites east with west. Mustafa, as the son of Ali Rıza was born in 1881 at 75 Aposlolou Pavlou Street, Selanik or Thessaloniki as it is now known in modern Greece⁷. His first ‘given’ name, Mustafa, signifies:

- The beginning of his ‘past’
- part of the Osman Empire
- known as the son of Ali Rıza
- beginning of his ‘personal’ myth
- The kernel of his ‘personal’ identity, or his ‘inner’ identity.

Mustafa’s birthplace 75 Aposlolou Pavlou Street connotes east ‘unified’ with the west:

- Aposlolou in Greek means Apostle.
- Pavlou is Greek for Paul.
- Apostle Paul or St Paul’s Epistle to the Ephesians in Part 1-3, a doctrinal theme that developed the concept of ‘unity’ of east and west.
- Islam (Osman Empire) and Christianity (Greece/Europe/EU) being united in one location.
- Signifies the ‘past’ of Osman Empire, and the ‘present’ of Republic
- Connotations of east and west ‘uniting’ in one location.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, or his two ‘given’ names, and one given/‘created’ morphologically deconstructed (singular + collective proper noun) provide a different ‘created’ image. If his next two names, were to be morphologically deconstructed would give the following messages. His first name, Kemal, signifies that it is:

- his ‘***national***’ name
- his ‘present’ name
- his ‘own’ last name, as a singular proper noun
- no links to his father and his ‘past’
- living in a self-created ‘present’
- a new one lineage/race from *Ata*
- Empire’s collective group identity becomes ‘silent’
- Republic’s newly ‘created’ collective identity based on ‘military-myths’.

His last/given name, Atatürk is:

- His ‘future’ name
- His ‘***personal***’ identity becomes synonymous with that of Republic’s ‘***occupational***’ and ‘***national***’ identity.
- Republic’s newly ‘created’ collective identity based on ‘military-myths’.

Collated, his three names reveal their ‘*silent*’ and ‘*not missing*’ messages that are contained within his three names:

Mustafa + Kemal + Atatürk (Sitki: 2009)

⁷ www.superbgreece.com/Makedonia/Thessaloniki

chosen (one) (*Mustafa*) + *perfection* (or clever) (*Kemal*) + *father* (or Ata or ‘progenitor’ of a tribe, or father figure) (*Atatürk*) (Sitki: 2009)

His three names as a collective proper noun signify:

- ‘*past*’ + ‘*present*’ + ‘*future*’ of Türks (but not necessarily of the Republic).
- Islamic + Osman Empire + Republic name
- ‘*personal*’ + ‘*occupational*’ + ‘*national*’ identity of Mustafa Kemal, is synonymous with the ‘creation’ and development of the Republic’s identity.

Mustafa Kemal physiognomatically marks his transition from his ‘past’ into his ‘present’ by growing a moustache, signifies his acceptance of the Empire’s cultural appearance (Haviland 1975). This is his ‘*occupational*’ identity as it blurs into the birth and evolution of the Republic. For his final physiognomatical development, he appears clean-shaven for his marathon speech, or Nutuk he gave on 15-20 October 1927. Kemal and his tribe have now externally changed sides by adopting the western mode of dress. For this momentous occasion Mustafa Kemal wears a (western) cravat, stiff white collar, dark suit, bowler hat and a ‘dandy cane’ (Özel 1990:145-147), and he urges his tribe to follow him:

‘...his own legend, just as he established his own cult by encouraging the erection of his statues. ...the Speech remains an important source for the history of the foundation of the modern Turkish state, a monument to its founder, and the eloquent expression of his determination to propel his country into modern world’ (Mango 1999:463 (italics added)).

He ‘silently’ and ‘visibly’ breaks away from his eastern/Islamic/Osman Empire traditions to adopt what he sees as ‘modern’ and ‘progressive’ attire. A blending of ‘*us/other*’. Roland Barthes’ analysis of Abbe Pierre’s facial hair/beard is relevant here. Barthes continues on Saussurean perceptions that text is a text in itself as the ‘...written clothing has a structural purity, which is more or less that of language in the relation to speech’ (Barthes 1972:18). Barthes writes that Abbe Pierre’s ‘beard goes through the same mythological routine’ and that ‘ecclesiastical beards also have a little mythology of their own...they cannot but signify apostleship and poverty’. ‘shaven priests are supposed to be more temporal, bearded ones more evangelical...’ (Barthes 1972:48).

Abbe Pierre’s clothing, Barthes argues, gives a ‘silent’ and ‘visible’ confirmation of his support to his bourgeois class. Barthes suggests that his facial hair and clothing should be in unison to highlight the causes he was fighting for. Unlike Abbe Pierre, Mustafa Kemal deliberately manipulated his own appearance to convey his internal messages. He writes how he could ‘silently’ and ‘visibly’ convey his chosen ideology externally to his collective group:

‘when I entered the military preparatory school and put on its uniform, a feeling of strength came to me, as if I had become *master of my own identity*’ (Mango 2002:33 (italics added)).

‘...[Mustafa Kemal was] very particular about his clothes’ (Mango 2002:33) and he was adamant to shed the ‘...external signs of oriental life, and *longed to look like a Western officer and gentleman*’ (Mango 2002:34 (italics added)).

Mustafa Kemal in his ‘*occupational*’ identity displays the essence of his social, economic and political reforms by dressing ‘in immaculate evening-dress cut for him by a London tailor, the Gazi stood talking...’ (Armstrong 1933: 233). In this way, he ‘silently’ and ‘visibly’ demonstrates his allegiance to his collective groups’ three main identity factors:

Islam (religion) + *Army* (military) + *statesman* (Republic/politics) (Sitki: 2009)

Like Abbe Pierre, Mustafa Kemal achieves his ‘sainthood’ when Fevzi and Ismet table a bill on 18 September to make him a ‘Marshall (Musir) and [be] awarded the title of Gazi’ which combined conveniently the meanings of ‘hero’ and of ‘warrior for Islam’ (Mango 1999:322). Once this bill was accepted and then adopted, there is no ‘visible’ division between his ‘created’ ‘personal’ and that of his ‘occupational’ identity. In other words, Mustafa Kemal is his collective group’s:

‘*past*’ + ‘*present*’ + ‘*future*’ (immediate) + ‘*future*’ (iconographic) (Sitki: 2009)

His 'future' role has been divided into two in the above formula to distinguish in the 'immediate future' he is still part of his collective groups' identity. His future as an iconographic Father figure remains to be defined with Turkey's EU membership. As part of his westernisation reforms, all Türks had to take a surname. This reform had four implications:

- it 'silently' gave them the opportunity to 'visually' 'create' their own 'personal' identity;
- they would 'silently' pledge their allegiance to their new collective group identity;
- their 'silent' progenitor' is Mustafa Kemal, as their Father figure;
- severed their 'visible' ties to their Osman Empire 'past'

Not surprisingly, Mustafa Kemal chose '...the name Atatürk' for his surname (Mango 1999:498). On 16 June 1934, the Grand National Assembly passed a law confirming Gazi Mustafa Kemal Paşa's surname as Atatürk (Mango 1999:498). Deconstructed, his last name reveals its 'silent' but 'not missing' messages: *Atatürk* or *Ata + Türk*:

- signifies that he is *the* 'Father to all Türks' (Mango 1999:498)
- 'Ata' has implications of being '...grander, signifying not only a father, but the progenitor of a line' (Mango 2002:498).
- is his 'future' identity,
- his last identity evolution stage
- attainment of his 'iconographic' status in Türks' collective 'unconsciousness'
- 'visible' and 'not silent' affirmation of being part of the Türks' collective external identity
- merges his 'occupational' identity to his 'national' identity

As the progenitor of this new tribe, the names and surnames of his immediate family all radiated out from him. His sister Mâkbule's surname is *Atadan* (Volkan and Itzkowitz 1984: xiv), literally from [the family of/lineage of] the father (Mango 2002:498 (*italics added*)). To his adopted daughter Sabiha, he gave the surname Gökçen (*Gök + çen*) to mean of 'the sky' that has 'invisible' and 'not silent' references to Gök or Blue Türks. Gökçen, in fitting with her name became '...Turkey's first woman combat pilot...' (Morgan 29 February 2004). Sabiha Gökçen has achieved her own iconographic status with a domestic (now an international) airport named after her⁸. In keeping with the Gök Türks her 'memorial' is on the eastern or Asian side of Turkey. Mustafa Kemal named his yacht, 'Ertuğrul' (Volkan and Itzkowitz, 1984:327) after the '...founder of the Ottoman dynasty in Anatolia' (Shaw 1976:13). His choice of this name *silently* + *visibly* unites his Osman and Oğuz tribal roots. Ertuğrul is considered to have led his tribe 'westward into Anatolia' (Shaw 1976:13 (*italics added*)). Symbolically Mustafa Kemal leads his tribe 'westwards', and into 'modernisation'

Mustafa Kemal as an ideology and the person, as the *Ata + Türk* and Atatürkism, has been written into the Republic of Turkey's constitution as follows:

'...the concept of nationalism and the reforms and principles introduced by the founder of the Republic of Turkey, Atatürk the immortal leader and the unrivalled hero...' and stressing the collective to be '...loyal to the nationalism of Atatürk'⁹.

His '*Six Arrows/Six Reforms*' are also written into the constitution¹⁰. Deconstructed, his 'Six Arrows' support his 'self-created' external personality traits with his attributed names:

- *republicanism* (manipulator of public opinion);
- *populism* (Atatürk);
- *secularism* (Gazi);
- *reformism* (revolutionary/ideologue);
- *nationalism* (statesman) and

⁸ www.sgairport.com/havaalani/eng/start.asp

⁹ Constitution of Republic of Turkey (as amended in 2001) Article II

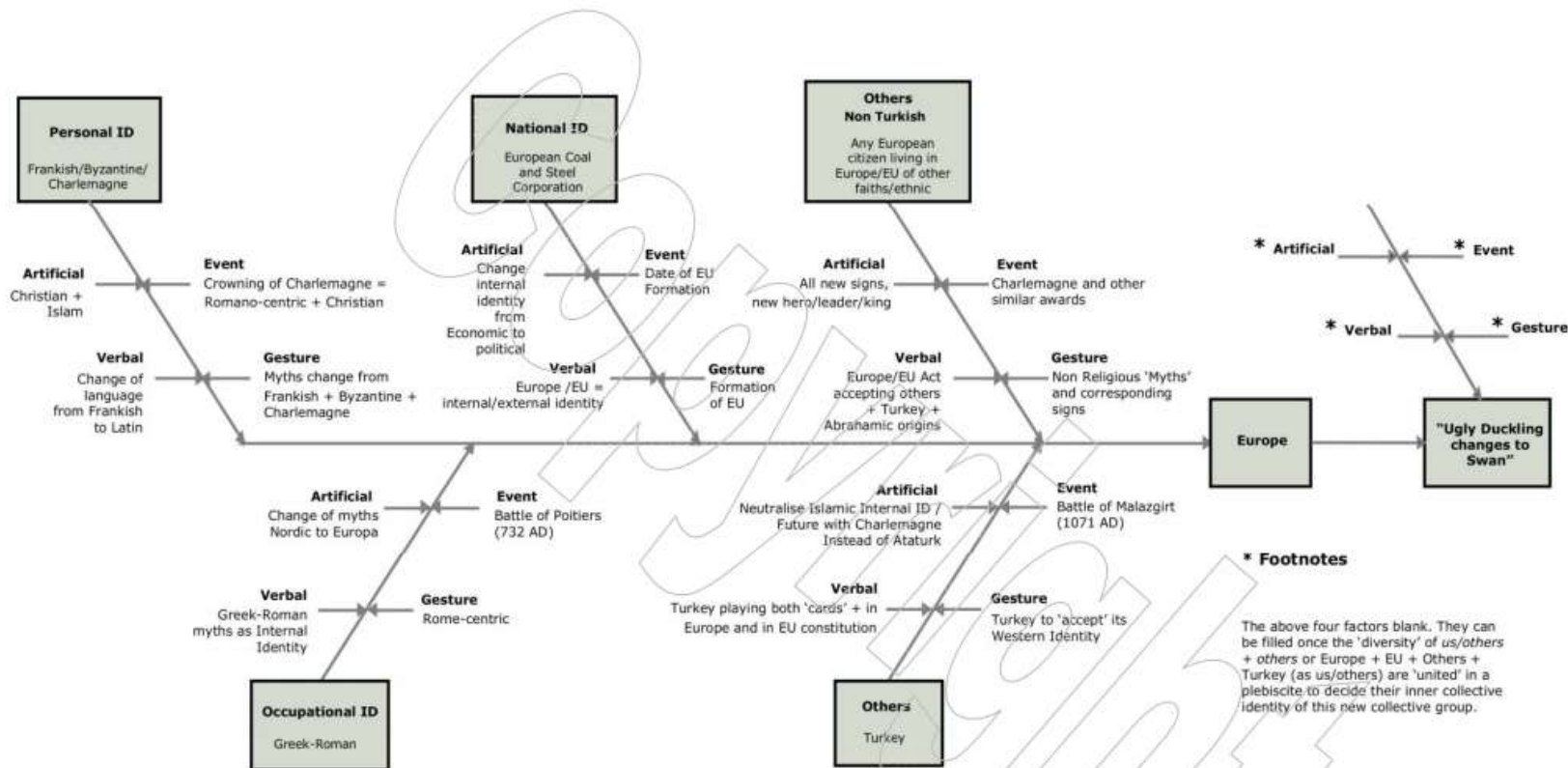
¹⁰ www.anayasa.gov.tr/images/loaded/pdf_dosyolari/THE_CONSTITUTION_OF_THE_REPUBLIC_OF_TURKEY.pdf

- *statism* (strategist),

Collated together these '*Six Arrows*' confirm Kemal's '**personal**', '**occupational**', '**national**' identity phases that continue to '*visibly + not silently*' (Sitki: 2009) exist in the Türk's collective group cultural 'unconsciousness'. The myth and symbolism of these arrows silently reinforce (and perpetuate) Türk' military mentality as well as demonstrating the 'creation' of the Republic's internal identity based on the same principles.

**Attachment A:
Dr Hatice Sitki**

Branding the Elephant[©]



This 'Elephant Matrix' illustrates the *silent + not missing* factors that need to be included in the 'creation' of a new collective group who are 'unified' in their internal 'diversity' and 'visibly' display it externally.

Dr Hatice Sitki: Branding National Myths and Symbols Copyright ©

Conclusion

This paper explored the premise that branding national myths and symbols can and does make up their touristic merchandise/souvenirs. The internal identity of any collective group always manifests visibly in such forms as touristic merchandise to the design on their passports and currency. The collective group identity of Turkey and Europe/EU individually and together are inter-linked and inter-woven. They have been allies and enemies simultaneously where they've shared a common goal but did not share any of their identities with each other; allies where they shared each other's identities' merchandise; and enemies with no positive interaction between them. This triple role continues to this day and is reflected in their respected touristic merchandise/souvenirs.

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Cultural Citizens *Versus* Tourists: Local and Temporary Communities Between Europe and the Mediterranean

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Abstract

The paper aims to discuss new approaches to Western discourse on tourism as paradigm of modern State construction. Given the occasion (a conference held in Istanbul), intends also to look at the 'dialogue' in the Mediterranean, bridging experiences from Jordan to Matera, which has become European Capital of Culture for 2019.

The paper will start with a project I realized in Jordan, where, as University, we were asked by the Jordan Government and the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities to develop specific archaeological areas in North Jordan, to strengthen local economy connected with tourism (tourism in Jordan represents almost 20% of GDP). Working in Umm El Jimal, a fantastic Graeco-Roman site on the cross border with Israel, Palestine and Syria – a dramatic geographical context in these days – the first worry I had was what to enhance accordingly to the local needs, also to avoid a typical 'colonial' attitude which we, as Westerners, tend to have when we work in other countries. I did organize immediately a meeting with the local community of the village (5000 inhabitants), asking what they wanted me to portray in the narrative of the archaeological site in order to attract tourists. The answer was quite abrupt: we don't care, because the site is Graeco-Roman and therefore doesn't belong to our (Muslim) history. What they cared about instead was to generate a 'product' to be sold to us, Westerners, firstly because that history belonged to us, secondly because the real 'buyers' of tourism come from the West.

All this made me thinking: can we sell 'culture' without any sense of local involvement? Can we work on a model of local development generating a product which is not felt as belonging to the local community?

These questions, apart from pushing me in developing in Jordan a program which involved the rethinking of history with local schools and launching a pilot project on a new narrative about the space we inhabit, made me thinking about our relationship with the past in the West.

Would we as Westerners reply in the same way about the past or we feel too overconfident about our identity? How artificial is our identity when we feel 'naturally' connected with the places of our heritage (from Pompeii, to Renaissance monuments, from Stonehenge to museums)? Are the disciplines which nurture museums and our identities still able to create a sense of communities? How does this discourse effect the so-called 'glocal' community, in the interaction between local and external communities (including 'tourists')?

These questions were also at the core of our bid for becoming European Capital of Culture for 2019. We challenged the idea of 'culture' simply as a product to consume in your free time, reimagining it instead at the centre of our discourse as a starting point to redefine our community and economy. We invented the concept of 'cultural inhabitant/citizen', to stress the sense of responsibility among the local community, given the specific set of 'memory' of Matera.

Matera is famous, at least in Italy, for what happened during the '50s: our first Prime Minister of the Italian Republic, De Gasperi, visiting the city and realizing the poor condition in which people was living in the area of the Sassi (no running water, no electricity, high percentage of infants death, etc.), declared Matera a place of 'national shame' and developed a gigantic plan to move 15.000 inhabitants to new built quarters. The Sassi were therefore abandoned and became for thirty years an empty space; thanks to local associations, which were aware of the historical value of the area, in the late 80's it was approved a national plan to restore the old part of the town, and in 1993 the Sassi of Matera were acknowledged as a UNESCO site. In forty years from shame of the West it became an established beauty to preserve.

In this schizophrenic Western attitude, I find the contradictions of what is 'cultural heritage'. We tend to forget that the model of cultural heritage was somehow invented at the beginning of 19th century,

with public museums and new historiographic disciplines set at the centre of European identity - this also as a result of the Grand Tour (which generated the word 'tourism'). The first main public museum of reinvented Europe (the Europe established with the treaty of Versailles of 1815), the British Museum, was built around a new idea of history, 'appointing' London as the new Athens with the acquisition of the Elgin Marbles.

In the same period, new universities were built and new curricula were set in schools (and the same universities), starting teaching history, art history, archaeology, etc.: then we regenerated our Classical past (and its sequence, bypassing the Middle Age to go directly to Renaissance), and we invented our identity and, therefore, our 'cultural product' (and, as a consequence, people started travelling to visit their own 'properties').

Nowadays we are in a different situation: I do believe that the disciplines mentioned above are going through a severe crisis and we go on, academically, producing the same results. The emergency of museums or historical sites (it is enough to look at the case of Pompeii) prove that the State solution of 'imposing' a model of culture is not working any longer (in particular in Italy).

As a specific case, I always quote the case of our Italian 'beautiful' Medieval villages, which are, more and more, being abandoned because the absence of local economy: youngsters move away to larger cities to find jobs and in some of these places the average age today is over 60.

What do we do? As supporters of 'cultural heritage' we claim that these 'borghi' need to be preserve, but with which economy? The funny thing is that we, as archaeologists, were 'invented' 200 years ago to dig our past and to preserve it. We were digging exactly those settlements which, for economic reasons, were, at a certain point of their history, abandoned because economic reason. Now, instead, without a new economy, we want to keep them alive.

I do believe that a possible solution at this dilemma can be given only by a redefinition of 'heritage' and its 'consumers': following Greg Richards suggestions on Tourism 3.0 ('Culture 3.0: culture as a source of new value(s). The diversification of cultural taste, the fragmentation of cultural production and access to new technologies and media challenges the monolithic production of culture under Culture 2.0. Alongside economic value, culture is also seen as a means of creating identity, stimulating social cohesion and supporting creativity'), we need to rethink 'culture' (and therefore 'cultural tourism') as a mean of creation of a new sense of community.

Local community need to see themselves as 'cultural citizens', to create a new sense of relationship with the space they inhabit, without an imposition of 'what they are'. Operation aimed not only to recreate links with their past (and monuments – and this could also be a solution for the Muslim case I was talking above), but, using 'culture' in its meaning of 'research', exploring new local economy and, through that, new sense of identity.

But by 'promoting' inhabitants at the state of 'cultural citizens' we automatically are challenged with the idea of what does include a community.

Tourists in the III millennium are more and more interested in experiencing local lyfestyle: quoting again Richards, 'the point about relational forms of travel is that tourists usually seek out people and places they regard as 'local' (even though some of these localities and experiences may still be specifically created for tourists), often through direct peer to peer contact – arranging their local experiences with 'locals'.

This cannot be seen only as, I believe, simply a new trend of 'tourism', but answer perhaps also the urge of travellers of finding a new human dimension, often absent in the big cities were they live.

I then suggest, as we have done here in our bid book for ECOC 2019, to start 'promoting' tourists to the state of 'itinerant/temporary citizens', somehow involving them not only in the local experience, but 'charging' them also of a sense of responsibility towards to space they visit. And giving them the sense of belonging they are looking for.

The paper will deal also with issues like 'glocalisation', the effect of internet culture in constructing memories, etc, but also will make an attempt, through a new approach of storytelling and narratives, to produce a 'common' vocabulary between 'local and temporary cultural citizens'.

We need to look at the future, reimagining new economies, and 'cultural tourism' as a mean of bridging cultures, not only within the West, but, even more, between the East and the West. And being able to give a paper in a place like Istanbul, the real crossroad between these worlds, becomes even more meaningful.

Keywords: cultural tourism; cultural heritage; narrative; new economy; community identity

**Theme 2: Heritage, Hospitality and Sustainable Tourism
Development**

In Search of Authenticity: The Case of Japanese Heritage

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Abstract

Authenticity as a pristine, unmediated concept, or a state of being enjoying some status of ontological stability, is a chimera. Previous studies have highlighted, that while sites, objects or experiences may be reproduced or ‘staged’, they may still foster an authentic existential experience for some tourists, when they enter into it knowingly. Here, existential authenticity, defined as intangible heritage, where the perception of authentic experiences may be rooted in ‘provenance’ but ‘mobile’ in its place of consumption. In this study we also define, objective authenticity as viewed distinctly from ‘constructive authenticity’ (the users acceptance of second order authenticity). Consequently, we investigate visitors’ experiences and attitudes towards heritage consumption, at Japanese heritage sites with the full knowledge, indeed expectation, that they have been reconstructed. In the Japanese context various factors extensive restoration or reconstruction of heritage sites, has established a unique and questionably authentic context to base our study. How the manifestation, interpretation and verification of these influences directly affect motivations to visit heritage tourism sites is examined. Therefore, this paper contributes to understanding of relationships among the concepts of brand heritage, cultural motivations, heritage related behaviours, serious leisure, self-connection, object-based and existential authenticity, commitment and relational value by furthering Kolar and Zabkar's (2010) model of authenticity using Partial Least Square, whereby both formative and reflective scales are included. The structural model is tested with a sample of 768 visitors in a culturally specific setting of Japanese heritage sites. The empirical validation of the conceptual model supports a majority of the research hypotheses. Our findings develop a better understanding of visitors' perceptions and their valuation of authenticity in Japanese heritage attractions. Several implications can be drawn from the study findings, stimulating new debate regarding directions for future research. Brand heritage is shown to have a strong, positive influence on serious leisure, cultural motivations, object-based and existential authenticity and consequently, on commitment and self-connection. Furthermore, cultural motivations and serious leisure both directly influence object-based authenticity, but these two concepts indirectly affect existential authenticity.

Keywords: Authenticity; Japan; Brand Heritage; Serious Leisure.

Introduction

Authenticity in tourism research has mainly focused on its application to Western settings (Kolar & Zabkar, 2010). However, some previous studies have considered aspects of authenticity in the Far East, namely China (Xie, 2003; Zhou, Zhang, & Edelman, 2013), Korea (Cho, 2012), Macau (Wong, 2013) and only tentatively, Japan (Ehrentraut, 1993). It should be noted however that Ehrentraut's (1993) research has been significantly advanced theoretically, and was applied to a highly specific niche; domestic tourism and conservation of rural heritage architecture. In this paper, we investigate a broader concept of authenticity within a new context; Tourism sites in Japan.

Literature Review and conceptual model

Preconceived ideas

Before visitation, tourist notions of brand heritage influence their perceptions of sites and experiences, furthermore, they can promote or diminish a tourists' motivation to attend a site. Brand heritage is a multi-dimensional, context dependent concept (Wiedmann et al., 2011). Dimensions of brands imbued with heritage are associated with elements of trust, reliability and authenticity (Aaker David, 1996; Wiedmann et al., 2011). Wiedmann et al (2011) describe brand heritage exercising influence not only on the perceptions of a brands past, but also its present and future. Urde, Greyser, and Balmer (2007) note how brand heritage, as an aspect of a corporate brand is affected by longevity, host corporate cultural attitudes, central values and an organisations use of symbols. Strong relationships between brand heritage and enhanced authenticity perceptions have also been suggested in the literature (Aaker, 1996; Leigh, Peters, & Shelton, 2006), thus a positive link is expected. Brand heritage also has a positive relationship with commitment (Richard & Zhang, 2012). We hypothesise the preconceived ideas a potential site visitor has, will influence visitor consumption experience and motivation.

Motivations

The motivations stage of the model includes both cultural motivations, serious leisure, heritage related behaviours and the extent of self-connection between tourist and site. Cultural motivation is used to understand tourist behaviour in heritage tourism, deriving from both the cultural tourist, and cultural tourism (Kolar & Zabkar, 2010; Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2003). The cultural tourist is someone whom is likely to attend local festivals, performances, historical sites, museums and art galleries (Kolar & Zabkar, 2010; McKercher, 2002). Kolar et al (2010p. 655) define cultural motivation as "...a set of cultural motives which are shifting towards a more general interest in culture, rather than very specific goals" and it is shown to positively impact upon both object-based authenticity, and existential authenticity (Kolar & Zabkar, 2010; Zhou et al., 2013).

Serious leisure is defined by Stebbins (1992) as "the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity that is sufficiently substantial and interesting for a participant to find a career there in the acquisition and expression of its special skills and knowledge" (p. 3) and Stebbins notes that serious leisure consumers do not necessarily receive remuneration. Stebbins (1982) suggests aspects of serious leisure are related to elements of identity, and thus, self-connection, while Barbieri and Sotomayor (2012) question serious leisure significance as a motivator for surfing experience consumption. Further research into serious leisure in this context will enhance understanding of its relationship to other constructs.

Individual engagement with heritage and its motivations is under researched, with focus tending to be placed on reporting site visits and interaction with the tangible aspects of heritage, thus those who don't participate in site visits are often excluded from heritage research (Daengbuppha, Hemmington, & Wilkes, 2006; Goulding, 2000; McDonald, 2011; Prentice, 1993). Many intangible, often personal, heritage related behaviours have been largely ignored (McDonald, 2011). The relationship between heritage related behaviours and self-connection has been suggested by McDonald (2011), which would suggest evidence of a relationship to object-based and existential authenticity. Self-connection refers to the idea of brand-self connection which is a cognitive and emotional link between both the individual, for example the visitor, and the self, where the self is viewed as connected to the brand, for example the tourist attraction (Chaplin & John, 2005; Edson Escalas, 2004; Escalas & Bettman, 2003; Park, MacInnis, Priester, Eisingerich, & Iacobucci, 2010). The influence of physical closeness and self-connection pertains to ideas associated object-based authenticity where the physical object is consumed, while existential authenticity's emotionally constructed elements link closely to the emotional self-connection elements described by Mikulincer and Shaver (2010).

Authenticity

Authenticity is defined as "...tourists' enjoyment and perceptions of how genuine are their experiences (of a cultural attraction)" (Kolar & Zabkar, 2010 p. 655). Kolar et al (2010) note authenticity is two sided in that it is considered both a consequence of the tourist experience as well as an important antecedent due to its ability to motivate, interest, and drive tourist visitations (Grayson & Martinec, 2004; Kolar & Zabkar, 2010; Leigh et al., 2006; Poria et al., 2003; Yeoman, Brass, & McMahon-Beattie, 2007). Authenticity can therefore be divided into object-based and existential authenticity.

Object-based authenticity is described as "...how people see themselves in relation to objects." (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006 p. 74). It includes both the tourists' desires to visit and experience historical sites as well as to build genuine knowledge of arts, crafts and objects (Kolar & Zabkar, 2010). Such objects or physical artefacts have been found to add significantly to tourist perceptions of authenticity (Waitt, 2000). Approaches differ in assessing the impact of object-based authenticity (Kolar & Zabkar, 2010). Previous research has linked this concept to loyalty, existential authenticity, cultural motivation and attitudes (Chhabra, Healy, & Sills, 2003; Kolar & Zabkar, 2010; Zhou et al., 2013).

Existential authenticity is concerned with the object free aspect of activities or experiences (Handler & Saxton, 1988; Kolar & Zabkar, 2010; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999). Recent research investigating the influence existential authenticity has on tourist motivation alludes to varying degrees of linkage between objective authenticity, attitude, loyalty and cultural motivation, and suggests the relationships between these concepts are influenced by aspects of culture and context (Kolar & Zabkar, 2010; Zhou et al., 2013). Existential authenticity is likely to have an influence on commitment levels amongst visitors intimated through its positive relationship with loyalty (Kolar & Zabkar, 2010). The pertinent literature notes visitor perceptions of the product or service offering influence the visitors' relational value (Lovelock & Wirtz, 2007).

Post-visit feelings

The post-visit feelings stage of the model presents both commitment and relational value. The attitudes and feelings a visitor holds after a heritage experience can likely affect their lasting perceptions of it, understanding behaviour at this stage can enhance the models usefulness. Commitment can be viewed as a multi-dimensional (Gruen, Summers, & Acito, 2000; Gundlach, Achrol, & Mentzer, 1995; Kim & Frazier, 1997), and a uni-dimensional concept (Gruen et al., 2000; MacKenzie, Podsakoff, & Ahearne, 1998; Morgan & Hunt, 1994). Commitment occurs between two or more actors and is stimulated through a mutual understanding that maintaining a relationship, even at a short-term cost will deliver long-term benefits to all involved (Bowen & Shoemaker, 1998; Richard & Zhang, 2012).

Lovelock and Wirtz (2007) describe how customer relationship management involves generating and retaining customer relationships through offering value and satisfaction to customers in return for profit. Relational value, is an element of customer relationship management and has been linked to commitment levels amongst consumers (Siu, Zhang, Dong, & Kwan, 2013). Previous research examining traditional relationship tactics has focused on the building of bonds between the consumer and the service provider, where bonds are described as "psychological, emotional, economic, and physical attachments fostered by the interaction between exchange parties" (Siu et al., 2013 p. 294). These bonds include four levels; social, reward-based, structural and customization (Lovelock & Wirtz; Siu et al., 2013). Thus, the present study will continue without these social and reward based bond elements, in line with other research conducted by Siu et al (2013).

Figure 1 shows an overview of hypothesized effects. Our model is anchored on a consumer-based model of authenticity (Kolar & Zabkar, 2010; Zhou et al., 2013), which emphasizes relationships among the concepts of cultural motivations, perception of authenticity and behavioural consequences based on the visitors' experiences at heritage sites. They also stress that there is a lack of evidence whether visitors would have similar experience in another cultural setting and heritage sites. Thus, this study concentrates on such relationships in different cultural setting (i.e., Japan), heritage sites as well as extending and amending the relationships between various variables (i.e., serious leisure, heritage-rated behaviours, self-connection, relational value and brand heritage), this is illustrated in **Figure 1**.

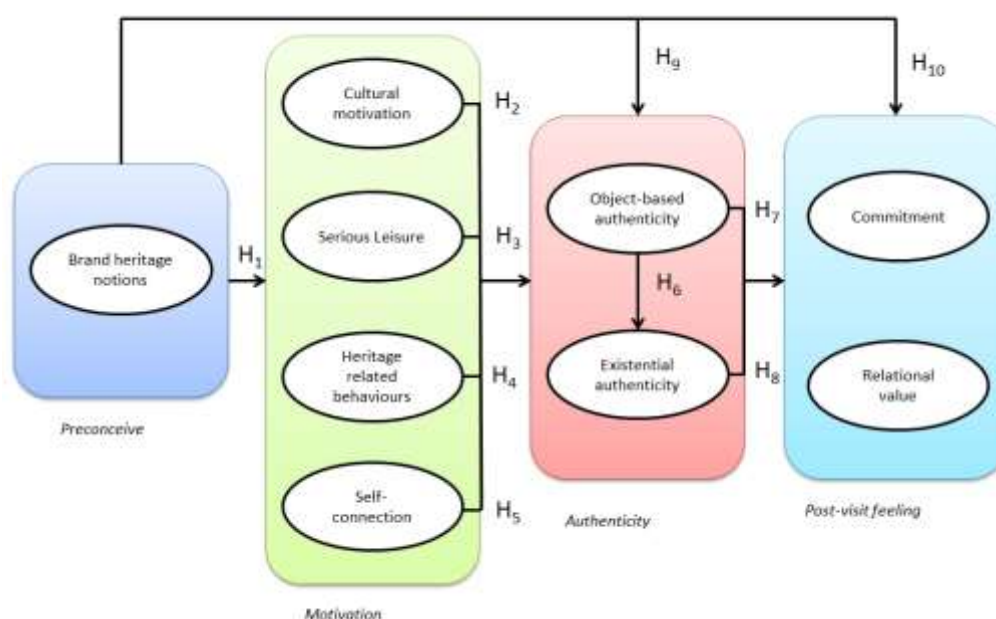


Figure 1. Conceptual Model

Method and results

A structured questionnaire included socio-demographic variables, multiple-item scales of brand heritage (BH), cultural motivation (CM), serious leisure (SL), heritage-related behaviours (HRB), self-connection (SC), object-based authenticity (OA), existential authenticity (EA), commitment (C) and relational value (RV) (Gould, Moore, McGuire, & Stebbins, 2008; Kolar & Zabkar, 2010; McDonald, 2011; Park et al, 2010; Siu, et al, 2013; Wiedmann et al, 2011). A pilot-test was performed to evaluate the reliability and validity of the questionnaire prior to testing among visitors. Respondents were asked to indicate their levels of agreement on each item on a seven-point Likert scale (1 - completely disagree, 7 - completely agree). The questionnaire was distributed over 3 months, at popular heritage attractions in Japan; Hiroshima Castle, Miyajima's Itsukushima Shrine, and Kinkaku-Ji, leading to a final sample of 768 questionnaires. To analyse the data we used Partial Least Squares (PLS). Unlike co-variance based structural equation modelling (e.g., AMOS), which use the structure of latent variables, PLS is a component based approach suitable for both predictive applications and theory building (Gotz, Kerstin, & Krafft, 2010). It can be modelled in formative and reflective modes (Chin, 2010; Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2010). Furthermore, Alexander, MacLaren, O'Gorman, and Taheri (2012) and Chin (2010) employed the geometric mean of the average communality and R^2 , within a range of values from zero to one as overall goodness of fit (GoF) measures for PLS.

In the case of the reflective scales (Table 1), Composite reliability (ρ_{cr}) scores range from .81 to .95 above the recommended cut off of .7 (Hair et al., 2010). Convergent validity was assessed using average variance extracted (AVE) and our factors scored .55 and .87 once again meeting the .5 threshold suggested (Chin, 2011; Hair et al., 2010). Finally, discriminant validity of the scales was measured by comparing the square root of AVE (represented the diagonal with inter-construct correlations in Table 2). All appear to support the reliability and validity of the reflective scales. For formative measure, we followed Diamantopoulos and Winklhofer (2001) four-step procedure for formative scales for constructing indexes based on formative indicators: content specification, indicator specification, indicator collinearity, and external validity. The indicators were drawn from a review of the relevant literature in order to capture the scope of brand heritage (Wiedmann et al., 2011b). We checked the multicollinearity among the indicators. The Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) was used to assess multicollinearity (Table 1). The results show minimal collinearity among the indicators, with VIF of all items ranging between 1.55 and 2.80, below the common cut off of 5. As a result, the assumption of multicollinearity is not violated (Chin, 2010). For the external validation, we examined whether each indicator could be significantly correlated with a 'global item' that summarizes the spirit of brand heritage scale. Therefore, we developed an additional statement: 'In my opinion, this site is a

brand with heritage'. As shown in Table 3, all indicators significantly correlated with the statement; consequently, all indicators were included in our study (see also Wiedmann et al., 2011). After following the systematic four-step approach, brand heritage can be regarded as valid formative measurement instrument. To examine the hypotheses, the structural model (Table 4) was simultaneously tested within SmartPLS (Ringle, Wende, & Becker, 2005). All values of the Q^2 are positive which confirms the model's predictive relevance (i.e. if $Q^2 > 0$ the model has predictive relevance) (Chin, 2010). The modelled constructs explain 37% ($Q^2 = .45$) of the variance in cultural motivation, 41% ($Q^2 = .62$) of the variance in serious leisure, 27% ($Q^2 = .45$) of the variance in heritage related behaviours, 43% ($Q^2 = .77$) of variance in self-connection, 54% ($Q^2 = .65$) of variance in object-based authenticity, 65% ($Q^2 = .75$) of variance in existential authenticity, 59% ($Q^2 = .74$) of variance in commitment and 67% ($Q^2 = .64$) of variance in relational value; the overall GoF is .65. To simplify the model only significant relationships are displayed.

Table 3. Assessment of the measurement model

Path	Mean (SD)	Weights/ loadings	Scales	VIF/Reliability
CM → CM1-Relax	4.68(1.54)	.686*	Cultural Motivation (Reflective)	$\alpha = .83$, AVE = .55, $\rho_{cr} = .87$
CM → CM2-Discover	4.53(1.63)	.696**		
CM → CM3-Calm	4.92(1.54)	.754*		
CM → CM4-knowldge	4.62(1.69)	.750**		
CM → CM5-Friends	5.41(1.52)	.688*		
CM → CM6-Cultural	4.90(1.70)	.727**		
CM → CM7-Historical	5.30(1.58)	.789**		
CM → CM8-Interest	4.69(1.73)	.782**		
CM → CM9-Religious	3.61(1.88)	.802**		
SL → SL1-Enriching	5.01(1.69)	.787**	Serious Leisure (Reflective)	$\alpha = .91$, AVE = .62, $\rho_{cr} = .93$
SL → SL2-Expertise	4.17(1.84)	.739**		
SL → SL3-Express	4.00(1.79)	.744**		
SL → SL4-Effect	4.47(1.73)	.853**		
SL → SL5-Satisfaction	5.09(1.70)	.830**		
SL → SL6-Enjoy	5.37(1.57)	.791**		
SL → SL7-Refreshing	5.06(1.77)	.776**		
SL → SL8-Group	4.19(1.86)	.805**		
HRB → HRB1-Visit	3.75(.94)	.721**	Heritage-related behaviours (Reflective)	$\alpha = .73$, AVE = .55, $\rho_{cr} = .81$
HRB → HRB2-Watch	3.70(1.13)	.709**		
HRB → HRB3-Read	3.32(1.15)	.763**		
HRB → HRB4-Attend	3.15(1.13)	.797**		
HRB → HRB5-Holiday	3.00(1.19)	.733**		
HRB → HRB6-	3.47(1.08)	.767**		

Active				
OA→OA1-Architecture	4.47(1.82)	.886**	Object-based authenticity (Reflective)	$\alpha = .88$, AVE = .75, $\rho_{cr} = .92$
OA→OA2-Design	4.48(1.73)	.886**		
OA→OA3-Offers	4.70(1.68)	.903**		
OA→OA4-Info	4.11(1.75)	.790**		
EA→EA1-Events	3.67(1.67)	.719**	Existential authenticity (Reflective)	$\alpha = .88$, AVE = .64, $\rho_{cr} = .91$
EA→EA2-Insight	3.92(1.73)	.876**		
EA→EA3-Connected	4.13(1.85)	.882**		
EA→EA4-Unique	3.54(1.78)	.711**		
EA→EA5-Peaceful	4.74(1.79)	.772**		
EA→EA6-Civilisation	4.34(1.79)	.823**		
SC→SC1-Who you are	3.33(1.75)	.939**	Self-connection (Reflective)	$\alpha = .85$, AVE = .87, $\rho_{cr} = .93$
SC→SC2-Personally	3.19(1.64)	.927**		
RV→RV1-Site relationship	4.10(1.78)	.941**	Relational value (Reflective)	$\alpha = .79$, AVE = .65, $\rho_{cr} = .74$
RV→RV2-Expectation	4.27(1.76)	.955**		
RV→RV3-Relational connection	3.91(1.84)	.910**		
C→C1-Go the extra mile	4.55(1.81)	.907	Commitment (Reflective)	$\alpha = .92$, AVE = .87, $\rho_{cr} = .95$
C→C2-Loyal	4.07(2.00)	.913		
C→C3-Go again	4.23(1.94)	.934		
BH1-Continuity →BH	4.86(1.91)	.109**	Recreational Motivation (Formative)	1.87
BH2-Success →BH	4.68(1.77)	-.026**		2.55
BH3-Bonding →BH	3.91(1.82)	.305**		2.67
BH4-Orientation →BH	4.48(1.68)	-.156**		1.80
BH5-Value →BH	5.27(1.70)	.051*		1.95
BH6-Meaning →BH	4.53(1.67)	.337**		1.77
BH7-Imagination →BH	4.36(1.71)	-.016*		2.10
BH8-Familiarity →BH	3.93(1.90)	0.264**		1.55
BH9-Myth →BH	4.81(1.73)	.014**		1.87
BH10-Credibility →BH	4.44(1.71)	-.090*		1.90
BH11-Knowledge →BH	4.97(1.61)	-.094*		2.23
BH12-Identity value →BH	4.80(1.18)	-.023*		2.35

BH13- Identity meaning → BH	5.20(1.67)	.406**		1.77
BH14- Differentiation → BH	4.11(1.98)	-.023*		2.33
BH15-Prestige → BH	5.18(1.23)	.091**		2.80

Non-standardized coefficients; *p < 0.10; **p < 0.05; n.a. Not applicable

Table 2. Latent variables correlation matrix (reflective measures)

	BH	C	CM	EA	HRB	OA	RV	SC	SL
BH	n.a.								
C	.74	.93							
CM	.61	.48	.74						
EA	.73	.60	.57	.80					
HRB	.51	.38	.35	.42	.74				
OA	.67	.48	.64	.63	.38	.86			
RV	.79	.61	.54	.64	.49	.59	.80		
SC	.65	.53	.35	.66	.37	.36	.63	.93	
SL	.64	.59	.70	.55	.37	.59	.59	.45	.78

n.a. Not applicable.

Table 3. Test for external validity of formative measure

Items	Spearman's rank correlation coefficient
Brand heritage	
BH 1	.415*
BH 2	.441*
BH 3	.536*
BH4	.362*
BH 5	.527*
BH6	.439*
BH 7	.319*
BH 8	.401*
BH 9	.560*
BH 10	.408*
BH 11	.459*
BH 12	.562*
BH 13	.536*
BH 14	.498*
BH 15	.502*

*p < 0.05; N.B. (2-tailed).

Table 4. The results of hypothesis testing (only the significant ones)

Structural relations	Standardised path coefficients
BH → CM	.612***
BH → SL	.645***
BH → HRB	.519**
BH → SC	.657***
BH → OA	.516**
BH → C	.605***
BH → RV	.561**
BH → EA	.297*
CM → OA	.369*
SL → C	.204*
SL → RV	.126*
HRB → RV	.193*
SC → OA	-.107*
SC → EA	.353**
SC → RV	.177*
OA → C	-.128**
OA → EA	.310**
EA → C	.561**

***P<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05

Conclusions

The present study contributes to a better knowledge of the interplay among brand heritage, motivation, authenticity and post-visit feeling. The majority of proposed relationships have been supported by the data which is also supported by previous studies (Barbieri & Sotomayor, 2012; Kolar & Zabkar, 2010; McDonald, 2011; Richard & Zhang, 2012; Siu et al., 2013a; Wiedmann et al., 2011; Zhou et al., 2013) (Table 4). This study highlights the need for further research into the influence of preconceived notions of brand heritage and motivation on authenticity. Our study amply demonstrates that brand heritage can play a very important role on visitors' motivation factors including cultural motivation, serious leisure, heritage-related behaviours and self-connection. Also, brand heritage has strong influence on object-based authenticity and existential authenticity. However, there is no relationship between serious leisure and heritage-related behaviours do not have influence on both authenticity constructs. Serious leisure, brand heritage, and both authenticity constructs have influence on commitment. Serious leisure, brand heritage, heritage related behaviours and self-connection have influence on relational value. However, there is no relationship between object-based authenticity and existential authenticity with relational value.

In this study, the authors amend a consumer-based model of authenticity and add constructs based on previous studies, into the model. Furthermore, we explore the consumption of heritage within a new and unique context. This study is not without limitations however, for example its use of structural equation modelling. Thus, the further study of authenticity, particularly when it is focused on its dynamic, idiosyncratic and holistic aspects, should deploy a combination of several methodological approaches (Kolar & Zabkar, 2010; Zhou et al., 2013). In terms of managerial implications, the results are primarily relevant for the management and marketing of cultural heritage sites. The findings show that, for successful marketing to result in improved tourist commitment and relational value, managers need to consider how tourists experience, perceive and evaluate object-based and existential authenticity based on both motivational and preconceived values.

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Chinese Tourists in Tuscany: Redefining the Relationship Between Heritage and Authenticity

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Abstract

The growing flows of tourists from China at their “second phase” are an important opportunity also to Italy. However, based on negative experiences with other BRIC countries, there is a diffused perception that substantial flows of Chinese tourists will be “sustainable” (in a wider meaning) only under specific conditions. Heritage is traditionally a key element of the “Tuscan experience” and may (or may not) provide the ground where the transitory and asymmetrical encounters with these foreigners will (or will not) develop in a long-lasting rather than in a short-term, transactional relationship.

Tuscany is a tourist destination whose image has been shaped over a long period of time by a highly internationalized tourism and by cultural exchanges especially with Northern Europe and the USA. But Chinese are different. Tourism is becoming an integral part of the lifestyle of larger social groups, such as the emerging middle-income class, with a strong learning (Confucian) dimension, with an increasing demand for authentic travel experience, but with no “inferiority complex”. The “psychic distance” between tourist destination and market is challenging the compromise between local heritage and Western culture on which the global brand of Tuscany has rested.

The paper discusses how Tuscan heritage is perceived by Chinese tourists in the pre-, during, and post-travel stages: Tuscany's place in the imagery of the educated Chinese; the powerful but partial associations with modernity, e.g. with luxury and fashion; the challenges due to the short stay in each location. The discussion is based on literature, on the authors' professional experience, on a survey of promotional activities and on interviews, performed between end 2012 and early 2013, based on a questionnaire in Chinese to a sample of 85 tourists in Florence, significantly representing the new wave of educated and younger tourists. Policy implications include the need for pooling relational and knowledge resources within the area, also from outside the tourist industry, and for investing in cross-cultural competencies.

Keywords: Chinese outbound tourism; authenticity

Introduction

An increasing number of localities and regions throughout Europe are looking at the growing flows of tourists from China and especially at the “second phase” of this phenomenon (Arlt, 2011) as an important opportunity, both to sustain the industry's growth and to face critical situations in specific localities. The “Chinese option” is also attractive because it includes the possibility of Chinese investments in the tourist industry.

So far, various factors (including the limited amount of direct flights connecting Italy to China, the inefficient management of visas, the cultural and operational shortcomings of national and regional promotion etc.) have severely limited the incoming flows, thus making the margins for future growth even more remarkable. However, also based on negative experiences with other BRIC countries (namely with the Russians), there is a growing perception that substantial flows of Chinese tourists will be sustainable¹ only under specific conditions. On the other hand, the failure to set up an adequate

¹ The term is used here with reference to economic and social “sustainability”, rather than to environment (like in the literature on “sustainable tourism”: Sharpley, 2009).

destination management with an effective targeting on China would cause a deterioration of the Italian relative position in the world tourist market.

In the following paragraphs we discuss the issues raised by Chinese tourism growth for local development policies in the Region of Tuscany, emphasizing the crucial role of heritage. The second, third and fourth paragraphs summarize the main aspects of the relationship between tourism and regional development as well as the nature and size of Chinese tourism worldwide and with reference to Italy and Tuscany. The fifth paragraph defines the challenges linked to the growth of Chinese tourists, a phenomenon that marks a substantial discontinuity in the long and successful history of tourism in Tuscany. In the remaining paragraphs we report some empirical evidence on present practice (as derived from some of the authors' professional experience) and the results of interviews made to Chinese tourists in Florence. The last paragraph deals with policy implications and raises the issue of pooling relational and knowledge resources within the area, also from outside the tourist industry, and of investing in cross-cultural competencies.

Tourism and Regional Development

The relationship between tourism and local / regional development shows many peculiarities that derive from the nature of the tourist industry (Gauzy and Nijkamp, 2006). In fact tourism is more than a sector made of hotels and restaurants. Rather it is a complex network of a wide variety of economic activities, crosscutting the whole economy, from agriculture to manufacturing and construction, including of course several kinds of services, such as retail, transportation, entertainment etc. Thus the tourist experience is the result of the packaging of several products and services that are produced by a mostly disconnected and uncoordinated multitude of companies. This includes large and (in the Italian case mostly) small and medium-sized enterprises and actors from both the private and the public sector. It also has a multi-scalar character, from local to global (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001).

Links are not only economic (regarding the contents of the product and its price and quantities), but often have even wider (symbolic, cultural, socio-political) dimensions. This is especially relevant with regard to heritage, that is a highly relevant territorial asset motivating inbound tourism, but also a key determinant of the insiders' ability to manage the challenges of the present. Within this framework the issues of commodification and authenticity are raised (Cohen and Cohen, 2012; Howard, 2003; Ashworth and Graham, 2005; Lazzeretti, 2012).

Equally complex is the impact of tourism on the growth of a regional / local economy (Gauzy and Nijkamp, 2006). While the macro impact on GDP can be (more or less precisely) identified and measured, the quality of such impact is much debated. On the positive side, as travel has increasingly become an un-renounceable lifestyle consumption in contemporary advanced societies, tourism grows can be expected to be more stable and less sensitive to economic downturns. In peripheral and rural areas, tourism may provide for development opportunities that are more realistic than the standard path through industrialization. In some cases, however, also more central and developed areas may look at tourism as an alternative path out of a de-industrialization process (cf. Bellini et al., 2010).

The "industrialist" critique over the excessive emphasis on tourism as growth factor was very much linked to the belief that tourism was an economic activity with low contents in technology and knowledge. Therefore tourism would be bound to be irrelevant to a territory's attempt to gain a stable position in the global knowledge economy. However contemporary tourist industry is changing dramatically. Large scale operators (major airlines, international hotel chains etc.) are introducing both a global perspective and higher professional and managerial standards, establishing new links with other sections of the economy (locally and globally: e.g. with the luxury industry). The *rentier* approach, exploiting the existing heritage and natural resources through low-skilled organizations, competes now with the "industrialized" construction of new experiential products. A tradition-obsessed tourism is now under challenge of technological and organizational innovations, with a massive use of new smart technologies. Marketing is also moving rapidly much beyond the first step of Internet dis- and re-intermediation into the social networks and the Web 2.0.

The balance between positive and negative aspects is far from obvious. "Sustainable tourism" (in a wider meaning) implies that economic performance, well-being of the local population, satisfaction of tourists, protection of natural resources, health of local culture are all "in balance", although potentially conflicting (Gauzy and Nijkamp, 2006). Sociologists have explored the dynamics of tourist – local

relationship and the problems raised by the transitory and asymmetrical encounters between “hosts” and “guests”. This literature stresses the importance of dealing with the potential antagonisms between tourists and locals that may derive from a variety of motivations. This may happen, on the one hand, by learning how to “cope with the foreigners” and by developing a tolerance towards their behaviour. On the other hand, the trend towards greater professionalization allows to manage those encounters as a controlled, “staged” relationship. At the same time, however, by downplaying the cultural dimension of hospitality tradition, professionalization legitimizes less genuine and possibly exploitative behaviour, emphasizing the tendency (of both sides) to achieve short-term, transactional gratification rather than the establishment of longer term relations (Cohen, 1984).

The Opportunities. Discontinuity and Growth in Chinese Outbound Tourism

China is now one of the top ten outbound tourism markets in the world and the fastest growing in Asia. Besides the obvious relationship with the spectacular overall economic growth, this has also been result of active promotional policies by the destination countries, an overall relaxation in visa policies, and the appreciation of the Renminbi. Unsurprisingly, in many countries there is an increased attention about Chinese outbound tourism, as witnessed by the growing numbers of reports on trends and characters of Chinese tourism and, more importantly, by the fact that so many tourist destinations identify China as a top priority in targeting their marketing strategies.

Discontinuity is even more radical. The Chinese have always travelled within their immense country. On the contrary, foreign countries were never a significant part of their traditional travel experience. Therefore the first decade of the millennium witnesses a change of historic importance. Besides quantitative growth, a new era of Chinese tourism has clearly begun, where tourism becomes an integral part of the lifestyle not only of Chinese affluent classes, but also of larger social groups (the emerging middle-income class). A “new Chinese tourist” needs to be addressed: “knowledgeable, sophisticated, travel-savvy and predominantly below 45 years of age”, “global yet patriotic”, sensitive to communication through social media and other forms of ‘WOM squared’ (word of mouth and word of mouse) communication”, looking for new experiences and places, willing to “purchase more goods for themselves and fewer for their friends and relatives back home, as their peers are more likely to travel internationally as well” (Arlt, 2011).

There is also a clear connection between the evolution of tourism and the new trends in consumer behaviour in the luxury sector. For many Chinese, luxury purchasing is no longer only associated to the aesthetic pleasure of buying a beautiful and expensive item (often to “show off”), but it has an experiential dimension, becoming a part of a new lifestyle, improving the quality of life. This means a new focus on spending in sectors such as travel, wellness, house appliances and culture in addition to the fashion and other classical luxury sectors (Rovai, 2014).

The learning dimension, deriving from their limited travel experience, is crucial in shaping the expectations, perceptions and actual choices of the “new Chinese tourists”. The Confucian frame of mind strongly supports the view of the travel as a significant part of the educational process: “One learns more by traveling ten thousand miles than reading ten thousand books” (Tse and Hobson, 2008: 143). In fact, traveling abroad means to the contemporary Chinese something in essence very similar to the role of the Grand Tour for the European elites of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth century. As a consequence, “a concern with what Chinese citizens learn about other places and how that learning may influence them as individuals and as their own society may be of broad international significance, not merely a matter of tourism promotion and profits” (Pearce and Lu, 2011: 446).

Chinese Tourists in Italy and Tuscany

Italy, one of the most important tourist destinations in the world, has witnessed a remarkable resilience of this industry during the recent economic downturn. This performance was also due to successful growth of inbound flows from “BRIC” countries. These considerations apply also to Tuscany, one of the top tourist regions in the country, with an even stronger “export-led” model of tourism development. Due to the different behaviour of domestic and international markets (and to the exceptional dynamism of the flows coming from all BRIC countries), in 2011 Tuscany welcomed for the first time as many foreign tourists as domestic ones. Chinese tourists’ presence grew in Tuscany by 168% from 2007 to 2013 (IRPET, 2014).

Italy is a top destination for Chinese tourists in Europe (with figures comparable to UK, Germany and France). So far, however, Italy takes only a very small (but growing) share of the overall flows of Chinese tourists traveling abroad (0.54% in 2011). Tuscany's market share is 24.6% of the national total (MAE-ENIT, 2014). However Italy and Tuscany show much more disappointing data when we look at the amount of average time of permanence within the country (and the region): 1.7 days for Italy, 1.5 days for Tuscany. The geographical concentration is noticeable: 63% of Chinese tourists stay in Florence. Other selected locations are art cities (Pisa and Siena) and cities with large Chinese communities (Prato) (Centro Studi Turistici, 2011).

According to a recent survey, Italy ranks 10th as "Must Visit Holiday Destination" for Chinese and 5th in Europe (after France, Switzerland, UK and Greece) (GfK Blue Moon, 2012). Promotional programs suggest that the Italian and Tuscan tourist industry is especially focused on the top segments of the Chinese markets. And indeed these people rank Italy quite high (in 2011: 5.8%, 7th) as a preferred luxury travel destination behind France, US, Australia, Japan, Maldives and Singapore and with percentages similar to Switzerland and Dubai². Wealthy Chinese are not the only target, however.

Several segmentations of the Chinese outbound tourism market have been produced, based on socio-demographic characters, income and behaviour. A less frequent reference is made to geographical variables, missing the differences in the level of travel experience between the main coastal cities and other areas. This of course reflects the focus on the highest income segments that are geographically concentrated in the Eastern cities.

The Challenge

The touristic image of Tuscany is an unparalleled blend of intellectual and emotional components. Thanks to the impressive series of internationally recognizable "brands" such as Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Giotto, Brunelleschi, Dante Alighieri etc., the historic and artistic heritage is the core of such blend. Heritage complements with nature: a perfect symbiosis man-nature is detectable in the Tuscan *Kulturlandschaft* as well as in food and wine. Furthermore heritage provides a timeless, pre-modern stage consistent with "slow tourism" and a superior quality of life. Nature, food, art and a human dimension of living for a life without stress: the "dolce vita" (Cavalieri, 2001).

Tuscan authentic image is not an original, local construct. Rather, it has been shaped over a long period of time by a highly internationalized and educated tourism. Still today, in northern European countries the familiarity with Tuscany characterizes intellectual and political elites. In British and American literature (as also reminded by movies such as "A Room with a View", "The English Patient" and "Stealing Beauty") Tuscany is a sort of exotic dreamland where the beauty of landscape and art frees the souls, so that visitors take away inhibitions and reveal their deeper emotions. Thus Tuscany is as much "foreign" to them as it is a part of their own culture (Bellini et al., 2010). Contrary to some ethnocentric commonplaces that are quite diffused and influential in this region, the Tuscan authenticity seems to emerge from the intersection of a variety of "authenticities" (cf. Gilmore and Pine, 2007: 49 ff.), connecting the place with a range of shared memories and values of the Western civilization rather than stemming uniquely from a place-specific heritage and resulting into an inextricable mix of objective and existential dimensions (cf. Chhabra, 2012).

With the possible exception of Brazil (whose cultural and ethnic ties with Italy are robust), the growth of BRIC tourism marks a clear discontinuity. This is most clear in the case of China. The Chinese tourists have, in most cases, a simplified knowledge of Tuscan and Italian history and art and no tools to appreciate their meanings and peculiarities. Although they perceive and recognize beauty, style, elegance and the value connected to antiquity, Tuscan images are foreign and exotic to them. Furthermore, unlike traditional international visitors, they have no "inferiority complex" and do not feel culturally indebted. They respectfully appreciate the fact that "you are an old civilisation like we are".

As cross-cultural studies have shown, "the largest differences among cultural groups are between Asian

² Sources: <http://www.hurun.net/usen/NewsShow.aspx?nid=117> and <http://www.hurun.net/hurun/listreleaseen548.aspx>

and Western cultures” (Reisinger, 2009). It is therefore the first time that the “psychic distance”³ between the tourist destination and the market is challenging the consolidated compromise between local heritage and Western culture on which the global brand of Tuscany has rested and the unique “authenticity” of the Tuscan experience has been defined. With the (B)RIC a new and substantial effort has to be made to bridge the serious gap between destination and tourists, in order to provide the newcomers with some sense of Tuscan beauty and uniqueness that is really meaningful to them. In other words, Tuscany must be “re-authenticated” (cf. Cohen and Cohen, 2012) in the eyes of its new visitors.

At the same time, it is very important to be aware of the potential local impact of the “tourist culture”. By this we mean that tourist behaviour, especially when in groups, is a function of both the national “home” culture and of a temporary set of roles, rules, notions, expectations, processes etc., that tend to transform the ordinary person into a new one, with a new, “deviant” identity shaped by his/her quest for the unusual, escaping from routine life (Jafari, 1987). Some negative experiences with Russian tourists provide sufficient warning of the difficulties. Their “invasion” and “occupation” of the most prestigious areas of the Tuscan coast (especially Versilia and the glamorous city of Forte dei Marmi) was hailed as a decisive contribution to local economic success and promptly supported by promotional actions. It did not take much time to realize that this success story had its dark sides. Forte dei Marmi has been recently portrayed as “a village desertified by abundance, dried out by prosperity” (Genovesi, 2012). Real estate prices have skyrocketed and so did also many tourism-related services, whose price increases were fuelled not only by adding quality and luxury, but also in order to signify and guarantee exclusivity. At the same time, news have often reported negative reactions to the ostentatious and arrogant high-spending behaviour of these *nouveaux riches*, both by locals and by traditional customer base.

Dealing With the Chinese Tourist, Before and During the Travel: Lessons From Practice

An increasing wealth of information about Chinese tourism is coming from practice, that is the main source of this section⁴. In analysing how cultural and practical factors impact on tourist behaviour and how Tuscans (and Italians) seem able (or unable) to interact, we focus on two main phases (cf. Manrai and Manrai, 2011).

In the *pre-travel* stage, a variety of interacting factors impact on the fundamental decision about the “where” and “how” of trip (cf. Hung and Petrick, 2012). In particular, depending on the stage of the travel life cycle (Oppermann, 1995), Chinese tourists have to decide the preferred mode of the travel: group vs. individual. Normally the likelihood to choose the individual option increases in case of return trips and therefore it is expected to become increasingly important in the future.

They also experience a number of practical demand constraints. A major concern is about security and unethical practices (Luo, 2011; Zhang et al., 2011; Keating, 2009). Considerations about their travel budget are of course important, especially for middle-class travellers. Also important and peculiar are the constraints regarding seasonality, with the strong concentration on very specific and compressed moments of the year, at the time of the most important public holidays (the “golden weeks”). Price-quality relationship and time management are key variables for the “where” and “how” decisions of the potential outbound traveller and require to be addressed by destination marketers with great awareness.

Chinese tourists are eager to get information about their destinations, by using a variety of tools and increasingly by navigating Internet. The web is very relevant in allowing to overcome cultural, knowledge and information constraints that are still existing (Li et al., 2011). Television programs are also very influential information sources (Sparks and Pan, 2009).

This search stage is key in the formation of expectations (including perceptions of travel risks). Cultural variables are extremely influential in this (Li et al., 2011). During this search updated and specific information is mixed to the previous knowledge about the location. Italy has certainly a place

³ We refer to this concept as an extension of its use within the so-called Uppsala internationalization model. Psychic distance is defined as “the sums of the factors preventing the flow of information from and to the market. These include differences in language, education, business practice, culture and industrial development” (Johanson and Vahlne, 1977: 24). Cf. also the wider concept of cultural distance in international business (Shenkar, 2001) and in tourism (Ng et al., 2007).

⁴ Two of the authors (Bellini and Rovai) have first hand experience in the field.

in the imagery of the educated Chinese. Such place is linked to history (a civilization “as old as ours”), the beauty of landscape and the arts. Italy is often associated with opera and a few popular singers (Pavarotti, Bocelli...) and the location of some successful movies also contributes to raise interest and curiosity to visit them⁵. Differences within Italy are less commonly perceived and therefore regional images are not so distinctive or, when they are celebrated like in the case of Tuscany, roughly superimposed to the national image.

A potential conflict may emerge between the strong Chinese experiential expectations, which may be much less interested in simply paying an admission ticket to silently “adore” the beauties of our country. “Thematising” the travel experience (cf. Antonioli Corigliano, 2011) requires a significant and conscious effort by the designers of the tourist packages. A number of strong associations with Italy could be helpful in this respect.

A very powerful association with Italy regards football. The knowledge about the most important teams is surprisingly diffused and detailed and many Chinese would define themselves as supporters of an Italian team. Equally powerful is the association with luxury and fashion. Both wealthy and middle-class Chinese perceive the ownership of a piece with a celebrated Italian brand as a status symbol. Of course, differences in income may imply different degrees of realization, from wearing Prada shoes up to driving a Ferrari.

Tourist marketing communication builds on such premises, but with mixed results⁶. Only a limited number of websites, e.g., are published with Chinese language pages, as if Chinese customers were expected to get along with English. In some cases the Chinese page is made up with titles in Chinese and text in English or even Italian (e.g.: www.in-tuscany.it or www.turismo-marche.com or www.pompeiturismo.it). In other cases the Chinese page is a mere translation of the Italian or English and provides reduced information, compared to the pages written in the main languages (e.g., www.montecatini.turismo.toscana.it). Sometimes also the quality of the Chinese language is mediocre. There are only limited cases of websites designed for the Chinese audience, like the official Italian portal (<http://www.yidalinihao.com>) or the independent portal www.meilideyidali.cn. One excellent case is the Venice website (www.veniceconnected.com), whose Chinese page, thanks to the cooperation of the local university (one of the most prestigious for the teaching of Oriental languages), has been re-designed to meet the needs and styles of web communication in China.

Overall the contents reflect very traditional messages on art, landscape and food. In several cases the link with the fashion and luxury industry is convincingly developed. On the contrary, the link with football is ignored. The modern dimensions, like contemporary architecture, scientific research and higher education (notwithstanding the increasing number of Chinese students in Italian universities) are equally forgotten. Occasional and unsystematic attention is paid to promote events in a cross-cultural perspective (cf. Yang et al., 2011).

In the *during-travel* stage the travel experience takes place (cf. Dall’Ara and Dionisio, 2012). Many cultural and non-cultural factors influence this experience. In the case of Chinese tourists this happens, e.g., with respect to the way they deal with “novelty” (a dominant element for Chinese first-time travellers, eager to experience difference to their home environment) and to the way they develop their “temporary tourist culture” (Jafari, 1987; cf. GfK Blue Moon, 2012). These are all critical elements that can be influenced by an appropriate inter-cultural approach.

A key issue in the Chinese travel experience in Italy is the short stay in each location. A mix of cultural and practical motivations causes the tendency to increase the number of destinations to visit while in Europe. This is perceived like a way to best exploit the opportunity to be in Europe and getting the highest value for the money spent, even at the cost of renouncing to a good deal of relaxation. Of course, here there is a serious contradiction with what is usually identified as a distinctive element of the Tuscany travel experience: the quality of slow life.

⁵ Interesting perspectives are linked to film locations: in cooperation with the Toscana Film Commission, Lucca and its surroundings have been chosen as the location of some episodes of a fiction, entitled “The China Story”, a major TV-movie production by the first channel of the Chinese state television (CCTV-1) with a forecasted audience of one billion viewers!

⁶ The authors wish to thank Ester Armentano for her help in the analysis of Chinese language websites documents. Reference to the websites is made on the basis of a visit performed in February – March 2012.

However the absence of one-destination packages is no longer true. Slowly a demand emerges for at least reducing the number of countries and locations visited, allowing for some time to relax. Chinese travellers, especially when coming from a large metropolis, have begun to appreciate “slow life”. This new attitude is strategic for a sound development of Chinese tourism in Tuscany. Paradoxically this gradual conversion finds an obstacle in the lack of flexibility by Tuscany’s *agriturismi*, accustomed to sell week-based packages instead of the two-three nights requested by those Chinese visitors, which are willing to experiment countryside life during their European tour. Actually the whole tourist system seems reluctant to provide targeted and well-thought itineraries for those who anyway need or want to spend only a limited time in the region.

Food is a key element in the tourist package and Chinese tourists seem quite ready to appreciate the cultural dimensions of it. Nonetheless it may also be cause of embarrassment. The Italian “religious” attitude towards eating quality and habits may be “offended” by some aspect of their behaviour (like not respecting the rigid separation between different courses or adding spicy dressings), but also disregard the Chinese tourists’ difficulties in eating rare-cooked steaks or cheese. The ability to provide good compromises between the rigid rules of Italian cuisine and the needs deriving from the traditional Chinese way of eating is a significant, and often very challenging, test.

The attitude towards the artistic and historic heritage may also cause some significant divergence of perceptions. While locals tend to separate “culture” as noble entertainment for the educated visitors from the more trivial kinds of entertainment provided by modernity (e.g. shopping), the Chinese tourists seem especially interested in making the connection between ancient and contemporary beauty (e.g. art and design / fashion). The shopping experience itself is not just an exercise in consumption but a way to access heritage. This also explains the remarkable success (and the only partially understood relevance) of museums that portray these links, like in Florence the Gucci Museum or the Ferragamo Museum.

The situation is not improved by the role of foreign tour operators, who are planning the trip and play the role of cultural intermediaries along standardized criteria. As a matter of fact, Tuscany’s actors are not in control of the constituent elements of the travel experience of Chinese tourists, which means that they are neither responsible for nor in charge of the cultural mediations between destination and tourists. Unsurprisingly the Chinese tourists end up as being passive receivers of stereotypical images of the region, un-distinctive shopping etc. (Rossi and Goetz, 2011).

Interviewing Chinese Tourists in Florence

The above discussion has been compared with the results of an empirical enquiry with a sample of Chinese tourists visiting Florence. Interviews⁷ were based on a paper-based, Chinese language questionnaire. It included 19 questions and it was divided into five sections dealing with:

- the vision about Italy: in this section the general vision about Italy and the main ideas associated with the country were investigated;
- the vision about Florence: in this section the general vision about Florence and the main ideas associated with the country were investigated with a further emphasis on how the travel experience has changed the tourist's perception;
- the knowledge about Italy: here the interview aimed at identifying the aspects of the country that are best known and how this knowledge was shaped at home before the travel experience;
- the knowledge about Italians: this section focused on the behavior of Italians and how direct contact with locals has changed perceptions by the tourists;
- the knowledge about the Italian society.

The questionnaire was handed out between October 2012 and February 2013 in key tourist locations in Florence, including the shuttle bus terminal to the main shopping outlet in the area. 85 out of 125 questionnaires were returned (response rate: 68%). Respondents were 55% female, with an average age of 28. 86% had university education. 62% were coming from East China. Overall the sample significantly represented the new wave of educated and younger tourists.

⁷ Interviews were part of the Master thesis discussed by Valentina Baratta at the University of Florence. All co-authors are grateful to Valentina for sharing her results as part of the collective work presented here.

Contrary to some standard expectations about inward tourists in Italy, culture is not the dominant aspect that shapes its image for Chinese prospective tourists. Looking at the knowledge about Italy among Chinese people (as perceived by the respondents), the best known aspects are food and wine (54% of respondents), art (48%), fashion (46%), football (44%). Other aspects of the Italian cultural heritage (like history, literature and even landscape) are less popular. Only 5% have a good knowledge of the Italian cinema.

Books, Internet and TV are the media through which the prospective Chinese tourists collected information (60% and above of the respondents). 32% of respondents, however, mentioned the Chinese poet Xu Zhimo who visited Italy in 1925 and wrote a still very popular collection of poems “A night in Florence” (*Feilengcui de yi ye*)⁸. This poem is much more inspiring than, e.g., newspapers, and yet this “gate” to the mental maps of Chinese prospective tourists seems to be ignored by local promotion.

If we look at associations, Italy’s image is associated with architectural beauties (89%), religion (i.e. the Catholic Church and the Pope: 68%), fashion (63,5%), food (59%), landscape (54%). Some less positive associations are apparently not so present for Chinese: only 22% mention mafia. The image of Italians has some very positive features: kindness, hospitality, easiness in human interactions, and romanticism.

87% of respondents gave a positive appreciation of their interaction with Italians during their travel experience. 53% of respondents indicated that their opinion had changed. 85% of them changed in positive terms. (However this kind of results must be considered with great care, due to the cultural tendency of the Chinese to abstain from negative comments.)

Most of respondents were visiting Florence for the first time (64%). Their motivations to visit Florence was overwhelmingly linked to their expectations about art and culture (86%), landscape (49%), shopping (38%) and food and wine (31%).

Before the travel their perception of the city was built upon the very powerful stereotypes: 80% expected it to be “beautiful”, 78% “ancient”, and only 40% expected it to be “relaxing”. 71% said that their opinion about the city was not changed by the visit. For a substantial 29%, however, perceptions did change, mostly through the realization of Florence as a “living” city, not just an open-air museum (which may be a more mature view than the one conveyed by most tourist promotion). In fact, changes concerned a greater emphasis on the city mood and its modernity (40% said now that the city was “stimulating”, 28% defined it “modern”), including also negative aspects: dirty (20%), dangerous (12%).

Further Research Challenges and Policy Implications

The growth of Chinese outbound tourism provides challenges both to research and to policy practices. In both cases understanding this growth as an important discontinuity seems to be essential.

For researchers the first task (to which we tried to contribute with this paper) is to give a more detailed and less ordinary account of the specificities of the Chinese tourists and especially of the learning effects of their outbound travel experiences, when facing well-established destinations with “strong images”. The case of Tuscany suggests the importance of the dynamics of adaptation and re-authentication of local assets, and namely of heritage, when we face the most culturally distant tourists who ever visited our region.

For local policy makers meeting these challenges requires, first of all, awareness. In Tuscany, like elsewhere, a dangerously undefined myth of the coming wave of Chinese tourists is spreading around. The Chinese tourists are sometimes presented as a windfall opportunity to be exploited rather as a substantial discontinuity in the history of the tourism industry to be dealt with. In a Region, where the exceptional fame of natural resources and historic heritage makes attracting tourists “too easy”, the weakness of the processes of strategic thinking and collective action may result in a vicious circle of failures.

⁸ Several Chinese would also love to use Xu’s name for the city, “Feilengcui”, with a charming and intriguing meaning (Cold Jade), rather than the more common “Foluolunsa”, a quite clumsy phonetic translation of the English “Florence”.

Secondly, an appropriate approach is required. A large body of literature has dealt with the “whys” of travel and has identified push factors, i.e. internally generated drives, and pull factors, that are related to the attractiveness of the destination. Knowing the motivations is considered instrumental to predicting tourists’ behaviour and therefore to setting up effective destination marketing (Ah and Pei, 2005; Chen et al., 2011; Lu, 2011; Yun et al., 2011). Positive interactions between push and pull factors produce congruity between the tourists’ self-image and the destination image. In other words, the better the matching between a destination’s (perceived) image and the tourist’s (perceived) self-concept, the greater the tendency for the tourist to choose to visit that place and, after the travel, to feel satisfaction with the experience (Litvin and Goh, 2002; Beerli et al., 2007; cf. also Usakli and Baloglu, 2011 and Sirgy and Johar, 1999). However, when the psychic distance between destination and prospective tourist is large, all this cannot happen as a simple market interaction, even if facilitated by traditional promotional tools.

The challenging task is to design and “authenticate” (cf. Cohen and Cohen, 2012) a Tuscan experience (or rather: a range of Tuscan experiences) that is at the same time tailored on the self-image(s) of the Chinese and that does not clash with the constructed Tuscan “authenticity”, which is the result of the long history of interactions between local culture and inbound tourists. The amount of knowledge resources that have to be brought into play is impressive and clearly is not available freely on the market nor the autonomous acquisition by companies can be simply subsidized by some sectorial policy.

Rather, this appears to be a field where a policy-network approach is required, pooling knowledge resources and relational assets for the common policy purpose (cf. Parra-López and Calero-García, 2010)⁹. E.g., the involvement of those local actors (like universities or manufacturing companies) that have a significant asset of experiential knowledge with China should be certainly considered.

It is also useful to link tourism to other dimensions of the international relations of an area. There are often unexplored links, e.g., between tourism and the internationalization of the higher education systems or of the economy. The opening of the new Sino-Italian Design Exchange Center at Villa Strozzi and of the Tongji University Overseas Campus in March 2014 suggests a potential evolution whose terms are now only partially foreseeable.

Considering “pull factors”, destination branding calls, more than ever, for the ability to avoid ready-made postcard representations of the territory and to re-interpret the consolidated assets of an area, by accepting (and controlling) a certain degree of heritage contamination (between local and global, ancient and contemporary, tradition and innovation, East and West). On the one hand, this requires investing in education at all levels: “cross-cultural education is the only way to get ahead in the world today in order to avoid and/or reduce tensions and build mutual understanding among countries with different cultural values” (Reisinger, 2009: 242). On the other hand, this cannot happen within a technocratic vision of territorial marketing, where branding, communication and strategies are left to the creative contributions of distant consultants. The cultural adaptations that are required in order to provide the new tourists with a credible and understandable “authenticity” must be shared by more than the local industry and should be a collective acquisition, as they have to be convincing and acceptable also for the “internal market” made of residents and other tourists. In essence, the re-branding of the destination must be considered, planned and realized as an innovative social construct (cf.: Dioguardi, 2009; Keating, 2009; Jurowski, 2011).

Lastly, all previous arguments in the Italian and Tuscan case converge to emphasize the issue of who controls the planning and management of the Chinese travel experiences in Italy. The greater the sensitivity of cultural issues, the more important it would appear that cultural mediations are not managed by foreigners. The weakness of the Italian tourist industry (like the absence of important hotel chains, the lack of a major international airline, the foreign dominance in the travel agency sector and therefore the need to rely on complex consortia of small companies with weak public guidance) justifies pessimism in this respect.

⁹ Policy networks are defined as “(more or less) stable patterns of social relations between interdependent actors, which take shape around policy problems and/or policy programmes” (Kickert et al., 1997)

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Islamic Heritage Marketing: The Umrah Experience

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Abstract

A potential visitor’s image of a destination and its attributes is likely to influence their behaviour before, during, and after their trip. However, there is a lack of research into Islamic destination image (Jafari & Scott, 2013; Stephenson, 2014). Existing studies have commented on the differentiation between the expectation formation of Muslim and non-Muslim tourists; however these are often restricted to more secular destinations such as Turkey. Moreover, much of the literature which focuses solely on the Muslim community fails to explore beyond the realms of religious satisfaction of their experiences. This paper explores the journey of experience of Muslim pilgrims during the Islamic pilgrimage to the Umrah. Globally, the Hajj is one of the greatest traveller movements, demonstrating a significant rationale for the study of Islam within the heritage tourism domain. Islamic texts, such as the Quran, endorse traveling with a view to attaining social, physical and spiritual objectives. As such, tourism of various categories is compatible with Islam and inspired by its principles. However, the Hajj and Umrah is a highly commanded activity encompassing devout and monetary planning. Therefore, for some Muslims Hajj is a sacred obligation rather than form of heritage tourism.

With this in mind, religious pilgrimage is likely to have a very strong destination image in the minds of Muslim visitors. Therefore, this paper looks not only at sacred obligation but also attitudes such as hedonic value, motivations, socialisation, gift, and evidence. Therefore, our study contributes to a wider understanding of the perceptions and behavioural outcomes of visitors toward Islamic destination image. To do so, we develop a conceptual model based on the theory of the ‘commodity fetishism’. The term ‘commodity fetishism’ refers to the system through which capitalist societies treat ‘commodities as if value inhered in the objects themselves, rather than in the amount of real labour expended to produce the object’. Thus, this paper attempts to address two gaps, firstly examining the symbolic importance to pilgrims of material objects of pilgrimage, and secondly examining this symbolic experience in the Islamic context of Umrah. Our survey data was collected in a number of tourists agents within Iran from Muslim pilgrims preceding their visit to the Umrah and returning home. Structural equation modelling is tested with a sample of 538 visitors. The empirical validation of the conceptual model supports a majority of the research hypotheses. These findings contribute to a better understanding of Islamic destination image in the heritage tourism context and a series of implications are proposed.

Keywords: Islamic Image, the Umrah, Heritage

Introduction

In recent years several studies in tourism and travel research have focused on the Islamic experience of those attending destinations (Eid, 2012; Eid & El-Gohary, 2014; Jafari & Scott, 2014; Prayag & Hosany, 2014). Whilst prior research has posited and explored potential antecedents of destination image and its consequences, including: motivation (Beerli & Martín, 2004; Hsu, Wolfe, & Kang, 2004); socialization (Nicholson & Pearce, 2001; J. Z. Park & Smith, 2000); religiosity (Zamani-Farahani & Musa, 2012); hedonism and hedonic value (Grappi & Montanari, 2011; Hyde & Harman, 2011); souvenirs and recollecting experience (Gordon, 1986; Swanson, 2004; Wilkins, 2010), most studies have focused on the behavioral, affective responses of pilgrims. Meanwhile, to our best knowledge, no study focuses on the importance of more the market-based, object-orientated experiences of pilgrimage, which are similarly influenced by the antecedents of destination image and

also have behavioral consequences. Furthermore, relatively few previous studies (Chen, Chen, & Okumus, 2013; Prayag & Hosany, 2014) have examined the relationships between destination image, its antecedents, and its behavioral consequences in the Islamic context. This paper attempts to address these two gaps, firstly by examining the symbolic importance to pilgrims of material objects of pilgrimage, and secondly by examining this symbolic experience in the Islamic context of Umrah. The paper is largely exploratory. We begin by reviewing the concept of destination image and the antecedents of destination image in order to evaluate the concepts which best fit a model which accounts for the symbolic value of material objects in the context of Islamic pilgrimage. Based on the evaluation of these concepts, we then build and test a model of the object-based Islamic pilgrimage experience. To build this model, we use a semiotic understanding of ‘commodity fetishism’ to map and analyze the various symbolic values inhered by pilgrims in objects of the pilgrimage experience, so as to gain an understanding of the relationship among the antecedents, destination image and behavioral consequences based on Muslim visitors’ experiences at Makkah city for Umrah purpose. We do not intend to offer a complete theory of the relationship between objects of pilgrimage and commodity fetishism; rather we seek to demonstrate how a focus on the objects of pilgrimage, and the semiotic systems of commodity fetishism might be deployed together to enhance an understanding of the experiential systems of Islamic pilgrimage. We would welcome developments to our initial findings and analysis.

Theoretical Foundation and Conceptual Model

The conceptual underpinning model (Figure 1) is built upon an understanding of the semiotic systems of commodity fetishism. It understands the non-religious, ‘push’ factors of pilgrimage (such as shopping, self-expression or socialization) as evidence of an instinctive move towards commodity fetishism, in which objects purchased during pilgrimage (such as souvenirs or gifts) are understood not only as *signs* of pilgrimage, but as signs of something more – something which will eventually enhance the purchaser’s social status. In contrast to previous scholarship, which understands commodity fetishism as either one semiotic system *or* another, this model accounts for the escapist context of pilgrimage, in which pilgrims experience objects and relations in a transformed manner to the usual consumer/tourist experience (Whyte, 2011). The term ‘commodity fetishism’ refers to the system through which capitalist societies treat commodities as value inherent in the objects themselves, rather than in the amount of real labor expended to produce the object. This model further facilitates various commodity fetishisms – for instance, fetishism which emphasizes the importance of the signified (i.e. a Marxist interpretation) and the importance of the sign (i.e. a Baudrillardian interpretation) – destination image, as an informant of the sign, remains particularly relevant.

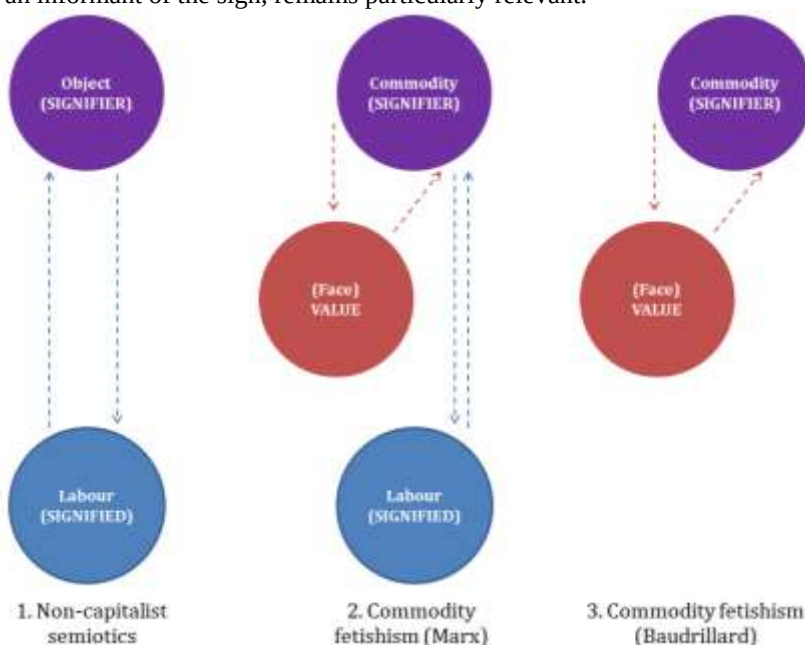


Figure 1. Commodity fetishism as a semiotic system

In the following section we review the various factors which make up our model. We begin by expanding the concept of 'destination image' in an Islamic context, before moving on to deal firstly with the antecedents and secondly with the behavioral consequences shown in the model (Figure 2).

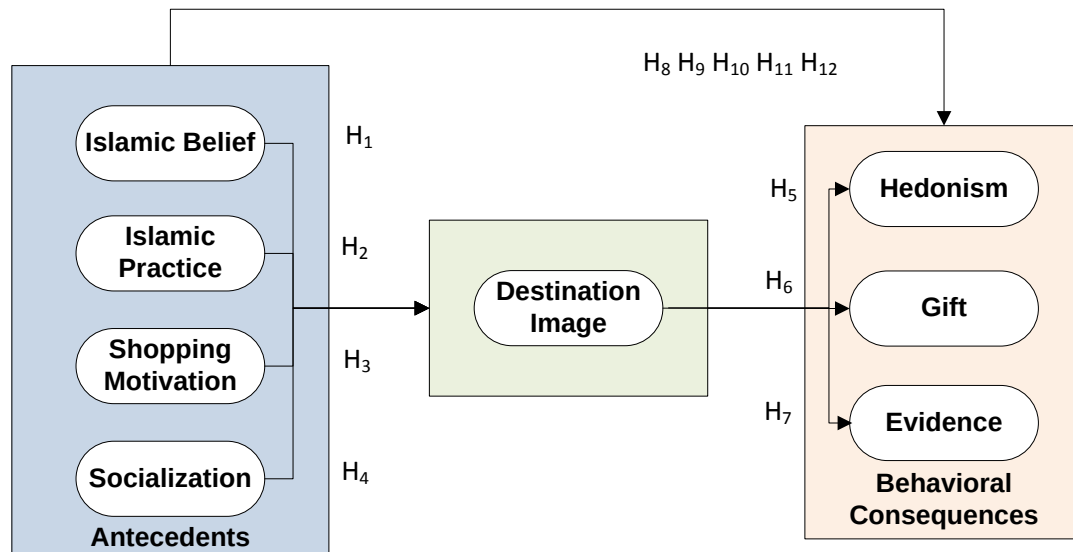


Figure 2. Proposed theoretical framework and hypotheses.

Destination image

There is a lack of research into destination image and Islamic culture given the extent of the practice in reality (Chen et al., 2013). Much of the existing literature focuses on traditional multi-cultural tourist destinations in Islamic countries (Battour, Ismail, & Battor, 2011; Din, 1989; Zamani-Farahani & Henderson, 2010). Further to this, Prayag and Hosany (2014) consider the factors which together build an overall picture of a location for Arab tourists to Western countries, though many of these are of importance to other tourists groups. These are the availability of customized activities and amenities; the accessibility of a destination; luxury services, people, and reputation; luxury shopping and dining experience; the culture and weather (Prayag & Hosany, 2014). For Islamic tourists food service requirements and the availability of Halal food is of obvious importance (Battour et al., 2011). Battour et al. (2011) also state that Islamic image destination is shaped by a number of other attributes, such as the number and availability of places of worship (Mohsin & Ryan, 1997); attitudes to alcohol consumption and gambling (Din, 1989; Henderson, 2003); and dress-code (Henderson, 2003; Zamani-Farahani & Henderson, 2010).

Pilgrimage, where tourists often seek something “less tangible than the trip [itself] and more rewarding than just being there” (Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987, p. 348) exemplifies that destination image in Islamic locations can perhaps be filtered further. For Muslims undertaking Hajj or Umrah, for example, the assertion of Prayag and Hosany (2014) that visitors are likely to question whether local cuisine is in compliance with their religious beliefs is likely to be irrelevant. Furthermore, when considering culture and enjoyment, those undertaking religious pilgrimage are likely to be fully aware of the cultural and religious importance of the sites they are visiting, and the journey itself, and are perhaps unlikely to be influenced with regards to their decision to visit somewhere of religious importance to them based on things such as hedonic outcomes such as buying gifts. This leads Henderson (2011) and Jafari and Scott (2014) to suggest that the modern Hajj or Umrah is an emerging and interesting area for research, and particular attention should be paid to the antecedents and behavioral consequences of those undertaking such a pilgrimage.

Antecedents

Religiosity

Having shaped much of human history, religiosity is considered to be an important cultural phenomenon with the ability to shape and influence an individual's behavior (Sood & Nasu, 1995; Zamani-Farahani & Musa, 2012). Although there is no concrete academic definition of religiosity (Granger, Lu, Conduit, Veale, & Habel, 2014), a number of scholars agree on two key dimensions (Batson, Schoenrade, & Ventis, 1993; Eid & El-Gohary, 2014; Marks & Dollahite, 2001; Zamani-Farahani & Musa, 2012). The first of these is 'belief'; there is a God, believing in God is important, and the importance of considering oneself as 'religious' (Granger et al., 2014). The second is associated with 'practice'; attending a place of worship, regular reading of Holy Texts, regular prayer, the undertaking of pilgrimages (King & Boyatzis, 2004; Zamani-Farahani & Musa, 2012). These two key components are important for many of the world's leading religions, with Islam being no different.

There is a link between religiosity and destination image, and this is evident in more than one way. At sites of religious importance and pilgrimage locations, Islamic belief and practice converge and provide a strong religious image. Within sites such as Makkah this is bolstered by its underlying importance to the Islamic faith (Eid & El-Gohary, 2014). This is further enhanced when considering Makkah as more than the sum of its parts, with the religious importance and connotations of the site far outweighing its tangible and physical attributes (Woodward, 2004). Further to this, religiosity (Jafari & Scott, 2014), is evident through the perception that the pilgrimage can encourage spiritual kinship, togetherness, and a sense of belonging (Essoo & Dibb, 2004; Mahallati, 2011). Simply acknowledging that the pilgrimage is likely to engender or enforce such belief through the shared experience and collective mind-set further emphasizes the pilgrimage as a worthwhile religious endeavor.

Shopping motivation

Shopping has become an important motivational characteristic identified in tourism research (Hanqin & Lam, 1999; Horneman, Carter, Wei, & Ruys, 2002). While early research on tourist motivations tended to overlook shopping, most recent studies have incorporated shopping as a motivational characteristic of visiting a place (Sirakaya, Uysal, & Yoshioka, 2003). Pervious research highlights the significance of shopping as a motivator for choice of destination (Hanqin & Lam, 1999; Timothy, 2005). However, Jang and Cai (2002) suggest that shopping motivations are not as important as other pull factors such as relaxation, a desire to escape or the atmosphere.

Other research has identified that the perception of shopping plays a strong role in relation to destination image (Beerli & Martín, 2004; Hsu et al., 2004). However, shopping as a variable in destination image formation differs from country to county (Stepchenkova & Morrison, 2008). Some studies have linked tourism shopping involvement to the psychological state of hedonism (Havitz & Howard, 1995; Hu & Yu, 2007). For tourists, shopping motivations often focus on the importance of souvenir purchasing as a leisure activity. Regarded as one of the most important motivations for shopping among tourists (Timothy & Butler, 1995), authors have documented that importance of souvenir buying (Jansen-Verbeke, 1991; Kim & Littrell, 2001), especially within differing societies (M. Park, 2000). For example, Kim and Littrell (1999) highlights that hedonic value has a direct positive causal effect on recreational tourism activities – including shopping for souvenirs. Others have suggested shopping for souvenirs is driven by the consumers/tourists desire to obtain unique items that allow them to capture the memories of their visit in a distinctive way and the associated benefits of socialization derived from this (Arnold & Reynolds, 2003; Swanson & Horridge, 2006; Turner & Reisinger, 2001).

Socialization

A number of studies have found that socialization is an important element of the tourism experience (Crompton, 1979; Formica & Murrmann, 1998; Lee, Lee, & Wicks, 2004; Nicholson & Pearce, 2001; D. B. Park & Yoon, 2009). Some studies suggest that the need for socialization has a positive relationship with religious and spiritually motivated travel and consumption (J. Z. Park & Smith, 2000). However, Granger et al. (2014) found that the need for social interaction and/or socialization does not moderate the relationship between religiosity and the frequency of service attendances. They argue that worshipers do not attend religious services primarily for social interaction. They suggest that this may be the result of the ease of mobility of modern society and that people can now socialize

through many different mediums. For religious-event based socialization this goes deeper than simply acting upon a desire to belong towards a *need* to belong, as rejection from the *group* in this instance can be devastating for an individual depending on the strength of and affiliation to their faith. Ultimately, despite some negative and hedonic aspects, socialization is known to have a positive impact when considering consumption in areas with spiritual or religious elements (Cornwall, 1989; Granger et al., 2014; J. Z. Park & Smith, 2000); but how is this manifest in the overtly religious pilgrimage? Does the pilgrimage event satisfy this pre-pilgrimage desire for socialization? Or, are there other post-pilgrimage behavioral outcomes that supersede social interaction and contact with like-minded individuals upon reflection?

Behavioral consequences

Hedonism

Hedonic value is traditionally driven by the fact that pilgrimage offers the pilgrim “an adventure, an escape, or a chance to experience worldly pleasures denied them at home” (Hyde & Harman, 2011, p. 1345). Nonetheless, the fundamental personal pleasure and escapism derived from visiting such sites has often been viewed as a secondary consideration. Whilst the belief that undertaking a religious pilgrimage is of spiritual worth is well-established (Cohen, 1992; Digance, 2003; Hyde & Harman, 2011), there is little exploration of whether this in turn could have some hedonic value for the pilgrim. The hedonic feelings experienced by the consumer have an influence on the perceived value of the service, product, or experience (Babin, Lee, Kim, & Griffin, 2005). Pilgrims can experience stimulation and education from the journey and experience (Mason & Paggiaro, 2012). For those already au fait with the significance of a pilgrimage site, their interest can be solidified and ratified through visitation and the overall experience. Indeed, travel is encouraged in some faiths, such as in Islam, where believers are often encouraged to experience the greatness of God through travel (Din, 1989). This can be self-affirming in so much as their belief can be reinforced, or their decision to travel justified on the basis that the experience was enjoyable, informative, and reassuring. Thus, some hedonic value can be derived from this sense of faith-affirmation or reassurance.

Evidence and gifts

As tourism is suggested to be like a “sacred journey” (Sharpley & Sundaram, 2005), visitors feel that they need to solidify the experience by possessing a tangible fragment of the trip (Gordon, 1986). Importantly, souvenirs act as evidence to prove their experience to others or simply as proof of travel (Litirell et al., 1994; Peters, 2011), but also as a means of communicating their experiences with others (M. Park, 2000; Swanson, 2004). Morgan and Pritchard (2005) suggest that an individual’s social and personal identities are connected to the object. Therefore, as evidence, souvenirs function as a symbol of status for the owner, and can even act as conversation pieces (Hobson & Christensen, 2001; Morgan & Pritchard, 2005; Wilkins, 2010). As Wilkins (2010, p. 246) argues “use of souvenirs as conversation pieces...clearly reflects the importance of travel experiences in the construction of the self and as status consumption products.”

Within consumer research, the act of gift giving has emerged as an important area (Keown, 1989; Wooten, 2000). Some have explored the souvenir purchasing of cultural groups and their inherent social obligations when traveling (M. Park, 2000). Additionally, research has also highlighted the links between religion and gift giving (Moufahim, 2013; Silber, 1995). For example, exploring gift-giving in the context of Islamic pilgrimage, Moufahim (2013) found that the consumption of material objects is a vital element to pilgrimage rituals and converts the non-psychical experience into something physical and tangible. Others link the purchasing of gifts to the need for socialization with others (Kim & Littrell, 2001). Kim, Timothy, and Hwang (2011) argue there is a positive relationship between collective experiences when travelling in groups and the motivation to visit a particular place for shopping, and so purchasing souvenirs is more pleasurable when undertaken with others. Purchasing gifts for oneself is also suggested as a way to relieve boredom or simply as a response to bad weather (Kim & Littrell, 2001). Studies have also commented on the link between the role of souvenirs in relation to destination or brand image (Balakrishnan, 2009). For example, Balakrishnan (2009) suggests that as conversation pieces, souvenirs have the ability to influence the possible image of a destination. Furthermore, Thirumaran, Dam, and Thirumaran (2014) suggest that souvenirs are a valuable way to promote a destination’s image as they can convey a message about a destination, either intentionally or unintentionally, that the tourist takes with them.

Methodology, Analysis and Results

Through convenience sampling our survey data was collected through a number of tourists agents within Iran from Muslim pilgrims preceding their visit to the Umrah and returning home (sample size=538). We measured the eight constructs (including Islamic belief, Islamic practice, shopping motivation, socialization, Islamic destination image, hedonism, gift and evidence) by multiple-item scales adapted from previous studies. Respondents were asked to indicate their levels of agreement with each item on a seven-point Likert scale (1 - completely disagree, 7 - completely agree). The questionnaire was translated into Farsi. We used back-translation to verify the intended meaning of the question and answer categories.

Partial Least Squares (PLS) was selected as the method of analysis because it suits predictive applications, exploratory research and theory building (Alexander, MacLaren, O’Gorman, & Taheri, 2012; Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2014; Taheri, Jafari, & O’Gorman, 2014). The constructs’ composite reliability (ρ_{cr}) scores range from .88 to .96 above the recommended cut off of .7 (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2010). Convergent validity was assessed using average variance extracted (AVE) and the factors scored .62 and .81, once again meeting the .5 threshold suggested (Hair et al., 2010; Hair et al., 2014). Finally, discriminant validity of the scales was measured by comparing the square root. All appear to support the reliability and validity of the scales. To examine the hypotheses, the structural model (Table 1) was simultaneously tested within SmartPLS (Ringle, Wende, & Becker, 2005).

The model’s predictive relevance can be tested by means of the Stone-Geisser test criterion Q^2 which is part of soft modelling approach of PLS (i.e. blindfolding procedure in SmartPLS) and therefore a good match (Chin, 2010). The redundancy Q^2 for all scales measured with multiple items, indicates positive redundancy Q^2 for all scales. This means that the proposed model has good predictive ability. The overall GoF is .54, which indicates a very good model fit. The model explains 45 percent of destination image, 25 per cent of evidence, 71 per cent of gift and 75 per cent of hedonism. Table 1 shows the significant direct relationships between the constructs. The path coefficients for the significant results range from -.13 to .75.

Table 1. Hypothesis testing results.

Hypothesized relationships	Standardized path coefficients	Standard error	t-statistic
Destination image → Evidence	-.13	.05	2.60
Destination image → Gift	.35	.02	14.11
Destination image → Hedonism	.15	.02	5.84
Islamic belief → Evidence	-.49	.05	9.43
Islamic practice → Destination image	.40	.03	10.96
Islamic practice → Evidence	-.24	.06	3.71
Shopping motivation → Gift	.42	.03	6.51
Shopping motivation → Hedonism	.22	.03	2.71
Socialization → Destination image	.37	.03	9.91
Socialization → Evidence	.27	.04	5.61
Socialization → Gift	.42	.03	12.41
Socialization → Hedonism	.75	.02	28.14

Note: Only the significant relationships (supported test result) are shown in the Table. *t*-values for the item loadings to two-tailed test: $t > 1.96$ at $p < .05$, $t > 2.57$ at $p < .01$, $t > 3.29$ at $p < .001$.

Discussions

Despite studies that suggest that tourists often bring back tangible evidence of their experiences (Gordon, 1986; Litirell et al, 1994; Wilkins, 2010), our results suggest a negative relationship ($\beta = -.13$, $p < .01$) between Islamic destination image and a desire to bring back evidence of the pilgrimage. The social status and proof to others often afforded by a tourist bringing evidence back from their trip, which has been highlighted by previous studies (Morgan and Pritchard, 2005; Wilkins, 2010), is also not supported by our findings. Our findings suggest a negative relationship between Islamic practice and evidence ($\beta = -.24$, $p < .001$) and Islamic belief and evidence ($\beta = -.49$, $p < .01$). For religious pilgrims, evidence of the trip is not required and is superseded by the act of pilgrimage itself (Collins-

Kreiner, 2010; Eid, 2012) although, for general travel, this is contested by previous research which highlights the importance of evidence as a tangible reminder of the experience (Gordon, 1986; Litrell et al, 1994; Wilkins, 2010; Hitchcock and Teague, 2000). Furthermore, we find a positive relationship between Islamic practice and Islamic destination image ($\beta=.40, p < .01$). This is supported by Eid and El-Gohary (2014) who suggest that Muslim tourists evaluate travel destinations based on whether they fit criteria specific to their religious belief. As such, our findings suggest that if a destination has characteristics which allow an individual to practice their faith it is likely to engender a positive destination image in-line with previous studies (Zamani—Farahani and Henderson, 2010; Battour et al, 2011; Mohsin and Ryan, 1997). This positive relationship is also extended by non-religious elements such as the safety of the location, the availability of luxury shopping and services, and the social status engendered by undertaking the experience (Eid and El-Gohary; Prayag and Hosany, 2014).

In line with Moufahim (2013), our findings suggest a positive relationship ($\beta=.35, p < .001$) between pilgrimage and/or Islamic destination image and the purchase of gifts. Our results are supported by Park (2000), Wilkins (2010), and Kim and Littrell (2001) who highlight the importance of gift-giving as a part of the overall travel experience. Park (2000) extends upon this by considering gifts for others as a social obligation when travelling, which is again supported by our findings despite the negative relationship between the purchase and 'bringing-back' of evidence (to oneself of the trip) and Islamic destination image. Also, the link between destination image and the spiritual worth of religious travel is well-established (Cohen, 1992; Digance, 2003; Hyde and Harman, 2011). However, our results extend upon this by suggesting a positive relationship ($\beta=.15, p < .001$) between Islamic destination image and hedonism. As such, our findings suggest that religious travel can be in-line with more secular-related travel with regards to the perceived hedonic value of the experience (Grappi and Montanari, 2011; Babin, Darden, and Griffin, 1994; Babin, Lee, Kim, and Griffin, 2005).

These positive relationships also cohere theoretically with the semiotic system of commodity fetishism that is close to Marx's original model (i.e. Diagram 2 in Figure 1). Here, pilgrims are motivated to go on pilgrimage to buy gifts because the gifts which ostentatiously or overtly signify the destination image. However, here we can argue that there is a more complex connection between pilgrimage and gift-buying than a signifying/signified relationship. In this instance, the gifts have symbolic value because they are obtained *through* the act of pilgrimage – they have value not only because they symbolize the destination, but because the purchaser has been to the destination. The commodity's semiotic value is disjointed (see Diagram 2, Figure 1): on the face of things it directly signifies the *thing* which gives it 'currency' (the destination image). However, this face-value occludes the *thing* to which the commodity-as-sign ultimately refers, and which gives it meaning (the act of pilgrimage).

Our results also highlight a positive relationship between shopping motivations and the act of gift-giving ($\beta=.42, p < .001$). This reveals another element of our theoretical model – this time, Baudrillardian commodity fetishism. Here, the direct relationship between the antecedents and the behavioral consequences implies that the power of the gift is not dependent on the destination image. In this case, the value of the gift is not focused on its ability to signify pilgrimage. Instead, it is focused on the object form of the gift itself. As such, we could argue that the commodity becomes the 'total medium of communication, mediating all social exchange [...] It makes little difference whether the contents of material production or the immaterial contents of signification are involved' (Baudrillard, 1981, p. 146). Here, the importance for the pilgrim is in the object of the commodity itself – the commodity *is* value, divorced from any process of signification of its origin.

The coherence of the two apparently contradictory forms of commodity fetishism identified here through our data can also be supported by our results. Our results find a positive relationship between socialization and Islamic destination image ($\beta=.37, p < .001$), alongside a positive relationship between socialization and evidence ($\beta=.27, p < .001$) and socialization and gift giving ($\beta=.42, p < .001$). This is also evident in existing research (Kim and Littrell, 2001; Kim, Timothy, and Hwang, 2011) whereby it is suggested that purchasing souvenirs (as gifts or evidence) is more pleasurable when done in a group setting or with others. Here, the pleasure of gift-giving is reflected in the original motivation of Marxist commodity fetishism, which is ultimately and ontologically concerned with the 'social relation between people'. In contrast, souvenirs (as gifts or evidence) can be used as a means to augment one's social status (Hobson and Christensen, 2001; Wilkins, 2010), as in Baudrillardian commodity fetishism, in which the purchaser's fixation on the form-value of the souvenir could be interpreted as a preoccupation with social advancement.

Our findings show a strong relationship between socialization and hedonism. The hedonic nature of socialization is evident under the guise of the joys of escapism and a desire for social identification with others, such as attendees at festivals (Grappi and Montanari, 2011; Nicholson and Pearce, 2011). This is also manifest at its most basic by the hedonic value of simply doing something or visiting somewhere which an individual can enjoy (Chang, 2006). We find a positive relationship between shopping motivation and hedonism ($\beta=.22$, $p < .01$), which is in accordance with existing consumer research (Babin, Darden, and Griffin, 1994; Childers, Carr, Peck, and Carson, 2002). The pilgrimage environment could extend this by increasing the hedonic value of obtaining the product (the shopping experience) and an impassioned sense of connection with like-minded shoppers (Arnold and Reynolds, 2003; Babin et al., 1994; Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982; Jones, Reynolds, and Arnold, 2006; Teller, Reutterer, and Schnedlitz, 2008). It could be suggested that in our theoretical context, the escapist, hedonic atmosphere of pilgrimage also allows for the co-existence of two forms of commodity fetishism which may otherwise be mutually exclusive in everyday life.

Limitations and Future Research

As with any piece of research, this study is not limitation-proof. First, we used eight constructs in our model in order to understand the Islamic destination image and its antecedents and behavioral consequences. Future studies may include other constructs such as self-expression, flow, satisfaction, materialism and emotional connection. Second, we only used an Iranian sample and their Umrah experience (i.e. single case study approach), future research should investigate the destination image, its antecedents and behavioral consequences in different types of socio-cultural contexts as behavior is shaped by multiple socio-cultural, economic, and political factors. This can help to cross-validate the existing findings. Third, our study was quantitative in nature. Thus, we suggest that a holistic understanding Islamic destination image would require longitudinal research using both qualitative and quantitative methods.

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Heritage Sporting Event: An Old Recipe for a New Problem

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Abstract

In the last decades, the globalized competition among cities and regions made them develop new strategies for branding and promoting their territory to attract tourists, investors, companies and residents. Major sports events – such as the Olympic Games, the FIFA World Cup or World and Continental Championships – have played an integral part in these strategies. Believing, with or without evidence, in the capacity of those events to improve the visibility and the economy of the host destination, many cities, regions and even countries have engaged in establishing sports events hosting strategies. The problem of the globalized competition in the sports events “market” is that many cities and regions do not have the resources – either financial, human or in terms of infrastructure – to compete in hosting major sports events. Consequently, many cities or regions have to turn to second-tier sports events. To organise those smaller events means less media coverage and more difficulty in finding sponsors, while the costs – both financial and in terms of services – stay high for the community. This paper analyses how Heritage Sporting Events (HSE) might be an opportunity for cities and regions engaged in sports events hosting strategies. HSE is an emerging concept that to date has been under-researched in the academic literature. Therefore, this paper aims to define the concept of HSE through an exploratory research study. A multidisciplinary literature review reveals two major characteristics of HSEs: the sustainability in the territory and the authenticity of the event constructed through a differentiation process. These characteristics, defined through multiple variables, give us the opportunity to observe the construction process of a sports event into a heritage object. This paper argues that HSEs can be seen as territorial resources that can represent a competitive advantage for host destinations. In conclusion, academics are invited to further research HSEs to better understand their construction process and their impacts on the territory, while local authorities are invited to consider HSEs for the branding and the promotion of their territory.

Keywords: Heritage Sporting Events; Hosting Strategies; Events; Heritage

Introduction

In the last decades, the globalized competition among cities and regions make them develop new strategies for branding and promoting their territory to attract tourists, investors, companies and residents (Fourie & Santana-Gallego, 2011; Hede, 2005; Mason & Duquette, 2008; Misener & Mason, 2008). Major sports events – such as the Olympic Games, the FIFA World Cup or World and Continental Championships – have played an integral part in these strategies. For Graton, Dobson and Shibli (2000), the financial success of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics played an important role in the growing interest from the public authorities toward sports events. Although the benefits from hosting a sports event are difficult to measure and are sometimes overestimated (Black & Van der Westhuizen, 2004; Feddersen & Maennig, 2012; Hede, 2005), many public officials believe that sport, and sports events especially, can be a catalyst for local development (Misener & Mason, 2008). Therefore, in the 1990s, cities (Lausanne, Sheffield, Vancouver...), regions (Savoy, Tyrol, State of Victoria...), and even countries (Denmark, Qatar, Canada...) established sports events hosting strategies. To cope the growing competition among territories on the globalized sports events “market”, some of these strategies evolved to public policies in the 2000s (Chappelet, 2006). This evolution toward an institutionalisation of the sports events hosting strategies was motivated by a need to secure resources and to legitimise the public expenses dedicated to the candidature process and the event organisation.

While the competition between territories was growing, sports events also evolved. In a few decades, their revenue exploded, both from the action of sponsors and media rights, while their size grew dramatically. Summer Olympics went from 26 to 36 disciplines between 1984 and 2012¹, while in twenty years the FIFA World Cup went from 16 to 32 teams². On the one hand, this increase of size might be beneficial for the host destination both in terms of revenue and visibility. On the other hand, it implies also a growth of costs. On an organisational perspective, more investments are needed for the

¹ www.olympic.org

² www.fifa.com

infrastructures and the security. While on a candidature perspective, the higher requirements, the growing competition to host events and the professionalization of the whole candidature process imply extra expenses.

One problem raised by the globalized competition among territories and the growth of size and costs for the organisation of sports events is that many cities and regions do not have the resources – either financial, human or in terms of infrastructure – to host major sports events. Consequently, many territories engaged in these strategies have to turn to second-tier sports events. The question raised by the resize of these hosting strategies is the capacity of those events to meet the initial objectives³. Indeed, as presented by Graton et al. (2000), if major sports events might lead to economic benefits for the host destination, these benefits are, if any, much lower with second-tier sports events. Of course, to organise those smaller events means also less media coverage and more difficulties in finding sponsors, while the costs – both financial and in terms of services – stay high for the community (Chappelet, 2014).

Therefore, it is necessary for those territories to rethink their development and promotion strategies. The logic behind these sports events hosting strategies is based on attracting exogenous resources (international one-off events) to the territory. Influenced by the positive example of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics, the idea is that those international one-off events are the best solutions to initiate or accentuate local development. However, while some territories were focusing on sports events, other regions were developing strategies based on endogenous resources (local heritage) to brand and promote their territory. This paper will analyse the relation between heritage and sports events and more specifically how Heritage Sporting Events (HSE) might be an interesting option for the sustainable development of territories engaged in sports events hosting strategies. Although, many sports events have some heritage component, local authorities usually underestimate their capacity to brand and promote the territory. HSE is an emerging concept that to date has been under-research in the academic literature. Consequently, this paper begins with an exploration of the relation between heritage and sport. A multidisciplinary literature review will be conducted to identify HSEs' characteristics, which will lead to a definition of this emerging concept. Implications for both academics and public authorities will be discussed in the end of this paper. In conclusion, local authorities engaged in sports events hosting strategies will be invited to consider HSE for the branding and the promotion of their territory.

Heritage and Sport

In recent years, in parallel to sports events, heritage has gained increasing attention both from public authorities and academics. The notion itself evolved through time. If at the beginning it refers to economic and legal values, with the idea of inheritance in the family, it expanded to refer also to more intangible objects as the Kabuki theatre in Japan or the Binche carnival in Belgium⁴. Although the notion of heritage broadens a lot in the last decades, sport and sports events are rarely recognised as heritage objects. For some authors (Gammon, Ramshaw & Waterton, 2013; Hinch & Ramshaw, 2014; Pfister, 2011; Ramshaw, 2011), sport has often been overlooked in heritage studies due to it representative of both recent and popular past, making it part of “low” culture in comparison with “high” culture, which is usually represented by heritage.

Therefore, to see sport and sports events especially as heritage is not self-evident. It is based on the idea that heritage is not a finite resource (Howard, 2003) and that heritage objects are identified as such through a social construction (Boisseaux, Knoepfel, Laesslé & Tippenhauer, 2012). This constructivist approach toward heritage as two important implications for this research, (1) the question is not “whether sport can be heritage, but rather how is sport heritage constructed” (Ramshaw, 2011, p.4), and (2) the actors' differentiation strategies to distinguish their event from other, more or less, similar events have to be taken into account. Before looking at how HSEs are constructed and differentiated from other sports events, we need to focus on the literature on sport heritage to identify the HSEs' characteristics and how these differentiation strategies are put in place.

³ Which aim usually at developing the economy and promoting the image of the host destination.

⁴ Both inscribed in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Intangible Cultural Heritage List, www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=fr&pg=00559.

Sport as Heritage

For Ramshaw and Gammon (2005), “sport reflects both heritage that occurred (and continues to occur) on the field of play, while also articulating the achievements of athletes, teams and events that go beyond sport and become part of a grander narrative” (p.232). This paper is focusing on the second understanding of the linkage between the two concepts, namely sport as heritage and not the heritage of sport. With a growing body of literature sport heritage has, during the last decade, been recognised in many ways. Timothy (2011) presents sporting artefacts and materials that can be considered as heritage resources and the role they played in cultures at different times and spaces. In many cases, sport heritage has been studied through a nostalgic representation of its past. Mason, Duquette and Scherer (2005) looked at how new built sports facilities in North America deliberately embraced a nostalgic imagery of their sporting pasts. In the same way, Gammon (2004) and Gammon and Fear (2007) studied how sports stadia and sporting venues seen as heritage can be used as a tourism resource. Fairley and Gammon (2005) refer to a nostalgic link to sport by presenting sports events which feature former famous players (like the “Trophée des Légendes” played during Roland Garros). Finally, this “romantic” vision of sport can also be seen through sports events trying to recreate the “purity” of past practices, as the Winter Classic in ice hockey, which is a regular-season game played out-door (Ramshaw, 2011).

Sports Events as Heritage

Although, different concepts can be linked to the notion of HSEs in the literature, in most of the cases, they do not consider the event as heritage or as having a heritage essence. Under the concept of “Special Events”, the notions of “Hallmark Events” and “Signature Events” can be identified. For Getz (2008), “...‘hallmark’ describes an event that possesses such significance, in terms of tradition, attractiveness, quality, or publicity, that the event provides the host venue, community, or destination with a competitive advantage. Over time, the event and destination can become inextricably linked, such as Mardi Gras and New Orleans” (p.407). The capacity of an event to be seen as an integral part of a destination’s brand is very important in a HSE’s perspective. Despite the numerous acceptations of “Hallmark Events”, the majority of authors (Getz, 2008; Hall, 1989; Jago & Shaw, 1998; Ritchie, 1984) agreed on the fact that they are events limited in time, with a significant scale, attended by a large crowd and focus on a distinct theme. Although for Sofield (2003) “Signature Events” are a subdivision of “Hallmark Events”, he distinguishes them by the unique link that they develop with the host destination. For Arcodia and Robb (2000) “Signature suggests the linking of a particular activity with a particular location. [...] For example, the running of the bulls is always associated with the Spanish town of Pamplona” (p.157). Therefore, in the collective imagination, the link created between the destination and the activity is so strong that it is almost impossible to transfer the event to a new venue. For Jago and Shaw (1998), the ambiguity between these different notions (special, hallmark and signature) comes from the absence of a clear definition.

A stronger connection between sports events and heritage can be seen through the concept of “Sport Heritage Attractions” (Ramshaw, 2011; Hinch & Ramshaw, 2014). This concept refers to the desire, in North America in the first place, to maintain and sometimes create a link to an idealized and reclaimed sport’s past. This nostalgic view of sports events is exemplified in Ramshaw’s (2011) study through the “Heritage Classic Ice Hockey Event” and in Fairley and Gammon’s (2005) article with the “Delta Tour of Champions” in Tennis and the “Highland Games”. Either through former athletes, former sports or former ways to practice a sport, all these events bring the idea of continuity and celebration. These events are also a way to create a grand narrative around the sport itself.

Finally, the notion of “site of memory” developed by Nora (1984) refers both to real or imagined “places” which are connected with specific meanings and associations for a group, and above all, to their emotions. Consequently, it can be seen as a shared symbol supporting social cohesion in groups and societies. For Nora (1984) some sports events, like the Tour de France, are able to crystallize the emotion of a large number of people, and by consequence can be seen as “site of memory”. This idea is reinforced by Pfister (2011) analyses that show how, by calling upon emotions and passions, sports events create deep-seated patterns of identification.

As we have just seen, many notions exist to define sports events that have a strong connection to the territory and/or to the past. However, the link to a heritage dimension of the event remains rare and

refers usually to some tangible aspects of the event or to a nostalgic vision of sport. In this regard, Fleuriel and Raspaud's (2011) study about the cycling race "Paris-Roubaix" is interesting and somehow different. This research focus, among other things, on the safeguarding of the heritage elements from the race, identify as the cobblestones' areas and Roubaix's velodrome. For the authors, the preservation in this case is problematic due to the intangible dimension of the object, that is to say, a sports event. If the safeguarding concerns tangible objects - the cobblestones and the velodrome - it is the event that gives them a specific value. In this study, the heritage essence of the event has been clearly identified. However, because the focus of this research on Paris-Roubaix is not HSEs, the authors do not develop the potential heritage dimension that some sports events might have.

In a broader perspective, to perceive events as potential intangible heritage objects is recent. In 2003, UNESCO adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. In its article 2 (UNESCO, 2003), the convention recognizes "festive events" as potential manifestation of intangible heritage. If some sport practices have been inscribed in the list, like equitation in the French tradition⁵, only one sports event has been inscribed so far, Kirkpinar oil wrestling festival in Turkey. However, Kirkpinar's nomination form (UNESCO, 2010) points out the cultural aspects of the event more than its sporting dimension. Indeed, the intangible heritage domains represented in the event are the cagirs' prayers, the various rituals and practices, the handmade costumes and the display in front of an audience (UNESCO, 2010, pp.2-3). This non-recognition of the heritage dimension of sports events, at least out of their cultural aspects, can also be explained by the fact that to date HSEs have been under-research.

Heritage Sporting Events

The first definition of HSE - recognised as a sports event with a heritage essence - has been only recently made by Chappelet (2014):

[a heritage sporting event] belongs to a particular place and returns to it regularly, typically every year or sometimes every two years, without interruption apart from an extraordinary situation. The owner of the event is a local entity, usually a non-profit association or a community, at least not a national or international organisation. (p.29)

To this definition, the author adds that it is only through a long historical process that the event can be seen as a heritage object. From the definition and this last comment, it is possible to identify the following characteristics of HSE, (1) its recurrence in a specific location, (2) its ownership by local entity, and (3) its longevity. These three characteristics have in common to reinforce the territorial integration of the event, which can favours, over time, its recognition as heritage. As presented by Chappelet (2014), the recurrence of the event allows to capitalise from year to year on the knowledge required to organise the event. This capitalisation makes the event organisation more efficient and effective over time. The local ownership removes the necessity to be a candidate to host the event. It reinforces the relation between the event owner and the territory, while removing the uncertainty and the costs involved by the candidature process. Chappelet (2014) also highlights the importance of the localisation. For the author, the location is an integral dimension of HSE, the name of the host destination being often included in the event's name (Wimbledon Championship, Boston Marathon or Palio di Siena). This relation between the event and its location offers stronger visibility for the host destination and the event, both benefiting from the brand equity of the other. The longevity of the event will strengthen this relation and over time inextricably linked them together as previously presented by Getz (2008).

Other elements developed in the academic literature can be associated to these first characteristics on our progression toward a definition of HSEs. Bessy (2014, pp.38-44) highlights, in a research on events' innovations, three types of developments that HSEs imply: on their concept, their governance, and their communication.

For the author (Bessy, 2014), HSEs usually look for a strategic position that allows them to be differentiated from traditional sports events either by the values they convey, their strong territorial anchoring or the specificities of their form of competition. Similarly, in a study about heritage and

⁵ Inscribed in 2011, www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00440.

geographical indications, Boisseaux et al. (2012) observe that all the heritage goods of their study are trying to differentiate from more or less similar products. It is the adjustment⁶ between the constituent elements of the object (namely the know-how, infrastructures and receptions dispositions⁷) that will allow its differentiation and the creation of a heritage resource (Boisseaux et al., 2012, p.21). It is the connection to this resource that will give the object its heritage value. In the case of sports events, Bessy (2014) observes that this differentiation allows the events to go beyond the image of a traditional sports competition to become a territorial resource able to contribute to the local development.

Bessy (2014) also perceives an innovative aspect in the governance of HSE. For the author, the governance of HSEs favours the development of partnerships between local actors, secure resources and regulates conflicts. In the same way, for Maltese (2010) sports events have the capacity to bring together many stakeholders who contribute in terms of resources, even if their interest might differ. The growth of the event's stakeholders, as well as the construction of a common culture between these actors, will enable the sustainability of the event while reinforcing the collaborations. In a governance perspective, this might lead to the creation of an urban regime, knowing that this shape of social network is favoured by the presence of a sports hosting strategy (Pinson, 2012).

Finally, Bessy (2014) also points out the innovation in terms of communication from HSE. For the author, this communication is based on a specific message adapted for the territory and highlighting its uniqueness. The message is not only constructed for external actors, but also for local residents by referring to their identity. The focus of the communication is not only the event, but the whole region. Consequently, the host destination and the event are both more visible. Of course, in terms of heritage, the communication will also influence how potential consumers perceive the event and its authenticity⁸. This is an important element. To be legitimate in the eyes of the population HSEs need to be perceived as authentic, either by showing continuity to the past, either by being linked to some specific features from the territory's identity.

Characteristics of HSE

From the different elements identified in the literature, we can distinguish the following variables of HSEs: the recurrence, the specific location, the ownership and/or organisation by local entities, the longevity and the differentiation strategy⁹. The first four variables have in common to reinforce the sustainability of the event on the territory. The differentiation strategy is adding value to the event by constructing and/or reinforcing its authenticity in the eyes of the population.

The recurrence, the specific location, the governance and the longevity of the event are interrelated. As seen previously, these four variables are influencing the sustainability of the event, which can be seen as one of the main characteristics of HSE as presented in *Table 1*. The recurrence in a specific location helps the population to identify to the event and to connect the event with the destination. The local ownership of the event and its organisation by a network of regional stakeholders enable to secure resources, regulate conflicts and build a common culture between the actors. All these elements are reinforcing the sustainability of the event. Finally, the longevity of the event is both inferred by the previous variables and necessary for them to develop. For instance, it is only over time that a proper network of actors can be created around the event. In the same time, a strong network will reinforce and sustain the event in return. The sustainability, observed through these four variables, is necessary to identify an event as a HSE, but not sufficient. Indeed, many sports events can be durably established in a territory and cover some or all the variables identified without being recognised as heritage. Therefore, it is only through the differentiation strategy that it is possible to observe the construction of the event as a heritage object.

In both Bessy (2014) and Boisseaux et al. (2012) studies, the differentiation strategy is coming from a desire by the organisers to distinguish their event (respectively their object) from more or less similar events. In the case of HSEs, it will reinforce the perceived authenticity of the event, making it more than a traditional sporting competition. For Boisseaux et al. (2012, p.17), this differentiation is taking place through the interaction of three elements: the know-how, the infrastructures and the reception dispositions. The "know-how" refers to the capacity of the actors to produce and/or maintain the good.

⁶ Made over time.

⁷ These dimensions will be discussed later.

⁸ That might be constructed or reinforce through the communication (Wang, 1999).

⁹ *Table 1* shows the characteristics, the variables and some of the literature used to identify these elements.

The authors include in it the necessary equipment to apply this specific know-how. For instance, the “Patrouille des Glaciers”, a ski mountaineering race organised every two years by the Swiss Army, is a good example of this particular know-how. Originally organised to test the abilities of the soldiers, the race is now open to the public. For the Swiss Army, it is a great opportunity to demonstrate their abilities in difficult conditions, while in the same time using the event to communicate on a positive function of the army. The “infrastructures” are all the tangible elements that the destruction will lead to the disappearance of the event (that is to say, the land, buildings, etc.). They are also used by the organisers to express the uniqueness of the event. As an example, it is almost impossible to imagine the French Open not being held on red clay or even being moved to another location than Roland Garros Stadium¹⁰. Finally, the “reception dispositions” refer to the consumption and/or appreciation of the good by the actors, including the belief in its special value or, in the case of HSEs, in its authenticity. The authenticity can be constructed through the narrative and myths surrounding the event. In the case of Wimbledon, the dress code (players only allowed to play in white) or the need for players to bow or curtsy to the Royal Family (slightly changed in 2003), are symbols and traditions part of the tournament grand narrative that makes it unique in the eyes of the public. The whole idea behind the differentiation strategy is for the event to be perceived as an authentic aspect of the territory in the eyes of the public and the participants. This perceived authenticity will give the event legitimacy.

Table 1. HSEs' characteristics

Characteristics	Variables		Literature
Sustainability	Recurrence		Chappelet (2014), Giampiccoli, Lee & Nauright (2013); Jago & Shaw (1998); Parent, Eskerud & Hanstad (2012)
	Location		Arcodia & Robb (2000); Bessy (2014); Chappelet (2014); Coulom & Bessy (2014); Di Méo (2007); Getz (2008), Sofield (2003)
	Governance		Bessy (2014); Chappelet (2014); Cometti & Dulac (2008); Di Méo (2007); Dormois (2008); Dowding (2001); Fleuriel & Raspaud (2011); Maltese (2010); Pinson (2012)
	Longevity		Boisseaux et al. (2012); Chappelet (2014); Di Méo (2007); Parent, Eskerud & Hanstad (2012); Ramshaw (2011)
Authenticity	Differentiation strategy	Know-how	Bérard & Marchenay (2004); Bessière (1998); Bessy (2014); Boisseaux et al. (2012); Faure (1998); UNESCO (2003)
		Infrastructures	Bessy (2014); Boisseaux et al. (2012); Faure (1998); Fleuriel and Raspaud (2011); Ramshaw & Gammon (2005); Tardy (2003); UNESCO (2003)
		Reception dispositions	Bessy (2014); Boisseaux et al. (2012); Di Méo (2007); Faure (1998); Groll (2013); Pfister (2011); Ramshaw (2011); Tardy (2003); UNESCO (2003) ; Wang (1999)

HSE as a territorial resource

The view of HSE as a territorial resource is coming from the evolution of the concept of heritage. As seen previously, heritage was originally linked to more tangible objects and broadens afterwards to intangible objects. For Landel and Senil (2009), heritage gives specific qualities to the entities it is associated to. These qualities enable the corresponding objects to be differentiated on open markets. As we have seen before, HSEs fall within this logic.

¹⁰ Although in 2010, the French tennis federation (FFT) announced that they were considering moving the tournament to a new venue outside Paris. Amid charges of bluffing and brinkmanship, the FFT decided to renovate the current venue.

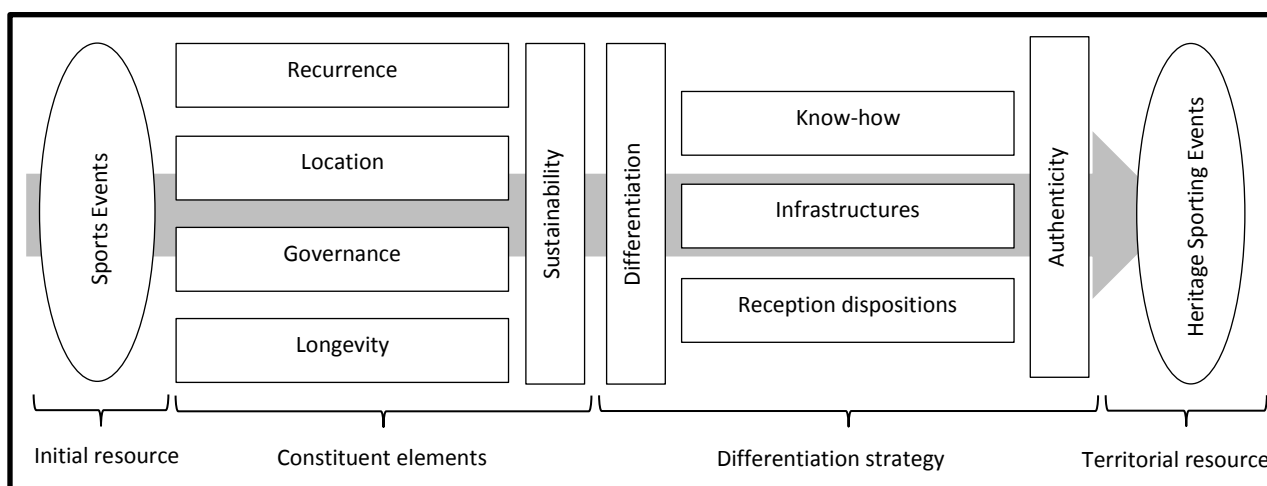
Gumuchian and Pecqueur (2007) define a territorial resource as “a constructed characteristic of a specific territory in a perspective of development” (p.5). Furthermore, the authors distinguish initial resources that are unique to the territory (cultural, natural, historical, etc.), from accomplished resources that are resulting from actors’ actions. Linked to HSEs, we can see that the sustainability’s variables previously identified are related to initial resources, while the differentiation strategy is what will transform a sports event in a HSE, and by consequence in an accomplished resource. This last remark can be linked to Boisseaux et al. (2012) research. For these authors, the differentiation process enables the transformation of a good, more or less similar to other goods in the market, in a heritage resource that represents a competitive advantage for the territory.

To see HSEs as territorial resources gives us information about the spectrum of events that the notion might cover. For Coulom and Bessy (2014), to be identified as a territorial resource, an event cannot be exogenous and generic. For the authors, “it is the difference between exported events that only exploit the local resources and events constructed by and for the territory” (p.170). Therefore, even if major sports events have a heritage dimension by their long history, they will not be considered as HSEs in this research. These major events represent resources that are transferable regardless of the local characteristics. On the contrary, HSEs are territorial resources that are linked to the host destination (Coulom & Bessy, 2014) and can become over time inseparable from the territory (Chappelet, 2014).

The construction of HSE

From the characteristics previously identified and the understanding of HSE as a resource, it is possible to create the following framework to visualise the transformation of HSE from a sports event to a territorial resource.

Figure 1. Construction of Heritage Sporting Events



In the framework represented in *Figure 1*, the constituent elements are important for two reasons. First, by reinforcing each other, they ensure the sustainability of the event in the territory, creating over time a strong identification between the host destination and the event. Sustainability does not only refer to the longevity of the event, but also to its capacity to adapt and evolve with the context. For instance, by being usually owned by local entities (Chappelet, 2014), a change in the elected officials might impact the organisation of the event. Therefore, the network surrounding the HSE needs to be strong enough to evolve and to integrate new stakeholders. Second, they indicate us potential HSE. As stated before, they are necessary to identify an event as a HSE, but not sufficient. Therefore, to be able to observe the differentiation strategies put in place by event organisers, potential HSEs need to be identified in the first place.

The narrative, and therefore the communication, is very important in the differentiation process. It is used to build and/or reinforce the event’s authenticity. To be seen as legitimate by the population and the media, the heritage value of the event needs to seem authentic. Of course, as stated by Wang (1999) this authenticity can be constructed. Paris-Roubaix and Vendée Globe are interesting examples in how

narratives can reinforce the perceived authenticity of an event¹¹. Both events are known under nicknames, “The Hell of the North” or “The Everest of the Seas”, which are reinforcing their uniqueness. Many race events, often told as anecdotes, are also becoming over time part of the grand narrative of the event, giving a heroic dimension to its participants or at least to the winner. These different narrative elements being used by the official communication of the event and the media are reinforcing the impression among the population that the event is unique. Pfister (2011) observes that the media’s part is even more important considering that the narrative is usually endorsed retrospectively. Therefore, the media and the media coverage of the event are essential in distinguishing sports events and making them part of the collective memory of a group (Groll, 2013). From an initial natural resource, which has a potential for the territory, the event is becoming a constructed resource that might lead to local development (Coulom & Bessy, 2014).

HSE Definition

Based on the process presented in *Figure 1* and the different elements identified in the literature, it is possible to offer a definition of the concept of HSEs:

Heritage Sporting Events are sustainable sports events that developed over time a strong relation to their host destination and were able to distinguish themselves from other sports events to be seen as authentic, and therefore, legitimate, in the eyes of a given population.

This definition highlights the important dimensions of HSEs previously identified. It points out the sustainability of the event through its constituent elements. The capacity of the event to be distinguished from other events and to be seen as authentic and legitimate is also highlighted. The new dimension introduced is the “given population.” This is an important element that needs to be taken into account. For Ramshaw and Gammon (2005) to brand an object, a place or a tradition as “heritage” suggests that it has some cultural significance for a group. Therefore, HSEs can be local, regional or international events according to the population who identify to it. International HSEs, like Wimbledon, might even be the exception, identification being usually stronger at the local or regional levels. For Gravari-Barbas (1996), the identification of a group is important for the legitimacy of the object and its safeguarding. In that regard, Fleuriel and Raspaud (2011) study about Paris-Roubaix is interesting. They show how Amaury Sport Organisation, the private company that owns the competition, emphasizes the heritage dimension of the race and its signification for the regional population to ensure public financing for the preservation and the maintenance of the cobblestones’ areas. Furthermore, it refers also to the article 2 of the UNESCO convention on intangible heritage (UNESCO, 2003) where a heritage object needs to be recognised by a community, a group or individuals to be potentially acknowledged by the institution.

Discussion

Based on an exploratory research on Heritage Sporting Events, this paper presented the theoretical construction of this emerging concept. This is a first very important step on a broader study on HSEs. On the one hand, it enables to understand the construction process of HSEs from a sports event to a territorial resource as presented in *Figure 1*. On the other hand, it allows the definition of a new field of research that needs to be further studied.

The constituent elements that sustain the event in the host destination (namely the recurrence, the location, the governance and the longevity) enable to identify sports events with a potential heritage dimension. In a research perspective, this is an important element. When a specific label exists, like the world heritage by UNESCO or to another extend the protected designation of origin by the European Union, objects with a heritage dimension are already identified. As stated before, sports events are usually not recognised as such. Therefore, researches on HSEs need to have tools at their disposal to identify potential heritage events. In future studies, the four variables that sustain the event in the territory (presented in *Table 1*) need to be applied to different cases. It will give the opportunity to observe the configurations in which HSEs might exist. For instance, according to Chappelet’s (2014) definition, a HSE comes back “*every year or sometimes every two years*” (p.29) to its host destination. However, one could say that an event that happens every four years, like the Vendée Globe, creates

¹¹ For more information about these events, please refer to Damien and Dorvillé (2011).

more expectations by being rare and consequently, might develop a stronger connection with the participants and the public. Of course, in Chappelet's perspective this recurrence on a year or two-year basis only favours the sustainability of the event, but should not be seen as a distinctive characteristic of HSEs. Similarly, the localisation of the event might differ from one case to another. Some of the HSEs identified by Chappelet (2014, p.26) are always taking place in the same venue (Palio di Siena), while others have only the same final location (Paris-Roubaix). Of course, these comments should be understood in the reference to the construction process presented in *Figure 1*. The constituent elements shape and sustain the event. It is only the differentiation process that will enable the event to be seen as authentic.

The differentiation process offers the opportunity to observe the construction of a sports event in a heritage object. The know-how, the infrastructures and the reception dispositions presented previously are always in interaction. The actors surrounding the event use them to communicate and to differentiate their event. Of course, according to how the message is received by the audience and the general context of the event, the organisers might modify their communication. In this regard, the "Paris-Dakar Rally" is an interesting example. Organised since the 1970s, this rally raid was usually, as suggested by the name, going from Paris to Dakar, Senegal. Due to security reasons and a growing protest against the race, the event was moved to South America in 2009. Before that date, the communication was, of course, a mix between the three dimensions of the differentiation process, but with an emphasis on the route through the North African Desert (*the infrastructures*). This can be seen through the "official" story behind the creation of the race¹², almost told as a myth, and the motto of Thierry Sabine, the founder, "a challenge for those who go a dream for those who stay behind." Since they had to change the "infrastructure," the communication also had to adapt. Therefore, the official communication is now highlighting the human adventure (*reception dispositions*) behind the race and the safety dispositions (*know-how*) during the whole route¹³. This example shows how the differentiation strategy needs to be understood as a dynamic process. If in the Dakar's case, the communication had to change due to a relocation of the race, a modification of the event's network - either by adding new stakeholders, either by a modification of the predominance in the network - might also impact the differentiation strategy. These two examples highlight that the constituent elements and the differentiation strategy are related. Of course, this relation and the whole process in general need to be further researched.

Conclusion

This paper introduced the notion of Heritage Sporting Event. Through an exploratory research, the construction process of a sports event to a heritage object was presented. The sustainability of the event on the territory, observed through its recurrence, location, governance and longevity, allows the identification of sports events with a potential heritage dimension. The differentiation process, made possible by the communication on the specific know-how, infrastructures and reception dispositions of the event, gives an added value to the event and transforms it in a territorial resource. As such, HSEs can represent a competitive advantage for their host destination. In that regard, the event and the territory being inexorably linked, they both benefit from the brand equity of the other.

Therefore, HSE could be an opportunity for local authorities engaged in sports events hosting strategies. These strategies are usually based on exogenous resources (international one-off events), but this logic is challenged. On the one hand, it is more and more difficult for territories to be designated to host major sports events (due to the growing competition and the gigantism of those events). On the other hand, major events are questioned by the population and the public authorities. The demonstrations during the 2013 Confederations Cup in Brazil or the vote against the 2022 Olympics in Switzerland by the population of the region are some examples showing that the logic behind the sports events hosting strategies might need to be rethought. In that regard, HSEs represent an opportunity to base the promotion and development of the region on endogenous resources that might lead to the sustainability of the hosting strategies. Of course, if public authorities are invited to consider HSEs for the promotion and branding of their territory, further researches are needed to better understand their construction process and their impacts on the territory.

¹² www.dakar.com/dakar/2015/us/history.html

¹³ www.dakar.com

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Reconstructed Authenticity in Translocal Restaurant: North-East Cuisines' Food Cultural Heritage in Canton, China

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Abstract

Translocal restaurants which produce reconstructed authenticity are becoming popular in China on the background of mobility and translocality in the last ten years. What is the relationship between reconstructed authenticity of translocal restaurant service and China's cultural heritage? And why has it become so popular in China? This paper constructs a theoretical model including service quality, food quality, environment, food authenticity, environment authenticity, service authenticity, perceived value, satisfaction and behavioral intention, based on the literature review. A case of North-west Cuisine in Canton, Xibei Restaurant, has been studied to discuss the relationship among these dimensions. Some conclusions are found. First, the authenticity of translocal restaurant includes food authenticity, environment authenticity and service authenticity. The translocal cultural production of food makes the locality prominent. The authenticity perceived by customers in translocal restaurant is symbolic authenticity or reconstructed authenticity. Second, environment authenticity and service authenticity are more important than food authenticity in translocal restaurant, which demonstrates that the service authenticity has significant influence on customer satisfaction. Third, service authenticity plays a key role in reconstructing authenticity of translocal cultural production in food. The customers' experience of authenticity in translocal restaurant is determined by the blend of both original and local food cultures.

Keywords: Authenticity; Translocality; Food Heritage; Cultural Production; Perceived Value

Introduction

The locality of food which is a kind of representation of place identity is the origin of food (Trubek, 2008). Food geography has become an important topic of human geography which is becoming more cultural (Cook et al., 2011; Zhu & Chen, 2011; Cai et al., 2012), especially in the context of mobility and immigration. In the process of translocal cultural production of food, consumers seek not only authentic food, but also the diet which can meet physical needs. Therefore, they tend to pursue symbolic authenticity (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009; Zeng et al., 2012). Response to consumers' authentic and different, high-quality and low-cost, contradictory demand, producers standardize authenticity to deal with it (Zeng et al., 2012). Standardized authenticity and symbolic authenticity respectively explain producers and consumers' different reconstructions of food culture of one place. However, in reality there is a kind of translocal food product whose cultural matrix does not exist or is not clear, but get a good consumer acceptance in the translocal expansion process. This reality is difficult to be explained by the existing theory of authenticity, so it is necessary to explore a new concept of culinary culture authenticity.

China's tourism and hospitality sector is expanding very rapidly, some might say too fast for its societal good. Heritage attractions represent or are related to the social, cultural or natural historic assets of China's regions, which has attracted ever increasing attention in terms of the governance of heritage over recent years. Hence, there is an urgent need in China to adopt a new perspective that examines more fully the relationship of heritage tourism and the economic policies. It would create a better understanding about heritage tourism in relation to the vast migrations of Chinese that is taking place in China, more specifically their movement from the country side to the big metropolitan areas. This has given rise to the phenomenon of translocal restaurant service, which impacts China's urban scene. Though it offers pragmatic solutions for service delivery linked to people's memories and associations of the rural areas where people used to reside, translocal authentic restaurant service also raises many issues, such as loss of authenticity (Wang, 1999) and cultural change (Zeng et al., 2012). It is very important to discuss the relationship between heritage tourism and the expansion of translocal authentic restaurant service.

This paper constructs a theoretical model including service quality, food quality, environment, food authenticity, environment authenticity, service authenticity, perceived value, satisfaction and behavioral intention, based on the literature review. A case of North-west Cuisine in Canton, Xibei Restaurant, has been studied in order to answer the following questions. First, what is the customers' perception of authenticity in this translocal restaurant? Second, whether the authenticity would affect customers' decision-making in the context of mobility? Third, how can customers' perception of authenticity affect perceived value, satisfaction and behavioral intentions in translocal restaurants?

Literature Review and Conceptual Model

Authenticity of Food Cultural Heritage

As early as the 1970s, tourism researchers began to explore the concept of authenticity (MacCannell, 1973), but the meaning of Authenticity is still controversial. Some researchers believed that there were three forms of Authenticity, including Objective Authenticity, Symbolic Authenticity and Postmodernism in the Western context, and propose Existential Authenticity based on Postmodern. Then Existential Authenticity was further divided into Intra-personal Experience of Authenticity and Inter-personal Experience of Authenticity both emphasizing the customers' experience of authenticity (Wang, 1999). Authenticity has been applied to various fields in the study of tourism experience such as cultural commercialization (Shackley, 1994; Jokilehto, 2006), protection and development of tourist destinations (Jokilehto, 2006; Stovel, 2007) and tourism product marketing (Ma, 2007). Recently studies about Authenticity begin to involve translocal cultural production in food and hotel groups' translocal expansion (Zeng et al., 2012).

From the perspectives of Objective Authenticity, Symbolic Authenticity, Postmodernism and Existential Authenticity, some researchers elaborated on the concept of culinary culture authenticity and then compared them to find the differences under different perspectives (Table 1). The results showed that "authenticity is not a black and white choice (Wang, 1999)" and "different subjects' understandings of authenticity vary (Lego et al., 2002)".

Table 1. Different perspectives of cultural authenticity

Genre	Focus	Main points	Representative scholars
Objective Authenticity	Tourism object, tourism products offered by tourism providers	From binary oppositions' perspective, there is a unique and absolute truth, for there is a black and white choice.	Boorstin, MacCannell
Symbolic Authenticity	Based on tourists' cognitive differences of tourism objects	From multivariate perspective, there is no single truth, for the truth is from the point of view of individuals based on their own interpretation and construction of the outside world.	Cohen, Bruner, Hobsbawn, Ranger
Postmodernism	Tourism objects' image in tourists' hearts	The authenticity and non- authenticity's boundary is broken completely, which is the deconstruction of Authenticity. The most typical representatives: Disneyland	Umberto Eco, Baudrillard
Existential Authenticity	Tourists' experience brought by tourism activities	The main tourist experience is put on the most important position and tourists' perception of the Being is concerned a lot.	Daniel, Wang

Source: Li, X. (2013). Authenticity Effects on Customers' Behavioral intention in the Ethnic Restaurant: A Study Based on Extended Mehrabian–Russell Model. Sun Yat-sen University. (in Chinese)

Process of translocal cultural production in food: from standardized authenticity and symbolic authenticity to reconstructing authenticity

How should translocal restaurants show culinary culture authenticity? What's the process of customers' experience of authenticity? Some researchers believed that "restaurants are what they seem" and "restaurant operators are loyal to themselves", which were the two factors that jointly decided whether a restaurant had the authenticity really. Any of them lost, considered to be a lack of authenticity (Pine & Gilmore, 1999). Meanwhile, in the process of translocal cultural production in food, by exploiting local diets' authentic features and standardizing them, translocal culinary culture could be produced in other places after leaving cultural origin, which thereby solved the dilemma of authenticity and standardization problem (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009). Standardized authenticity can be recognized by consumers (Jugård & Modig, 2009), which explains restaurant operators' acts in the process of catering business scale expansion and lies a theoretical foundation for the later research on cross-cultural production of local food.

Symbolic Authenticity believed that tourists did not pursue objective authenticity but symbolic authenticity constructed by the society. Tourists' experience of object is the perception of object's authentic symbols which are different under different individuals' understanding based on their own beliefs, expectations, preferences and stereotypes (Wang, 1999). In the process of translocal cultural production in food, being symbolic is a necessary process of experience (Jugård & Modig, 2009). Case studying on Hunan Cuisine showed Authenticity's process of being symbolic and identified: producers of food culture used food, service, decor, atmosphere and other symbols to reflect the authenticity and then customers identified them and formed the perception in the restaurant's environment (Sims, 2009). In Symbolic Authenticity theory, both producers and consumers emphasized characterization and false characterization in the process of translocal cultural production in food, which coincided with the perspective of constructivism. This view can explain some business whose cultural origin is clear try to be symbolic in other places. However, some translocal food businesses' cultural origin is not clear, but they also win the recognition of consumers in the translocal operation. This type of businesses' food culture authenticity requires further discussion.

Chinese traditional Eight Cuisine each has a rich cultural implication, forming distinctive food culture characteristics. North-west Cuisine does not belong to the traditional Eight Cuisine. However, in the process of translocal cultural production in food, North-west Cuisine get a wild acceptance from consumers by mixing features of Qin, Gansu, Muslim and Uighur Cuisine all in northwestern China, while creating authenticity of Northwest culture and North-west Cuisine culture. Given classification of different types of food culture authenticity and food culture production, Xibei's North-west Cuisine Authenticity can not be entirely attributed to any one of them, but a kind of restructured authenticity. Its cultural origin is a integration of several Authenticities, is vague, unclear and incomplete and is created by the producers. However, there aren't any relevant theoretical and empirical researches on customers' perception of authenticity in translocal restaurants yet.

Customers' Experience of Translocal Culinary Culture Authenticity

Customers' expectations and perceptions of restaurant authenticity are different under different cultural backgrounds and experiences (Lu & Fine, 1995). Customers' experience of translocal culinary culture authenticity contains three aspects which are environment, food quality and service quality. Restaurant environment can explain the quality of service, causing positive or negative emotions, and also is one of the important factors affecting customer spending again (Kincaid et al., 2010; Hoare & Butcher, 2008; Namkung & Jang, 2008). Some scholars proposed six dimensions including facilities decorations, background environment, lighting, table decorations, spatial distribution and service personnel to measure restaurants' interior environment (Ryu & Jang, 2008). In addition, some scholars believed that the internal environment of the restaurant included interior decoration, background environment, spatial layout and service personnel dress involved only and interaction with customers not involved (Liu & Jang, 2009a). In short, the restaurant environment is one of the indispensable factors of customers' overall experience activity. In the choice of the three environmental requirements of authenticity which are "totally unnecessary", "somewhat unnecessary" and "unnecessary", most of the customers in the translocal restaurant choose "somewhat unnecessary" (George, 2000).

Food quality has a decisive role in the dining experience (Namkung & Jang, 2007; Sulek & Hensley, 2004). Compared with service quality and restaurant environment, food quality is the most important

factor influencing customer satisfaction (Sulek & Henslesy, 2004; Clark & Wood, 1998). Some scholars used taste of food, diversity of dishes on the menu and nutritional value of food to measure the impact of food quality on customer satisfaction (Kivela et al., 2000). Some used food layout in the plate, adequacy of food, menu and diversity of food to measure food quality (Raajpoot, 2002), as well as some chose food layout in the plate, the diversity of the food on the menu, helpfulness of food for health, taste of food, freshness of food and food temperatures to assess the quality of food (Sulek, 2004). Studies also indicated that the source and uniqueness of food materials, food processing technology and style produced a significant impact on customers' authenticity perception (Nam & Lee, 2011). Chinese restaurant in America food must keep a balance between Chinese food authenticity and American tastes, so that Americans can experience the unique nature of Chinese food, without straying too far from their own tastes (Lu & Fine, 1995). As long as the food is delicious and environment is comfortable, they do not care about whether the food and the environment is objective authentic (Ebster & Guist, 2005). The dimensions measuring food quality mentioned above provide a theoretical basis for the option for measured variables in this paper.

After comparing expectation and actual perception of service, customers will form a subjective evaluation (Bolton & Drew, 1991), called service quality (Zeithaml et al., 1996). It is the key determinant to maintain the loyalty of the customers for the restaurant (Mattila & Wirtz, 2001). Service quality has been divided into functional service quality and technical service quality (Sharma & Patterson, 1999; Grönroos, 1984). Functional service quality refers to the entire service process of the restaurant and the interaction between the waiters and customers, while technical service quality focuses more on food itself. When the basic service does not appear very skew, customers are more concerned about functional service quality, and the evaluations are more subjective. Under different cultural backgrounds, customers' expectations for functional service quality and technical service quality differ, or customers' awareness of the importance of the two differs, which may cause different customers' perception of service quality (Tsang & Ap, 2007). In addition, customers' perception of service quality largely depends on the performance of waiters during the service. Reliable, timely and confident service can be seen as intangible factors that affect consumer satisfaction and subsequent behavior. Service has the characteristics that production and consumption occur simultaneously and service is difficult to evaluate before purchasing, so the catering uses tangible demonstration to improve customers' evaluation on service quality (Johns & Tyas, 1996). Customers' perception of service quality authenticity is from the judgments about the staff source, the staff language and the service process (Zeng et al., 2012), so in this article service quality refers to the service provided to the customer by the restaurant employees and customers' perception of the restaurant employees and the service they provided.

Previous related studies are more based on the theoretical analysis. Although there are a number of case studies (Zeng et al., 2012; Pratt, 2007; Sims, 2009), there is still a lack of empirical support based on large-scale customer survey. Customers' perception is the feeling and evaluation of the dining experience based on knowledge and experience and the main targets they experience are the food quality, service quality and restaurant environment (Fan & Li, 2006; Anderson & Mossberg, 2004). From the perspective of restaurant customers, the paper thinks that the authentic experience customers seek is the experience of food authenticity, service authenticity and environment authenticity (Fan & Li, 2006; Anderson & Mossberg, 2004; Zeng et al., 2012), and this experience built on customers' original cultural background is the perception of commercialized and symbolic authenticity. Therefore, this paper attempts to understand customers' perception of authenticity remodeled by the case business, and then analyzes customers' perceived value and satisfaction, and how they affect subsequent behavioral intention.

Relationship Among Customer Satisfaction, Perceived Value and Behavioral Intentions in the Process of Translocal Cultural Production in Food

Customer satisfaction is the difference between consumer's perception and consumer's expectation on products or services at the end of the consumer activity. When the perception is higher than the expectation, customers feel satisfied, and when it's lower than expected, customers feel unsatisfied (Oliver, 1980). Usually Expectation Disconfirmation Model is used most on customer satisfaction in tourism research. The later proposed models such as Customer Spending Experience Comparative Model and Customer Requirement-satisfaction Model (Woodruff, 1997; Westbrook & Oliver, 1991) lead to an argument for the three models among scholars. The argument is about correlation between expectation and customer satisfaction (Johnson et al., 2001; Van Ryzin, 2013) and whether the model

can explain the formation of a sense of satisfaction (Johnson et al., 2001). Although traditional Expectation Disconfirmation Model is controversial, it is reasonable to measure customer satisfaction by the customer perception (Wan & Chan, 2013) for the reason that customer satisfaction is not only a cognitive judgment process but also an emotional reaction process (Nitecki & Hernon, 2000).

Customer perceived value is considered as the perception based on the customers' benefits and sacrifices and a comprehensive evaluation of the effect on the product or service (Zeithaml et al., 1990; Lovelock, 2000), but so far it hasn't got a consistent definition by academia (Flint et al., 2002). There are three methods to define perceived value: the pros and cons, the multi-factor method and the comprehensive evaluation method (Ryu et al., 2012). Holbrook (1999) also divided perceived value into three categories: the Self-directed and the others-directed, Active and Passive, External and Internal. Perceived value is a multi-level and multi-factor aggregation, which has a multi-level and multi-dimensional meaning. It contains social, functional, emotional and many other values in the consumer experience. Meanwhile, compared with satisfaction, perceived value can better predict customer repurchase intention (Cronin Jr et al., 2000; Oh, 2000a b).

Customer behavioral intention is the tendency for some customers to take an action, which is the connection between the customer himself and his future behavior (Ryu et al., 2012). The most direct way to predict whether a customer will take a certain act in the future is to understand his tendency towards this act (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Based on the literature review, domestic scholars divided consumer behavioral intention into three categories: repurchase intention, reputation and premium purchase. Repurchase intention is the tendency and the possibility to repeat purchase and is one important way for business to maintain customers. Reputation is the customer's verbal propaganda for his feeling or evaluation for the product or service to the potential customer; advertising easier to obtain than the trust of potential customers. Premium purchase refers to whether the customer is willing to pay a higher price to buy the company's products or services. If the answer is yes, companies can derive more returns (Ryu et al., 2012; Arts et al., 2011).

The relationship among customer perceived value, customer satisfaction and customer behavioral intentions is complicated. In the earlier study about the antecedents of behavioral intention, customer satisfaction was considered to have a positive impact on consumer behavioral intention (Oliver, 1999). With the perceived value introduced as a new antecedent, scholars began to argue for these two factors. They are divided into two camps: value-led theory and satisfaction-led theory. The former believed that "perceived value is at the dominant position while satisfaction is at the secondary position on the impact of behavior intention"; the later which is more popular by the scholars, believed that "satisfaction is at the dominant position while perceived value is at the secondary position on the impact of behavior intention". Therefore, the structure of the research model should be designed according to the, which means the selection of behavioral intention's antecedents is determined by the nature of the study (Cronin Jr et al. 2000). Some scholars think that both sense of satisfaction and perceived value have an impact on behavioral intention, while perceived value also indirectly influences behavioral intention through satisfaction (Taylor, 1997; Patterson & Spreng, 1997), which means the perceived value has a dual effect on behavioral intention. Putting all of the possible antecedents of customer behavioral intention into a research model and testing the statistical relationships between all variables comprehensively are called Comprehensive Research Model (Cronin Jr et al. 2000).

Conceptual Model

Learning from the previous study about the influence on the customers of the Authenticity in the Korean restaurant operated in the United States (Jang et al., 2011), customer experience factors were grouped into food quality, service quality and environmental quality and furthermore the authenticity in a restaurant was divided into food authenticity, environment authenticity and service authenticity. These six factors were measured as variable environmental stimulus on customer purchase intention and service quality, food quality and dining environment were the stimulus affecting customer satisfaction and perceived value according to comprehensive literature review. So the following six assumptions (H1-H6) were put forward.

- H1: Service quality has a positive impact on customer perceived value.
- H2: Service quality has a positive impact on customer satisfaction.
- H3: Food quality has a positive impact on customer perceived value.

- H4: Food quality has a positive impact on customer satisfaction.
- H5: Dining environment has a positive impact on the customer perceived value.
- H6: Dining environment has a positive impact on customer satisfaction.

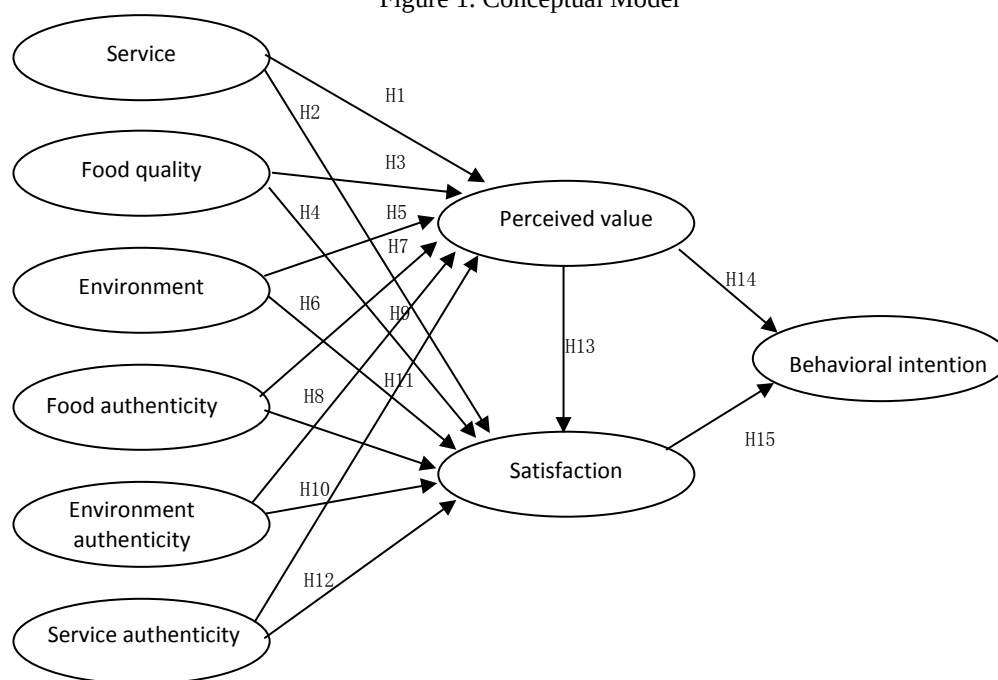
Researches on ethnic restaurants or theme restaurants found that Authenticity was another important factor that affected customers' emotion and behavior intention. The truth that the main reason for customers to choose ethnic restaurant was to experience different food tastes was found through researches on the Authenticity of a Chinese restaurant, a Thai restaurant, an Italian restaurant and a Korean restaurant in the United States. So customer emotional reactions and cognitive reactions to food authenticity were required to be measured. In addition to food, customers' goal choosing ethnic restaurant was to feel different culture through restaurant environment. In the previous studies (Patterson & Spreng, 1997; Jang et al., 2011), environment authenticity did not appear alone as variable environmental stimuli, so environment authenticity was also included in the measurement range. However, in the process of translocal cultural production in food, culture authenticity must be symbolic and commercialized to be perceived by the customers. It was usually characterized as food, decor, service, atmosphere and so on. Through the study of Authenticity in Banana Leaf, a Thai restaurant operated in Guangzhou, some scholars found that it not only used food, food recipes, interior decoration and layout to create Thai style but also asked the waiters to wear traditional national costumes as uniform (Pratt, 2007). Catering enterprises usually use recipes, clothing, promotional materials, logos, equipments, furnishings and other tangible things to improve customer evaluation of service quality (Johns & Tyas, 1996). All these showed that service was also one of the specific characterizations of restaurant authenticity. Therefore, it was necessary to measure service authenticity as an environmental stimuli included in the model.

- H7: Food authenticity has a positive impact on customer perceived value.
- H8: Food authenticity has a positive impact on customer satisfaction.
- H9: Environment authenticity has a positive impact on customer perceived value.
- H10: Environment authenticity has a positive impact on customer satisfaction.
- H11: Service authenticity has a positive impact on customer perceived value.
- H12: Service authenticity has a positive impact on customer satisfaction.

On measuring mood, foreign scholars studied that satisfaction and perceived value were proved to be suitable as intermediate variable between environmental stimuli and behavioral intention (Nam & Lee, 2011; Ha & Jang, 2010b; Um et al. 2006; Ryu et al. 2008), and generally behavioral intention was used as the final variable (Ryu & Jang, 2007; Liu & Jang, 2009b; Jang et al., 2011; Ha & Jang, 2012; Su, 2011; Jang et al., 2012). Scholars argued about the causality between satisfaction and perceived value, but most of them tended to believe that the perceived value affected satisfaction. Ryu and his partners' (2008) research on fast food shops confirmed that customer perceived value had a positive impact on customer satisfaction, and other scholars also provided similar evidence in the study of the Korean restaurant. This paper also put forward similar hypothesis H13-H15 and drew a conceptual model according to the proposed hypothesis (Figure 1).

- H13: Customer perceived value has a positive impact on customer satisfaction.
- H14: Customer perceived value has a positive impact on customer behavioral intention.
- H15: Customer satisfaction has a positive impact on customer behavioral intention.

Figure 1. Conceptual Model



Research Design and Research Process

Case selection

China's different parts have significant differences in climate, soil, water and other geographical environment, which produced different food materials. China has a long history of many peoples, which forms obvious geographical characteristics in diet habits, diet structure and Cuisine under the combined effect of different natural and human environment in various regions (Jang et al., 2012). Taking Han Nationality as an example, it is said to have four major cuisines or eight major cuisines. Northwest region of Xinjiang, Ningxia, Shaanxi, Gansu and Qinghai have many differences in food culture. Hui Nationality in Xinjiang, Ningxia and Qinghai mainly eat Muslim Cuisine. And people eat Uighur Cuisine in Xinjiang, Long Cuisine in Gansu and Qin Cuisine in Shaanxi. However, there is not a unified representative for Northwest Cuisine (Atkins & Bowler, 2001; Wang, 2000). Nevertheless, Xibei Restaurant founded in 1988 in Inner Mongolia pioneers the concept of Northwest Cuisine, and has 50 outlets in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Shijiazhuang, Shenzhen, Shenyang, Guangzhou, Hohhot, Baotou and Ordos. The total number of employees by the end of 2012 reached 12,000; the annual reception of guests is over 15 million and the sales revenue is more than 1 billion yuan¹. Its classic dishes involve roast mutton chops, roast sheep stick, finger mutton, Xibei large bowl of chicken, Xibei gluten, trotters frozen, Kung Fu fish, Xibei mixed vegetables, pigskin jelly, yellow rice cake, Chinese hamburger, beef and mutton soup with shredded cake, naked oats fish noodles, grains basket, homemade yogurt, etc. These dishes are from the northwest region's Qin, Long, Muslim and Xinjiang Cuisine and are given the name of northwest cuisine. Most of the customers think these northwest cuisines are delicious and authentic, the service level is high and the environment is comfortable.

Guangzhou and Shenzhen are almost the most southern cities in China, so diet habits of them differ a lot from Northwest China. Guangzhou has a reputation for Eating in Guangzhou and is one of the economic and cultural center of South China, in which gather a lot of customers from all over the

¹ Source: [HTTP://www.xibei.com.cn](http://www.xibei.com.cn).

country and even around the world. So it has not only the economic base and cultural foundation but also the consumer base. Xibei Northwest Cuisine has three branches in Guangzhou.

Tianhenan Second Street Restaurant opened in 2009, Yingbin Road Restaurant opened in 2012 and Aoyuan Restaurant opened in 2013. From the data of Dianping Web, there are 1139 comments on the first shop, 187 comments on the second shop and 22 comments on the last shop. This paper selects the newly opened Yingbin Road Restaurant whose operating condition is good as the research object. It is decorated with the style restaurant renamed, so its exterior design and decorating are more representative. Accordingly, the paper selects Xibei Northwest Cuisine in Guangzhou as a case, and then discusses remodeling questions of authenticity in the process of translocal cultural production in food.

Operationalization

In the study of translocal culinary culture authenticity, the authenticity of food culture is on behalf of a remote culinary culture. There isn't a corresponding quantitative empirical research on such cases in academia. This paper learned the dimensions and metrics measuring authenticity from western scholars' study of ethnic restaurants and combined with the actual situation in Xibei Restaurant, which means it gave appropriate modifications, deleting indicators unsuitable for this case while increasing distinctive indicators suitable for this case. The case's environmental stimuli included service quality (Nam & Lee, 2011), food quality (Liu & Jang, 2009b; Jang et al., 2012), environment (Jang et al., 2012), food authenticity (Kivela et al., 2000; Raajpoot, 2002), environment authenticity (Jang et al., 2012) and service authenticity (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009; Zeng & Zhao, 2013; Zeng et al., 2012; Johns & Tyas, 1996). Emotional variables included perceived value, customer satisfaction and customer follow-up behavioral intentions. Specific measurements for each variable are shown in Table 2. These items were adapted to suit the domain-level context of involvement with the food category and measured using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

Table 2. Specific measure and references under each dimension

Dimension	Measurement items	References
Service quality	SQ1 Attitudes of the servers were friendly.	Nam & Lee, 2011 Lee & Yang, 2012
	SQ2 Servers provided prompt and effective service.	
	SQ3 Waiters understood and were familiar with the menu.	
	SQ4 Waiters were always willing to help.	
	SQ5 I felt trusted about attendants' performance.	
Food quality	FQ1 The food I had was tasty.	Liu & Jang, 2009 Jang, Ha et al., 2012
	FQ2 The presentation of the food was visually attractive.	
	FQ3 The food I had was fresh.	
	FQ4 The temperature of the food I had was appropriate.	
	FQ5 The restaurant offered a variety of menu choices.	
	FQ6 The food offered was good for health.	
Environment	EV1 The exterior design was visually appealing.	Jang, Ha et al., 2012
	EV2 The interior design was visually appealing.	
	EV3 The decorations were visually appealing.	
	EV4 The facilities were comfortable.	
	EV5 The restaurant was clean.	
	EV6 The lighting created a comfortable atmosphere.	
	EV7 The colors used in the restaurant	

Dimension	Measurement items	References
	created a welcome atmosphere.	
Food authenticity	AF1 I perceived the design of the menu as authentically Northwestern.	Jang, Ha et al., 2012
	AF2 I perceived the food offered in the menu as authentically Northwestern.	
	AF3 I perceived the presentation of the food as authentically Northwestern.	
	AF4 I perceived the taste of the food as authentically Northwestern.	
	AF5 I perceived the cooking way as authentically Northwestern.	
Environment authenticity	AE1 I perceived the exterior appearance of the restaurant as authentically Northwestern.	Jang, Ha et al., 2012 Jang, Liu, NamKung, 2011
	AE2 I perceived the interior design of the restaurant as authentically Northwestern.	
	AE3 I perceived the decorations in the restaurant as authentically Northwestern.	
	AE4 I perceived the tableware as authentically Northwestern.	
	AE5 I perceived the music at the restaurant as authentically Northwestern.	
Service authenticity	AS1 I thought the servers were from Northwest China.	Zeng Guojun, Liu Mei, 2012 Zhao Shiqiu, 2013 Yan Shi,
	AS2 Attendants were initiative to explain the northwestern characteristics of the food.	
	AS3 I perceived the language of the servers as authentically Northwestern.	
Perceived value	PV1 The food price was appropriate.	Jang, Ha et al., 2012
	PV2 The service was good for the price.	
	PV3 The dining experience was a good value for the money I paid.	
Satisfaction	SA1 I enjoyed my meal here.	Ryu & Zhong
	SA2 I felt joy.	
	SA3 I felt satisfied.	
Behavioral intention	BI1 I would like to dine out at this restaurant again.	Jang, Liu, NamKung, 2010
	BI2 I would like to share positive things about this restaurant to others.	
	BI3 I would like to recommend this restaurant to others.	

Results

Respondent Profile

Researchers distributed 37 questionnaires by e-mail in September 2013 to complete the pre-test and determine the questionnaire according to the pre-test results. From October 30, 2013 to March 2, 2014, researchers distributed a total of 480 questionnaires to the guests waiting to check out at the Yingbin Road Xibei Restaurant and 436 questionnaires were recovered. There were 39 invalid questionnaires, so 397 valid questionnaires were actually received and the effective rate was 82.70%.

The sample contained an almost equal number of males (55.20%) and females (44.80%). The age of respondents ranged from 26 to 50, of which age between 26 and 35 accounted for 47.61%. As to the level of education, 45.10% of them are bachelor; 16.90% of them are master and above; 29.20% of the

people get college degree; 8.8% of people get high school education, technical secondary education or even below. 74.56% of those come to the restaurant at least twice or more. About 85.60% of the people are non Northwest people now living in Guangzhou; 17.40% of the people are Northwest people now living in Guangzhou; 3.30% of the people are visitors from Northwest China. About half of them say that they do not quite understand the Northwest culture; 10.58% of the people say that they do not understand the Northwest culture at all; 29.47% of the people say that they are a little familiar with the Northwest culture; 8.82% of the people say that they are very familiar with the Northwest culture. Income survey is as follows: 51.90% of the people get more than 6,000 yuan monthly; 34.30% of the people's monthly income is between 3000 yuan and 5999 yuan; 13.90 percent of the people get only 3,000 yuan and even less.

The preliminary analysis focused on assessing the adequacy of the measurement model via evaluation of the component loadings of the items for each measure, the reliability of the measures, convergent validity, and the discriminant validity of the various constructs. The mean values of all variables are higher than 4, which mean that the customers are satisfied to this restaurant. Among these 6 variables, the means of food quality, service quality, enviroment, food authenticity, environment authenticity are higher than 5. These five dimensions bring goods to Xibei Restaurant. However, the mean value of service authenticity is lower than 5, which means that customers are not so satisfied to the service authenticity comparatively and the price of this restaurant is a little high.

Reliability and Validity of the Data

Table 3 summarizes the results concerning the measurement model related to the assessment of reliability. This research adopts the most commonly used methods to assess the reliability of the measurement model in order to reduce the number of model parameters, improve the reliability of measurement index and enhance the stability of the parameter estimation. First, the measurement of each latent variable is split into two sub scales. Then, the sub scale scores average is used as the measurement index of the corresponding concept. Variable reliability is measured by coefficient of internal consistency (Cronbach α value). As shown in Table 3, all the alpha values of the sub scale in this study are greater than 0.70 (0.738 to 0.907), the alpha values of factor to the corresponding variable value is greater than 0.90 (up to 0.953), only less than 0.90 of the alpha value is 0.890. It can be seen data is reliable in this study.

Table 3. The result of data reliability analysis

		Indicators	Cronbach α	Factor	Indicator sums	Cronbach α
Service Quality (SQ)		5	0.932	SQA	3	0.864
				SQB	2	0.851
Food Quality (FQ)		6	0.949	FQA	3	0.867
				FQB	3	0.852
Environment (E)		7	0.953	EA	4	0.885
				EB	3	0.869
Authenticity (A)	Food Authenticity (AF)	5	0.953	AFA	3	0.861
				AFB	2	0.891
	Environment Authenticity (AE)	5	0.918	AEA	3	0.833
				AEB	2	0.738
	Service Authenticity (AS)	3	0.901	ASA	2	0.802
				ASB	1	
Perceived Value (V)		3	0.890	VA	2	0.868
				VB	1	
Satisfaction (S)		3	0.928	SA	2	0.907
				SB	1	
Behavioral Intention (B)		3	0.940	BA	2	0.907
				BB	1	

In order to confirm the substantive role that “authenticity service” plays in the “authenticity” concept, the researchers use LISREL 8.72 software to analyze second-order factor analysis on the authenticity concept. Analysis results show that the fitting degree of model and data is well ($\chi^2/df=1.67 < 5$; $P = 0.12 > 0.10$; adjusted goodness of fit (AGFI)=0.97 > 0.90; approximate mean square root (RMSEA)=0.041 < 0.08), and the standard correlation coefficients (T value) between the food authenticity, environmental authenticity, service authenticity and restaurant authenticity are respectively 0.94 (31.42), 0.95 (26.21) and 0.94 (18.67) and it shows that the food authenticity, environmental authenticity, service authenticity are the three sub factors of restaurant authenticity.

Before testing structural model, researchers should first evaluate measurement model [78]. Maximum likelihood estimation procedure of LISREL 8.72 is used to do confirmatory factor analysis. Fitting degree measurement model and data is good: χ^2/df is 1.412, less than 5; the P value is 0.004, more than 0.10; adjusted goodness of fit (AGFI) is 0.94, more than 0.90; the approximate variance residual root (RMSEA) is 0.031, less than 0.08. These results show that the fitting degree of econometric model and data is high.

Convergent validity measures the correlation degree between the different items of the same concept. In Table 4, the factor loadings of indexes are from 0.88 to 0.99 and the majority are greater than 0.90; the factor loadings of all indexes are highly significant (t value between 19.96 and 37.24) and the convergent validity of each concept is high.

Table 4. Factor component of each indicator and significance level

		Indicators	Coefficients	Factor Loadings	T-test
Service Quality (SQ)		SQA	$\gamma_{x1,1}$	0.99	36.46
		SQB	$\gamma_{x2,1}$	0.92	
Food Quality (FQ)		FQA	$\gamma_{x3,2}$	0.95	27.83
		FQB	$\gamma_{x4,2}$	0.90	
Environment (E)		EA	$\gamma_{x5,3}$	0.92	19.96
		EB	$\gamma_{x6,3}$	0.88	
Authenticity (A)	Food Authenticity (AF)	AFA	$\gamma_{x7,4}$	0.90	24.55
		AFB	$\gamma_{x8,4}$	0.90	
	Environment Authenticity (AE)	AEA	$\gamma_{x9,5}$	0.96	33.05
		AEB	$\gamma_{x10,5}$	0.90	
	Service Authenticity (AS)	ASA	$\gamma_{x11,6}$	0.95	34.71
		ASB	$\gamma_{x12,6}$	0.93	
Perceived Value (V)		VA	$\gamma_{x13,7}$	0.98	29.10
		VB	$\gamma_{x14,7}$	0.89	
Satisfaction (S)		SA	$\gamma_{x15,8}$	0.96	37.24
		SB	$\gamma_{x16,8}$	0.93	
Behavioral Intention (B)		BA	$\gamma_{x17,9}$	0.98	35.80
		BB	$\gamma_{x18,9}$	0.93	

Discriminant validity refers that the degree of correlation between different concepts should be low enough to distinguish the different concepts. If the explained variance of certain concept is greater than covariance of the concept and other concepts, the data has better discriminant validity. Table 5 shows that the AVE of each concept itself is obviously larger than the covariance. Therefore, the discriminant validity is very good.

Table 5. The correlation coefficient, variance explanation, covariance of variables

	SQ	FQ	E	AF	AE	AS	V	S	B
SQ	0.94	0.53	0.27	0.36	0.52	0.44	0.48	0.62	0.42
FQ	0.73	0.95	0.45	0.42	0.48	0.46	0.50	0.58	0.40
E	0.52	0.67	0.95	0.36	0.32	0.26	0.29	0.32	0.22
AF	0.60	0.65	0.60	1.00	0.74	0.61	0.36	0.42	0.29
AE	0.72	0.69	0.57	0.86	0.94	0.79	0.46	0.58	0.40
AS	0.66	0.68	0.51	0.78	0.89	0.97	0.38	0.52	0.36
V	0.69	0.71	0.54	0.60	0.68	0.62	0.90	0.61	0.46
S	0.79	0.76	0.57	0.65	0.76	0.72	0.78	0.97	0.66
B	0.65	0.63	0.47	0.54	0.63	0.60	0.68	0.81	0.96

Note: The matrix below the diagonal represent normalized correlation coefficient matrix, diagonal values are the explained variance of each latent variable (AVE), the matrix upper the diagonal represents the covariance of each latent variable and other hidden variables (ϕ^2)

Hypothesis Testing and Outer Model Results

The study adopts maximum likelihood estimation procedure with LISREL 8.72 software to test the conceptual model. Table 6 shows the fitting degree between the model and data, the analysis results of the structural equation model and the testing results of the hypothesis. Despite the P value is not significant, the fitting degree of all the indicators were higher. So there is good fitting degree of model and data.

Table 6. The fit index of conceptual model

Index	Estimation	Standard
Df	105.000	
χ^2	256.730	
χ^2/Df	2.445	≤ 5.00
P	0.000	≥ 0.10
NFI	0.990	≥ 0.90
NNFI	0.990	≥ 0.90
CFI	0.990	≥ 0.90
IFI	0.990	≥ 0.90
RFI	0.980	≥ 0.90
GFI	0.940	≥ 0.90
AGFI	0.900	≥ 0.90
RMR	0.039	≤ 0.05
RMSEA	0.057	≤ 0.08

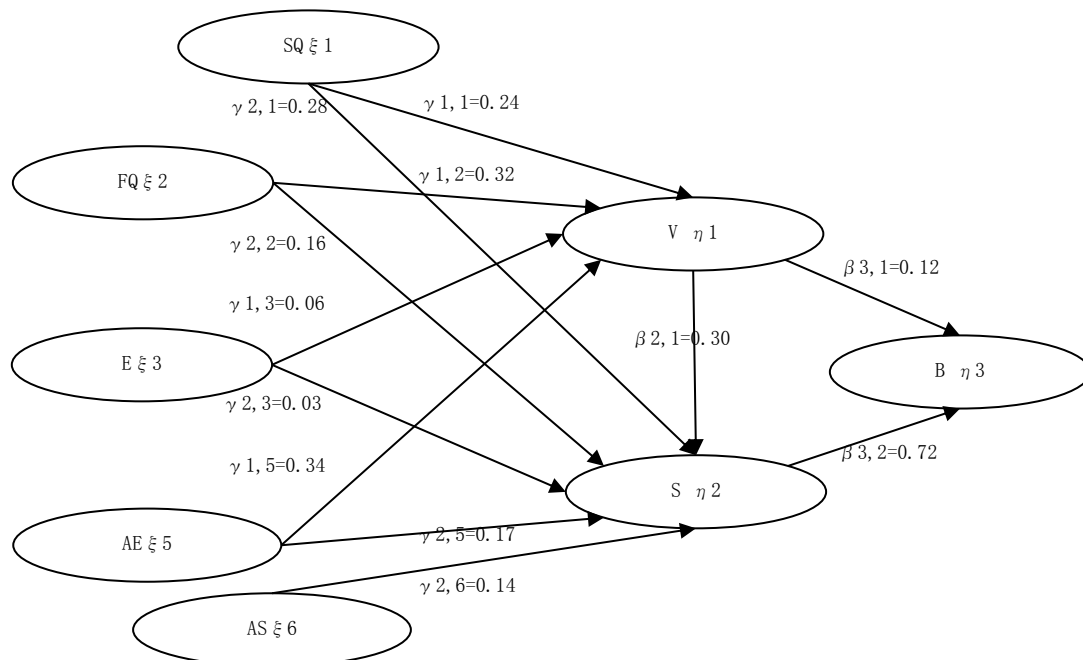
Table 7 lists the standardized estimates of the estimated coefficient of the sample. Table 8 lists the impact value of each variable. Figure 2 depicts the causal relationships between variables. Table 8 shows that service quality, food quality, environment, authenticity environment can directly affect the perceived value and satisfaction, and authenticity service directly affects satisfaction. Although the standard estimates of environment on perceived value ($T=1.14$) and satisfaction ($T=0.68$), the authenticity environment on satisfaction ($T = 1.53$) are not statistically significant, this study retains these relationships according to the previous empirical studies. Authenticity environment directly affects perceived value and satisfaction, while the direct impacts of authenticity food on the perceived value and satisfaction are statistically not significant. The reason may be that 85% of the respondents are immigrants who live in Guangzhou but not from Northwestern regions, 60% of the respondents have little or even no understanding of Northwest culture. In fact, consumers in such trans-local operation restaurants pay more attention to the quality of the food itself and do not care much of the authenticity of food.

Table 7. Standardized estimates

	Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	T test
SQ(ξ_1) - V(η_1)	$\gamma_{1,1}$	0.24	3.97
SQ(ξ_1) - S(η_2)	$\gamma_{2,1}$	0.28	5.72
FQ(ξ_2) - V(η_1)	$\gamma_{1,2}$	0.32	4.69
FQ(ξ_2) - S(η_2)	$\gamma_{2,2}$	0.16	2.81
E(ξ_3) - V(η_1)	$\gamma_{1,3}$	0.06	1.14
E(ξ_3) - S(η_2)	$\gamma_{2,3}$	0.03	0.68
AE(ξ_5) - V(η_1)	$\gamma_{1,5}$	0.34	2.51
AE(ξ_5) - S(η_2)	$\gamma_{2,5}$	0.17	1.53
AS(ξ_6) - S(η_2)	$\gamma_{2,6}$	0.14	1.83
V(η_1) - S(η_2)	$\beta_{2,1}$	0.3	6.47
V(η_1) - B(η_3)	$\beta_{3,1}$	0.12	2.15
S(η_2) - B(η_3)	$\beta_{3,2}$	0.72	12.66

Table 8. Influence of the variables in structural model

	SQ	FQ	E	AF	AE	AS
V	0.240	0.32	0.06	-0.02	0.34	-0.08
S	3.97	4.69	1.14	-0.23	2.51	-0.86
B	0.360	0.26	0.05	-0.08	0.27	0.11
S	6.78	4.41	1.05	-1.07	2.35	1.40
B	0.290	0.23	0.04	-0.06	0.24	0.07
S	6.70	4.78	1.17	-1.02	2.59	1.13
B	0.07	0.1	0.02	-0.01	0.1	-0.02
S	3.36	3.85	1.12	-0.23	2.37	-0.85
B	0.290	0.23	0.04	-0.06	0.24	0.07
S	6.70	4.78	1.17	-1.02	2.59	1.13



*Significant at 1.96, $p < .01$.

Figure 2. The fitting results of structural model

Customer perceived service quality, food quality, authenticity environment have significantly direct influence on perceived value, satisfaction and behavioral intentions. Because customers want more experience of authenticity environment than the general environment in a local restaurant, the value of customer perceived environment is low. The impact of authenticity food on the perceived value and satisfaction are negative and not significant. The impact of authenticity service on the perceived value is negative and not significant, but it has effect on satisfaction and behavior intention. From small to large array, the impacts on the perceived value are food quality, service quality, the authenticity environment and the environment, the impacts on satisfaction are service quality, food quality, authenticity environment, authenticity service and the environment, and the impact on behavioral intention are service quality, food quality, authenticity environment, environment and authenticity service. Customer perceived service quality, food quality and authenticity environment all have significant indirect impact on perceived value, satisfaction and behavior intention. The indirect impact of environment on satisfaction and behavior intention is not significant, but the T value is greater than 1, therefore it can be considered to have indirect influence. The indirect effect of authenticity service on satisfaction is negative but has indirect effect on behavioral intention.

Structural equation model analysis supports hypotheses of H1, H2, H3, H4, H5, H6, H9, H10, H12, H13, H14 and H15, while do not support hypothesis of H7, H8 and H11.

Conclusion and Discussion

This study draws the following conclusions. First, the translocal cultural production of food makes the locality prominent and makes the locality has a symbolic meaning. The past western scholars' study of the authenticity of ethnic restaurants ignores the role of service authenticity, while the role of service authenticity proposed in this research has been verified. The authenticity got by the consumers is a highlighted, symbolic and reconstructed authenticity. Through the commercialization of local food culture, the local feature is recognized by the foreign public, which plays a significant role in understanding and highlighting the cross-local food culture (Cohen, 1988). Therefore, the production of authenticity in other places is the process of highlighting the locality of the cultural origin. Cultural symbols have become an important sign of translocal diet.

Second, in the exclusive translocal restaurants, customers' awareness of food quality, service quality and environment authenticity all significantly, directly and positively affects perceived value and satisfaction, and significantly, indirectly and positively affects subsequent behavioral intention. Surprisingly, food authenticity has a significant and direct impact neither on perceived value nor satisfaction and doesn't have a significant and indirect impact on subsequent behavioral intention. Service authenticity significantly, directly and positively affects satisfaction and significantly, indirectly and positively influences behavioral intention. But it has no significant impact on perceived value. In addition to the general requirements of quality and service, customers require to experience the authentic environment and service in the translocal restaurant, but they do not pursue authentic food excessively, which may be the result of the fusion of food culture in the translocal process. Echoing previous scholars' research conclusions of service quality, food quality and environment to ethnic restaurants, the study finds that to the customers the most important thing is the quality of food (Namkung & Jang, 2007; Sulek & Hensley, 2004; Mattila & Wirtz, 2001), followed by the quality of service (Nam & Lee, 2011). While echoing Jang and Ha's (Jang et al., 2012) study of exclusive restaurants, it is found that environment authenticity can significantly affects perceived value and positive emotions of the customers, but food authenticity has no significant and positive effect on customer perceived value and positive emotions, and customers pay more attention to the experience of the exotic environment in the exclusive restaurant. Conversely, in the mid-range translocal restaurants, food authenticity has a very significant impact on customer perceived value and positive emotions. Environment authenticity only significantly affects positive emotions, while customers pay more attention to food quality and food authenticity (Jang et al., 2012). Xibei Restaurant's position is more like exclusive restaurant, so the conclusions are consistent with the findings of exclusive restaurants. But what this study adds to the previous studies is that, in the context of translocal cultural consumption in food, service authenticity has a significant impact on customer satisfaction, proving once again that authentic service is an important part of translocal restaurant, and has a positive impact on customers' experience of authenticity.

Third, food quality, the environment and environment authenticity have a greater impact than satisfaction on perceived value. Service quality affects satisfaction a lot and service authenticity only

affects satisfaction. Environment authenticity offered by the restaurant includes layout and social interaction, which will effectively enhance customers' satisfaction at translocal restaurants. Therefore, service authenticity's key role in reconstructing authenticity of translocal cultural production in food should be taken seriously. The customers' experience of authenticity in translocal restaurant is determined by the blend of both original and local food cultures. In this survey, food authenticity doesn't affect perceived value and satisfaction significantly, because low proportion of northwestern people in Canton makes less people know about the original Northwest Cuisine, while native residents and new immigrants living in Guangzhou tend to hold inclusive and innovative cultural attitudes and can accept the innovation and mixture of the diet easily.

In summary, the main contribution of this study are as follows: firstly, in the process of translocal cultural production in food, restaurant authenticity includes food authenticity, environment authenticity and service authenticity, which supplements western scholars theoretical studies on authenticity at ethnic restaurants in the past. Secondly, in the exclusive translocal restaurants, customers' awareness of food quality can significantly and positively affect perceived value and satisfaction and then can positively affect customer behavioral intention further. It has a greater impact on perceived value than satisfaction. But food authenticity has no significant effects on customer perceived value and behavioral intention, which changes the expected results of previous studies. Thirdly, environment authenticity significantly and positively affects perceived value and satisfaction, and then significantly and positively affects customer behavioral intention further. It is believed that no matter whether it is a translocal restaurant, customers pay more attention to the environment even than food itself as long as it is an upscale restaurant.

In this paper, there are also some disadvantages: First, the concept of authenticity has always been in the development and extension on tourism research. Compared to the West, related domestic researches in the field of food culture especially empirical researches are much less. So the measure of authenticity in the process of translocal cultural production in food and its impact on follow-up customer perceived value and behavioral intention by empirical researches are new attempts, which need to be learned from the methods and conclusions of foreign scholars. Second, the paper launched based on the customer perspective. However, translocal cultural production in food is an interactive process between producers and customers. So the future research needs to pay further attention to producers. Third, in the translocal restaurants, there are many different customer groups, including local residents and tourists from the cultural sources. These customer groups' perceptions on translocal cultural production in food differ. Although the vast majority of respondents in this study are local residents, future research should further distinguish customer groups actually. Last, translocal restaurants' cultural fusion is affected by the environment of place of business. However, this study did not compare the same case's fusion with different cultures location. For example, it didn't compare the differences of Xibei Northwest Cuisine in Guangzhou and Beijing. In the future, researches can further discuss the impact of the local cultural environment on translocal cultural fusion.

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Components of Traditional Hospitality and Implications in Commercial Tourism Settings: Evidence from Istanbul

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Abstract

Offering memorable experiences to travelers has been discussed as an important factor for the future of destinations. These experiences are defined as memorable events, interactions and observations in the destination that engage tourists in a personal way and lead to positive customer behaviors such as loyalty and word of mouth. Interactions with locals are also mentioned as a sought after desire for leisure tourists. One of the components of destination experience is hospitableness of locals. The quality of the host-guest interaction might be an important factor affecting overall experiences of tourists visiting a destination. However hospitality generally refers to a sector of tourism industry, there is a need to distinguish between commercial and traditional hospitality. This study after a series of semi-structured interviews with tourists explores the dimensions of traditional hospitality in a Turkish urban destination, Istanbul. The interviews conducted were transcribed verbatim, color coded and content analyzed. The factors that define traditional hospitality from the perspective of tourists were identified as friendliness/outgoing/sincerity/, care/protection/helpfulness and generosity/desire to please. Identifying the factors of traditional hospitality might have an important effect on provision of commercial hospitality. Adopting these dimensions in facilities that serve tourists, the organizations can better create positive tourist experiences which would in return increase loyalty and recommendation behaviors. The study also suggests various implications for destination planners and practitioner as well as directions for future research.

Keywords: Traditional hospitality, Commercial hospitality, Cultural tourism, Customer experience, Host guest interactions

Introduction

Creating positive experiences are crucial for a destination's success in order to facilitate positive customer behavior, satisfaction, loyalty, and positive word of mouth and create emotional connections between destination and the tourist. Destinations offer tourists an amalgam of services and attractions; however they also offer intangible benefits such as culture, history and social interactions. One of the dimensions that effect overall tourism experience at a destination is hospitality. Hospitality in the traditional sense has been acknowledged as an important factor affecting experience of travelers in the destination.

The traditional form of hospitality is interwoven with commercial settings as the industry that serves travelers which includes hotels, restaurants, cafes and bars mostly employing local people. However in the traditional sense it has different meanings and characteristics than the commercial hospitality. Traditional hospitality can be defined as unconditional care and generosity for guests. Commercial hospitality on the other hand is mediated by monetary exchange and service relationships through a legally binding contract.

Traditional perspective defines hospitality as a personal voluntary activity of human exchange to enhance mutual wellbeing. This is accomplished mostly by offering shelter, accommodation and food. Commercial hospitality do still possess some of these features (e.g. making guests welcome, offer friendly and sincere service, safety, security, assurance, respect, recognition, and genuine care), but reciprocity in the case of payment is also introduced. Various authors acknowledged the adaption of traditional hospitality perspective to commercial hospitality settings as a philosophy in order to create a basis for competitive advantage and loyal clients (e.g. Lashley, 2008). Therefore applying traditional hospitality in commercial settings is also a viable strategy in order to overcome the paradox between standardization of services and preserving authenticity of local interactions as well as creating memorable experiences in order to facilitate positive customer behaviors.

Although commercial hospitality has been widely studied, traditional hospitality has not been considered adequately by researchers. The objective of this study is to analyze the dimensions of traditional Turkish hospitality from the perspective of tourists visiting Istanbul. Traditional hospitality elements might offer valuable insights for management of commercial hospitality services. By leveraging the traditional hospitality elements in their provision, the commercial hospitality firms might create strong emotional bonds with their guests and build competitive advantage and create loyalty through those relationships (Lashley, 2008). Interviews with tourists visiting Istanbul will be transcribed and content analyzed in order to reveal components of Turkish hospitality and how it actually affects the overall experience of tourists. This paper starts with definitions and typologies of hospitality, than components of traditional Turkish hospitality are discussed based on extant literature review and findings of a qualitative study. The study concludes with implications for destination planners as well as commercial hospitality industry.

The concept of hospitality

Hospitality generally refers to a section of tourism industry, however before the commercial domain of hospitality was established it was traditionally embedded in the socio-cultural system of societies. Traditional hospitality has rarely been conceptualized under tourism and when it does it is mainly limited to tourist interactions with the commercial hospitality staff (Osman et al., 2014). Therefore there actually are two domains of hospitality, traditional (cultural) and commercial (industry).

In ancient times the travelers were used to travel for urgent reasons, this is why providing shelter for them also meant helping someone in need and it was among natural order of things. Traditional form of hospitality emerged from a form of social interdependence and cooperation. From ancient times onwards people were interdependent on each other, the cooperation created a better life for everyone. The obligation to offer hospitality to strangers is both cultural and religious. These obligations include offering shelter; providing food and drink and protection from danger. However money in exchange for the hospitality was not expected. There was also a divine reciprocity that the guest is believed to come with a fortune and the hospitable host believes that sometime in the future he will be reciprocated for his/her hospitality by divine powers (Lashley, 2008).

As courtesy towards strangers became utilitarian, hospitality became commercialized. The contact with foreigners also started to be perceived as an economic opportunity. Commercialization of tourism priced the traditional hospitality and social interactions between hosts and guests and turned it into one of the features of its products. In this case hospitality has been attained a monetary value (O’Gorman, 2009). Self-interest and pragmatism have taken precedence over culture of hospitality; this individualism changed the responses to foreigners. Courtesy towards strangers became utilitarian. Commercial hospitality has also been criticized for offering inauthentic experience. Especially inclusion of money in exchange of service (hospitality industry) has been a strange phenomenon for some cultures.

Hospitality is still an intangible element of the tourism product. Many hospitality establishments consider caring guests as more important than earning money. Human interactions in commercial setting are still valued and hospitality is acknowledged as a main differentiator among companies and destinations. The hospitableness of destinations includes such items like the hotel staff, general atmosphere in the destination, security and safety, and the behaviors of locals (Heuman, 2005). There are three main characteristics of host-guest relationships of traditional hospitality are: protection of the guest, reciprocity and a batch of duties for both sides. These have been replaced by modern mass tourism and financial transactions. Locals receive tourists as guests but a different type of hospitality develops as reciprocity turns into remuneration (Heuman, 2005). This study investigates the components of traditional hospitality and its impact on tourist experience. This has implications in understanding the importance of traditional hospitality and its possible uses in the commercial context in order to create better experiences to tourists.

Tourist – host interaction

Hospitality is central to tourism and to tourism experiences as tourism is very much human intensive. Research about hospitality has been limited to commercial aspects of the phenomena; there is a wide array of studies on hotels, restaurants, and travel trade. However the impact of traditional hospitality on destination experience has rarely been discussed. Products and services in a destination as well as

interaction with hosts are dependent on each other to create the overall travel experience (Williams and Buswell, 2003).

Tourist experiences are conceptualized as an escape from everyday practices of home, seeking novelty and change. The tourist role also brought a perceived obligation to interact with local culture. Therefore interacting with new cultures can be considered as a part of holiday experience. As tourists interact with different elements in the destination, the social environment might be perceived as inclusive/exclusive or hospitable/ inhospitable/ hostile (Osman et al., 2014). Although it is acknowledged in various studies that traditional hospitality and interactions between hosts (locals) and guests (tourists) have an important effect on tourist experience the components of traditional hospitality that affect the experiences of tourists have not been identified so far.

Destinations are seen as intangible and social constructs such as interactions, processes etc. (Sorensen, 2004). From experience viewpoint destinations can be defined as places that facilitate the conditions of tourism experience (Sorensen, 2004). Experience based tourism is more concerned in intangible assets different than the conventional tourism that exploit tangible resources like nature and infrastructure (Stamboulis & Skayannis, 2003). This might also be the main reason that many established tourism destinations that have been dominating the market in past are suffering. Tourists are looking for authenticity; interactions with local culture and natural environment rather than mock-up, isolated, entertainment based so called trendy, superior physical quality beach destinations (MacCannell, 1989; Sims, 2006; Stamboulis & Skayannis, 2003).

The advent of modern tourism has led to the need for a commercialized sense of hospitality in which the traveler agrees to pay for most of the accommodations provided. Hospitality as defined by the attitude and style the service is performed. Hospitality in tourism also is concerned with the attitudes of the locals (Smith, 1994). Traditional hospitality is still an important part of cultural expression in most societies and regarded more as a responsibility or obligation which cannot be compensated. Understanding the nature of traditional hospitality is important for destinations attractiveness and tourist experiences (Heuman, 2005).

Methodology

The objective of this study is to reveal the impact and components of traditional hospitality from the perspectives of tourists visiting Istanbul. In order to reach this objective this study adapted a qualitative approach to investigate and describe the experiences of tourists about Turkish hospitality. A qualitative technique based upon semi-structured, in-depth interviews was chosen in order to reveal tourists' deep perceptions and feelings about the locals. The open-ended questions used in the interview were created based on extensive literature review. The instrument was then pilot tested on two travelers in order to increase validity of questions asked. The questions included demographic and tripographic questions as well as enquiries about travelers' interactions with locals.

Istanbul was selected as the domain of the study as the city has been attracting more than 10 million international visitors. Another factor choosing Turkey as a destination is the friendliness of local people. The warmth and of hospitality shown by Turkish people towards visitors is often cited as a major strength of Turkey's hospitality and tourism industry (e.g. Fellows, 1852). Hospitality is deeply rooted in Turkish identity and survived for generations.

The number of interviewees depends on the nature of the study however between one and ten are recommended (Kaam, 1966). Data saturation for this study was reached through interviewing 24 tourists who visited Istanbul between March-May 2014. It has also been suggested the researcher should continue collecting and analyzing data until he decides saturation has occurred at a point that additional data start to repeat previous data, and would no longer provide new insight into the study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Interviews took around 30 to 45 minutes in duration and were conducted randomly at multiple tourist attractions in the city. Notes were taken during the process of interviews which were also electronically recorded and transcribed at the same day. This whole procedure filled 91 pages in total. Transcripts and field notes were then analyzed multiple times by each author to identify common themes and to reach a consensus on overall dimensions, interrelationships and interpretation of data acquired from interviews. A total of 28 frequently mentioned factors were extracted from interviews before they were grouped

under main structure (Creswell, 2007). At the end of this categorizing process (Dey, 1998), 28 items were merged under three main themes: friendliness/outgoing/sincerity, care/protection/helpfulness and generosity/desire to please (see figure 1). The findings of the research are discussed in the next section.

Figure 1. Components of Traditional Hospitality



Findings

This paper analyses the traditional Turkish reception of foreigners and its impact on tourist experiences. Before presenting the findings concerning components of traditional hospitality, some demographic information is provided as to the profile of travelers. The respondents were between 21 to 67 years of age with average mean age of 54. Out of 12 visitors majority (92%) had university degree. 13 of them were male and 18 of the travelers were married. The guest respondents were from 15 different countries, They were mostly from Europe (9 respondents) although Americas, Africa and Asia were also represented.

The field research has proved that interaction with locals has been an important component of tourist experience. Turkish people were perceived as highly receptive, friendly, helpful, generous and caring by travelers. Tourist felt as guests even outside the servisphere of touristic facilities. They were in general satisfied with the interest they attract and mentioned locals as an important part of their overall experience in the destination. For example Elaine¹ a 45 years old mother travelling with his family stated; "There is a genuine care for tourists, local people like tourists, they are eager and helpful, The local people are very hospitable, every time we ask for something, there is always someone willing to help, ... It is not just about physical things... it is the peoples' attitudes to travelers in Turkey that makes most of the experience. They treat you like guests... There is a heartfelt, genuine desire to please you, we felt very close... No unpleasant experiences."

An important part of respondents mentioned characteristics of local people as an important item impacting their experiences. The key words describing local people were helpful, polite, friendly, social, kind, interesting, generous, calm, like to share, goodwill, hospitable, trustable, courteous, well mannered, frustration free, willing, attentive, engaged, eager, genuine, instill confidence, outgoing, peaceful, sincere, warm, quite, passionate, welcoming, enjoy life, happy, value strangers, nice, respectful, pleasant, educated, kind, open, crowded, passionate, and intelligent. It was for instance surprising for tourist to receive a special care from locals, in many cases they were invited for a chatter or a tea. Or when they ask for anything people go out of their way to help them.

Importance of connection with locals/other tourists and social interaction in tourism has been highlighted by numerous manuscripts as well (e.g. Cetin, 2014; Morgan & Xu, 2009; Walls et al. 2009). Crompton (1979) discusses social interactions with locals as a sought after desire for tourists

¹Respondents in this paper are given pseudonyms.

although it is not always completely achieved. Tourists are not strangers to be avoided in Istanbul they are perceived as guests by the locals, hence comes the term “Turkish hospitality” (Sari, 2012). For example Butler (1980) states that local contact and use of local facilities are major appeals for some travelers. The components of traditional hospitality derived from field research of the study were grouped under 3 themes as Friendliness/Outgoing/Sincerity, Care/Protection/Helpfulness, and Generosity/Desire to Please as depicted on figure 1.

Friendliness/Outgoing/Sincerity

Respondents mentioned items like polite, friendly, social, kind, interesting, peaceful, calm, hospitable, courteous, open, willing, attentive, engaged, outgoing, sincere, welcoming, enjoy life, happy, nice, pleasant, warm, kind, the city lives 24 hrs, there are too many people walking on the streets, passionate and intelligent under the *friendliness/outgoing/sincerity* theme. Turkish people are perceived to be very receptive and welcoming, there have been some incidents tourists were invited for a conversation and a cup of tea to a local table, despite language barriers travelers somehow enjoyed the talk. Hospitality is one way to turn strangers into guests and potential friends. Turkish people desire to have company and make friends, unlike Western societies leisure time is mostly spend in a social environment.

John travelling with two of his colleagues for an academic conference in Istanbul remarked “People here are very friendly and helpful, I would not think about that before but you turned out great people. Good nature, polite, helpful.... Yesterday we were enjoying a cup of Turkish tea, by Bosphorus at a local café. The two guys sitting at the table behind us came to meet us, they were university students... we talked about Turkey, politics and lots of other things, become friends...It was nice to get to know them, we enjoyed the company....”

Another item perceived by guests is that locals are outgoing, it was surprising for most of the respondents to see that the city is living almost 24 hrs. It was for example interesting to see so much people on the streets walking even at midnight. The local people were considered social, kind and friendly especially in less touristic areas of the city tourists felt a genuine welcome and integration into the society.

George a 52 year old UK citizen expressed his feelings “We do not get to see that much of people in the streets even at night back home, Istanbul lives 24 hrs, it is a very colorful city and local people are very nice and friendly. They enjoy life, open and very welcoming. Another interesting thing is that they are well educated many of them do speak good English.”

Care/Protection/Helpfulness

Local people were also defined as helpful, caring, trustable, well mannered, frustration free, genuine, instill confidence, peaceful, quite, welcoming, value strangers, respectful, and educated. This key words were grouped under *care/protection/helpfulness* construct. Hospitality is an important part of Turkish culture and family honor is at stake when a guest is mistreated, one of the primary responsibilities of the host is protection and wellbeing of the guest. Even if it is someone the host hates, in the domestic domain acceptance of all guests as equally valued individuals irrespective of guest characteristics is a social norm.

Robin a retired teacher from US stated “You know at the newspapers etc. There is tension between US and Islamic countries. We were reluctant at first but everybody was glad to talk to us, very involved. We felt secure in a nonthreatening environment. Everybody is friendly; the people could not be nicer.” Tourists are treated as special guests that come from far and respected more than an ordinary guest in the society rather than strangers that should be avoided they were honored and assisted. Travelers also felt they were safe and cared for. Protection of the guest by the host is an important and strong component of traditional hospitality in all cultures. Genuine care and protection of guests regardless of their social status, gender, ethnicity and other characteristics are enforced by the culture and religious sentiments.

Liz a Danish wife of a disabled husband surmised, “We did not expect physical accommodations in the city for disabled, the pavements and buildings are not yet designed accessible, however we did not felt any of hardships. Every time we need to move the wheelchair on the pavement, someone is always

trying to help. They even carry the wheel chair through the stairs while my when we get to Dolmabahce Palace, so that my husband would see it as well. And we always felt we had priority among locals, people made way on the ticket queue for example, they did not want us to wait as regular people...It would be impossible for us to enjoy the city at the same level without locals being so helpful and caring.”

Generosity/Desire to please

Under *generosity/desire to please* construct travelers defined hospitality of locals with such key words as; generous, like to share, willing, attentive, engaged, and eager. In a traditional setting when money is offered to host for services they refuse it, offering money is strange as most of the accommodations (e.g. offering tea at a shop) are considered under everyday hospitality duty. The reciprocity in the case of the host is the honor of the guest and the pride of hosting. The locals feel honored by the presence of the tourist. Mike expressed his feelings, “...people are generous as well, they are offering tea/coffee everywhere, they insist, even if you do not shop you get to taste everything at the Grand Bazaar. That does not happen in Europe, we doubt and fear strangers. It even seems like a custom to offer tea after the meal and the good thing is do not charge for it.”

Hospitality includes altruistic generosity driven by genuine desire to serve others without immediate promise of reward (Lashley, 2008). Those interactions might create and reinforce their identity and recognition, the guest brings an honor status to the host and they tend to take pride in the narratives of the guests that they hosted, being generous is among other things noble. The religion also make locals believe that there is only a certain amount of physical and financial assets they can own no matter what they do, this is pre-arranged (written as they phrase it). Therefore when they spend it for good they believe it will be replaced by divine.

Andrew traveling with his girlfriend Sarah mentioned “We stopped by at Spice bazaar to buy some gifts to friends at home. We bought 5 pans in total and paid for it than the shopkeeper offered us tea. We chat, and exchanged best wishes, when we were leaving he presented us with an additional pan without charge. Although he probably knew that was the first and the last time we get to see each other.” Despite their differences tourists are treated and understood as guests. Tourists are honored, respected and shown a great deal of deference.

It should be mentioned that some respondents also stated negative comments but most of these narratives were based on the incidents happened in commercial contexts, such as speedy service in restaurants, high prices, tourist traps, taxi drivers, and shopkeepers. For example Kelly a single female traveler mentioned “The people in Turkey are nice, that is the main difference. The only thing is that when I go out at night, I feel like have to dress conservatively. But that is the same in most countries.” However in general local settings the tourist perception for the locals was mentioned as welcoming, respectful, caring and helpful.

Discussions and Conclusions

Quality of social interactions with locals have been discussed as an important element of the travelers overall experience in a destination. Although much has been discussed about the interactions with tourists and employees in commercial hospitality settings, little empirical research has been conducted on the impact of traditional hospitality of locals on tourist experiences. This study after a qualitative field study on tourists identified the components of traditional hospitality from the perspective of tourists under three themes *friendliness/outgoing/sincerity*, *care/protection/helpfulness*, and *generosity/desire to please*.

Identifying the dimensions of traditional hospitality of locals from the eyes of the tourists has important implications. The commercial hospitality industry (e.g. hotels, restaurants) might be in a better position to design their human resources (e.g. recruitment, empowerment, training) strategies based on the fact that if they would be able offer traditional aspects of hospitality in the service provision, they would create better experiences to tourists. Social interactions with staff have been considered as an important factor affecting positive customer behaviors such as loyalty and recommendation in commercial settings (Cetin & Dincer, 2014).

The advantage of operating in traditionally hospitable cultures is that the employees working in the commercial tourism industry learn the rules of hospitableness from early childhood at home and they tend to apply those behaviors as a habit. The hospitable societies will be more likely to be happy when they work in hospitality industry (Lashley, 2008). Therefore the attitudes, cultural background and behaviors of potential employees should also be considered besides their technical skills and professional experience during the recruitment process. Lashley (2008) suggests, traditional hospitality establishes a sense of authenticity into experience. However commercial hospitality is not necessarily be inauthentic. It is possible to learn from traditional obligations and expectations of hospitality and apply these in commercial settings.

Destination and tourism planning would also benefit from the findings of the study, which imply that traditional hospitality and host-guest contact is important for sustainable growth of a tourism destination. Various studies have highlighted hospitality as a major strength in destination competitiveness (e.g. Kozak & Rimmington, 1999). By facilitating local contact tourism planners and destination managers would improve the quality of experiences they offer to their visitors. Rather than creating isolated touristic spaces, destination planners need to focus on the value of local interaction. It should also be considered however too much tourist traffic might have detrimental effects on traditional hospitality.

Destinations exposed to too much tourist traffic do not have the same level of hospitableness to visitors. Especially in institutionalized tourist destinations the sense of hospitality is loosing against changes in cultural structure. Especially lower profile tourists in the case of mass tourism, made locals feel that their hospitality is abused. There has been several incidents where stiff local reaction has emerged for such abuses in Turkey. Sustaining traditional hospitability against market forces is a tough mission. The tourists should also be educated and expected to adhere to be obedient to the local norms of duties expected from guests.

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Assessing the Impact of Innovation, Market and Product Orientation on Performance in Museums in Turkey – Work in Progress

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Abstract

Museums are one of the important cultural institutions in the service of the society. The aim of this study is to understand how museums create and present themselves to attract visitors to generate revenue as well as conserve the tangible and intangible heritage assets that they possess. More specifically, this research analyzes the implications of a number of alternative strategic orientations; product orientation, market orientation and innovation to improve social (education and conservation) and economic performance (income or number of visitors) in museums in Turkey. The sample of the study includes all private and public museums in Turkey. In order to test the proposed model, the research instrument is prepared by reviewing the works of Camarero and Garrido (2009, 2012) and Vicente, Camarero and Garrido (2012). Data will be collected via fax and email.

Keywords: Market orientation; Product orientation, Innovation, Performance, Museums, Turkey.

Revitalization of Heritage for Revitalization of Tourism

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to critically analyse two different cases of implementing heritage into tourism product. Bearing in mind the fact that continental Croatia generates only small share of total tourism arrivals in Croatia, authors argue that development of heritage tourism represents an important development opportunity for this region. Creation of competitive tourism product based on heritage requires a holistic approach which should involve stakeholders from both sides: tourism and culture, as well as public and private sector. The research has confirmed that implementation of heritage in local tourism product can have significant positive impact on the local economy by creating new jobs, increasing foreign exchange earnings, improving the quality of infrastructure, decreasing the impact of seasonal business operating, strengthening the local community's identity, etc. However, there are also some negative impacts on the local community, such as significant deterioration of local heritage if it is not carefully implemented into local community's identity, strategies and development plans.

Due to the distinctive nature of heritage, consisting of both tangible and intangible resources, its impacts have to be analysed from both positive and negative standpoints, as it can have positive and negative impacts on tourism development of a certain community. Positive impacts have to outperform negative ones if sustainable tourism development of a destination is to be achieved. Socio-cultural sustainability represents highly sensitive pillar of sustainability and therefore it has to be properly managed in order to yield optimal results. Tourism development based on heritage can generate significant impacts, boosting the economy and ensuring long-term economic benefits.

By using the case study method and comparing development strategies of two different cities in continental part of Croatia, the authors critically examine the role of heritage in revitalization of tourism in less developed part of Croatia. Destinations chosen for the research are cities of Krapina and Vukovar, both located in the continental part of Croatia. The authors analyse tourism products of both cities with the aim to determine the current stage of their tourism development. Furthermore, the analysis includes the process of defining the sources of financing the development of heritage tourism in these cities and creating a competitive products on the tourism market.

Keywords: Heritage; Tourism development; Sustainability; Croatia.

Introduction

As culture is one of the oldest and the most common travel motives cultural tourism has been in the focus of numerous researchers and tourism practitioners for many years. This has resulted in different understandings and definitions of this phenomenon (Smith, 1977; McKercher and du Cros, 2002; McKercher, Ho, and du Cros, 2005). A comprehensive definition of cultural tourism claims that cultural tourism can be defined as the commercialized manifestation of the human desiring to see how others live (Dewar in Jafari, 2000, p. 126). Cultural tourism has many forms. One of the most important one is heritage tourism, "which has drawn an increasing attention to the industry" (McCain and Ray, 2003, p. 713). Yale (1991, p. 21, in Garrod and Fyall, 2000, p. 684) defines heritage tourism simply as "tourism centered on what people have inherited, which can mean anything from historic buildings, to art works or beautiful scenery", i.e. it is possible to say that heritage tourism represents traveling motivated by any aspect of life that is inherited. Although the definition of heritage tourism also includes nature based heritage, the research conducted in the paper focuses on the social resources, both tangible and intangible, and their role in tourism revitalization in the cities of Krapina and Vukovar in the Republic of Croatia.

The chosen destinations are located in the continental part of Croatia, which was an important factor in the selection process due to the fact that the continental part of Croatia can be considered an underdeveloped area in terms of tourism. The authors argue that there is a great heritage potential which could facilitate the revitalization of both tourism and the entire economy of the area by engaging entrepreneurs as important actors in the development of heritage tourism. Such a process requires significant investments but eventually it generates a substantial boost to the local economy. The analysis aims to offer a deeper insight into the current state of heritage tourism development and creates a basis for relevant conclusions and recommendations for the future tourism development.

Theoretical Framework

In terms of culture, heritage can be defined “to encompass the history and ideas of a people and/or a country, values and beliefs, buildings and monuments, sites of important past events the arts (literature, music, dance, sculpture, art), traditional events and festivals, and traditional lifestyles” (Sofield and Li in Jafari, 2000, p. 275). This seems concur with the assertion that “the approach of heritage organizations is to protect and preserve, while tourism has the overriding aim of becoming a profitable business” (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher, 2005, p. 33). In other words, the complexity of cultural heritage implies highly complex management. If tourism is able to provide foreign exchange earnings in the local economy, the role of the stakeholders is of crucial importance for its development. However, in the process of managing heritage tourism “heritage managers have generally been reticent to explore more direct means of raising the revenues necessary to fund the maintenance and repair work the properties in their care inevitably require, whether they are open to public or not” (Garrod and Fyall, 2000, p. 684). The costs of maintaining the local heritage may soar and if that burden is rested solely on the public sector it might raise serious questions about the sustainability of such funding as the public sector may lack the capital as the only source of finance. Consequently, additional sources of financing gain importance and have to be attracted if heritage tourism is to fulfil its primary objective, i.e. to preserve the local heritage.

Nowadays it has become more difficult to attract funds from different sources. According to Garrod and Fyall “it would appear that the commercial environment of the heritage tourism sector is set to become more difficult and challenging over the coming decade” (2000, p. 694) and that, based on the conducted survey, the factors most likely to influence the pricing strategy of heritage tourism over the next decades are financial pressures, which include increased operating costs, tighter external funding as well as “the enhanced role of ancillary activities in income generation” (2000, p. 696). Heritage tourism competes with other special interest tourism types on the market requiring the quality and competitiveness of its offer needs to outperform the others in order to yield economic benefits and to attract sources of financing.

Although the main objective of all tourism development is to achieve economic benefits by increasing foreign exchange earnings in the local community it ceases be the single objective in contemporary world. Even though “tourism seems to be one of the few main alternative sources of foreign currency earning” (Tosun, 2001, p. 291), destinations need to face the challenges put before them through implementing the criteria of sustainable tourism development into their development strategies. The most important one of these, in terms of heritage tourism, is socio-cultural sustainability within the framework of the overall destination’s sustainability.

The preservation of heritage within a local community assumes a highly complex process and a high level of cooperation among all stakeholders. “While the heritage tourism provides economic opportunities for many culture-rich destinations, it may also represent a threat in terms of the potential degradation of a heritage and thus depriving a community of such resources and the benefits of tourism” (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher, 2005, p. 28-29). It is essential to consider the collaboration of stakeholders as the key step in implementing heritage into the local tourism product and, more importantly, in raising the awareness of the local community about the importance of protecting the local heritage. Additionally, there is a growing need to combine the total heritage of a community into one tourism product with the potential of becoming a pull factor for the destination, as well as to assign certain values to different parts of the heritage. In that way each part of the heritage would gain equal opportunity to become protected and implemented into the tourism offer and to be presented on the tourism market.

Implementing local heritage into a tourism product in a manner that will neither diminish nor commercialize the quality of the heritage is in the focus of modern tourism development. Namely, “owing to its role as a carrier of historical values from the past, heritage is viewed as part of the cultural tradition of a society. The concept of tourism, on the other hand, is really a form of modern consciousness. Tourism’s fundamental nature is dynamic, and its interaction with heritage often results in a reinterpretation of the latter” (Nuryanti, 1996, p 249). The concept of heritage tourism cannot be analysed without taking into account the overall history of a nation in

general and of a local community in particular. National history needs to be comprehended as an integral part of a country's identity as it is the cause and prime determinant of people's actions, behaviour and habits.

Moreover, being a part of a certain culture creates a feeling of belonging and that very belonging has created a need to preserve the heritage of any person. Hence, generating additional economic benefits cannot be the sole reason for implementing heritage tourism into the local tourism development strategies. A meaningful approach to heritage tourism should present heritage as an integral part of a community's identity to tourists. "Identities are symbolic, open, political and dynamic. They go beyond mere descriptions and representations of society; they guide and stimulate it as catalysis of social action" (Ruiz and Hernández, 2007, p. 677). Culture, local identity, sense of belonging and sustainability are mutually interconnected and reflect the constantly changing processes. Oakes (in Jafari, 2000, p. 293) argues that one of the greatest concerns seems to be that tourism is capable of creating false identities among host populations, based on inauthentic representations of the place of culture (staged authenticity). He also points out that it is important to understand that identities as social constructions are dynamic and changeable according to changing social contexts. Each society will inevitably adjust itself to the changing social environment. However, the preservation of heritage is of crucial importance and can provide the long-term persistence of both local community and its identity on tourism market.

Some researchers (such as Weaver, 2011), however, claim that heritage must not be comprehended solely as historical legacy of a certain community but that heritage is determined by the tourists themselves who decide on the boundaries of heritage and putting them into historical perspectives. What might be considered as heritage to one society might not be so for the other, depending on the length of legacy, etc. In such an environment it seems more than necessary to undertake any actions necessary for improving and enhancing the quality of heritage tourism, to ensure its sustainably balanced development, and to underpin its importance within the local community. According to Park (2010, p. 116), a sense of national belonging, grounded in the collective memories, myths and symbols of a nation and its people, lies at the core of maintaining the existence of a nation and fortifying its sovereignty.

If tourism in general and heritage tourism in particular are considered to be the generators of positive economic changes within a local community, then their development should be of utmost importance to all stakeholders, as their development benefits both local economy and the community's identity. Smith (1977, p. 3-4) was among the first to acknowledge the power of tourism as a medium that affects the culture change. Since tourism is sponsored by governments, regulated by international agencies, and supported by multinational enterprises as well as by local businesses it is assumed to be a positive or beneficial force. Any development which brings in positive economic changes into the local culture should win the support of the stakeholders to maintain its persistence on the market. Miller (2001, p. 358) states that locals must be convinced of the benefits from tourism before any progress can be made towards a more sustainable position.

Sustainable tourism development infers balance between all of its criteria and therefore the socio-cultural sustainability should be put into the same perspective as the economic and ecological ones. It is commonly known that what today is considered to be conventional tourism can cause change or loss of the local identity and values and may result in the following closely related influences: commercialization of the local culture, its standardization and adaptation to tourist demands. Cohen (1988:383), on the other side, claims that "mass tourism does not succeed because it is a colossal deception, but because most tourists entertain concepts of authenticity which are much looser than those entertained by intellectuals and experts, such as curators and anthropologists". The same author argues that there is a thin line between authenticity and commoditization and that the local community should be familiar with what is to be delivered to tourists as part of their own culture. If local community becomes too accustomed to presenting its own culture to tourists and neglects the downsides of the process, the sustainability of such behaviour is threatened. Namely, if the only aim of a local community becomes gaining more economic benefits, the aforementioned abuse of culture is inevitable to take place.

Considering that commercialization is often thought to be one of the most negative aspects of heritage tourism development, its impacts should be minimised and authenticity should be in the main focus. Standardization of culture brings countless long-term downsides which may be detrimental to the aforementioned sense of local identity, resulting in a deteriorated sense of belonging as the core elements of the very heritage are being abused. There are many examples in destinations around the world that can be taken as the best practice cases of bringing the heritage together by creating a meaningful product as they have resulted in strengthening the importance of that product and improving the overall living standards in the community.

“Monuments, memorials and heritage sites are a way of taking a metaphorical journey through time and space. They represent an authorized, institutionalized interpretation of history; a public acknowledgement of loss, suffering and achievements; a recognition and validation of cultural identity” (Marschall in Hall and Tucker, 2004, p. 95). Buildings, monuments and other sites are the most common representations of local heritage. Therefore it seems rational to combine both tangible and intangible aspects of heritage in those sites and create a legacy’s holistic scenery. If a museum is located in a local castle where music or other festivals are being held its purpose is more than fulfilled. Additionally, the amount of the funds needed to finance the individual fragments of the legacy would decrease and the potential investors would be more likely to participate in the product’s development. It is not surprising then that collaboration between the management of cultural institutions and the management heritage tourism has proved to be crucial for its implementation.

As confirmed in the research conducted by Budimski (2014, p. 106) it can be argued that culture is too easily abused these days. For instance, the culture of craftsmen is really hard to maintain in its original form, at the level of hand-made originals. If the craftsmen intend to meet the growing demand they need to improve their production methods and risk losing the very essence of their art. However, if they want to make a profit out of their art it is sometimes inevitable to resort to new technologies and move towards the economies of scale. In order to preserve culture it is extremely important to be familiar with its significance. If certain aspects of heritage require special attention and ways of preservation, the role of cultural management should not be neglected. However, heritage should not be left to serve the purpose of historic sites and legacy alone. It should be presented to tourists who are in search of authentic products and meaningful experiences. “Sustainable community development is a participatory, holistic and inclusive process that leads to positive, concrete changes in communities by creating employment, reducing poverty, resorting the health of the natural environment, stabilizing local economies, and increasing community control” (Hsueh and Yan, 2011, p. 136).

Presenting the development of heritage tourism as a concept of high importance for the local community, raising awareness of the benefits of such development with the locals and ensuring the positive environment in which the culture is being preserved could yield the much needed positive effects for the local community and increase their standard of living. Cooper *et al.* (2008, p. 189) claim that in spite of the fact that some researchers regard sociocultural change as one of the evils of tourism development, any form of economic development will by definition impact the social structure and cultural aspects of the host population. Therefore, it seems rational to conclude that heritage tourism should provide destinations with the opportunity to present their heritage on the market but should not neglect the sustainable development aspect. Only by respecting the heritage a community has on disposal would it be possible to expect that it will yield the desired benefits to the local economy as well as that its value will not be depleted and that it may bring the desired benefits for the future generations (whatever those benefits might be).

The Case Studies Analysis: Interdependence Between Heritage and Tourism

Tourism development strategies in Croatia have so far been mostly oriented towards the development of costal tourism, as most tourism receipts have been registered in the Adriatic region. However, contemporary tourism development, driven mostly by the changing needs of tourism demand, has also initiated the development of the continental part of Croatia and of its highly diversified resources. Tourism development in continental Croatia has long been neglected although it abounds in historic sites, medieval castles and towns with a recognizable cultural heritage and the intangible cultural heritage whose many parts have been recognised by the UNESCO and enjoy its protection. The reason for this negligence is the country’s long-standing orientation towards developing coastal tourism, which is evident from the slogan endorsed by Croatia’s National Tourism Office that promotes the country as “The Mediterranean as it once was” focussing on the Adriatic coast and neglecting the potentials of the other parts of Croatia.

As Croatia heavily depends on international tourism the main objective of this paper is to analyse the opportunities for developing heritage tourism in the continental part of Croatia. In 2013 international tourists accounted for 92% of all arrivals (CBS, 2014) to Croatia and the local tourism management in this part of Croatia should find ways to be more successful in attracting the tourists who are already touring the country. One of the possible attractions could be visiting local heritage sites in continental Croatia. This tourism product is still not internationally as recognized as desired. Therefore it is vital to raise the awareness about these opportunities to the tourists who are already visiting Croatia and might stop at these destinations on their way to or from the Adriatic region. Hence, the analysis of this paper focuses on the continental cities of Krapina and Vukovar. Although both cities are rich in cultural heritage – such as the traditional manufacturing of wooden toys in the Croatian Zagorje and the traditional singing in Eastern Croatia, both of which are protected by the

UNESCO – the research has confirmed that heritage tourism is currently based mostly upon the products created in the local museums and that from these core resources future tourism development is linked to the other resources in the respective areas. In order to provide an exhaustive insight into heritage tourism development in the two chosen destinations their potentials are further analysed.

The case of Krapina

The city of Krapina is located in the western part of continental Croatia on the transit route of its main tourism generating markets (Germany, Slovenia, Austria, Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia) on their way to the seaside. Krapina is famous for the Neanderthals site at the locality of Hušnjakovo, the first paleontological natural monument in Croatia and one of the most significant paleoanthropological localities known worldwide. It was discovered in 1899, protected as a natural rarity in 1948 and framed into the Museum of Evolution in 1969. In the past the museum attracted mostly school children, archaeologists, paleontologists and other scientists on field trips. But following the Croatian government's 8 million euro investment in the reconstruction of the museum, it has become more attractive to different market segments and increased the number of tourists to the area.

The Museum, which is managed together with the other museums in the region by the Croatian Zagorje Museums, has been significantly enlarged to 1200 m² in the reconstruction that was completed in 2010. Following the idea to bring a story about the history of the Earth to life a family of Neanderthals are featured as sculptures at their home in the cave and the visitors are invited to enter the cave, become its inhabitants and participate in the past life aided by numerous interactive facilities. The interaction presents a base for the creative tourism, which has become not only an advantage, but a need of the younger generation tourists. Thus the reconstructed museum has enabled the tourists to be involved in the tourism product. This feature, combined with the fact that there is no similar museum within the range of 1000 km, is revitalising tourism in the entire Krapina-Zagorje County.

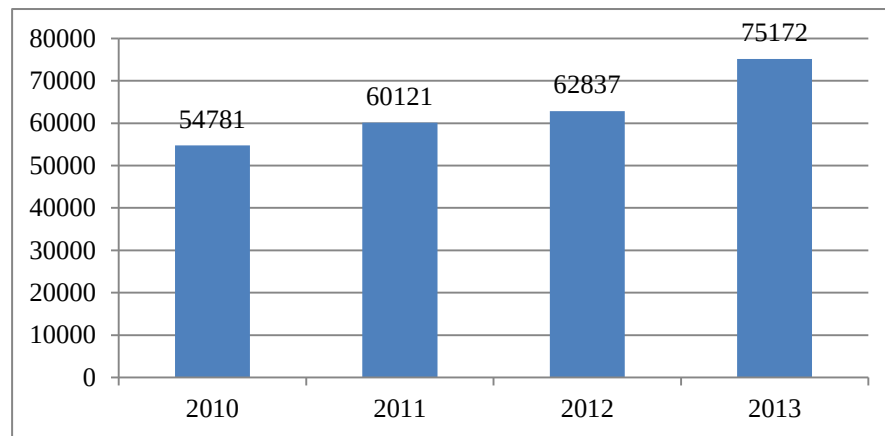
The reconstructed museum was internationally recognized and has received numerous international and domestic awards and acknowledgements, such as FIAMP 2010 - AVICOM – Bronze Award for multimedia in the museum exhibition setup at the ICOM's General Conference in Shanghai, The **Green Flower** acknowledgement with the golden symbol for its tourist offer and attractiveness in 2010, presented by the Krapina-Zagorje County Tourist Board, and **The Croatian Tourism Award "Anton Štifanić"** for exceptional contribution to the development of tourism in the Republic of Croatia, as well as the Croatian Museum Association's Annual Award for 2010 which was presented to the designers and architects Jakov Radovčić and Željko Kovačić.

The positive economic impacts in the area generated by the museum's revitalization are evident from the two fold increase of the number of visitors – namely, in 2013 it recorded 83524 mostly domestic visitors compared to less than 40000 visitors in the years preceding the reconstruction. Most of them visited the museum in May, June and October, which could be conducive to reducing the seasonality of tourism in Croatia as 64% of overnight stays in Croatia are realized in July and August (CBS, 2013). This distribution is enhanced by the structure of visitors as over 50% are students from different schools in Croatia. The management of the museum point out the fact that the increase in arrivals has resulted in new employment and yielded profits not only for the museum but also for the accommodation facilities, restaurants, shops and travel agencies in the area. The evidence of the revitalization of tourism after the reconstruction of the museum is shown in figure 1.

The shown data leads to the conclusion that the reconstruction of the museum has significantly influenced tourist arrivals in the county. The figures indicate a 37% growth in tourist arrivals to the Krapina-Zagorje County after the reconstruction of the museum. However, the data also implies that the increase in the numbers of day visitors was not followed by an increase in the number of tourists despite the fact that the County abounds in other attractions and potentials. The local County authorities have not taken full advantage of this product's potentials which is evident from the fact that the number of visitors to the museum is significantly higher than the number of tourists in the county. Also, the lacking accommodation and catering facilities in the area have not converted the same day visitors to the Museum to tourists enjoying the other resources and amenities in the area. Namely, this attraction has insufficiently been linked to the already established tourist attractions, such as the medieval castles and spas. The Krapina-Zagorje County boasts the highest number of castles in a relatively small area that offer unique products from special events, such the recently revived knight tournaments, to exclusive exhibitions and entertainment. Three thermal health spas located in the county that could also prolong tourists' stays in the area. A possible solution to this problem could be found in a project initiated by the Croatian Chamber of Commerce that aims to create tourism zones in Croatia and facilitate the construction of the accommodation

capacities. This project, which proposes to draw 13500 million euros from EU funds, should include building smaller conference facilities for organizing seminars related to the museum's topics.

Figure 1. Number of visitors in Krapina-Zagorje County from 2010 until 2013



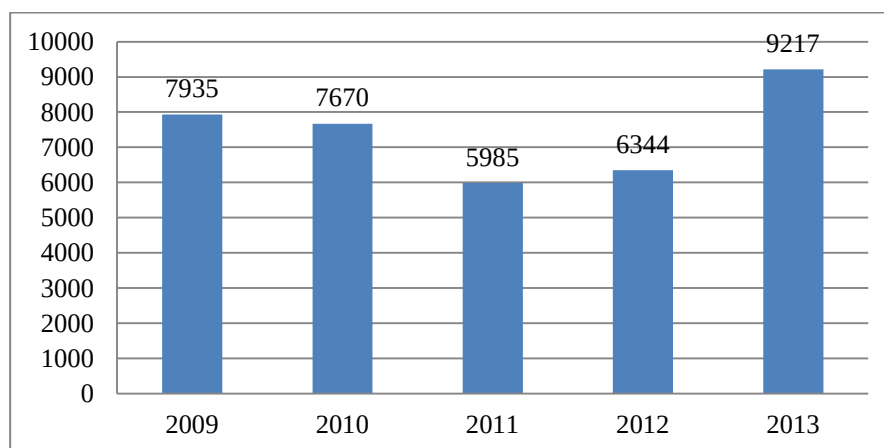
Source: Central Bureau of Statistics (2009-2013), Tourism, cumulative data in 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2013, CBS, Zagreb

The reconstruction of the museum and a rise in the number of visitors have also resulted in the improvement of the road infrastructure as well as of the brown signalization leading tourists to the specific attraction. This should further enhance the tourism offer and improve the tourist experience in the area, which leads to the conclusion that the museum that has become the primary attraction of the city of Krapina and has also become the key driver of the tourism revitalization in the area.

The case of Vukovar

Vukovar is located in the eastern part of continental Croatia, on the transit route of the Danube cruisers and/or roads from Germany, Austria and Hungary towards Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey, Greece, etc. The cultural heritage of this city and its wider area is of crucial importance for Croatia's cultural identity although the city is more known worldwide for the massive destruction caused by JNA aggression in 1991. After the Homeland War (1991-1995), tourism in Vukovar faced numerous challenges caused mostly by the devastated infrastructure, negative image on the market, inadequate tourism product, poor local economy and the lack of tourism development strategy. During the recent several years the situation has started to improve and tourism development has become one of the city's important activities.

Figure 2. Number of visitors in Vukovar from 2009 until 2013



Source: Central Bureau of Statistics (2009-2013), Tourism, cumulative data in 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2013, CBS, Zagreb

Figure 2 indicates growth in the number of visitors in 2013, while the previous years recorded significant oscillations in the number of visitors. The reasons for such a situation can be found in the lack of internationally recognizable image of this region in tourism market, which results in an insufficient number of tourist arrivals and the lack of entrepreneurial activities in the area which would stimulate more intensive growth of tourism in this area. Currently one of the main attractions in Vukovar is its cultural heritage and gastronomic identity, which should be highlighted as the main comparative advantages of the area. However, due to its historical, cultural, administrative, and economic importance, Vukovar is considered to be the leader of tourism development in the area and, as in the case of Krapina, Vukovar is trying to attract visitors to the area by promoting one of its former major heritage attractions, the Vukovar City Museum.

The research undertaken in focus groups consisting of several stakeholders in the city of Vukovar with the aim of determining the current state of sustainable tourism development in that destination has resulted in positive performance of the socio-cultural sustainability indicators. This proves that the efforts undertaken by the stakeholders so far have been successful and have yielded positive results. The indicators of socio-cultural sustainability included in the research were: the number of tourists relative to the local population, the number of tourists per square km (tourism density), crime rate, the number of protected cultural heritage per square km, share of cultural heritage of a destination at national level, local work force relative to the imported work force and the role of social networks (Budimski, 2014, p. 176).

One of the most important aspects of tourism development in Vukovar is its cultural heritage. According to the data of the Ministry of Culture, the majority of the city's tangible heritage is located in the Vukovar City Museum, where the intangible heritage is also preserved. One of the specifics of this museum is the site where it is located – the Eltz castle. Historically, the Eltz family was highly influential in Vukovar owning a great deal of the city's buildings and infrastructure. One of the Eltz family's successors expressed his consent to donate the castle to the city of Vukovar, which has opened an avenue for cooperation between the private owner and the publicly managed museum projecting a completely new dimension and enabling long-term sustainability of the local community's heritage in authentic site. Having a museum where the heritage can be preserved and presented on the market represents one of the most important elements for revitalizing tourism in this city after the Homeland War.

According to the official Museum's data, until the 1990s its collections were located within the baroque castle dating from the 18th century. In the war destruction the museum building, the Eltz castle, sustained huge damages and its collections were completely ruined, irrecoverably lost or taken to Serbia. Such destruction of the museum's collections has resulted in complete incapability to continue its work and hence the museum was closed during two decades following the 1991-1995 war. Nevertheless, the remaining collections were exhibited in Zagreb where the collection *Vukovar Museum in Banishment* was also founded. The collection was based on donations and represented the beginning of the city's cultural revitalization. The efforts made by the museum's employees, the local government, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia and numerous other individuals have been crucial for the process of Vukovar's tourism product rejuvenation.

The museum's collections have been returned to Vukovar from Serbia in 2001. Additionally, the museum has put a great deal of efforts to preserve the local community's intangible heritage by organizing numerous events, such as *Vukovar Advent Festivities*, *The Sky above Vukovar*, *Vukovar Festival of Chamber Music*, *Vukovar Saloon* and many more, linking both tangible and intangible heritage into one product developed by the local community and preserving the local cultural identity. This situation indicates the importance of Marschall's argument (in Hall and Tucker, 2004, p. 95) that both tangible and intangible aspects of heritage within one site should be combined and preserved, creating a holistic scenery of legacy. Those events were organized even when the museum was not located in Vukovar – thus raising the awareness of both the value of the city's heritage and the war aggression it had suffered. The newly renovated Vukovar City Museum boasts numerous highly valuable collections that tell the story of this city's heritage, starting from the archaeological collection, the ethnographic collection, folk costumes from all Croatian counties where the Vukovar inhabitants found refuge during the aggression, the historical collection and the Homeland War collection that tells the story about all the events in Vukovar during the aggression and the city's occupation, as well as the persecutions of its inhabitants.

The major part of the financing for the revitalization of Vukovar was covered by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia in the amount of around 1.85 million euros. In that way the government got directly involved in the process of heritage revitalization with the purpose of preserving the local cultural identity,

boosting the local economy and fostering the national pride. Additionally, the aim of the local stakeholders is to start a programme of cultural heritage rejuvenation in coordination with the Ministry of Culture. The project would link three different locations, the city of Vukovar and the archaeological site of Vučedol, and the nearby town of Ilok. They are all located within the range of c. 30 kilometres and as such create a competitive tourism product, presenting different aspects of local heritage and enabling product differentiation. Even though there are some concerns that this area will attract mostly dark tourism in the future, the aim of the local stakeholders is to develop wine and gastronomy tourism, offering authentic gastronomic and cultural products of the area, but keeping the memory of the recent history. According to the data of the Ministry of Culture, the project Vukovar-Vučedol-Ilok should enable development, preservation, reconstruction, presentation and promotion of this area, as well as increase the visibility of the value of cultural heritage, the Vučedol archaeological site together with simultaneous development of tourism, small entrepreneurship, creating new jobs and better social cohesion, which should all eventually lead towards economic recovery of the city of Vukovar, the Vukovar-Srijem County, towards strengthening the region and achieving the goals of EU's strategy for the Danube region. The Vučedol site will be completely technologically equipped to interact with the visitors, while the whole project includes the development both the historic sites and the tourism infrastructure in the area. The project whose value is estimated at c. 1.7 million euros is scheduled to be completed in 2018.

The main disadvantage of this city's tourism development is the lack of entrepreneurial activities and opportunities for setting up new businesses. The unemployment rate in this city is around 22% with the average salary amounting to c. 460 euros, which is c. 260 euros less than Croatia's average. Such an environment is highly discouraging for the development of small entrepreneurship, especially because of the infrastructure which was destroyed in the war and was not reconstructed afterwards due to the lack of timely funding. Due to a huge deficiency of job opportunities for the young people they often leave the city in search of employment elsewhere. In such economic environment it seems highly recommendable to encourage the development of tourism activities in both the city and its surrounding, which would enable entrepreneurs to diversify their products and provide authentic souvenirs for tourists. However, tourism development cannot be expected to happen without a clear strategy and to simply bring in benefits to the local economy.

One of the disadvantages of the Vukovar City Museum, which could easily become an advantage of the city's entrepreneurs, is the fact that the facility still offers no authentic souvenirs related to the area's history and its specific features. Before the renovated museum was opened, there were some souvenirs in the museums, but they were produced elsewhere, and as such did not provide the locals with opportunities to earn additional income, which all results in high leakages out of the economy. The local economic and entrepreneurial activities could by all means be additionally initiated with better cooperation between the local authorities and the private sector. It is expected that such cooperation would result in the growth in the number of tourist arrivals, minimize the negative economic results in the city and the area, and would benefit to the growth of the economic indicators. Since the museum only recently opened it is also expected to provide new job opportunities and it is already visible that it is helping the revitalisation of not only tourism development but of economic development in general. There is therefore a growing need for more cooperation between the small entrepreneurs in the city of Vukovar, which should provide them with greater opportunities for growth by taking advantage of the river cruises on the Danube bringing more international tourists to the city. Tourism infrastructure should also be enlarged in terms of logistics by setting up tourism agencies to provide holistic products to tourists as the capacities for the new ones are still untapped.

Comparison of the cases

The two presented cases are rather different, especially because they consist of different development models, management visions, and economic environments. Even though both museums have comprehended the importance of revitalization, Vukovar's museum is more aware of the importance of heritage for its overall tourism development than the one in Krapina which is still in the process of comprehending the importance of local networking. However, there are also numerous similarities between the two institutions – one of them being the highly technologically advanced ambience that offers an innovative approach in presenting heritage to younger generations through interaction between the visitors and the heritage itself and that represents a competitive advantage in attracting cultural tourists to the area.

Heritage tourism can easily become a destination's competitive advantage if marketed in an appropriate manner and if the local community understands the importance and the benefits of such tourism development. However, without proper destination management that minds preservation and avoids the commercialization of heritage this could not be achieved easily. Therefore, the entrepreneurial activities, initiated by the public sector should increasingly be followed by the private sector to combine culture and tourism in a unique developmental model.

The main difference between the two cases is the development stage of the local entrepreneurship. In Krapina the local entrepreneurial activities have facilitated the creation of the tourism product and its awareness raising with the potential tourism demand. On the other hand, heritage tourism in Vukovar is expected to play a significant role in increasing the amount of entrepreneurial activities in the city and in enabling tourism development at a greater speed and quality as well as in supporting the recovery of the local economy after the war and the global recession.

The main issue and difference between the analyzed cases is the lack of networking and cooperation in the city of Krapina, which should lead to a more encouraging environment in the future and more products being offered to tourists. In contrast, Vukovar is still struggling in an extremely negative economic environment, which in the short-run might not yield the desired results, but in the long-run, if the negative influences are outperformed, will be mutually beneficial to all stakeholders.

Conclusion

Based on the research conducted in this paper, it is possible to conclude that the revitalization of cultural heritage sites plays a crucial role in revitalising the local tourism development, in strengthening the local cultural identity and in enhancing local entrepreneurship. It has been proved throughout this research that for gaining the optimal results it is necessary that all stakeholders are aware of the need for networking and cooperating for the common goal. There is also a lack of entrepreneurial culture to some extent.

The comparative analysis of the cases of the cities of Krapina and Vukovar presented in the paper has led to several conclusions. Firstly, it seems to be rather important for heritage to be properly incorporated into the tourism product. If heritage tourism is in the core tourism development strategy of a given destination, it can be expected to play the leading role in attracting tourists to that destination. Furthermore, museums are usually places of high interest for the cultural tourists and therefore they represent a highly appropriate place for both preserving and presenting the local heritage. And lastly, the revitalization of heritage in continental Croatia can yield optimal results only through cooperation between the public and the private sectors.

The analysed cases have confirmed that the revitalisation of tourism requires a holistic approach by revitalising heritage through cooperation of all stakeholders from both cultural and tourism sides, as well as through partnership between the public and the private sectors.

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Converting Surviving Buildings into Heritage Hotels: The Case of Croatia

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Abstract

The growing importance of tourism's cultural function within the area of tourism demand has motivated numerous accommodation service providers to create an offer that would attract the members of this increasing segment of the tourism market. The Republic of Croatia boasts an exceptionally valuable cultural and historic heritage that renders itself as a platform for tourism development. However, until the present moment this exceptional cultural and historic resource has not been adequately valorised in many destinations in Croatia. Nevertheless, in the recent decade numerous deserted and seedy buildings in old town centres have undergone revitalisation processes to be converted into hotels. These heritage hotels have been designed in accordance with the legal stipulations and to reflect the traditional furnishing. By creating a new tourism product based on authentic experience, small heritage hotels can formulate true answers to the demands of the modern tourists. The paper examines and analyses the position and the role of small heritage hotels in Croatia within the framework of total accommodation offer and their role in the development of the areas with lesser tourism development and assess their contribution to sustainable development in the already developed tourism destinations. For that purpose, case analyses, comparative methods and descriptive statistics have been used, as well as in-depth interviews with the owners or directors of the selected heritage hotels in the Republic of Croatia.

Keywords: heritage hotels, small hotels, sustainable tourism development, Croatia.

Introduction

The cultural function of tourism, boosted by modern trends on the tourism market, is gaining significance. Croatia's exceptionally valuable cultural and historic heritage, that has yet to be adequately valued, harbours vast opportunities for major development of the growingly in-demand product – cultural tourism. Image creation of cultural tourism destinations is enhanced by heritage hotels that have seen a noticeable development only in the last decade. These are most frequently small, family projects that make use of old urban or rural areas. Small heritage hotels contribute to the diversification of the accommodation capacities offer, which was by and large developed for the mass tourism product, by developing a new tourism product based on authentic experience, top quality and hospitality involving the local population and entrepreneurs, as well as the autochthonous ambiance and the opulent cultural and historic heritage. The structure of the accommodation capacities in Croatia is extremely unfavourable and directly impacts the performance of the entire tourism system. An avenue towards solving this issue should have been to establish a legal framework for official ranking and marking the revamped old structures offering accommodation services as the foundation for their evaluation for tourism purposes. The enrichment of Croatia's accommodation facilities by small heritage hotels within the framework of the existing structure of total accommodation capacities according to the development model of small and family-run entrepreneurship also plays a vital role in increasing profitability of the accommodation offer and its competitiveness, and hence positively impacts the sustainable development of the entire tourism system in the Republic of Croatia.

Relationship Between Heritage and Tourism

The role of tourism's cultural function in the current tourism market is reflected in the growing demand for the cultural tourism product (Hughes and Allen, 2005). The basis for the development of this specific tourism product is cultural heritage that incorporates tangible heritage, such as individual buildings or building complexes, cultural and historic sites and landscapes, as well as intangible heritage, such as different forms of spiritual **creations transmitted by word of mouth (The Ministry of Culture, 2011)**. Therefore, when creating a product in demand on the tourism market, cultural heritage should be studied comprehensively as a whole.

Since tourism significantly contributes to Croatia's economic development, the evaluation of the cultural and historic heritage, especially of that which is in danger, should be the focal point of the tourism policy as a whole. Along with the development of specific tourism products directed at target segments of the increasingly demanding tourism market it also adds to strengthening the national cultural identity. Without it, it would be almost impossible to evaluate the potential of the cultural heritage for tourism purposes (Gredičak, 2011; Wang and Bramwell, 2012).

Based on the analyses carried out by the competent institutions (The Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, 2011), Croatia evidently has the preconditions and the resources for creating long-term tourism offer and a cultural tourism image. In order to undertake a systematic development of Croatia as a cultural tourism destination the following priorities have been set up (IZTZG, 2003):

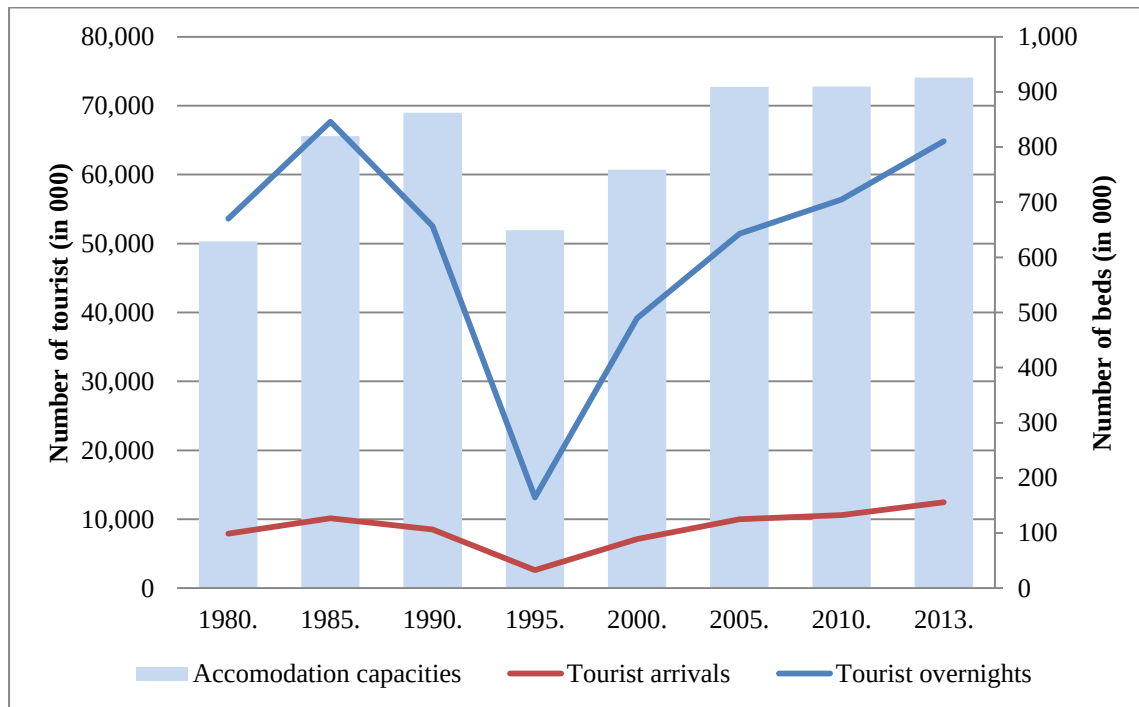
- to create positive environment that will drive development of cultural tourism products,
- to establish a system of organisation and mechanisms for intersectoral cooperation,
- to raise the level of competences and skills necessary for the development of top quality cultural tourism products,
- to uplift the standard of interpretation, equipment and quality of cultural tourism products,
- to improve the system of flow of information, promotion and distribution of cultural tourism products.

With those aims in mind the recent decade has seen the creations of a number of top quality cultural tourism products that were promoted freshly and combined into the destinations' integral product offer (McKercher and du Cros, 2002; McKercher, Ho, and du Cros, 2005). Most commonly these are the destinations boasting exceptionally valuable cultural and historical heritage and protected by the UNESCO, that have managed to enhance their destination's offer and contribute to creating a recognisable image, a brand, while attracting new market segments. In those destinations numeral initiatives are apparent in the form of revitalisation projects of old and often abandoned buildings that render themselves to being converted from old and often deserted buildings into small heritage accommodation facilities and also completed the unique cultural experience in the destination. Most commonly small entrepreneurs, who decide to follow these projects through, estimate the sustainability issue including the ecological component at all levels (Petrić and Pranić, 2010) to be the most important for creating a tourism product (Vlahov, 2013) that would yield in more profitability, increased guest and personnel satisfaction, as well as in improved relationship with the local community, and eventually will contribute to the development of competitiveness of the entire tourism product.

Brief Overview of Accommodation Capacity Offer in Croatia

The development of tourism in Croatia, as was the case in other Mediterranean countries (Bramwell, 2004), has been linked to the development of the tourism infrastructure that is adapted to the mass tourism product and focused on the *sun, sea & sand* concept. The tourism performance was measured solely by the number of tourist arrivals and overnights without considering the diversification of the tourism product.

Figure 1. Number of tourist arrivals and overnights, 1980 – 2013

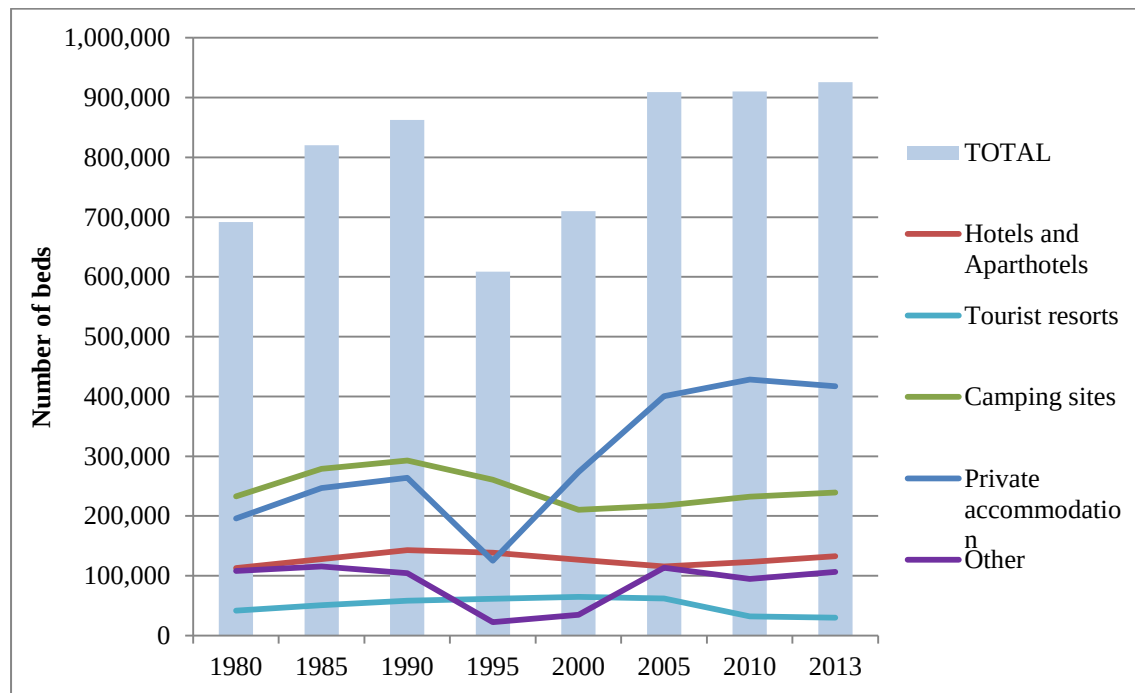


Source: Ministry of Tourism of the Republic of Croatia, *Tourism in Figures 2013*.

Regardless of the growing number of tourist arrivals and overnights in the recent decade (in 2013 Croatia recorded 12.44 million tourist arrivals and 64.83 million overnights occupancy rate is still quite low. Namely, in 2013 it amounted to only 18% on average with all types of accommodation, which is still inferior to the period before 1990 when the occupancy was around 25%. With regard to holiday tourism as the dominant product and the existing structure of the accommodation capacities, Croatia is characterised by the most pronounced seasonality in tourism operation in Europe. As much as 87% of the total overnights are realised in the period from June to September of which 64% overnights account for the most popular months of July and August. In 2013 the hotels still recorded lower occupancy rate with reference to the 1980-1990 period before the war when the average occupancy rate was 40-45%, although at the rate of 36% it is still twice the average occupancy of the total accommodation capacities.

The structure of the total accommodation capacities also reveals the fact that Croatia still mostly offers the so-called *mass tourism product*, even though it is being diversified and adapted to the new trends on the tourism market on the basis of the Tourism Development Strategy to 2020. Graph 2 shows the total accommodation capacities in the 1980-2013 period broken down by types of accommodation offered in Croatia in 2013. g. The total of 926,000 beds in all types of accommodation was structured so that it impact competitiveness and other important performance indicators of the entire tourism system in the country, especially the amounts of the total receipts.

Figure 2. Type of accommodation (number of beds), 1980 – 2013



Source: Ministry of Tourism: *Tourism in Figures 2013*.

Camping sites and 'private accommodation (privately rented family rooms and suites) account for 34% and 31% respectively in the total accommodation capacities in Croatia until 2000. Although, in comparison to the main competitors, Croatia had a far more unfavourable structure of accommodation capacities with an importantly small share of accommodation capacities in hotels and tourist resorts the lack of a clear development strategy and too poorly run tourism policy further contributed to the negative results in the later period. From the year 2000 private accommodation saw fast and continued growth reaching as much as 417,000 beds in 2013 and thus making up a 45% share of the total accommodation capacities. This is the consequence of fast-moving development of suites on the Adriatic coast and to a lesser extent of the implementation of legal regulation in the area of private renting, which has partially reduced the number of illegal accommodation providers. The prominent share of this type of service and facilities with lacking professional approach in providing the services represents a significant limitation to the competitiveness of the tourism system as a whole. An analysis of the accommodation capacities in the 1980-1990 period reveals that the hotels accounted for 15%-17% of the total capacities, while in 2013 that share dropped to 14.34%. According to the Ministry of Tourism data the total of 643 hotels with 131,004 permanent beds were registered in Croatia in 2013. As many as 325 hotels, or 51%, were ranked as three star hotels, while only a third was marked by four or five stars.

Croatia, as many other Central and Eastern European countries, started to use its potentials "to capitalise on the shift from standardised mass tourism holidays to more individualised forms of culture and environment-based tourism" (Williams and Balaz, 2000, p. 8). A new product being developed on the Croatian market that contributes to increasing competitiveness and opens new opportunities and perspectives to Croatia's tourism is seen in small and family hotels as their size and flexibility in business operation can be adapted to the specific needs of the market. The rise of the small and family entrepreneurship dates from 2004 as a result of positive entrepreneurial atmosphere boosted by stimulating programmes of the Ministry of Tourism (since 2004 the number of small and family hotels increased from 256 to 379 in late 2013). Owing to the construction of a number of small hotels in the 2000-2013 period the available hotel capacities were increased and the average size of hotels in Croatia was reduced by 43%, i.e. from an average 284 beds per facility to 200 beds.

Most heritage hotels are also small family hotels that stand out in the market by distinct heritage offer in the form of traditional furnishing and decoration, autochthonous ethno and gastro offer, and rich cultural and historic

legacy. Heritage hotels are a clear answer to modern tourism trends in the demand market and their development so far has been significantly limited by Croatia's social and political system until the democratic changes in the 1990s. In the countries boasting long tradition of private entrepreneurship in hotel industry that in most cases develops in the form of a family business, small entrepreneurship plays a much more significant role than in Croatia. This is the result of the already mentioned differences in social system in which the hotel industry developed. In contrast to Central European countries, where small and family entrepreneurship was continually developed and stimulated in Croatia it progressed erratically in the form of a great number of accommodation units as what was commonly referred to as 'private accommodation'. This significant part of the accommodation capacities offer in the period before 1990s was the only opportunity for investing individuals' and families' own capital in tourist accommodation services. Also, due to unfavourable living conditions, the number of abandoned private facilities in the town old centres on the coast, in rural areas and especially on the islands has been growing. It is these very facilities that today present the most significant and the most valuable structures for creating an offer of different types of heritage hotels. Since the end of 1990s the share of private accommodation has been growing as a result of development of a great deal of suite facilities often built without proper urban planning, and even illegally, which was stimulated by guaranteed and fast profit in the real estate business. Following the market saturation in the area of suites (apartments) and large hotels intended mostly for holiday tourism, there is a growing number of initiatives and realisations of renewal projects in the old town centres and historic buildings whose value has been given additional value owing to new tourism trends.

The analysis of the total accommodation capacities in Croatia clearly shows the limited potentials for yielding more significant economic effects as well as the limitations of the tourism system's competitiveness and performance. With that in mind and as confirmed in the research by Wang and Bramwell (2012) commercial use of historic assets have a great potential to promote local socio-economic development and thus contribute to sustainable and more efficient development of tourism in Croatia.

Framework for Official Ranking and Marking Heritage Hotels

The conditions for categorising and ranking of all accommodation facilities in Croatia were regulated by the Hotel and Catering Act. The conditions for hotel rankings have been defined in several groups, separately for the existing and the newly constructed ones. Each group contains a number of points to be checked in order to verify whether the conditions have been met in the process of establishing the hotel's ranking. The stated conditions are strict and have to be adhered to with some exceptions in requirements for the hotels with up to 25 accommodation units. Most conditions and elements defining the ranks refer to tangible features and the hotel's equipment and address the level of the quality of service to small extent. Although hotels and catering facilities need to be continuously improved and harmonised with the changes and trends in the tourism markets these frequent changes and amendments to the criteria for categorising and ranking in Croatia have not significantly contributed to the making of the country's total tourism product more competitive. The reason for this should be searched probably in the model of mandatory system of ranking for the accommodation facilities, especially in terms of private accommodation. In comparison to the competing countries, the requirements for the individual facility and rank in Croatia are very high and complex leaving no possibilities for dodging the proscribed conditions for any of the features or replacing one by another, which is the case with the competitors. The total number of features considered in the evaluation process is almost twice (with new hotels it amounts to 500) as many as with the Hotelstars Association (270). A great number of accommodation types that all have individual requirements in accordance and the additional division into the existing and the new ones, makes the system in Croatia even more complex.

Following the trends on the demand market, since 2007 Croatian authorities have introduced a new type of hotel: the heritage hotel. In order to gain this new ranking a hotel needs to meet the general and minimal conditions as well as the specially proscribed terms for the heritage hotels. The regulation also stipulates that an existing hotel, in addition to the already established type and ranking, may additionally be recognised as the heritage hotel. This opportunity has contributed to differentiate the hotels with a prominent heritage component, but the real-life options did not allow this ranking to a great deal of hotels. Heritage hotel is a facility offering accommodation and breakfast services, but may also offer other catering services. It is required to be placed in predominantly old, traditional, historic, rural or urban structures and buildings and furnished in traditional manner. The accommodation units in the heritage hotel may be: rooms, suites and family rooms. The number of structures in a heritage hotel is limited to two (MINT b, 2014).

The revitalisation and reconstruction of old and often abandoned structures in old town centres on the Adriatic coast, and especially on the islands, is most commonly initiated by private owners of these properties. Most

commonly these facilities are categorised and ranked as private accommodation units, while only a few of them have been able to fulfil the highly demanding conditions for the heritage hotel category.

Since most accommodation capacities in Croatia are offered in privately rented facilities, which is one of the greatest challenges of further development of tourism, the regulators have introduced two new types of hotels: the diffuse hotel and the integral hotel. While the latter type is intended to integrate the suites of what was formerly referred to as private accommodation, the diffuse hotels are meant to those accommodation units that feature their heritage value.

As a new type of accommodation model, diffuse hotels have originated and developed in Italy (De Montis, Serra, Ledda & Ganciu, 2014; Confalonieri, 2011; Avram and Zarrilli, 2012). Based on the positive Italian experiences the diffuse hotel in Croatia, besides having to offer the accommodation and breakfast services, also has to meet the requirements referring to the location and traditional decoration and equipment similarly to the previously regulated heritage hotels. The diffuse hotel is a functional ensemble in a settlement that is made up of three and more dispersed and functionally connected structures incorporated into a local environment and the way of life. The hotel's buildings may be dispersed around a settlement among the buildings with other purposes. The catering amenities offering other services may be separated by public or common area. In addition to the existing heritage hotels the diffuse hotels should facilitate: (MINT c, 2014):

- tourism evaluation and preservation of the traditional architectural heritage while satisfying the demand for accommodation and catering services and while respecting the autochthonous values of life and culture in the given Croatian destinations
- creation of destination accommodation networks
- raising the quality of service and supply in the accommodation facilities
- joint promotion in the tourism market
- full use of new IT and other communication technologies
- upgrading of the gastronomic offer
- creation of additional offer and amenities
- job creation in tourism and tourism activities for the local population

Starting from the role of private accommodation in the entire tourism offer, The Strategy of tourism development until 2020 highlights the need for raising the total level of quality, creating preconditions for turning parts of these capacities into different forms of collective accommodation, as well as the general slowdown in the supply expansion, i.e. keeping the existing share in the structure of the total capacities. By introducing the two new types of hotels, the national programme of improvement of private accommodation envisions joint ventures of private accommodation owners as one of the key activities to be undertaken in order to: create new and innovative tourism products in a destination, develop and improve the quality of the accommodation offer, satisfy common interests of the owners, organise joint market presentations on the markets, achieve market recognition and professionalization of the private accommodation, increase utilisation of these capacities and enhance the total competitiveness of tourism in Croatia (NN 55/13).

Heritage hotels, as well as the potential new facilities of this type most commonly have small capacities, and as such often meet significant limitations arising from Croatia's current system of official ranking accommodation facilities. Excluding the fewer features a hotel with up to 25 accommodation units needs to fulfil differently from the large hotels in the same rank, there are no such special conditions for the small hotels. In order to stimulate growth in the offer and the quality of accommodation capacities in Croatia, especially in hotels and even more so in the heritage hotels, it is necessary to advance the system of ranking. The new legal framework should be better harmonised with the standards of the European and world markets and provide continued quality assurance and upgrading in all types of accommodation facilities. In view of the specifics of the Croatian market, as well as the structure and size of hotel facilities structures it is necessary to contemplate the possibilities of better adjustment of the current regulations to smaller facilities.

Apart from the mandatory ranking and the said differentiation of the heritage facilities there is also an initiative to mark small heritage especially through a project by the National Association of Small and Family Hotels. Emanating the good practice examples of comparable associations in Switzerland and Italy one of the association's marketing plan aims is to create six product clubs whose products and services target special groups of guests/tourists. The hotels opting to specialise their businesses may opt for a maximum of three product clubs (Vlahov, 2014:36). One of the product clubs is Heritage that feature: unique architecture, elegant and unique interior design, use of regional flora, special attention to decoration and furnishings, as well as

pleasant atmosphere. This product club was cast following the interest expressed by some tour operators seeking offers for holidays in historic buildings around the world. This is yet another method to promote autochthonous offer in historic buildings in cases when for any number of reasons the given hotel cannot fulfil the ranking conditions.

Heritage Hotels and Sustainability of Destination's Tourism Product

Sustainability of a tourism destination or of a tourism product in general is inevitably linked to their competitiveness. Competitiveness is most commonly evaluated at the level of destination – hence the definitions emphasising the capability of a destination to develop strength and manage it with long-term perspective in mind and cooperation among the inherently interdependent stakeholders (Hassan 2000; Ritchie i Crouch 2002). Although some authors have clearly defined the ecological aspects of sustainability (Hassan 2000), sustainability is actually said to encompass all aspects of a destination's longevity and includes economic, political, ecological and socio-cultural (Richie i Crouch 2000). By the same token sustainable development in tourism is often illustrated by relating different activities and components of sustainability in the areas of ecology, culture and economy. The key factor of development and all relations are people who play different roles and engage in different activities in tourism (Čavlek et al., 2011:416). The UNWTO highlights 12 basic aims of sustainable tourism: economic sustainability, well-being of the local community, quality of jobs, social justice, visitor satisfaction, local management, community welfare, cultural abundance, physical integrity, biological diversity, efficient use of resources, and clean environment (UNWTO, 2005). The characteristics and the specifics of the heritage hotels' business operations most commonly of small and family hotels and the advantages that such facilities offer (flexibility in adjusting to the changing market trends, opportunities for personalised relationships with the guests, emphasising the owner's personality and prominent differentiation possibilities) (Medlik & Ingram, 2002:53-59) contribute to achieving these aims. Similarly, special emphasis should be placed on the benefits for the local community in the tourism under-developed areas of Croatia, such as small islands, mountain and other rural areas. Small and family heritage hotels, as well as the structures that can be transformed into a type of heritage hotel, are most commonly owned by private individuals and entrepreneurs, which opens opportunities for new employment for the local population in most cases, which keeps the receipts in the local economies. This also reduces the intensive emigration processes stimulated by economic recession that has plagued Croatia for a number of years. In terms of achieving ecological sustainability, small and family hotels support the valuable processes of establishing clear local plans and regulations that stipulate the area of their business operation. Numerous examples of small hotels demonstrate that providing accommodation services can ensure new function of abandoned historic buildings and save them from deterioration and successfully revamp them for tourism purposes. Some examples of such practices can be found in Croatia's coastal towns as well as in small islands and other rural areas in the hinterlands.

Throughout history the economic development of most coastal towns was based mostly or exclusively on manufacturing industry which saw slow decline or total collapse in the recent decades. Due to new lifestyle trends numerous old buildings in town centres have been abandoned and left to decay. However, as a result of adjustments of the economic policy and of accepting new trends in tourism at the destination level, the abandoned heritage is revalued for tourism purposes and given a new life.

Thus, for example, *The Vestibul Palace heritage hotel* is situated in the middle of the ancient emperor's quarters in the Diocletian's palace in Croatia's coastal city of Split. This hotel has been formed in a highly demanding area in terms of conservation by adjoining three mansions dating from three historic periods: Romanic, Gothic and Renaissance, which together with the interpolated elements represent the history of Split etched in stone. The hotel, which is positioned to attract high purchasing power guests who appreciate luxurious interiors, top quality service and full comfort, has significantly contributed to the promotion of Split as a newly discovered destination. With only five rooms and two luxury suits The Vestibul hotel's unique story and other cultural and historic assets are enriched by special events such as wine tasting and visits to famous wine makers and local eco-farms and ethno-villages as well as the numerous sports events. This is the first small family hotel of the highest rank in Split's historic centre which enjoys UNESCO' protection and has given a significant impetus to other accommodation facilities that followed its example to redecorate and restore their structures. The similar examples of heritage hotels that contribute to branding new tourism destinations with sustainable and sought for tourism product can be found in the cities of Šibenik, Zadar and Pula. Whose reputation was that of industrial centres up until recently.

Heritage hotels also play a vital role in small places and rural areas, and especially on small islands, where they are oftentimes the sole drivers of creating the new tourism image of the destination. Due to the history of hard

life in those parts the population was heavily reduced, or even totally displaced from some islands. Depopulation is the most serious demographic process in most Croatian islands as the lessening in the number of inhabitants implies a decreased number of holders of the island identity, i.e. of the elements of tangible and intangible cultural heritage (Faričić, Mirošević i Graovac Matassi, 2013). Constant changes in tourism demand offer opportunities for development and survival of destinations with valuable cultural and historic heritage that is now on tourism market after many years of abandonment and neglect. It is the very cultural tourism that can contribute to the protection of the architectural structures and support optimal economic use of the island cultural heritage.

One of the examples of heritage hotels in small islands is the **Martinis-Marchi Heritage hotel** in the Maslinica bay on the island of Šolta. This hotel's revitalisation was successful only at the second attempt. Namely, following a decade of neglect the 18th century walled-in castle with a tower was first inappropriately reconstructed to be turned into a hotel as the building's former appearance was jeopardised by the reconstruction. Nevertheless, owing to a new private investor who was aware of the new trends in the tourism market; the castle underwent meticulous restoration under the supervision of conservationists. This heritage hotel is located on one of the most popular tourism routes and targets guests who seek Mediterranean ambience, authenticity and top quality service. The Martinis-Marchi hotel is an excellent example of competent and high quality restoration of a historic building and its use for tourism purposes. With the new legal provisions of ranking heritage hotels and facilities and with these examples of high performing small and family hotels foresee the development of small capacities whose activities combined jointly through diffuse hotels will contribute to new image creation and sustainable product in their respective tourism destinations.

In order to investigate the performance of the analysed and similar projects, in-depth interviews have been carried out with the owners or managers of heritage hotels. It should be emphasised that the number of hotels officially ranked as heritage hotels in Croatia is still small; at the beginning of 2014 there were only six. One of the reasons for this, according to the owners of heritage accommodation facilities, is the lacking recognisability of the current system of marking and ranking these hotels which is why they are more focused on joining the world famous marketing consortia that bring together heritage hotels and the similar accommodation facilities.

According to the business performance criteria, which include the usual financial performance indicators and the indicators that are typical for small and family hotels in Croatia have been achieving above average business performance; in 2011 the average income per accommodation unit in small and family hotels exceeded the average of all hotels 10.3% at the same occupancy rate (36%) (Vlahov, 2013).

The results of the comparative analysis of the available data on the performance indicators at the level of all hotels in Croatia, and the analysis of the data resulting from the research with the heritage hotel owners lead to the conclusion that heritage hotels make significantly higher income by accommodation unit in comparison with all other hotels in the same rank. Heritage hotels located in city centres performed as much as 58% more than the average of all hotels in the same rank. The analysed hotels involve the buildings located in coastal cities and towns and their operations extend throughout the year. Mostly international (90% on average) and individual (80% on average) guests typically stay up to three days on average. The owners or managers of these hotels also point out that they cannot evaluate the impact of the official marking and ranking on the business performance of their hotels due to a relatively short period of their business operation and since they have adjusted the entire project to creating a unique heritage image.

EU structural funds offer significant opportunities for faster creation of recognisable products in heritage hotels and complete reconstruction and revitalisation projects of architecturally appropriate structure. One of three priorities of *Europe 2020 Strategy* highlights sustainable development through promoting economy that more efficiently makes use of the resources and that is greener and more competitive. One of the key programmes for strengthening competitiveness with small and medium enterprises, including those in the hotel industry is COSME, within the Structural Fund for Regional Development. The research has demonstrated that heritage hotel projects definitely have the power and innovativeness to create new and higher quality offer in the coastal destinations, and that they can become the key drivers of tourism development in the rural areas.

With Croatia's accession to full EU membership the EU funds are more directly available to the individuals and enterprises and thus facilitate the country's overall prosperity (Vandoren, 2012). This is an opportunity for small entrepreneurs, especially those in the tourism business, especially, the hotel industry. Therefore, it is necessary to reach synergies among the current and potential owners of heritage hotels and other relevant institutions to better collaborate and complete as many as possible restoration and revitalisation projects.

Conclusion

The analysis of the structure of accommodation capacities in Croatia leads to the conclusion that, due to the small share of hotels and similar facilities and a large number of private accommodation facilities, the total structure of accommodation capacities is prominently unfavourable and greatly caters for the needs of the mass tourism product. As a relatively new product in the Croatian market, small family hotels have gained importance in increasing Croatia's total competitiveness as well as the profitability of the accommodation industry. Therefore, the introduction of new types of hotels that present opportunities for professionalization of the traditional private accommodation in rented rooms and suites through implementing new innovative management methods at all levels and on principles of sustainable development may be evaluated very positively. The legal framework was created to facilitate the restoration and revitalisation of the structures appropriate for heritage or diffuse hotels. In spite of their small number and a relatively short business life, the hotels ranked as heritage or diffuse the research presented in the paper has confirmed an exceptional potential for their further development. In addition to the benefits and opportunities for the destination found in the projects of setting up small heritage hotels and with the entrepreneurial competences and the efforts of all members of their families these hotels can significantly improve and enhance Croatia's tourism offer in the future. Furthermore, the development of this supply segment, greatly contributes to sustainable development of Croatia's tourism both in the already developed tourism destinations and especially in the rural areas where tourism never took roots.

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Patterns of Research Productivity: Implications for Scientific Study in Heritage Tourism

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Abstract

This paper addresses the question, “what are the emerging areas of research in heritage tourism”. Using dispersion-analysis of journal publications in the field, the difficulty of repeat-publications in tourism is highlighted. Next, using natural-language processing algorithms, key concepts in heritage tourism are “mapped” to identify research opportunities. The idea is by pursuing these research opportunities, researchers could overcome some, if not all, repeat- publishing difficulties.

Keywords: Heritage tourism; Journal publications; Lotka analysis; Concepts; Structural frameworks; Empirical generalizations.

Introduction

This paper applies the building blocks of business strategy – tools to assessing a firm’s competitive advantage such as portfolio analysis – to the study of heritage tourism. Specifically, we provide estimates of growth in different sub-fields of heritage tourism (for example, rural tourism) to help researchers target areas to research.

We proceed as follows. First, we do a Lotka analysis of journal publications in heritage tourism in order to recognize the research (publishing) environment. The question of interest is whether there is a discernible pattern in journal publications in heritage tourism. For example, based on the idea that only few superstars exist in most disciplines, we examine the frequency of authors publishing 1, 2, 3+ papers. Next, we react to this environment by developing indicators of “emerging” areas of research in the field. The thinking is that by assessing the evolution of concepts in heritage tourism, “gaps” in empirical research can be identified which could be targeted for study.

Our work is applicable for all segments of specialists in heritage tourism. In these days of smartphone apps, one can view our work as an operant or machinery that can describe the existing state of research in the field.

Conceptual Framework

Law Based on Facts

Our conception about publishing patterns is based upon the “skewness” that exists in the distribution of output among individuals in some human activity such as music. For example, there are only a handful of Noble prize recipients in physics and chemistry. Similarly, there are only a few hundred soloists on any given musical instrument in the very large classical-music marketplace. Observations such as these led Alfred Lotka (1926) to frame a law to explain relative productivity among scientists. Specifically, using a scatter plot of frequency of persons having made 1, 2, 3 ... scholarly contributions and their total number of contributions, Lotka observed that the points are closely scattered around a straight line having a slope of approximately negative two. He summarized his empirical observation by the equation:

$$a_n = a_1/n^2, n = 1, 2, 3, \dots,$$

where, a_n = number of authors publishing “n” papers, and
 a_1 = number of authors publishing one paper

In general, the number of persons making 2 contributions is about one-fourth of those making one; number making 3 contributions is about one-ninth, and number making n contributions is about $1/n^2$.

Building Blocks of Knowledge in Heritage Tourism

Knowledge about a concept such as “market segmentation” can either be declarative (knowing ‘what’) or procedural (knowing ‘how’). Since procedural knowledge needs to be built on declarative knowledge, it is essential that we identify causal statements of the form, ‘if the situation is x , then y will happen’. The extant

literature on theory building (for example, Hunt, 1991) suggests that causal relationships are “empirically validated” structural frameworks – concepts depicted as matrices.

Briefly, a *concept* names an object and lists its necessary features or attributes. For example, the concept “cultural attraction” would include art galleries and monuments in a geographical area – geographical area populated by people with shared values or culture. The set of heritage tourism concepts that we focus on cover the topics accepted in most heritage tourism textbooks (Table 1; Park 2013; Staiff et al 2013; Timothy, 2011).

Table 1. List of topic areas for heritage tourism concepts

•	Heritage demand: Consumption of culture
•	Heritage supply
	i Museums
	ii Monuments
	iii Landscapes
	iv Industrial past
	v Religious sites
	vi Indigenous culture
•	Heritage conservation and tourism
•	Marketing the past
•	Managing visitors

Continuing with the components of knowledge, a *structural framework* lists two or more concepts in grid or matrix format. They precede causal statements and are mostly devised by business consultants to apply structure to ill-structured problems (Spence and Brucks, 1997). Examples of structural frameworks in tourism include the TPPM (Athiyaman and Robertson, 1993) and the integration-diversity model (Go, 2014). Finally, *principles* are conditional and normative statements of the form, if the situation is x then do y . They are “action recipes” (Winograd, 1972). An example of principles in heritage tourism is: if the tourism business is a museum, then manage customer satisfaction using technology such as surveillance cameras (Athiyaman and Go, 2013).

Methodology

Data for the study were sourced from five journals that publish research related to heritage tourism. Authorship for all research articles were compiled for each journal from the first issue through as at September 9, 2014.

To calibrate Lotka’s theoretical distribution, we made use of the equality:

$$\sum_{i=1}^{\infty} a_i = a_1 \sum_{i=1}^{\infty} \frac{1}{i^2}$$

However, since

$$\sum_{i=1}^{\infty} \frac{1}{i^2} = \frac{\pi^2}{6}, \text{ the proportion of all contributors publishing } n \text{ papers would be:}$$

$$a_n / \sum_{i=1}^{\infty} \frac{1}{i^2} = \frac{6}{\pi^2} \frac{1}{n^2}$$

To identify principles, we used object-oriented programming (OOP) to automatically extract concepts from the publications. Concepts were culled by analyzing all distinct words used in the publications. Concordance view was used to examine the usage context of the concepts. In addition, common contexts of concepts were examined to search for conceptual associations – indicators of structural frameworks and principles. Finally, to explore emerging research areas, we constructed a lexical dispersion plot of concepts over time.

Results

Lotka Analysis

Table 2 shows the proportion of authors by the number of publications. Some of the salient findings include: (i) most authors publish only one paper, (ii) repeated publications is difficult, (iii) journals with higher citations

(*Annals of Tourism Research*) have higher percentages of authors with more than one publication – evidence for the existence of superstar phenomenon in tourism, and (iv) Lotka's law describes the overall frequency of publications in the journals (observed $\chi^2 = 11.713$; critical value of $\chi^2_{.05,5} = 12.832$).

Table 2. Authors by Number of Publications

Journal (Inaugural Year)	Number of Papers	Number of Authors	Frequency of Publication (%)					
			1	2	3	4	5	>5
<i>Advances in Culture, Tourism & Hospitality Research</i> (2008)	90	130	88	6	2	2	0	2
<i>Advances in Hospitality & Leisure</i> (2005)	104	156	76	13	4	4	2	1
<i>Annals of Tourism Research</i> (1973)	2288	2451	76	13	4	2	2	3
<i>International Journal of Heritage Studies</i> (1994)	525	667	89	7	2	1	1	0
<i>Journal of Heritage Tourism</i> (2006)	152	244	91	7	1	0	0	1
<i>Tourism Geography</i> (1999)	375	499	83	12	3	2	0	0
All Journals	3534	3806	76	13	5	2	1	3
Lotka's Law – Expected %			61	15	7	3	2	11

Note: The hypothesis that the variable ““All Journals” exhibit a Lotka distribution” is supported at the conventional 0.05 level.

Given the difficulty of repeat publication in tourism journals (Table 2), it is essential that we target emerging areas of research that would be of interest to journal editors (Brock et al 2012). The need for such an analysis stems from the existence of at least three inhibitors of innovative research: familiarity trap - favoring the familiar topic instead of focusing on new emerging areas; mature trap – focusing on mature topics or areas of research, and propinquity trap – searching for solutions to research problems near existing solutions (Varadarajan, 2010).

Emergent Areas of Research

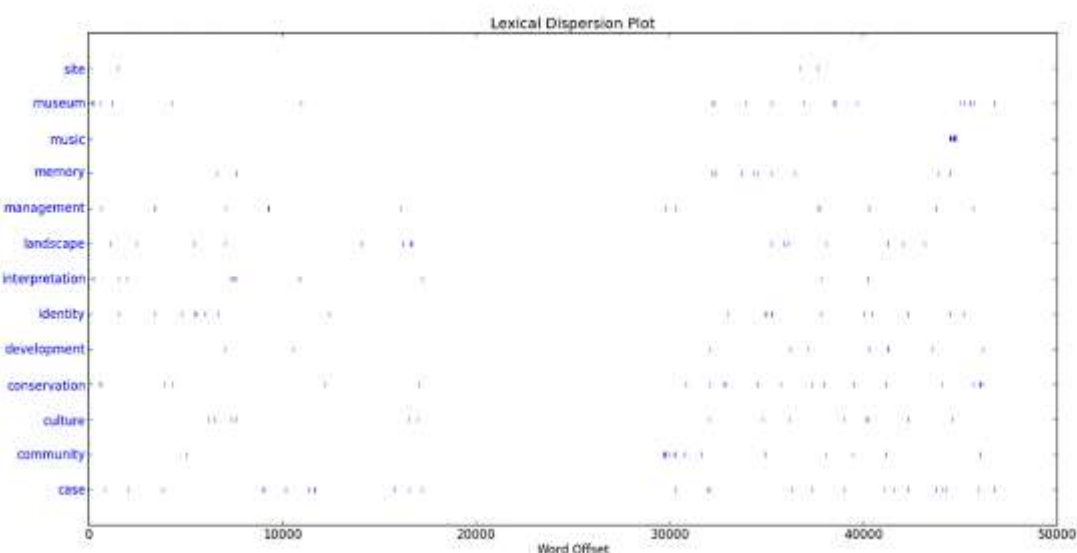
Figure 1 shows the most utilized concepts in heritage tourism. These were “mined” from the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. A concordance analysis of these concepts suggests that research on heritage-site management is common. However, missing are research into museum identity or branding, and conservation and community development. Appendix 1 shows a sample of concordance runs using key concepts such as museums and landscapes.

Figure 1. Key concepts in heritage tourism



Figure 2 identifies emergent areas of research using dispersion plots. In Figure 2, each stripe represents an instance of a concept. Music is emerging as a concept for research. So are conservation, and development. Concepts such as “site” and “memory” also lack prominence in heritage tourism. In contrast, concepts such as “museum” have received widespread attention.

Figure 2. Lexical dispersion plot: salient concepts in heritage tourism



Discussion

Our empirical analysis shows the existence of “Matthew effect” in heritage tourism (Price, 1965). Briefly, Matthew effect is defined as the accruing of greater recognition for scientific contributions for scientists of considerable repute and the withholding of recognition from scientists who are not yet there. Empirical evidence of Matthew effect can be gleaned from research by Crane (1965), and more recently by Armstrong (2002).

Specifically, using quantity of publications as a measure of scientific productivity, Crane (1965) found that highly productive scientists at a major university gained recognition more often than equally productive scientists at a lesser university. The psychological process that underlies Matthew effect is the belief among “not-yet-famous” scientists that co-authorship with reputed scientists would enhance the chances of journal acceptance (Armstrong, 2002). Armstrong (2002) posits that Matthew effect could be nullified if journals would publish all submissions. However, as aptly observed by Rossiter (2003), this would greatly increase the “signal-to-noise” ratio of journal publications. What is needed is for authors to focus on new, emerging areas of research to gain journal acceptance.

Another outcome of our research, albeit exploratory, is the identification of emerging domains in heritage studies. At the basic, conceptual level, efforts are needed to study the place of music in heritage tourism, and the impacts of conservation practices on community-economic development. Note that studying concepts such as music requires an interpretivist paradigm or subjective analysis (Athiyaman, 2014). This is because musical heritage, for example, is cultural norm which has to be interpreted by the researcher. On the other hand, the study of branding requires the functionalist way of thinking – objective analyses to determine which brand position is superior (Athiyaman and Merrett, 2010).

Summary and Conclusion

Repeat publication in tourism journals such as the *Annals of Tourism Research* is difficult; only a handful of scientists repeat publish. One way to react to this “superstar” studded publishing environment is to focus on emerging areas of research such as music, conservation, and economic development. We believe that such an effort will help yet-to-attain-fame authors publish.

More than five decades ago Webb (1961) reminded us to be mindful of “conformity” in research; scientists should not succumb to the charm of social benefits of working in an over-researched topic area at the expense of the scientific implications of such work. Also, one can hardly be creative if one is avidly listening to the voice of others. This paper shows how to avoid this propinquity bias.

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Theme 3. Preserving, Presenting and Communication of Heritage

From Conservation to Valorization of Heritage Assets: The Contribution of Cittaslow Certification

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Abstract

The paper aims at understanding the contribution of Cittaslow certification to support a more sustainable tourism governance of small towns. Cittaslow is an association that encourages strongly the relationships among economic development, social well-being and environmental sustainability at the local level. Alternatively to the "fast paced life" philosophy, Cittaslow Association promotes and sustains a different style of town development, focusing on the effort of local governments to pursue continuously progress and innovation and also to create networks of social and local interests around life quality themes. The analysis is carried out by a quantitative method, collecting data by policy-makers of destinations associated to Cittaslow and using a specific questionnaire. The empirical study provides new insights to the destination governance literature about territorial certification. It also supports policy-makers showing the meaning and the opportunities arising for a destination from being certified as Cittaslow.

Keywords: Cittaslow, Destination Governance, Territorial Certifications, Sustainable development, Heritage assets.

Introduction

Sustainable development has taken on a central role in tourism governance, so much so that there has been a concerted global agenda to insert the principles of sustainable development into the production and consumption of tourism (Swarbrooke, 1999). Several authors (see i.e.: Ritchie & Crouch, 2000; Dwyer & Kim, 2003; Kozak & Nield, 2004; Weaver, 2006; Gomezelj & Mihalic, 2008) maintain that the competitiveness of destinations will be increasingly based on the extent to which they are concerned about the sustainability of their natural, economic and cultural resources.

UNWTO (2005, p. 9) defined sustainable tourism as "tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment, and host communities". It follows that good governance is of vital importance for successfully achieving the dual mandate of conservation and valorisation of local resources. This is why the examination of the manner in which various governance principles, models and tools are implemented should be of extreme importance for both practitioners and researchers (Graham et al., 2003) in order to encourage awareness and cut back on impacts (Schianetz et al., 2007). According to the different tools used to implement a more sustainable form of destination governance, territorial brands may represent a useful support tool for the attractiveness of the destination and for the qualitative and typological adaptation of tourist usability systems (Lorenzini et al., 2011). Territorial brands are strictly linked to the natural, cultural and social values of the territory and the community of which they are an expression. Among the various forms of territorial brands, territorial certifications represent a way for policy-makers to convey a sense of quality and sustainability. In the case of territorial certifications, the idea of quality is promoted through the intrinsic value of the heritage and assets protected, but also through the sustainable conduct of the community, which recognise the value of their heritage and decide to preserve it for the future generations. The achievement of a territorial certification is a voluntary choice of those municipalities that identify their vocation in quality of life and the promotion of local products and local identity. According to Font and Bendell (2002), certification is "the process by which third-party assessment is undertaken, written assurance is given that the product, process, service or management system conforms to the standard" (as cited in Sallows & Font, 2004, p. 92). Honey and Stewart (2002) also describe certification as "the procedure that audits and gives written assurance that a facility, product, process, service or management system meets specific standards. It awards a logo or seal to those that meet or exceed baseline criteria or standards that are prescribed by the program" (pp. 4-5).

In order to understand the relationship between territorial brands and sustainable tourism governance, the

Cittaslow certification has been chosen as a case study.

Cittaslow is a novel concept that promotes a different style of town development focused on “local diversity and economic cultural strengths, built on historic resources and traditions, and encourages a slow, relaxed pace of life” (Radstrom, 2011; Semmens & Freeman, 2012; Cittaslow, 2014). However, despite the interest in these aspects (theoretical) and the growing number of municipalities in the world that decide to adhere to the Cittaslow Association in order to activate and implement projects and actions that contribute to improving quality of life for residents and tourists, the issue remains largely unexplored (Nilsson et al., 2011).

In order to fill this gap in the literature, this paper sets out to understand the role of Cittaslow certification in supporting more sustainable tourism governance of small towns. At the same time, the paper intends to investigate the main reasons that stimulate local authorities to adopt and implement the principles of the Cittaslow Association. In doing so, it addresses the following research questions: What are the reasons for becoming a member of Cittaslow? What is the contribution of Cittaslow to more sustainable destination governance?

The basic idea is that a competitive and sustainable destination governance process has to focus simultaneously on the organization of local resources around an attractive tourist supply as well as on the conservation of local heritage assets. This can be reinforced by making use of territorial certifications - such as Cittaslow - which are not only a marketing tool but also a support for good governance practices.

The theoretical framework, organized around the concepts of sustainable tourism governance and territorial brands, is presented in the next section, followed by a discussion of the methodology used for data collection and analysis. The resulting analysis provides the main focus of this paper. Contributions to territorial branding literature, destination governance and the Cittaslow movement, distinguishing between theoretical and managerial implications, are proposed in the concluding section.

Sustainable Tourism Governance

A tourism destination is a complex system which, almost by definition, is quite unmanageable (Baggio et al., 2010), consequently good governance “requires the adoption of strong rules and, simultaneously, definitely needs the flexibility for changing them dynamically, reacting quickly to all the changes that may occur in the destination or in the external environment” (Baggio et al., 2010, p. 55).

Governance is an increasingly significant issue in tourism public policy and planning literature (Hall, 2011) and it involves matters of collective concerns and associated actions in the public sphere (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). Governance implies a focus on “systems of governing” and on the ways that societies are governed, ruled or “steered” (Stoker, 1998). Looking at the processes of tourism governance, they are likely to involve various mechanisms for governing, steering, regulating and mobilizing actions, such as institutions, decision-making rules and established practices (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). Sustainable destination governance requires a set of useful tools that permit the development of territories towards systems that are more efficient, more sustainable and more livable for citizens, as well as more attractive for tourists (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010). The guiding philosophy of sustainable destination governance is based on careful compliance with the local cultures, history and environment and the enhancement of social responsibility (Heitmann et al., 2011). As stated by Dinica (2009), local governments play a crucial role in shaping the sustainability performance of tourism, influencing how tourism develops.

It has become increasingly common for local governments to support a pro-economic development approach to local tourism policy, focusing on the marketing and promotion of tourism (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010). At the same time, Bramwell (2011) states that, in practice, there are substantial difficulties that can hinder effective governance for sustainable tourism, such as the need to integrate the diverse policy domains with the implications for tourism, because it concerns aspects cutting across sectors, such as planning, transport, employment and local development. It follows that sustainable tourism policies need to be integrated with wider economic, social and environmental policy considerations within an overall sustainable development framework (Hall, 2008).

Territorial Certifications

Many studies have underlined brand as a strategic element for the competitiveness of tourist destinations (Ritchie & Crouch, 2000; Uysal, Chen, & Williams, 2000), affecting market position in relation to other

destinations that compete both nationally and internationally. From this perspective, distinctive study trends have been identified in literature and heterogeneous definitions have been formulated in relation to destination branding, aiming to focus on the principal place related aspects (Kavaratzis, 2005). Among these, territorial brands are widely considered “a particular type of brands that has also been addressed in the literature on place branding and on sustainable development focusing on ecotourism and on the use of local products for tourism development” (Lorenzini et al., 2011, p. 541).

The creation of these brands represents a useful way not only of promoting a territory as an interesting tourist destination, but also for enhancing its attractiveness, sustaining local resources and local companies and their products and encouraging investments (Neto, 2007). Although a suitable taxonomy of territorial brands foresees a large set of elements, such as eco-labels, quality systems, typical products, collective intellectual property rights (Lorenzini et al., 2011), territorial certifications have grown in importance because they provide for a detailed combination of different initiatives and actions, implemented mainly in order to obtain environmentally sustainable performance (Buckley, 2002; Hamele, 2002; Font & Harris, 2004).

In addition, these certifications foresee essentially articulated aimed at guaranteeing that products, services, processes and management systems are more coherent with recognized standards (Honey & Stewart, 2002). Emblematic in this direction is the experience of well-known quality certifications which, supported by specific associations such as ‘Borghi più belli d’Italia’ and ‘Cittaslow’, have become an important means of managing the promotion and exploitation of local resources, environmental safeguard and hospitality systems.

In general, certifications concerning destinations may adopt two distinct goals: protecting the environment and quality of experiences in the area; certifying tourism quality regarding services and attractions (Carbone et al., 2000).

Cittaslow Certification

Slow Tourism is an intense and enjoyable way of experiencing tourism, serving the needs of those tourists who pay more attention to effectiveness and efficiency, trying to differentiate themselves from mass tourism (Irving, 2008). The Slow Tourism movement guarantees respect for local identities through an appropriate use of leisure, hospitality, sense of place and conviviality (Heitmann et al., 2011). In this way slow tourism combines economic, environmental and social principles that constitute the triple bottom line of sustainable development (Campbell, 1996). Translating this new vision into destination governance allows the creation of new models of local development in which quality of life for both residents and tourists is paramount, thus helping to promote not only a tourism product, but also endogenous territorial development from a perspective of quality and sustainability (Dickinson & Lumsdon, 2010).

Cittaslow, Slow City or Città Lenta, is considered as a spin-off of the Slow Food movement (Heitmann et al., 2011, p. 116), built essentially on the concept of ‘slowness’ (Petrini, 2001) and extended into various aspects of destinations in order to for them to become ‘a good place to live’ (Radstrom, 2011).

Cittaslow sets out an interesting example as an urban social movement, but also as a useful model for local governance, representing the desire of certain governments to pursue progress and innovation and to create networks of social and local interests around the theme of quality of life, as opposed to those economic, environmental and territorial choices no longer recognized as the only sources of wellbeing (Knox, 2005; Mayer & Knox, 2006; Pink, 2008; Hoeschele, 2010; Semmens & Freeman, 2012).

Since its creation in 1999 by Paolo Saturnini (Mayor of Greve di Chianti in Italy), in collaboration with other Mayors (Orvieto, Bra, Positano) and the Founder of Slow Food, the Cittaslow Association has expanded across national boundaries, including currently over 180 cities in over 28 countries worldwide and representing an important global network of small-sized cities (a requisite is that the town must have no more than 50,000 residents), heavily criticizing the culture of consumerism, discovering the culture and value of place, fostering the commitment of local community members and promoting alternative paths to sustainable development under the constraints and negative effects of the globalization (Pink, 2008; Nilsson et al., 2011).

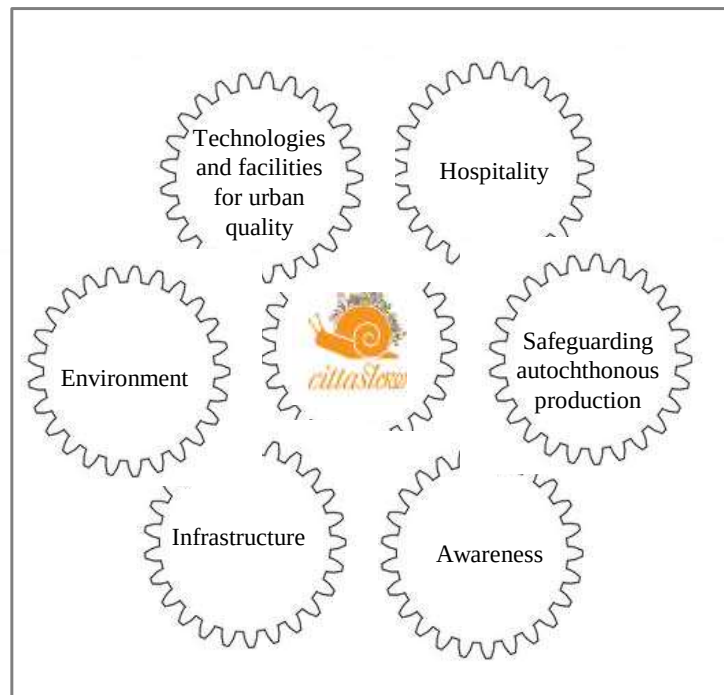
The main principles of the Association are the following: to draw up and implement an environmental policy (including a system of evaluation of air quality, water quality, etc.); to implement a coherent urban infrastructural policy; to encourage the production and use of local foodstuffs; to safeguard autochthonous production; to promote the quality of hospitality; to promote awareness among all citizens; to promote the use of technologies that facilitate sociability and cooperation among local producers (Cittaslow, 2014). In effect, in the

Slow City differentiated practices and spaces mean that slow co-exists with "fast" and with standardization. However, even factors that are usually associated with "fast", such as new technologies, can become slow in order to support practices and greater qualification of the supply system (Hoeschele, 2010; Nilsson et al., 2011).

Cittaslow certification is given to destinations that agree to work towards a set of goals aimed at improving the quality of life of their citizens and visitors, and at sharing ideas, experiences and knowledge across the national and international Cittaslow networks (Miele, 2008). In order to obtain the certification and to participate in the Association, a destination must meet at least 50% of the Cittaslow criteria consisting of a set of heterogeneous aspects linked with specific policies and grouped into six categories (figure 1). More specifically, they move from energy and environmental policies to programmes for improving Cittaslow awareness and local community involvement because the success of the town is linked with the support of existing active community organizations, local businesses and a strong sense of community (Semmens & Freeman, 2012; Ekinici, 2014).

Once the destination has gained initial certification, it has to guarantee that above principles are continuously observed and implemented through efficacious plans and actions in coherence with the requirements and goals of Association (Knox, 2005). A destination is excluded from the network if the audit and review carried out every 3 years do not demonstrate progress towards full adherence to the Cittaslow charter (Cittaslow, 2014).

Figure 1. Cittaslow requirements - The six categories



Sources: our elaboration on www.cittaslow.org

Methodology

A quantitative analysis through an ad-hoc survey was selected to answer our research questions, because this methodology is suggested in studies of this type in tourism research (Lorenzini et al., 2011). In addition, it is necessary to highlight that this quantitative analysis represents the second phase of a specific research project, which previously carried out a qualitative analysis in order to explore the Cittaslow phenomenon. Moreover, quantitative research can be conducted by using a variety of methods of numerical data collection, applying statistical techniques. Consequently, the result is usually numerical (quantifiable) and hence considered more "objective"; in particular, survey aims to generalize from a representative sample population to a larger population of interest; the data is considered quantifiable and usually generalizable to a larger population.

We designed a useful questionnaire based on the detailed requirements for Cittaslow membership (Ekinici, 2014) and specific aspects mainly linked to sustainable tourism development themes. More specifically, the questionnaire contains three distinct sections. The first section asked respondents to answer questions regarding the main motivations for applying for Cittaslow membership and, then, commitment to the several macro-areas

defined by the Association. These questions were structured in a Likert scale mode (1 to 5), with choices ranging from “very weak” to “very strong”. The second section of the questionnaire included questions about critical variables for the success of Cittaslow initiatives, strategic areas for defining appropriate policies, challenges related to obtaining and maintaining Cittaslow certification and, finally, the benefits obtained. The last section contained demographic information. The questionnaire was pre-tested using a number of Italian Cittaslow towns in order to ensure that the questions were clear, appropriate and valid. Based on their feedback, certain items were opportunely adjusted, integrated and modified. Italian and English were used as languages for all the questionnaires with the agreement of respondents.

The sample of our study consisted of 186 Cittaslow towns, both in Italy and abroad. The list of Cittaslow members, obtained from the website of the Association, was used as a basis for collecting the email addresses of mayors and/or tourism managers who were considered to be the key informants and appropriate respondents to our questionnaire since they have detailed information about Cittaslow requirements and all of the above specified aspects. In addition, we used other secondary data sources such as online resources, newspapers, scientific contributions, public documents, etc. in order to have the opportunity of collecting varied and useful information on the topic under investigation.

Our survey approach targeted mayors or tourism managers who received an email explaining issues such as the general purpose of the analysis, questionnaire salience and length, anonymity, lack of explicit deadline. Two follow-up emails were then sent to non-respondents.

The survey was conducted in the period from January to May 2014. A number of the questionnaires received from sampled towns had to be discarded due to the fact that they were incomplete. We therefore received 71 completed questionnaires: 34 from Italian destinations, 37 from other countries.

Data collected through the survey was coded and analyzed using SPSS (11.0).

Findings Analysis

First of all, a descriptive analysis was made in relation to the main reasons that led the destinations to apply for membership of the Cittaslow Association. In this way, they accept the defined principles/criteria of Cittaslow and undertake to meet its requirements by introducing a large range of measures from “the promotion of organic agriculture to the creation of centers where visitors can sample local traditional food” (Mayer & Knox, 2006, p. 24).

Although respondents are differently motivated to become part of the movement, the findings of the study (table 1) show that most of them state as “very important” the following aspects: the improvement of visibility and attractiveness ($M = 4.21$; $SD = 0.98$); the transformation into a visitor friendly destination ($M = 4.14$; $SD = 0.93$); the stimulus to implementation of “slow” sustainable development ($M = 4.00$; $SD = 1.09$).

Furthermore, results show that respondents have indifferent or neutral answers with regard to the role of Cittaslow certification in order “to address issues of small town decline” ($M = 3.48$; $SD = 1.18$). This aspect seems to conflict with prior pioneer research which highlighted a certain role of Cittaslow in facing the decline of small towns (Semmens & Freeman, 2012). However, respondents consider participation in an international network of cities to be “important” ($M = 3.53$; $SD = 1.21$) because it becomes a way of exploiting an exchange of experiences, culture, best practices and projects; in other words, entering this network of small towns provides a system of mutual assistance, reputation, mutual support and sharing of experiences.

Table 1. Main reasons to become Cittaslow certified town

Reasons	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
To participate an international network	4 5.6 %	12 16.9 %	16 22.5 %	20 28.2 %	19 26.2 %	3.5 3	1.2 1
To start and implement a “slow” sustainable development	2 2.8 %	6 8.5%	12 16.9 %	21 29.6 %	30 42.3 %	4.0 0	1.0 9
To transform your town into visitor friendly destination	1 1.4 %	2 2.8%	14 19.7 %	23 32.4 %	31 43.7 %	4.1 4	0.9 3
To address issues of small town decline	5 7.0 %	8 11.3 %	22 31.0 %	18 25.4 %	17 23.9 %	3.4 8	1.1 8
To improve visibility and attractiveness of your town	2 2.8 %	3 4.2%	7 9.9%	25 35.2 %	34 47.9 %	4.2 1	0.9 8
Any other	7 9.9 %	2 2.8%	10 14.1 %	5 7.0%	4 5.6%	2.8 9	1.3 7

Looking at the relationship between requirements and strategic areas (Table 2), several significant correlations were found. Scores referring to quality, facilities, projects, recycling systems for reducing pollution and the “adoption of environmental management systems” (for environmental requirements) and “informing people about the aims and procedures of Cittaslow” (for awareness requirements) are significantly and positively correlated to the 'environment' strategic area. Quality and systems for reducing pollution (for environmental requirements), plans for safe transportation traffic (for infrastructure requirements), programmes and promotional activities (for technology requirements) are significantly and positively correlated to the 'logistics' strategic area. Only “adoption of environmental management systems” (for environmental requirements) proves to be statistically correlated to the 'entrepreneurship' strategic area.

Moreover, “promotion of programs to facilitate family life and local activities” (for infrastructure requirements) is positively correlated with the 'tourism' strategic area, while “providing waste bins consistent with environmental requirements and removal of rubbish in accordance with an announced timetable, arranging programs and promotional activities for planting environmentally suitable plants, preferably local ones” (for technology requirements) are both inversely correlated to the 'tourism' strategic area. Finally, Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs) (for environmental requirements), “preparation of plans for the distribution of merchandise and the construction of commercial centers for natural products” (for infrastructure requirements), “promoting organic and/or locally planted products”, “preserving and encouraging cultural traditions” and “preparing certification programs for saving tradesmen, craftsmen, and working methods/products which are in danger of dying out” (all for safeguarding requirements) are directly and significantly correlated to the 'culture' strategic area.

Table 2. Strategic areas and requirements of Sustainable tourism development

Requirements		Strategic Areas				
		Environment	Logistic	Entrepreneurship	Tourism	Culture
Environment	Quality	$r=0.317;p=0.008$	$r=0.254;p=0.035$			
	Use	$r=0.351;p=0.003$				
	Project	$r=0.338;p=0.005$				
	Recycle	$r=0.305;p=0.011$				
	GMOs					$r=0.357;p=0.002$
	Pollution	$r=0.262;p=0.030$	$r=0.239;p=0.047$			
	Environmental Management Systems	$r=0.309;p=0.010$		$r=0.264;p=0.028$		
	Facilities		$r=0.357;p=0.003$			
	Life				$r=0.271;p=0.023$	
	Goods					$r=0.283;p=0.019$
Tecnol.	Service				$r=-0.303;p=0.011$	
	Activity		$r=0.237;p=0.049$		$r=-0.277;p=0.020$	
Safeguard	Biol.					$r=0.363;p=0.002$
	Culture					$r=0.353;p=0.003$
	Certif.					$r=0.242;p=0.045$
Aw ar.	Mode	$r=-0.262;p=0.030$				

The relation between requirements and benefits is opportunely shown in table 3. It is possible to highlight a significant positive interdependence that exists between environmental requirements and certain benefits such as income, business investments and tourism revenue (economic benefits), preservation of natural resources (environmental benefits) and, finally, distinctive positioning of the town (tourism benefits). Infrastructure requirements are positively correlated to seasonality (economic benefits) and to segmentation and differentiation (tourism benefits) but negatively correlated to awareness and community involvement and participation (social-culture benefits) and to quality of the environment (environment benefits). In addition, technology requirements are positively correlated to specific market niches strategies (tourism benefits).

Table 3. Requirements Vs Benefits

Benefits		Requirements					
		Environment	Infrastructure	Tecnol.	Safeguard.	Hospit.	Awar.
Economic	Income	r=0.258;p=0.043					
	Seasonality		r=0.281;p=0.030				
	Investment	r=0.268;p=0.032					
	Tourism rev	r=0.248;p=0.044					
Social - culture	Heritage				r=0.250;p=0.043		
	Awareness		r=-0.263;p=0.036				
	Com.involv.		r=0.254;p=0.041				
Env	Quality		r=-0.276;p=0.026		r=-0.349;p=0.005		
	Resources	r=0.350;p=0.005					r=-0.286;p=0.023
Net	Cit.towns						r=0.249;p=0.042
	Stakeholders				r=-0.263;p=0.033	r=0.375;p=0.002	r=0.305;p=0.013
Tour	Positioning	r=0.276;p=0.027					
	Segmentation		r=0.277;p=0.029	r=0.256;p=0.045			
	Differentiation		r=0.319;p=0.011		r=0.349;p=0.005		

In relation to the safeguarding requirements, these are positively correlated to the preservation of cultural heritage and traditions (social-culture benefits) and to differentiation of products and experiences (tourism benefits) and negatively correlated to quality of environment (environment benefits) and to stakeholders networking (network benefits). Regarding hospitality requirements, these are positively correlated only to stakeholders networking (network benefits). Finally, awareness requirements are directly interdependent with Cittaslow towns and stakeholders networking (network benefits) and inversely interdependent with preservation of natural resources (environment benefits).

Conclusions

The main idea of our study is that territorial certifications, such as Cittaslow, are gaining increasing relevance for the sustainable development of small towns and, in particular, they contribute to the adoption and the implementation of principles and policies aimed at achieving sustainability and quality of life for inhabitants and tourists. More specifically, the research highlights that Cittaslow can take on an interesting role in the sustainable destination governance process, focusing simultaneously on aspects related to protection of the local landscape through a variety of appropriate policies, support for local producers and other traditional entrepreneurial initiatives (e.g. those foreign to the local context), the supply of various technological services and facilities. In addition, Cittaslow can ensure the conservation and promotion of cultural and heritage resources, concentrating principally on authenticity, sense of place and hospitality, and also taking adequate action to enhance alternative forms of tourism.

Through a quantitative analysis based on Cittaslow small towns, this study has investigated the contribution of this certification to sustainable destination governance, resulting in interesting findings. First of all, the main reasons that led local governments to apply to the Cittaslow Association are essentially linked to the opportunities for increasing the attractiveness of their towns and activating different ways of creating visitor friendly destinations. Therefore, participation in the Cittaslow Association is considered as an interesting possibility of differentiating the towns that receive certification from others and of attracting cultural and heritage tourism, reducing the relevance of opportunities related to involvement in and the relationship with national and international networks.

In addition, significant correlations were found among requirements related to sustainable tourism development and strategic areas. More specifically, Cittaslow towns are mainly focused on the definition and the implementation of locally-oriented projects, programs and actions related to the environment and culture, highlighting the fact that commitment to these specific areas can allow destination to have a distinctive positioning and also to satisfactorily meet the needs of the local community and other stakeholders. In this way, these towns set out to become unique places where historic buildings, local crafts, art and culture are effectively safeguarded and promoted, contrasting “the proliferation of uniformity” (Semmens & Freeman, 2012, p. 358). Moreover, the environment is adequately protected through actions aimed at reducing noise, air pollution, etc.

It is also worth highlighting the correlation between requirements and benefits. The efforts to implement continuous action and plans coherent with Cittaslow requirements allow destinations to obtain several benefits across various dimensions (economic, socio-cultural, tourism). For instance, projects and initiatives regarding environmental requirements determine interesting economic results, such as income, business investments and tourism revenue. However, it seems more interesting to underline that policies related to hospitality do not have a direct impact on tourism performance, confirming in this way that the improvement of “the town’s general qualities will in the end have positive effects” (Nilsson et al., 2010, p. 381).

This study has shown how Cittaslow certification should produce a series of practicable guidelines and stimulate ideas and projects on how to be more sustainable, to improve public participation and social networking capacity and to foster the commitment of the local community. Nevertheless, some implications for policy-makers emerge and can be summarized in the fact that Cittaslow certification cannot be considered an 'automatic gear' for moving towards more sustainable governance. Hall (2011, p. 442) sustains that “the development of an appropriate typology of governance is not based on a haphazard shopping list” but depends on the relationships that exist between the different actors and the way in which development is steered with initiatives that range from hierarchical top-down steering to non-hierarchical approaches. It follows that the acquisition of Cittaslow certification should ensure real benefits for the destination as a whole only if it becomes an integral part of the destination 'vision' and it is therefore brought to the attention of all stakeholders, shared and accepted by the local community. From the theoretical point of view, this study contributes to sustainable destination governance literature offering new insights into territorial certification and its interesting role in the tourism governance of small towns.

Regarding the main limitation of this study, represented essentially by the size of the sample, it would be appropriate to extend the research to other Cittaslow towns (national and international). In addition, several research questions can be proposed: Does the Public Value concept play an important and influential role in understanding and organizing destination governance? How can Cittaslow support the implementation and diffusion of public value in tourism governance, in terms of creating value for a multiplicity of stakeholders and across multiple performance dimensions (economic, social and cultural, political and ecological)?

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Assessing Image Traits on Social Media: The Case of a Cultural Destination

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Abstract

Destination image is a popular research domain in the tourism literature. Yet, limited studies focus on destination image as reflected through actual tourists' evaluations and reviews on social media. Taken the significance of social media and the relationship between country and destination image, the study embarks upon to assess the three image components (i.e. cognitive, affective, conative) in the case of Istanbul. The study presents the destination image concept from the tourists' point of view, as they review Istanbul on TripAdvisor throughout the summer in 2013. This study, although limited in scope, will be of interest to academic researchers and industry practitioners who are seeking to better understand the behavior of travelers using the Internet.

Keywords: destination image; online marketing; social media; TripAdvisor; Istanbul.

Introduction

Destination image is one of the most studied areas in tourism literature (Gallarza et al., 2002). The concept traditionally contains a cognitive and an affective component, while other researchers reflect the behavioral aspect on the third conative dimension (e.g. Gartner, 1993). Social media are used before, during and after holidays for experience sharing and are a significant information source (Xiang & Gretzel, 2010). In fact, social media content is perceived very often as more trustworthy compared to official tourism websites or mass media advertising (Fotis et al., 2012). Furthermore, the destination image-search keywords link is of critical importance to destination image studies and online marketing (Pan & Li, 2011). However, there is a paucity of research analyzing image as reflected on social media (Zeng & Gerritsen, 2014) and revealing the importance of each component for the online user.

A phenomenological study was embarked upon to determine visitors' interpretation of the destination's image, according to a destination image framework. Given that user-generated content influences the customers' decision-making process (Jalilvand et al., 2012), interest focuses on visitors' reviews on the largest online network of travel consumers, i.e. the TripAdvisor (O'Connor, 2010). The study builds upon the case of Istanbul, seeking to shed light to the importance of the destination image dimensions from the actual visitors' perspective. Furthermore, not overlooking the possible importance of the country brand dimensions (Anholt, 2004), destination image should be seen in a country image context (Kladou et al., 2014). Thus, the reviews included in the study have been posted on and right after June 2013 and the Gezi Park/ Taksim square incidents (Wikipedia, 2014).

The outcomes offer marketing scholars an overall insight into the destination image dimensions and their distinct significance when an online tool is employed. Furthermore, findings contribute to the place branding literature by analyzing tourists' evaluations during and right after a largely publicized period of 'unrest' at the destination. Implications for tourism practitioners stem from the dilemma of focusing on several key themes in their mass media marketing efforts, as is suggested to more mainstream markets (e.g. Chen & Uysal, 2002), or capturing the "niche" image held by only a few tourists, as suggested by Pan and Li (2011) for the case of online marketing. Finally, the research provides guidelines to practitioners so that they develop a better understanding of what tourists consider as significant when evaluating a cultural destination.

Background

Given that *countries are tourism 'products' from the perspective of foreign and domestic travelers* (Heslop & Papadopoulos, 1993, p.30), overlaps between destination and country image emerge. Nadeau and his colleagues (2008) elaborated on the conceptualization of destination image in a country image context adopting a nested framework. Kladou et al. (2014) investigated the favorable/ unfavorable match/ mismatch between country destination image and forms of tourism with significant implications for practitioners. The outcome of stakeholders' efforts, however, may not lie completely at the hands of tourism providers and decision makers but is still reflected on tourists' evaluation of the destination image.

Tourists' images of a tourist destination are an important guideline in an attempt to identify the destination's strengths and weaknesses (Chen & Uysal, 2002), and to position the destination efficiently in the marketplace (Pike & Ryan, 2004). Thus, destination image is one of the most explored fields in tourism research (Gallarza, Saura, & Calderón García, 2002). Nevertheless, more effort is required in order to explore the multi-dimensional nature of destination image and the importance of each image dimension as recognized by tourists in the digital era.

The various definitions of destination image and frameworks developed for its assessment reveal the importance of the concept for both scholars and practitioners (Gallarza, Saura, & Calderón García, 2002). Different definitions have followed Hunt's (1971) first identification of image as a factor in tourism. Developments in the literature eventually led to the identification of three main components of image, namely cognitive, affective and conative (Gartner, 1993). The cognitive component is connected to awareness and refers to what people know or may think they know about a destination (Baloglu, 1999; Pike & Ryan, 2004). The affective component, on the other hand, goes further than beliefs and knowledge of the characteristics or attributes of a tourist destination, and evolves around people's feelings toward the destination (Chen & Uysal, 2002; Kim & Richardson, 2003). Finally, the conative component is the action step and refers to how people act on the information. Konecnik and Gartner (2007, p. 403) argued that *destinations are evaluated not solely from real or imagined attributes rather than according to the 'brand'*. The conative component and the significance of the 'brand' are further emphasized given the nature of tourism and the importance of experience for services such as tourism, which are produced and consumed simultaneously. The conative component refers to behavioral tendencies such as the decision to re-visit or recommend to others (Chon, 1990). Tasci's et al. (2007) relatively recent study highlights that the cognitive, affective and conative components are considered interrelated and influencing each other in many ways.

According to San Martín & Rodríguez del Bosque (2008), factors such as 'natural environment', 'cultural heritage', 'tourist infrastructures' or 'atmosphere' underlie in the cognitive structure of destination image. As they argue, the cognitive component is related to the destination's attributes, which can be classified into three sub-categories and include functional/ tangible attributes (e.g. landscape, cultural attractions, infrastructure) and psychological/ abstract attributes (e.g. hospitality, atmosphere). Furthermore, destination image goes beyond beliefs and knowledge of the destination (cognitive image) and includes feelings and emotions that the destination may evoke (e.g. pleasure, excitement). Finally, tourists evaluate destinations based upon the aforementioned dimensions and then decide on their behavior towards the destination (e.g. recommendation, return visits).

The internet has reshaped the way tourism-related information is distributed and the way people plan for and consume travel (Buhalis & Law, 2008). In line with technological advances, tourism scholars have gradually started focusing on online destination image (Choi, Lehto, & Morisson, 2007) and the role of social media in online travel information search (Xiang & Gretzel, 2010). However, such recent studies tend to concentrate on web-page material, thus approach online destination image from the supplier's point-of-view. Alternatively, some relevant studies may focus on social media and visitors' blogs (e.g. Cakmak & Isaac, 2012), yet research on social media in tourism is still in its infancy (Zeng & Gerritsen, 2014). In fact, Zeng & Gerritsen (2014) particularly point out that *social media sources must be strategically included for research data collection and analysis* (p. 33).

Social media include a variety of websites and online platforms on which people share their experiences in different ways (Xiang & Gretzel, 2010). Taken that social media appear on the first few search results pages in Google, social media sites are easily assessed by potential travellers, and are quite substantial in terms of the size of their sites, the up-to-date nature and relevance of their contents, and the level of connectivity with other sites on the Internet. Focusing specifically on destinations, travellers share their evaluations and perceptions on destination image using social media, and these evaluations are likely to influence the destination choice of potential travellers around the globe. In fact, the validity of electronic word-of-mouth is particularly emphasised, since social media content is perceived very often as more trustworthy compared to official tourism websites or mass media advertising (Fotis et al., 2012). Moreover, image evaluations can be used to assess local and national stakeholders' efforts to support a specific destination image despite possible unfavorable country image traits. Analyzing the comments posted on social media will, finally, offer an insight into the weighted importance of each destination image component (i.e. cognitive, affective, and conative) for those individuals choosing to share their experience and evaluation on an online platform.

The Case of Turkey and Istanbul

Turkish stakeholders explicitly emphasize on projects and programs, which will minimize the effect of negative events and create a positive image (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2007). The emphasis on image does not come as a surprise, considering the importance of re-positioning for the country, as it derives from the reflection of negative news in the mass media concerning Turkey or her neighbors (Tasci et al., 2007). A massive expression of public unease with internal interventions and developments was expressed in Turkey in June 2013, at the peak of the tourism season. As a result, Taksim square in Istanbul was turned from a popular tourism hub into an arena for debate, drawing the attention of international media and highlighting the power of social media. Controversially, arrivals to Istanbul still outsourced those of traditionally popular destinations, such as Rome (Euromonitor, 2014).

When focusing on destination branding in a country context, it is worth mentioning that Turkey is more positively evaluated as a destination and more negatively as a country (Martínez & Alvarez, 2010). Besides, the research of Tasci et al. (2007) revealed that Turkey lacks a clear image. Therefore, the study focuses on Istanbul as the case to weigh the importance of destination image components for actual visitors. Moreover, assessing tourists' evaluations of Istanbul during the protests and considering the possible influence of country image dynamics, will help understanding the extent to which marketing efforts geared at creating a positive destination image may also be effective in changing the more general country image (Martínez & Alvarez, 2010).

Methodology

A phenomenological study is embarked upon to determine visitors' interpretation of the destination's image, according to a destination image framework. Moreover, the study seeks to assess the importance travellers attribute to each destination image component and, as a result, decide to share their comments on social media. Given that user-generated content influences the customers' decision-making process (Jalilvand et al., 2012), interest focuses on visitors' reviews on the largest online network of travel consumers, i.e. the TripAdvisor (O'Connor, 2010).

Xiang & Gretzel (2010) recognize TripAdvisor as the most 'popular' social-media website that contains travel-related content. Thus, the main objective of this study is to determine visitors' interpretation of the destination image components, according to a destination image framework, as recognized by visitors' comments on TripAdvisor. The selected framework has previously been tested by San Martín & Rodríguez del Bosque (2008) using a conventional quantitative method. In more detail, these authors built upon a thorough literature review and extracted from previous studies (e.g. Echtner & Ritchie, 1991; Gallarza et al., 2002; Jenkins, 1999) cognitive attributes with a different position in the functional-psychological continuum of destination image. As a result, the present study seeks to recognize cognitive image evaluations relevant to infrastructures and the socioeconomic environment (e.g. shopping facilities, quality accommodation, safety), the atmosphere (e.g. peaceful/ relaxing place) and the natural environment (e.g. beautiful landscapes, natural parks). Similarly, affective image attributes were assessed on the basis of San Martín & Rodríguez del Bosque's (2008) model (e.g. arousing, exciting, pleasant destination). San Martín & Rodríguez del Bosque's study (2008) was developed on a qualitative and quantitative basis, analysing the findings of both interview and questionnaires. Alternatively, the present study is built upon a qualitative approach and the findings of a content analysis. Furthermore, the study incorporates the conative behavioural component, as investigated by Chon (1990) and Tasci et al. (2007). Thus, the study instrument recognizes intention to revisit and/ or recommend as well.

The study analyzes the comments already posted, thus strategically includes a social media source for research data collection and analysis (Zeng & Gerritsen, 2014). To be specific, destination image-search keywords link is of critical importance to destination image studies and online marketing (Pan and Li, 2011). Therefore, a content analysis of TripAdvisor posts on the "Historic Areas of Istanbul" page was carried out using specific keywords. Keywords included adjectives related to the affective image of the city (e.g. arousing, pleasant), as well as attributes relevant to the cognitive component (e.g. tourist and general infrastructure together with additional tangible and intangible attributes referring to the natural and socioeconomic environment). Finally, the conative component was assessed with the help of keywords and phrases revealing intention to revisit and/ or recommend (e.g. a place everyone should visit). In June 2014 the respective page counted more than 3,400 reviews, was ranked first among the 640 pages referring to attractions in Istanbul and had received the 2014 Certificate of

Excellence on the Historic Sites certificate type. Therefore, a study focusing on the destination image of Istanbul is developed based upon the content analysis of respective postings and comments on the Historic Areas of Istanbul.

In 2013 the highest number of international arrivals in Istanbul occurred between May and September (Culture and Tourism Directorate of Istanbul, 2014). Consequently, analysis includes the 203 reviews posted between June and September 2013. The reviews are collected and content-analyzed using thematic content analysis (i.e. cognitive, affective, and conative). In order to maintain consistency, the coding process is conducted separately by the two authors. An inter-rater reliability check was then conducted by the other author. The inter-rater reliability check and the content analysis reveals that there is no need for a more detailed classification of the three destination image components (e.g. differentiate between tourism and general infrastructure in the case of the cognitive component). However, distinguishing between negative and positive image traits is essential in order to provide significant input for the destination and country brand in general. It is important to mention that some words (e.g. *"busy"*, *"crowded"*) are categorized according to the meaning of the respective sentence. In some cases, for instance, such words refer to the urban area and in others to monuments/ heritage sites. Thus, in the analysis, the former is included as a review on the natural environment and the latter on the cultural environment. Given the current status of research, next to the content analysis, a descriptive analysis is also considered essential.

Findings

People posting on TripAdvisor have the option not to share their demographic characteristics, yet information about their nationality and gender is often available. In detail, out of the 203 reviews put in the scope, 78 of the reviewers do not state their gender. Yet, out of the 61.68% of the reviewers who state their gender, 77 are men and 48 women. On the other hand, the vast majority of the reviewers (i.e. 86.21%) share information on their country-of-origin. In sum, there are 176 reviewers who mention their country of origin. Almost one in three reviewers comes from North America, since 45 and 20 reviewers respectively state being U.S. and Canadian nationals. Moreover, 25 reviewers come from European countries, with an additional number of 33 reviewers coming specifically from the U.K.. Finally, 30 reviewers come from Asian countries, 17 from Australia, 3 from South Africa and 3 more from South American countries.

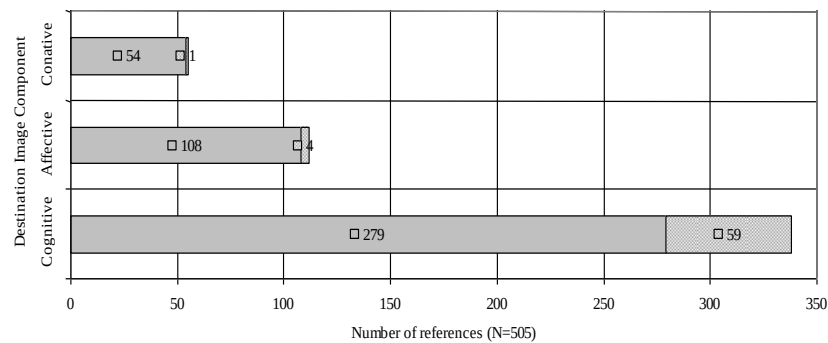
Preliminary analysis reveals that in the 203 reviews, 505 references to destination image components can be detected. However, as depicted in Table 1, this does not mean that reviewers comment on all three components. In fact, 66.93% of the references focus on cognitive destination image, while no more than 10.89% of the references are about the conative component.

Table 1. Summary of number of references per destination image component.

Destination Image component	Frequencies (N=505)	Percentage (%)
Cognitive	338	66,93
Affective	112	22,18
Conative	55	10,89

The next step includes an attempt to reveal whether reviewers tend to share their positive or negative experiences and beliefs about the destination. Analysis points out that 87.33% of the references (i.e. 441 out of 505 references in total) positively evaluate the destination. In detail, 279 of the positive comments refer to cognitive, 108 to affective and 54 to conative destination image (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Negative and positive comments about the three image components.



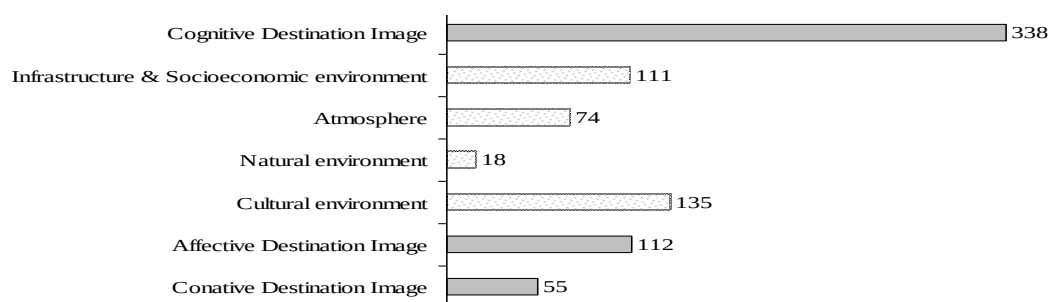
When focusing on those reviewers who have provided information about their gender, Table 2 below indicates that 79.22% of the male reviewers (i.e. 61 out of 77) tend to post only positive reviews. On the other hand, the respective percentage for female reviewers is 64.58% (i.e. 31 out of 48). In fact, women are twice more likely to post both negative and positive comments than men, since 31.25% of the female reviewers recognized both negative and positive aspects of the destination in their comments, as opposed to 14.29% of the male reviewers (i.e. 15 out of 48 and 11 out of 77 respectively). Finally, 2 of the 7 tourists who post negative comments are female reviewers (i.e. an American tourist taken advantage by a taxi driver and an Australian tourist, victim of a pick-pocket). Male tourists comment negatively on cognitive aspects and state being dissatisfied by the crowded, busy and noisy city.

Table 2. Distribution of positive and negative comments.

	Male	Female	Total
Only positive comments	61	31	92
Only negative comments	5	2	7
Positive & negative comments	11	15	26
Total	77	48	125

At this point, a more in-depth approach to the comments is considered necessary. Particularly in the case of cognitive destination image, the pattern seems in line with the framework developed by San Martín & Rodríguez del Bosque (2008), as portrayed in Figure 2.

Figure 2. An insight into destination image components.



Most reviewers post comments on cognitive image, leading to a total of 338 references to relevant aspects. In further detail, there are 66 positive references regarding infrastructure and the socioeconomic environment. These references mention the *location*, the *safe* and *'walkable' area*, the *friendly people*, the *good shopping* and *transportation* alternatives. On the other hand, 45 negative comments are recognized and mainly refer to the *traffic*, the *long waiting queues* as well as street sellers (*'pushy sellers'*) and *taxi drivers*. Additionally, 71 positive comments refer to the atmosphere, and repeatedly use adjectives such as *cosmopolitan*, *restful*, *calming*, *peaceful*, and *romantic*. Istanbul, in short, is identified as *"a beautiful city [where one can] walk and feel the authentic features"*. The negative comments about atmosphere were only 3 and refer to the fact that the area is *"very noisy"*. Moreover, Istanbul is *"very Middle Eastern: This was a shocker since Istanbul is usually presented as a mostly European city"*. Furthermore, 10 positive comments describe the natural environment (fauna/flora, landscapes, and parks) and refer mostly to the *parks* of Istanbul (i.e. both on the European and Anatolian side of the city), the *tree-line country yard*, and the *sunsets*. Visitors also point out the importance of *"Choosing the right season"*. The negative comments are only 8. In detail, 3 of the negative reviews are posted by British and 2 by Australian tourists. Finally, 3 reviews refer to the *"crowded urban environment"* and 1 to the *"busy"* landscapes. Negative comments include suggestions to avoid the hot months as well. As also depicted in Figure 2, the vast majority of the comments (i.e. 132 references) focus on the cultural environment (e.g. cultural attractions, cultural activities, and customs). Most references are about the cultural sites of the Golden Horn area, such as Aghia Sofia, the mosques, other heritage sites and museums. For instance, visitors, among others, mention: *"[the] historic areas are fantastic"* (Australia, female); *"history worth to see"* (Belgium, male); *"A glimpse of two millennia history!"* (U.S.A., male). In addition, 9 positive comments refer to *food* and 5 to the Turkish bath (*hammam*). On the other hand, the negative comments are only 3 and refer to *"[the] terrible state of neglect"* (South Africa, male), *"the dress-code women must be aware of"* (Brazil, male) and Aghia Sophia as an experience that provides *"poor value for money"* (U.K., male).

Seeking to analyze more the affective component, 108 positive comments are identified. Istanbul is characterized as *beautiful*, *magnificent*, *interesting*, *great* or simply *nice*. Some stronger affective image components (e.g. *heart touching*, *surprise*, *wonderful*, *outstanding*, *excellent*, *WOW*, *awesome*, *inspiring*, *astonished*, *unique*, *fun*, *breath-taking*) are recorded as well. The word *"love"* is used from 17 reviewers, while 10 more evaluate Istanbul as an *"amazing"* destination. Finally, a U.S. female tourist characteristically writes: *"I fell in love"*. The affective component also includes 4 negative comments. In detail, a British female tourist negatively comments on the street-sellers and states she *"disliked"* the city. Furthermore, a male tourist writes that *"It will not be a transformative experience"* but adds that *"the top three attractions are conveniently located and you must see them"*. Additionally, a Canadian tourist characterizes the city as *clean* and *busy* and the people as *friendly*, yet adds that the city *"isn't anything of special interest"*. Finally, an Australian female tourist posts mostly negative comments referring to the people and service and writes *"[there were] people constantly wanting our money, bad taxi service and food"*. In general she comments that she was *"quite disheartened"*, but impressed by the rich *culture* and *history*.

Proceeding to the conative component, 54 positive references can be recognized. Different levels of excitement can be detected, as reflected with the intention to revisit or recommend in the following examples: *"...and off you go!"*, *"[it is a destination] to experience and visit!"*, *"[Istanbul is] not to be missed, recommended and...will return"*, *"[I will] definitely go back!"*, *"[I] can't wait to go back"*, *"[Istanbul is a city] to discover and observe..."*. Particularly tourists in 8 comments say that *"[one] must visit [Istanbul]"* and 12 more times tourists comment that *"[Istanbul is] worth to see"*. The only negative comment connected to conative destination image comes from a female Australian tourist who was mugged and advises potential travellers to *"Be careful!"*.

At this point it is worth mentioning that during June 2013 the Taksim Square/ Gezi Park Protests in the European center of Istanbul were taking place, not very far from the Historic Areas of the Golden Horn. However, in total, only 4 comments are about the protests. These comments mention that there is no problem with the protests and riots (i.e. *"We didn't notice the protests"*) and add positive comments regarding affective destination image (e.g. *"amazing city"*).

Discussion and Conclusions

Xiang & Gretzel (2010) argue that virtual community websites are more closely tied to the *"core"* tourism businesses such as attractions, activities, and accommodations, while consumer review sites are related to shopping, hotels and restaurants, and, social networking, blogs, and photo/video sharing sites with events, nightlife, and parks. On the other hand, analysis of the TripAdvisor posts on the Historical Areas of Istanbul

reveals that attractions, activities and other elements of the cognitive component are considered significant to be mentioned from a destination image point-of-view. In fact, characteristics of the cultural environment constitute the component which received the largest number of references. The reasoning probably justifying reviewers' focus on such elements can be found at the fact that they are rating the attraction entitled "Historical Areas of Istanbul". Scholars also mention the significance of capturing the "niche" image held by only a few tourists (Pan & Li, 2011). Yet, tourists' comments on TripAdvisor support the significance of more generic destination products and overall atmosphere. In specific, tourists may comment more on cognitive aspects, but in their comments they refer to aspects covering a large variety of characteristics (e.g. culture, people, atmosphere). This finding is in line with works on destination and place branding (e.g. Kladou & Kehagias, 2014) and provides further evidence to the importance of collaboration among destination stakeholders.

According to Anholt (2004), tourism is only one of the six dimensions of the place/ country brand hexagon and it interacts with the other five dimensions (i.e. culture & heritage, people, governance, export brands, investment & immigration). As a result, the study is embarked upon previous studies investigating overlaps between destination and country image (e.g. Heslop & Papadopoulos, 1993, Nadeau et al., 2008, Kladou et al., 2014) as portrayed in the descriptions travelers choose to express when reviewing a particular destination. Findings reveal that only 4 reviews posted on the "Historical Areas of Istanbul" webpage between June-September 2013 mention the protests and events centered on Taksim square. On the other hand, more reviews refer to negative attributes with a more long-lasting effect on the urban environment and visiting experience (e.g. heavy traffic, sellers' and taxi drivers' behavior). One of the most important challenges in the promotion of a tourist destination is to recognize its strengths and weaknesses in the individual's mind (San Martin, & Rodriguez del Bosque, 2008). Thus, DMOs should develop different actions to maintain the strengths of the tourist destination, elaborate on the positive comments, and improve the attributes where main weaknesses are identified.

Findings further suggest that reviewers, especially men, tend to share their positive comments more than the negative ones. Additionally, reviews which explicitly refer to the conative destination image include only one negative post. In corporate marketing literature, affective associations, as expressed with emotional evaluations, are referred to as attitudes toward products (Shimp, 1989). Moreover, the various attitudes which the consumer develops of the product features are compensatory, meaning that a negative attitude on one attribute can offset positive feelings on others and vice versa (Gross & Peterson, 1987). Thus, a consumer forms an overall attitude toward a product by balancing his or her attitude combinations (Leisen, 2001). Similarly, a given tourism destination might consist of natural attractions, cultural attractions, and other features (e.g. San Martin & Rodriguez del Bosque, 2008). Given that the overall attitude toward a destination depends on the 'balanced' outcome of perceived experience with the perceived importance of the destination characteristics, one may conclude that online reviewers tend to be positively inclined toward their visiting experience in Istanbul.

Despite the importance of recognizing the images tourists have of a destination (e.g. (Chen & Uysal, 2002; Pike & Ryan, 2004) and the increasing significance of online information sources and social media (e.g. Buhalis & Law, 2008), there is a paucity of studies investigating destination image in an online context. The present study contributes to the literature by assessing the three image components as presented on TripAdvisor by tourists who chose to share their opinion with potential travelers and reveals the central importance of cognitive image. However, this study has several limitations, which derive from its exploratory nature and attempt to analyze existing posts and reviews on the destination rather than develop a new study instrument and investigate the responses of a fragmented sample. For instance, reviewers often avoided stating their nationality and gender. Moreover, actual visitors rarely included comments on all destination image dimensions. As a result, analysis could not go as far as to investigate the causal relationships between the destination image components or recognize different segments based on image evaluations and demographics.

In addition to the lack of comprehensiveness due to the narrow focus on the three destination image components and destinations selected, the data reflect only a snapshot of reviews posted in English on TripAdvisor. Therefore, assessing Istanbul destination image in a more collective manner by including TripAdvisor reviews on other Istanbul pages (e.g. Beyoglu, Taksim reviews) could add to the complete reflection of Istanbul as a destination, include tourist evaluations related to other country/ place brand dimensions, and provide evidence of the importance and impact of the Taksim square incidents to the international traveler. Furthermore, evaluating additional destinations in 'times of crises' could add to the literature related to *place branding* and *crisis management in a tourism content*. This will also allow for additional comparisons and analysis of the online tourism domain beyond the context used in this study.

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Study on Place Construction in the Context of Heritage Tourism ——Taking the “Kaiping Diaolou and Villages” as an Example¹

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Abstract

Since the 1970s, economic and cultural globalization has become the macroscopic context for the reconstruction of places. The influence of heritage tourism on places can be regarded as an important indication of the dialectical relationship between globalization and localization. During the heritage movement and tourism development, places are reconstructed in the contest among different forces for heritage attribution and representation. After the successful application of the “Kaiping Diaolou and Villages” for world heritage, the development of Kaiping as a heritage site has triggered much discussion. The issue proposed by this article is how the “Diaolou Country” signified by the Diaolou has been built up as a new image of Kaiping. This study uses such methods as literature analysis, observation and interview to analyze the placeconstruction process of Kaiping in the context of heritage tourism with focus on subjective feelings of residents. It has been found that with the top-down push of the government, the Diaolou has been forcibly established as a highly symbolized local token, while tourism has further made the Diaolou as a tourism landscape and the Diaolou Country behind it. This is mainly shown in that: (1) The Diaolou has become a local symbol under the top-down push. It is found and signified by the government, and recognized and interpreted by outsiders. The heritage movement as a governmental decision receives no response from folk forces, which deviates from the original intention of place identification by local groups to some extent;(2) The Diaolou chosen by the heritage movement and heritage tourism has been transplanted to different fields to represent Kaiping; however, though Diaolou has been disseminated as a symbol, it fails to fully represent local cultural connotations; tourism is consuming the symbol continually yet expands the blind zone out of the symbol; and(3) In the tourism pattern of sightseeing, the Diaolou has been shaped as a tourism landscape. The textural construction of tourism products is designed to meet the curiosity of tourists, while marketing tools like movies, television and tourism have remade the Diaolou in meaning, and also remade Kaiping as the “Diaolou Country”. As a hollow place, the “Diaolou Country” can accommodate outside imaginations more easily.

Keywords: Place; place construction; heritage tourism; the heritage movement; Kaiping Diaolou and Villages

Introduction

Tourism and placec Construction

The term “place” has become one of the most thought-provoking geographical concepts for its rich connotations, deep implications, interwoven academic threads and diverse metaphors. Within various understandings of “place”, a common understanding is that a place is not only a space for human activity, but also the meaning created by human-place interactions (Wright, 1947). For this reason, place is not homogenous and static, but diversified, open, and in continuous place-making (Gupta, 1997).

Since the 1980s, economic and cultural globalization has become an important context for local restructuring and remaking. Globalization has given rise to time-space compression (Harvey, 1989), so that the inherent social and cultural boundaries of a place are threatened by forces that go beyond traditional spatial restrictions. The economic and cultural impacts of tourism on a destination can be a local force of globalization. Earlier studies often think that tourism would “destroy” locality through oriented cultural events and the construction of landscape resources (Kneafsey, 1998). As scholars began to adopt global-local dialectical thoughts(Dredge, 2003), people began to realize that places influenced by tourism are not simply dissolved or revived, but experience a new trend of construction in terms of both content and structure (De Bres, 2001; Ma Guoqing, 2000).

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From a microscopic perspective, groups and individuals in different positions of a power structure have different or even conflicting imaginations about places (Massey, 1995), so places are negotiable through negotiations among different parties (Dovey, 2009; Hoskins, 2010). The development of tourism has changed local social relations and power structure, and places become complex in content and meaning (Kneafsey, 2000). Therefore, the most important thing in current studies is to reproduce the place construction process, and to analyze the roles and practices of all parties in this process.

Her Heritage and place construction

The heritage movement that has drawn extensive attention in recent years is originally an important means of local response to globalization. Heritage which has intrinsic connections with places is local logically. Local groups are creators and inheritors of heritage, and ought to have the power of domination (Howard, 2006). The original intention of heritage recognition is to strengthen the identification of heritage holders by preserving endangered heritage (Shackley, 1998), and to avoid the marginalization of local population in local representation.

However, with the rise of the global “heritage movement”, heritage inevitably encounters the national or even global system. According to the definition from the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, heritage not only belongs to a certain group of people and a country, but is also inherited by society as a whole. The development of heritage tourism reflects such forces as power, capital, technology and media directly, and the complex situation with the involvement of more and more stakeholders (Richter, 1997; Peng, 2008). The issue of attribution further points to the representation of heritage. Some scholars have pointed out that the contest of stakeholders for the authorship of heritage is the root of everything (Peckham, 2003). Accordingly, in the practice of the heritage movement and heritage tourism, deviations from intrinsic connections between heritage and places have emerged. Discussions have been triggered on if heritage can return to places or not among scholars (Edensor, 1997; Ten, 2007; Labadi, 2010; Smith, 2003; Evans, 2002; Shackley, 1998; Takamitsu, 2011).

Overview of the Case Place and Research Methodology

Overview of the case place

Located in Jiangmen City, Guangdong Province, Kaiping is a well-known hometown of overseas Chinese in China. Located in Jiangmen City, Guangdong Province, Kaiping is a well-known hometown of overseas Chinese with an area of 1659 kilometers and population of 680 thousands. Diaolou is built by the returned overseas Chinese during late 19th and early 20th centuries as watch tower which is with solid walls, small and narrow iron door and windows, and even with embrasures on the walls and observation tower on the top. Diaolou is built with two purposes. Firstly, Diaolou is utilized in defense of robbery, because of chaos public order and banditry in the late 19th centuries in China. Secondly, Diaolou has function in flood prevention due to the low-lying land and floods occurrence in Kaiping area. These multi-storied defensive countryside buildings were good both for defense against bandits and for refuge from the floods. Most of the Diaolou are funded to build by the returned overseas Chinese, within which are also embedded the memories of the overseas Chinese history.

In the new era, scholars generally think that relations between overseas Chinese and their hometowns have changed dramatically in terms of population of migration, economic exchanges and perceptions of hometown (Long Denggao, 1999; Zhou Daming, 2012; Wang Lianmao, 2006), and their connections with hometowns seem to be weakening. A new way is needed for places like Kaiping to maintain the network and characteristics of the society of “overseas Chinese”. Thus, the “Kaiping Diaolou and Villages” with overseas Chinese history and culture has become world cultural heritage, and the Diaolou has become a focus of concern and core resource. The world heritage application which was first submitted in 2001 is accepted successfully in 2008. The “Kaiping Diaolou and Villages” has become the only world cultural heritage site of Guangdong Province.

After the successful world heritage application, the government founded Kaiping Diaolou Tourism Development Co., Ltd. (Diaolou Company for short), and the four core heritage villages of Zili Village, Majianglong, Jinjiangli and Sanmenli have open for the public successively. After the market blow-out during 2007-2008, the restriction of the dot-line sightseeing tourism pattern has emerged gradually. Since 2011, after the production of popular movies and TV plays like *Let the Bulletins Fly* and *The Grandmaster*, Diaolou Company has initiated marketing campaigns actively. However, Diaolou tourism is still at a public sightseeing stage for the moment, and is under the great social and economic pressure from heritage preservation.

Nevertheless, the “Diaolou” have become a local symbol in internal and external official publicity. Despite sharing the title “hometown of overseas Chinese” with the Wuyi area, Kaiping has an external image exclusively —“Diaolou Country”. The name of “Kaiping Diaolou and Villages” is more widely known, which means that more people are participating in the construction and communication of the “Diaolou Country” image, and that the Kaiping people have to share their former ancestral estate Diaolou and their hometown Kaiping with the outside. How do different forces shape the “Diaolou Country”? What is the response of the local residents to it? What will happen to Kaiping in the future as a destination of heritage tourism?

Research methodology

This study is a qualitative study that integrates methods such as literature research, participatory and non-participatory observation, and in-depth interview.

At the end of 2011, one author contacted Diaolou Company, and visited a number of villages and scenic zones, with purpose of acquiring a basic understanding of the process of the world heritage application and the development of Kaiping here after. At the beginning of 2012, the author lived together with villagers in Majianglong Village for half a month to learn the current situation of Diaolou tourism development in depth. The core materials of this study were from the surveys during 2012-2014. In this period, the author went to Kaiping City three times for a total duration of 23 days, during which the third survey lasts 15 days (see Table 1). In this process, the author not only lived close with villagers in Zili and other villages to learn the Diaolou, Kaiping and “Diaolou Country” from their perspectives, but also contacted other residents and agencies in Kaiping City through them. Final interviewees included residents of Kaiping City, villagers in scenic zones, overseas Chinese, domestic migrants, village officials, clan elites, tourism employees, civil servants, members of NGOs, relevant experts, etc. Each interview usually lasted over 20 minutes, and each major interview lasted over 45 minutes. This article is based on 64 interviews. Due to the limited length of this article, information on the interviewees whose speeches are quoted directly are listed here (see Table 2).

Table 1. Overall survey process

Time	Nature	Venue (subject)
2011.11.19-2011.11.21	Fieldwork	Majianglong, Zili Village, Jinjiangli, Sanmenli, Chikan
2011.12.20-2011.12.26	Fieldwork	Majianglong
2012.01.06-2012.01.14	Fieldwork	Majianglong
2012.11.02-2012.11.5	Fieldwork	Majianglong, Zili Village
2013.01.18-2013.01.20	Fieldwork	Jinjiangli, Sanmenli, Zili Village, Qiangya Precinct
2013.08.25-2013.09.09	Fieldwork	Zili Village, Qiangya Precinct, Liyuan, Chikan
2012.09.09-2013.10.07	Data collection	<i>Guzhai Monthly</i> , www.jyie.com , www.fangshiwang.com , news, online comments, literatures, movies, TV plays, etc.
2013.10.07-2014.03.21	Telephone/online interview, data collection	Kaiping <i>Diaolou</i> Tourism Development Co., Ltd., Jiangmen Municipal Tourism Bureau, Kaiping Municipal Overseas Chinese Bureau, Alumni Association of Qiangya High School, Kaiping <i>Diaolou</i> and Villages Special Foundation, <i>Guzhai Monthly</i> Editorial Office, Suyuantang, overseas Chinese, domestic migrants, tourists, etc.

Table 2. Information on some interviewees

No.	Identity	Remarks
Z01	Deputy Director-general of the Jiangmen Municipal Tourism Bureau	Former Director-general of the Kaiping Municipal Tourism Bureau, main participant in world heritage application
Z03	Staff member B of the Kaiping Municipal Government	
Z08	General Manager of <i>Diaolou</i> Company	
Z12	Staff member of the Marketing Dept. of <i>Diaolou</i> Company	
Z13	Villager A of Zili Village	Village head
Z20	Villager H of Zili Village	Peddler
Z21	Villager G of Zili Village	Migrant worker
Z30	Villager of Gaozui Village	Retired teacher
Z32	Villager B of Tangkou Village	Enthusiast of clan history research, origin in Miaobian Village
Z34	Resident A of Kaiping City	Formerly living in Chikan Town
Z35	Resident B of Kaiping City	Origin in Tangkou Village
Z42	Resident I of Kaiping City	Vice President of Kaiping Arts Institute, ash sculptor
Z44	Resident K of Kaiping City	<i>Diaolou</i> architecture researcher, NGO head, participant in world heritage application
Z46	Resident M of Kaiping City	Media worker
Z47	Resident N of Kaiping City	
Z60	Participant in <i>Diaolou</i> protection	Secretary-general of the Kaiping <i>Diaolou</i> and Villages Special Foundation, overseas Chinese in Canada, now living in Zhendong Jilu
Z64	Tourist B	Participant in Taishan-Kaiping two-day tour

Construction of the “Diaolou Country”

Top-down construction

Application as a governmental act

Before becoming a world heritage, Diaolou is thought as a symbol of Kaiping by few people. Historical evolution has rendered the Diaolou useless, no one builds any Diaolou today, and people rarely live in them. Compared to other well-known buildings, the Diaolou as civil residence are just too common. The too short distance weakens perceptions, just as local people say: “No one thinks there is anything to say about the Diaolou, because they can be found everywhere. (Z20)”

The “rediscovery” of the Diaolou is a governmental act, and the successful application of the Diaolou for world heritage was also driven in a top-down approach. Before the application, the Diaolou were unknown, and were even not protected cultural relics of any scale. Within merely one year, 1,833 Diaolou were registered and became state-level cultural relics. This almost unprecedented operation in China’s history of world heritage

application must have been strongly backed by the government. Since the beginning of the world heritage application in 2000, the Kaiping Municipal Government has been the major advocated and actor, and the Guangdong Provincial Government and central government are important supporters. In the state-level selection, the Kaiping Diaolou could be chosen due to their strong connections with political factors behind “overseas Chinese”. A local resident who visited Li Mei, the official who proposed world heritage application for the Diaolou first, said: “This place is the hometown of overseas Chinese, where unity is critical. She said that she had handled world heritage application in many places, and such sites should be positioned to the state level. (Z60)”

While residents have no idea about “heritage”, the world heritage application became a governmental decision. The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage points out explicitly, “Cultural identification is key to the establishment and preservation of nonmaterial cultural heritage, ... and the basic starting point is that it meets the need for identity confirmation.” In fact, while the application was proposed, more overseas Chinese and villagers were still in the panic left over from history: “Someone in our village talked to overseas Chinese but no common understanding could be reached. They asked why the houses returned to them should be taken back. (Z13)” The Diaolou task force spent lots of efforts persuading overseas Chinese and villagers in the process of Diaolou trusteeship and village reconstruction.

Heritage that is not understood

Diaolou which is already listed as a world heritage is not fully understood by the local residents. During the application, though the government organized a series of events, such as the Diaolou Tourism Culture Festival, World Cultural Heritage Day and Diaolou Preservation Month, these events played a role in external publicity mainly other than internal persuasion. The author has seen from publicity materials then that the government did not explain the connotations of heritage in depth to the public, but stressed its potential economic benefits mainly. This has resulted in misunderstandings of the “world heritage application” among the public, as a resident said: “All this is done by the government, and money will also be collected by it, so what has it to do with us? (Z35)” Due to the enormous financial pressure from the world heritage application, the government also initiated an extensive donation program, making the application more like a “political assignment” in which all people participate “passively”, so that people have a stronger sense of disempowerment. A local reporter in Kaiping said: “The government has made the decision, so what can we do? Many government officials have told their friends and relatives not to donate money in order to avoid waste. (Z46)”

Various opinions is given by experts on whether Diaolou has protential for world heritage. Many persons who participated in the world heritage application said that due to the special nature of the Diaolou, domestic experts highly doubted the feasibility of the application, and the confidence in the application finally came from the opinions from the evaluation experts of the United Nations. In the eyes of the Kaiping people, expert involvement is also an indication of the political nature of the world heritage application: “The experts are on the side of the government. Since the government is utilitarian, they are also utilitarian. (Z47)” Residents felt that “heritage” was not selected and defined by them. This has resulted in their non-confidence in local culture. When the author asked why the “foreign experts” thought that the Diaolou were good, a government official answered: “They think that we learn from them, so they of course think the Diaolou are good. (Z03)”

More residents think that “world cultural heritage” has given value to the Diaolou, other than the value of the Diaolou has made them world cultural heritage, which is an inverted perception of heritage value. “I still think that China has a history of 5,000 years, so there is little to say about this 100-year history. However, when it becomes heritage, there is something to say. (Z03)”

Diaolou as a symbol

City Image with the halo of heritage

After the successful world heritage application, the Diaolou naturally became a symbol of Kaiping City, and represents Kaiping in all aspects. The “Diaolou Country” and “world cultural heritage city” became the external synonyms of Kaiping, and the city image of Kaiping began to associate closely with the Diaolou. A Diaolou-style archway was built on the city square, there are two small Diaolou in the center of Tanjiang Bridge reconstructed in 2011, and even the guardrails on both sides of the Tanjiang River are of the Diaolou style (as shown in Figure 1). In external publicity, the Kaiping Municipal Government highly stresses the image as a “world cultural heritage city”, and has been using the Diaolou feature. For example, the whole home page of the website of the Kaiping Municipal Investment Promotion Bureau, and Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation

Bureau is a poster of the Diaolou, and the introduction to the textile base on Kaiping's textile portal website also combines the Diaolou with jeans. Such recognition of the Diaolou as a symbol is no longer a governmental act. The author has even found a mineral water brand called "Diaolou Country".



Figure 1. Diaolou-style architectural components in the urban area of Kaiping
(Source: shot by the author)

A simple symbol which can be extracted from a complex social identities of a destination is chosen as an overall image of a city during a social symbolization mechanism for a tourist destination.(Xia Xinyu, 2008). However, Kaiping's tourism development is based on the premise of the heritage movement. The value of the Diaolou has been recognized in the process of the world heritage application, other than in a bottom-up manner. After this unity is recognized, it is transferred to various social fields semi-consciously or unconsciously (Xia Xinyu, 2008), or even stereotyped.

The extension application of the "Diaolou" feature is not only stereotyping but also symbolization away from connotations. The world heritage here is the "Kaiping Diaolou and Villages" other than the "Diaolou".

Currently, the villages are ignored, and the history and culture behind the heritage are not presented. Tourists lack understanding of Kaiping: "We just walked around several scenic spots and returned to the urban area at night. However, we have just heard of the Diaolou, and think that there is nothing interesting in the urban area. (Z64)"Some tourists even don't know that the city in which the Diaolou are located is "Kaiping"after the end of their Diaolou tours.

Hollow place under symbolic consumption

The excessively intensive attention to the Diaolou has resulted in more "blind zones". The Diaolou valued as the world cultural heritage are actually those in the four demonstrative sites. In addition to this, a large number of scattered Diaolou are still unoccupied. Local architectural experts think that the value of "cottages", which are also buildings of overseas Chinese like the Diaolou, has not been recognized widely by the government and society (Z44).

Tourism developers have strengthened the Diaolou image that has been accepted by tourists though the landscape is created and governed by this symbol. In Miaobian Village next to Zili Village, the "Diaozhuang" scenic zone has been developed (as shown in Figure 2). This scenic zone was formerly the "Jiu'erfang Public Memorial Hall" (Qiangya School), a special place combining an ancestral hall with a school funded by overseas Chinese in the Fang's family. In 2010, an entrepreneur contracted and expanded the ancestral hall to include a temple and an imitated Diaolou (as shown in Figure 3). Although the school has been relocated and the ancestral hall is no longer used frequently, it remains a symbol of the clan and a carrier of memories, and has special significance and value. A member of the Fang's family who was collecting information on Qiangya School said: "Do we have to call it a Diaolou? This is the ancestral hall of our village and the place where we studied. It carries history and memories. However, it has been made like this and can no longer be restored. (Z32)"



Figure 2. Gate of Diaozhuang and transformed ancestral hall
(Source: shot by the author)



Figure 3. Diaolou-style buildings in Diaozhuang
(Source: shot by the author)

Landscapes made by tourism

Diaolou in the context of novelty seeking

Heritage makes Diaolou famous with the pressure of being shared. Literatures, dramas, movies and TV series emerge with context of Diaolou. The development of heritage tourism has turned them into consumed landscapes. While the local Kaiping people are unable to control the construction of tourism products, the contest for the power of interpretation arises between local residents and outsiders. Local Diaolou researchers in Kaiping said: “Even the tour guides are from Hunan Province, and they know little about the Diaolou. There is no choice, because they are partners of travel agencies. (Z32)” A tour guide of Diaolou Company responded in this way: “Just go and ask those villagers, who know even less than us. (Z61)”.

The publicity of Kaiping’s history in heritage tourism which is a continuation of the heritage application

materials satisfies the mental novelty seeking of the tourists at the same time. What tour guides communicate is just very tiny segments of historical information. When tourists ask “why these buildings were preserved during the Cultural Revolution”, tour guides would suddenly become speechless. In subsequent introduction, what is stressed is still that the Diaolou were built at high costs, and had luxurious and advanced interior decoration, such as “cement” and “Italian iron windows”. In the author’s surveys, when the Diaolou was mentioned, tourists would associate such terms as “West”, “rich man” and “local lord”. For tourists, tourism is a leisure experience that they do not require strongly to be “true”. However, for the local people, this means something different. A respondent verified information intentionally: “When I saw the photo of that lady in a Diaolou in Liyuan, I felt familiar. When I checked it back home, I found that it was a schoolgirl of the Republican China period other than the fourth wife. (Z42)” Most tourists lack knowledge of the history and culture behind the Diaolou, let alone Kaiping. The “Kaiping Diaolou and Villages” are appreciated by tourists as novel buildings only. For the local people, representing the Diaolou is to pursue identification, and deviations in tourist perceptions would make them feel lost. A retired teacher said, “Giving publicity to the Diaolou is to make everyone change minds. Overseas Chinese do have contributions to this. However, when mentioning overseas Chinese, they would say, ‘Ah, aren’t they those landlords who went abroad then?(Z30)”

Landscapes based on external imaginations

In order to maintain routine operations and fill up the financial gap for Diaolou maintenance, Diaolou Company aims to improve the awareness of its scenic zone to secure tourist volume and revenue. For this reason, an executive of Diaolou Company said reluctantly that, “Some things are too perfect to realize. We have to add something new to them to ‘activate’ them. (Z08)”

The special history of Kaiping justify tourism developers to incorporate Western and reminiscence elements. The company held a classical car exhibition in Liyuan, grown Galsang flowers extensively, built the Dream Island for photo-taking, etc. The Dream Island is composed mainly of a Catholic church, the Rome Square, Ancient Castle Square, Dutch windmills, flowers, etc. (as shown in Figure 4). An executive of the company explained, “The Dream Island gathers scenes of different countries and things of overseas Chinese from different places. (Z12)” For Galsang flowers from highlands (as shown in Figure 5), he answered: “Galsang flowers are from Tibet, which may be unknown to many people. However, this also shows the openness of our Kaiping. (Z12)”



Figure 4. Promotional photo of the Dream Island
(Source: Management Office of the Liyuan Scenic Zone)



Figure 5. Poster of LiyuanGalsang flowers
(Source: Management Office of the Liyuan Scenic Zone)

Movies and TV series have given tourists many imaginations unrelated to or deviating from the history of Kaiping. Tourists are constantly projecting what they see in movies onto the Diaolou and Kaiping. A tourist thought Zili Village was the private garden of *Let the Bulletins Fly* after visiting it, “I think it is the same as what I saw in the movie. All Diaolou are ancient castles built by the same boss. (Z64)”. Sometimes, such projection is not entirely ungrounded, and even local people cannot deny such project in perceptions. However, local identification exists on both the perceptive and emotional levels, while emotions may conflict with perceptions. A respondent said, “Someone once asked me about ‘ghost houses’, and said that he had seen from TV that the Diaolou had ghost stories, but they cannot speak carelessly this way. These are Diaolou other than ghost houses. (Z46)”

Diaolou Company has grafted elements of movies and TV plays onto the history of Kaiping in order to improve awareness. In 2013, the company produced a micro-movie called “JinShanbo Returns Home to See the Diaolou”(as shown in Figure 6), telling the story that JinShanbo, who returned home in glory, was robbed by bandits in Liyuan and Zili Villages, and then rescued by grandmaster Yip Man. Not all Kaiping people identify with such a “Diaolou story”, and distortions of the history and culture of Kaiping is questionable. For example, bandits are fabricated in movies, so someone asked, “What do bandits have to do with these overseas Chinese uncles? (Z34)” Even a local netizen found fault with the movie: “Do you know that the word ‘bo’ means rustic in the Jiangmen dialect? You’re defaming those old overseas Chinese.”



Figure 6. Scene of the micro-movie JinShanbo Returns Home to See the Diaolou
(Source: Management Office of the Liyuan Scenic Zone)

As a tourism landscape, the Diaolou can be seen as the original appearance, but their meaning has been modified to become a “created” landscape. The “Diaolou Country” behind seems not the Kaiping in the memories and eyes of the local people. However, the absence of “place” has allowed “non-place” contents to sneak in. Not only tourists are unable to differentiate the Kaiping in movies and TV plays from that in reality, and even some local people feel doubtful. Someone asked, “Did grandmaster Yip Man go to Kaiping in the early 1940s? (Z64)”

Conclusion and Discussion

This study discusses the construction process of the “Diaolou Country” as a destination of heritage tourism, and finds that with the top-down approach of the government, the Diaolou has been forcibly established as a highly symbolized local token, while tourism has further made the Diaolou as a tourism landscape with the Diaolou Country behind it. This article reproduces the process of world heritage application and tourism landscape creation driven by the government with analyse of the roles of different forces in this process. It explains the reproduction of the form and content of the Diaolou in this process, and reveals the reason why the Diaolou have become a hollow symbol. The analysis is focused on the “Diaolou” because “place” can hardly be embodied emotionally and meaningfully, and once a “place” in people’s minds is formed, there will be a corresponding symbol (Dixon, 2004). Interpreting such a symbol touches the “place” where people live and gain experiences every day (Relph, 1976).

The disempowerment of local groups in the heritage attribution and representation can be found in the study. The heritage movement emerged as a political decision and was operated in the manner of production, while bottom-up forces are absent here. The heritage movement could involve places in the construction of mainstream institutions and enhance the voice of local societies as a cultural means, but oppressed places due to the overemphasis on state-level demand in practice, making local groups feel more lost. When “heritage” encounters “tourism”, local meanings are restructured frequently to cater for the tourism market (Boswell, 2005). The world heritage application was the first textural construction of the Diaolou, and becoming a tourism landscape, especially a landscaped oriented to the sightseeing market, necessitates secondary textural processing. Tourism developers maintain the market by introducing external elements, and think that similar marketing tools are less destructive to Diaolou development. In fact, cultural and meaningful rewriting is also a means of landscape creation. Moreover, the Kaiping Diaolou and Villages could become world cultural heritage because of the overseas Chinese culture behind them. However, the construction of the Diaolou did not connect with the social

relations and culture of overseas Chinese. Thus, a tourism landscape may also be included in the sense of identity by the local people provided it brings sufficient social and economic benefits to the place (Zhao Hongmei, 2011). When there is a great gap between tourism development and the local people's expectations, it would become repugnant on the contrary.

The leaders of the heritage movement and heritage tourism are not entirely unaware of such issues, and even suffer from being unable to find a better way out. Without the push of the government, the Diaolou could have faded out the stage of history quickly. Firstly, the Chinese architectural history with focus on emperors, kings, generals and ministers has pushed folk buildings out of the system of value judgment. Second, people's perceptions of heritage have never broken away from the misconception that the "length of history" is a uniform measure (Z01). If this were not pushed by the government, we could not have foreseen the spontaneous arousal of the "folk" awareness of Diaolou preservation in a short term. Like numerous world heritage sites in China, the Kaiping Diaolou and Villages have also been attributed by tourists and travel agencies as a must-visit popular sightseeing tourist destination. In view of the market structure composed mainly of sightseers, the decision-makers of Diaolou Company have to make decisions that satisfy novelty seeking.

Close tie between heritage and local groups should be valued. This is also why the author has never given up understanding Kaiping, the Diaolou and the "Diaolou Country" in the eyes of the Kaiping people. Heritage includes the identification of local groups with their place, and identification is special heritage itself (Peng Zhaorong, 2008). In the current situation, market power and governmental manipulation make local groups voiceless in the practice of tourism development. In the field of tourism research, scholars are often concerned about tourist feelings of and impacts on places. A scholar once thought that different groups have competitive place identities, but the definition of place identity is always determined by the dominant group (Jeong, 2004). Tourists are in a strong position to construct special implications of places (Scott, 2004). However, asymmetric competitive relations are still competitive relations, and competition also means interaction. In the process of striving for the voice over heritage, interactions among different representations would also act on connections between different groups and a place through heritage. The author has seen in this study that though local groups cannot make a sound in the contest with external forces for the moment, they are developing the willingness to make representation as a part of their local culture and enhancing this ability in practice. This also reflects the in-depth role of a medium of heritage in place construction. The author has also discussed relevant phenomena, and details will be delivered in the completed and imminent studies of the author.

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Segments of Museum Visitors: Evidence from Italy – Work in Progress

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Abstract

This study aims to investigate the various publics of the museums and attempt to segment them using a cluster analysis to explore differences between them with respect to socio-demographic, behavioral and motivational variables. The sample of the study includes museums in Genoa, Italy. A quota sample of 400 museum visitors who accept to contribute in the research will be interviewed. The research instrument includes questions asking about frequency of attendance, reasons for visiting, barriers discouraging museum visits, solutions that would increase visitation. Currently, data collection is going on. The findings will be presented at the conference.

Keywords: Museum visitors; Segmentation; Italy

The Role of Sense of Place in Creating a Unique Tourist Experience to Ensure Tourist Loyalty: The Case of Alexandria

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Abstract:

Tourism industry has an increasing economic importance in recent years, which encourages many tourist destinations to follow some strategies that will enhance the authentic tourist experiences in order to meet the new tourist's needs and to attract more international tourism demand.

In this context, the term "sense of place" has emerged as one of the most important factors that will create a unique tourist experience which will form tourist's satisfaction and ensure their loyalty to the destination.

A large number of tourist destinations all over the world have started to support the concept of "sense of place" in tourism development in order to promote sustainability and to preserve the cultural and sociable identity of these destinations.

Thus, this paper aims to identify the concept of sense of place and its importance, it also highlights the most important components which shape the sense of place with tourists in order to create an authentic tourist experience and increase tourist's loyalty to the destination.

The paper is based on a field study conducted in 2014 through questionnaires with international tourists who visit Alexandria. Findings showed the impact of some demographic characteristics of tourists in shaping their sense of place, also it proved that the tourist's sense of Alexandria as a tourist destination consists of a number of combined elements which perceived by tourists through the activities which participated in it, or through the natural, historical, cultural and sensual features which attached to Alexandria. In addition the results showed that sense of place and tourist experience in Alexandria may also be considered as an important source of satisfaction and loyalty for tourists.

Keywords : Sense of place, Tourist experience, Tourist loyalty, Alexandria

Introduction

In recent years tourism scholars and practitioners have been keenly interested in tourist experiences (Morgan, Lugosi & Ritchie, 2010). Researchers have also made connections between tourism and meanings of place (Bricker & Kerstetter, 2006). What is still needed, however, is to examine tourists' emotional connection to place, philosophical understandings of sense of place, and how to harness these intimate characteristics for place marketing. (McClinchey, 2012)

A sense of place is entirely a matter of smell and instinct. We are looking for something but what? It is a journey to the far interior of the psyche and it either starts or it does not. It can be so simple yet extremely complex. Tourism, as well as leisure and recreation, are often about wonderful experiences in distinct places. Understanding the values and meanings of places, the intangible qualities, can give recreation and tourism managers a holistic perspective of place, one that provides contextual and descriptive data about people's emotional, spiritual and imaginative relationships with place (MacLeod, 2002; Puren, Drewes & Roos, 2007).

Destinations or cities that have names and which are filled with memories, associations and meanings. Places are so completely taken for granted that they need no definition (Relph, 2007).

This study sheds light on the concept of sense of place and tourist experience, it also aims to identify the importance of sense of place for the destination. Furthermore, the study explores the role of sense of place in creating a unique and memorable experience for tourists. Findings are discussed, implications are drawn and suggestions are made for ongoing research. The findings of this study are intended to contribute to the theoretical and empirical knowledge on sense of place in tourism and recreation studies

The paper will be divided into **three main sections**. **First** the theoretical background of the topic. **Secondly**, the methodology section which includes data analysis and results. **Finally**, the third section concludes and recommends.

Research Problem

There are a lot of challenges that face tourist destinations one of them is cultural globalization and the other is the emerging of new tourist who always looking for experiences not products.

Cultural globalization all around the world imposed places under threat, struggling with the survival and sustainability of their sense of place, their authenticity, and most of all their community. This threat comes from a lack of recognition of a sense of place and results in an imbalance between tourism interests and the community needs. Homogenization leads to "placelessness" as places lose its sense and their unique attributes. Thus, this could explain why tourists desire intimate and distinctive visitor experiences and do feel nostalgic senses of place for destinations they have visited in the past. New tourists are trying to find what's unique and authentic in the tourist destination, and that interest makes sense of place rise in value.

Sense of place is one of the emerging and important but less understood areas of tourism and leisure studies. Furthermore, most of the studies conducted in that field focused on place attachment concept in recreation in the past 10 years. Therefore, sense of place and its role in creating a unique and memorable experience deserves more attention, which is the focus of the present study.

Research Hypotheses

Depending on the conceptual framework and research problem, the following hypotheses were created for this study:

- 1- Sense of place has a significant role in creating a unique tourist experience.
- 2- There is a relationship among sense of place, tourist experience and destination loyalty.

Literature Review

Sense of place

The concepts of place and sense of place can be traced back to the ancient Greeks, including Aristotle, and the Romans who talked of the "spirit of a place", as well as First Nations peoples and aboriginals who hold places as sacred (Windsor & McVey, 2005). But it is only until recently that researchers have acknowledged that in contemporary society, we too, can have an attraction, emotional reaction, or pleasant feeling in relation to the atmosphere, personality of, or environment of a place

Sense of place has received substantial theoretical and empirical attention from diverse disciplines such as; environmental psychology, anthropology, sociology, philosophy, urban studies, architecture, leisure studies and tourism ((McClintchey,2012). In the 1950s and 1960s, a place was characterized by geographers simply as a physical location in space (Kaltenborn & Williams 2002). In the 1970s and 1980s, sense of place was dominated by environmental psychologists and human geographers .Anthropology emphasized the cultural significance of places in day-to-day life sociologists and natural resource social scientists are relative newcomers to the discussion of the concept. As different disciplines have engaged with the concept, they have taken various approaches. (Lin,2012)

Tuan (1979) believed 'sense' as in the sense of place, has two meanings. One is visual and aesthetic, as places are locations that have visual impact. The other is the senses of hearing, smell, taste and touch, which require close contact with the environment. Similarly, Sell et al. (1984, p.75) argued that the place experience is a "total sensual experience".

Place' as the foundation of sense of place is described as a meaning-based idea dependent on human experiences and emotions (Lin,2012).

Relf (2008) defined a sense of place as originating from lived experience, understanding the intangible essence of a place, experiencing place as an insider. Steele (1980) discussed how sense of place is not limited to the experience of which the person is consciously aware but also includes unnoticed influences such as a consistent

avoidance of doing certain things in that particular place. He believed (1981) sense of place is the particular experience of a person in a particular setting or the pattern of reactions that a setting stimulates for a person. The setting here is referred to as a person's immediate and external environment and surroundings, including both physical and social elements that combine to influence the behavior and experiences of both actors and audience (Lin,2012).

Therefore they introduced two of the main theoretical models of sense of place:

Relph's model (Figure 1.) was based upon a framework of three components: Static physical setting, activities, and meanings. The setting and activities are easily understood and described; meanings, however are more complex. The intentionality associated with the experience includes individual and cultural variations that reflect individual experiences and also expectations: a priori ideas that mix with experiences to form a stable meaning.

Relph adds a fourth component to the model and it is one that is most complex and difficult to quantify: the spirit of place, or *genius loci*. Relph notes that it is the *character* of the most unique locations that remains the same over time, even though generations pass, industries change, buildings come and go. Relph's simple model shows four factors contributing to sense of place: settings, activities, meanings, and genius loci

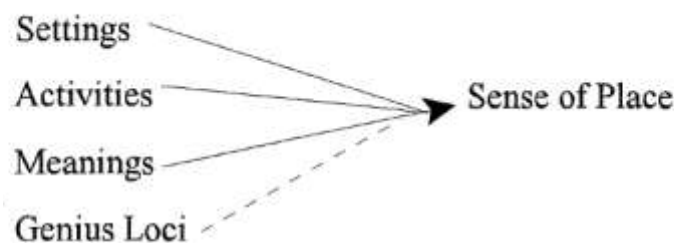


Figure 1. Relph's model of component contributing to sense of place (1976)

Steele's model (Figure 2) has two setting factors, physical and social, which contribute to the independent, individual "person," or psychological factors giving rise to sense of place.(Bott, 2000)

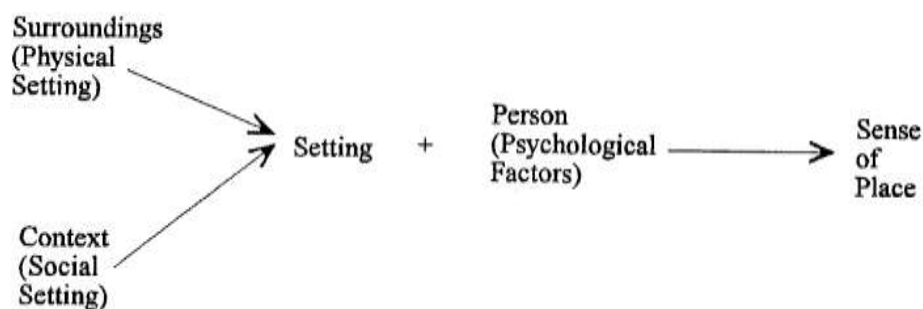


Figure 2. Steel's model of factors contributing to sense of place (1981)

Many studies refers that There are a lot of factors that can influence sense of place some of them are related to socio –economic characteristics of tourists like gender, age, educational level , ,income and others are related to destination itself like its natural, social, cultural ,emotional and visual attributes .On the other hand many studies showed that sense of place correlate positively with some other factors such as familiarity with a place, frequency, purpose and time of visitation, types of recreational activities and satisfaction with trip (Lin ,2012).

The consequences of sense of place for the destination

The antecedents of sense of place have been extensively analyzed in literature and the results are, in general, accepted and tend to coincide. In contrast, studies of the effects of sense of place and place attachment have not

been so exhaustive and their conclusions are not as solid as studies of its antecedents. Despite this, the research highlights the five following consequences:

- 1- **Greater tourist involvement:** The stronger the place attachment, the more actively the tourist becomes involved with the destination
- 2- **An increasing tendency to revisit the place:** Positive connections with a place and/or the possibility of carrying out a specific activity there motivates people to go back there again
- 3- **Increased satisfaction during trips:** sense of place has a positive significant influence on tourists' level of satisfaction with services at a destination
- 4- **A willingness to pay more:** Williams et al. (1999) found that more experienced tourist who were more familiar with a destination – and who, by extension, tended to have stronger ties – were less willing to pay more
- 5- **A greater sensitivity to environmental impacts at the destination:** Some studies demonstrate the existence of a relationship between sense of place and, firstly, a greater sensitivity to impacts on resources there and, secondly, a more responsible behavior toward the natural environment (Alegre & Garau, 2009).

Tourist experience

The concept of experience has always constituted an important notion in tourism research and practice. The tourist experience grew to be a key research issue in the 1960s, becoming popular in the social science literature by the 1970's (Sthapit, 2013)

The tourist experience is a complex psycho-social process and providing a succinct, all encompassing definition is a difficult task (Selstad, 2007). In short, the tourist experience includes various phases, influences and outcomes relating to personal and influential realms. **The influential realm** consists of the physical and social environment. **The physical environment** provides the setting for tourist activities and a space for social interaction (Mossberg, 2007).

Pine and Gilmore (1998) defined that “experiences are inherently personal, existing only in the mind of an individual who has been engaged on an emotional, physical, intellectual, or even spiritual level. Thus, no two people can have the same experience (Wu, Tsai, Hsu and Chen, 2010)

In recent years, the concept has received a new current of attention, it developed from satisfactory experiences to quality experiences and finally memorable and unique experiences.

Memorable experiences are regarded as the ultimate experience that consumers aim to obtain (Tung & Ritchie 2011; Pizam 2010). Memory, emotion and personal connection are ways that individuals connect with one's roots and feelings of home. Nostalgia (recalling of past sentiments related to place) is explained as playing a role in contributing to the sense of place of a destination by remembering what is deeply intimate and meaningful to a place and thus connecting with people's nostalgic senses of place (McClinchey, 2012).

Destination managers and tourism businesses need to view the tourist experience as ‘not just a trip’ but one that incorporates a more ‘memorable and quality based experience’. For tourist destinations to become more competitive, the focus has to be on the design and implementation of memorable personal experiences that meet or exceed the expectations of customers (Sthapit, 2013).

Emotional responses to places and memories of experiences are seen as intertwined, highly individual and very complex and even border on the spiritual. As Wilkie (2003 p.29) noted “many times our relationship to a certain place is entirely unique to a particular time or series of events.” Noy (2007) commented, the act of tourism offers complex experiences, memories and emotions related to places.

However, Shapley and Jepson concluded that the emotions and memories associated with these tourist experiences may relate more closely with perceptions of a sense of place. Yet very little attention has examined the relationships between the tourist experience and a sense of place.. (McClinchey, 2012)

The Role of Sense of Place in Creating a unique Tourist Experience

In recent years tourism scholars and practitioners have been keenly interested in tourist experience. Researchers have further made connections between tourism and meanings of place. What is still needed is to examine tourists' emotional connection to place, to philosophical understandings of sense of place understanding the

ways in which sense of place and the tourist experience connect is in need of more attention conceptually and empirically. In this paper, the author demonstrates how these phenomena relate at many different dimensions. Both consist of relationships involving the physical and social environments generally and the personal and social interactions occurring in particular places (McClinchey, 2012)

Emotional attachments and feelings associated with places we visit whether for tourism or recreation is discussed in academic literature. But most attention has been paid to the place attachment concept in recreation in the past 10 years (Backlund & Williams, 2003). Connections made between sense of place and tourist experiences is still in its infancy. The deep emotional and intimate feelings associated with place (i.e. sense of place) are the binding components between the destination (place) and the tourist experience.

Place consists of the physical and social environment including all attributes related to the destination such as natural and man-made attractions, accommodations, restaurants, shopping and other services/products. It also consists of the socio-cultural environment such as interactions between the tourist and hosts; hosts being service personnel, residents, managers, and other visitors. Place also includes the ethno-cultural traditions of the destination and political processes. But the place itself also consists of its sense of place. In other words, if those who influence the tourists. (McClinchey, 2012) experience such as hosts, residents, service personnel have a strong sense of place then these perceptions are more apt to be carried over in their actions towards the place itself and to visitors.

If the destination is promoted in such a way that it stays true to its sense of place then this is noticed within the tourist experience. Therefore if these physical, social and cultural interactions are positive, this contributes to a positive tourist experience through the motivation, expectation, and satisfaction with that experience. Furthermore, tourists will remember the experience more intimately and be more apt to re-visit the destination and even more importantly recommend the destination to others. Tourists in fact become informal tourism brokers through the relaying of their memorable travel experiences. Therefore, just how important is this connection between a sense of place and the tourist experience?

The following discussion examines this connection through some dimensions;

Firstly, sense of place is perceived as having a feeling of belonging to a place and identifying with that place. (McClinchey, 2012) In terms of how sense of belonging relates to visitor experiences, Lew argued that visitors should experience more of an insider's perception of place in order to gain a greater sense of belonging.

Secondly, visiting places initiates a reaction with our senses. The use of our senses through perception of the world aids our understanding of geographical experience at individual and social levels, and in different historical and cultural contexts (Rodaway, 1994). This "Sensory" can create rich experiences through "visuals", "olfactory" and "sounds" and can sharpen our senses (Mazumdar, 2003).

Lindblad (2010 p.220) explained that specific aspects of place such as those that connect simply with our senses are what are most important. Also McLane (2011) described how the travel experiences connect on many different levels with the senses of a place whether it is feeling the rain, going to local markets, hearing characteristic noises or smelling certain scents – all of which remind tourists of specific places.

Thirdly, the travel that connects one with a sense of a place will promote education and cultural understandings of difference.. (McClinchey, 2012)

Relationships among sense of place, tourist experience and destination loyalty

Why do people select some places and not others to visit? Fairly obvious and predictable factors come to mind: distance, accessibility, type of activities provided, destination image, or social influence. Such variables, though, may fail to capture the totality of factors involved in destination choice. Sense of place may be related to visitation in complex ways. For instance, a strong place attachment may lead to repeatedly returning to a special place. If people who discover a site become attached to it, we might predict increasing visitation over time. Moreover, certain place meanings, if they are communicated through social networks or the media can also increase visitation. (Farnum, Hall & Kruger, 2005)

In other words, sense of place has demonstrated integral relations with leisure satisfaction and loyalty. Loyalty is one of the major indicators used to measure customer retention. Numerous studies have attempted to identify factors affecting destination loyalty. For example, past studies revealed the effects of satisfaction, destination image (Chen & Tsai, 2007), trip quality, previous visitation experience emotion, motivation, and destination

attachment on destination loyalty. If tourists feel a sense of familiarity, it can provide a feeling of security and comfort, which may lead to satisfaction and loyalty. (Toyama & Yamada, 2012)

The competitive advantage which is derived from memorable experiences is more difficult to be copied and substituted. In tourism and travel industry, the experience and image of the destination positively affected an intention to revisit in the future. An emotional bond with a place has a direct impact on the demand function for trips to a certain place. According to this literature, the existence of place attachment plays an important role in motivating repeat visits to a destination (Wu et al,2010 ;Alegre & Garau,2009)

Even so, some authors sustain that place attachment is one of the key factors in defining strategies aimed at boosting the competitiveness of tourist destinations and allowing them to improve their position in relation to their rivals: visitors with place attachment show a different behaviour pattern from other travellers, particularly in terms of a greater intention to return and recommend destination to others According to literature on place attachment, the existence of numerous places with a similar holiday product can mean that tourists have a weaker sense of place attachment to these destinations (Alegre & Garau,2009)

Methodology

The intention of this research is to explore the role of sense of place in creating a unique tourist experience and the relationship among the sense of place, tourist experience and tourist loyalty. The research follows a two-pronged approach, namely a literature study of the most recent and relevant publications and an empirical study that focuses on obtaining information by means of questionnaires to verify the hypotheses of the study. To explore the role of sense of place in creating a unique tourist experience and its relation to tourist loyalty, foreign tourists were surveyed by questionnaires in order to identify their perceptions about their tourist experience and to shed light on the importance of sense of place in creating a unique experience in Alexandria.

• **Design of the of questionnaires:**

The questionnaire consisted of three sections:, socio-demographic information(personal data), sense of place and tourist experience and destination loyalty.

The first part is related to socio – demographic information (personal data) including age, gender, marital status, nationality, education, income

The second part of the questionnaire

Contains a number of questions directed to the tourists who visited Alexandria aiming at exploring the role of tourist experience in creating a unique tourist experience with the following items :-

- The frequency of visitation
- Time of visitation
- Length of stay
- Activities they undertake
- Special places in Alexandria usually visited
- Special memories in Alexandria
- Features which contribute to the atmosphere of Alexandria
- Changes in Alexandria
- Services and facilities needed

The final part of questionnaire contains a number of questions directed to the tourists who visited Alexandria aiming at exploring the relationship among sense of place, tourist experience and tourist loyalty with the following items:-

- Intention to repeat visit
- Destination recommendation

• **Sample selection and data collection**

The data for this study was collected through a self-administered questionnaire method, conducted from January 2014 to May 2014. The target population was foreign tourists who visited Alexandria. The researcher relied on two methods to distribute questionnaires Firstly, 500 questionnaires were distributed in major tourist attractions in Alexandria like the citadel, National Museum, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Raml station district, and some old and traditional markets using stratified random sample method. After the elimination of incomplete responses, 300 usable responses were obtained with a response rate of 60 %.

Secondly, online questionnaire which the researcher has published and sent through the Internet and social networks where 50 tourists who visited Alexandria before logged onto the link and filled out the form in an easy and accurate way. Thus, the total research sample became 350 valid questionnaires.

Results and Analysis

The data were analyzed to come to the following results

First: The socio- demographic characteristics of the sample:

Females represent a high percentage of the tourists who visit Alexandria (60%). Most of them are between 20-40 years .They came from different countries but the majority of them from Europe (British, Italian, German) and some other nationalities like American, Greek and Turkish. The majority of the sample has a high level of education (57%) were graduate degree and (38%) were post graduate.(67)% have a moderate monthly income and (33%) has a high monthly income.

The above results illustrated that the socio demographic characteristics have its influence on the sense of place as follows; women who visited Alexandria showed a greater sense of place than men. they are in the youth and middle age and this is explained that age is another factor that had an impact on the level of place attachment , the majority of tourists came from Europe and Mediterranean countries this reflect that the accessibility and the proximity to Alexandria correlated with sense of place. Also the results referred to the majority of respondents who have a high level of education and this correlated positively with sense of place. Finally the results found no correlation between sense of place and income level.

Second: sense of place and the tourist experience

1. The results showed that a high percentage of the sample visited Alexandria before (88%) visited it one time or two times. (52%) of the sample prefers to visit Alexandria in winter and(35%) prefers to visit it in summer. In terms of length of stay in Alexandria (57%) of the sample stayed a couple of days or three days in Alexandria while (38%) stayed one day only
2. Regarding the types of activities in which respondents participated in Alexandria(51%)preferred swimming, fishing and boating., while (49%) preferred sightseeing
3. Majority of the sample preferred some special places in Alexandria (a) natural attractions such as beaches, Montazah gardens (b) historical sites like the Citadel, national museum Roman theater and bibliotheca Alexandria (c) local and traditional markets in ELlmanshya district and finally walking down Raml Station where they found special architectural buildings, French cafés, Armenian jewelers, and Greek restaurants all these reflect the cosmopolitan history of Alexandria. Above this some tourist referred to they usually prefer to visit backstage areas in Alexandria to feel the spirit of place and to act like local residents
4. (60 %) of the sample referred that they have memories of youth as special memories in Alexandria, 26% have romantic memories and(12 %) have family memories
5. The Majority of the sample (62%) described the atmosphere of Alexandria as a fantastic and unique atmosphere, while (38%) describes the atmosphere of Alexandria as memorable and meaningful.
6. Regarding the most important features that contribute to the atmosphere of Alexandria a high percentage of the sample (70%) showed that the beaches, sea scenery, sea sounds, sea smells, sand and boats are the most important feature that differentiate Alexandria, while (30 %) of the sample referred to the wonderful climate, historic sites and sea food as the most important features of Alexandria.
7. (55%) of the sample described their sense of Alexandria as a place attached to it, while (30%) described their sense of Alexandria as a place belonging to it. The majority of them referred that their sense of Place depended on their feelings, emotions and their memories
8. The majority of the sample (65%) noticed many changes occurred in Alexandria,(25%) said that it changed a little and(10%) referred that Alexandria stayed about the same.
9. Regarding the kind of changes that occurred in Alexandria, (28%) of the sample referred to the increasing amount of waste in Alexandria streets,(22%) of the sample noticed the increasing number of local residents, while (19 %)of the sample noticed that the traffic is one of the most important changes

has occurred during last period, finally the rest of respondents showed other changes in Alexandria such as noise and quality of roads.

Regarding the facilities and services needed in Alexandria, the majority of the sample referred to the shortage of some services and facilities in Alexandria as follow (qualified roads, number of rubbish bins, tourist activities, services for disable people, and accommodation at various levels, better information and interpretive signs at historical sites)

From the above results, it can be concluded that the familiarity with a place and previous visits to Alexandria had a positive effect on sense of place and it can create an emotional bonds between tourists and destination. Regarding time of visitation and length of stay the majority of the sample preferred to visit Alexandria in winter as its temperate climate and they stayed a couple of days or three days in Alexandria. All this showed that frequency of visitation, time of visitation and length of stay are important factors that can influence sense of Alexandria.

The results showed that tourists preferred to practice some natural activities related to the coastal nature of Alexandria like swimming, fishing and boating, as well they preferred sightseeing in Alexandria. As a result of this the majority of the sample preferred to visit some special places that reflect the sense of Alexandria (a) natural attractions (b) historical sites (c) local and traditional markets and finally walking down Raml Station all these reflect the cosmopolitan history of Alexandria.

The above results showed that memories, emotions and personal connection contributed to stronger sense of place and these memories are an important component of tourist experience, the respondents described the atmosphere of Alexandria as a fantastic and unique due to the special features of Alexandria and this could ensure the tourist loyalty in the future. Finally the results showed that there are many changes occurred in Alexandria which can effect on their tourist experience and sense of place.

Third: Destination loyalty

1. Regarding the tendency to revisit Alexandria(75 %)of the sample confirmed that they will visit Alexandria more frequently, while (15 %) showed that they will visit it the same amount,(8 %) will visit it less frequently and(2 %) showed that they don't plan to return.
2. Finally, regarding the recommendation of Alexandria as a tourist destination worth to visit(90%) of the sample will recommend their friends and relatives to visit Alexandria as they have a unique experience there.

The findings above showed that the respondents have had a satisfactory and positive experience in Alexandria so they will visit it frequently and they will recommend their friends and relatives to visit Alexandria in the future. This result showed that there are a positive relationship among the sense of place, tourist experience and destination loyalty.

Discussion

The results demonstrate that a Sense of place is an overarching concept that can subsume the terms articulating connections between people and places. It includes natural, cultural and social, and perceptual and aesthetic place-based meanings through sensational experiences (Lin, 2012). The results of the empirical study showed that there are some of the socio demographic characteristics of tourists have its impact on sense of place and others had no effects. The study introduced the profile of tourists who visit Alexandria; this profile should be studied to understand the tourist demand for Alexandria and this helps to maintain the sense of place concept in marketing strategies.

In addition, the responses of tourists confirmed that there are a positive correlation between sense of place and some factors like frequency of visitation, time of visitation and length of stay.

On other hand, the results showed that Alexandria has a special features to build its personality and this is due to two matters: firstly, Alexandria is a fantastic coastal city it can present a sensory experience to its visitors through sea sounds, sea smells, sea scenery, sand, boats or through the recreational activities they participated in it. Secondly, Alexandria has a cosmopolitan history which attracts a lot of tourists to visit their roots and this is contributed to create a deep sense of place either through memories or nostalgic senses. Thus, the results support the above stated hypothesis that the sense of place plays a role in creating a unique tourist experience.

Furthermore, the results illustrated that the tourists who attached to Alexandria as a tourist destination they frequently noticed some changes occurred but this didn't effect on their loyalty to Alexandria. Consequently, the second hypothesis: there is a relationship among sense of place, tourist experience and destination loyalty is confirmed. This is illustrated by (Figure3)

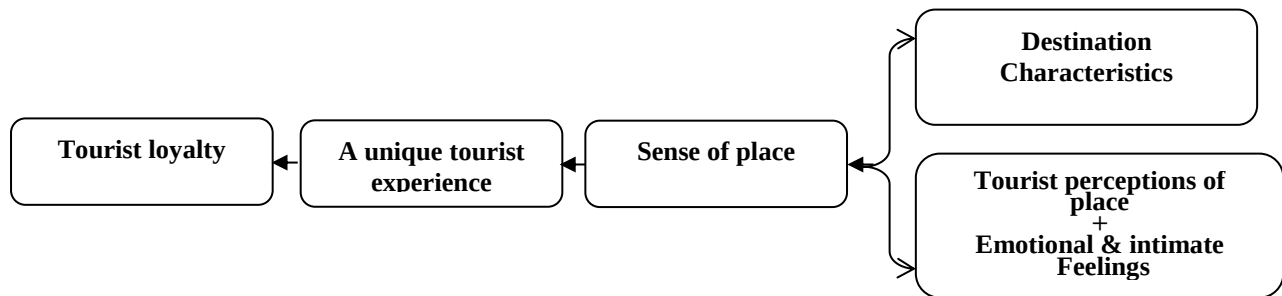


Figure 3. The relationship among sense of place, tourist experience and tourist loyalty

The implication of this result is that administering authority should strengthen aforementioned experiential marketing stimulations to establish a complete experiential environment to reach place attachment, because better experiential marketing strategies can achieve a competitive advantage that is difficult to be imitated and substituted for administrating authority.

By assessing sense of place, valuable place features can be identified, and can serve as basic information for developing objectives fundamental to management decisions.

Accordingly, land managers can focus on maintaining and enhancing these features, thus aiding a better quality of visitor facilities and services, whilst the place image can be nurtured and preserved. The uniqueness of the place defines an environment where an appropriate range of recreation opportunities can be provided. Such a setting can support iconic visitor experiences.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Sense of place is an umbrella concept that articulates a range of dimensions of how people construct relations with their surroundings. The usefulness of this idea is based on the fact that people confer particular meanings on the environment in ways that reflect their social and cultural experiences and interactions.

Tourist's experience is the core product in the travel and tourism industry. However, the existing tourist's experience literature lacks for discussions of the relationship between tourist's experience and sense of place. The result of this study shows that the visitor's sense of place was influenced by tourist's experience. This finding of tourist's experience as an antecedent to sense of place is meaningful.

On the other hand, sense of place itself may also be an important source of satisfaction and loyalty for some tourists. This may also enable operators to better design programs and maintain settings that are consistent with tourist's attachment. Therefore, tourism managers and marketers are recommended to:

- Understand the tourist's profile of Alexandria to meet their needs and preferences, and also to provide what makes them more attached to Alexandria.
- Keep in mind the intangible essences and symbolic meanings of Alexandria, to reduce the cultural globalization phenomena and eliminate the homogenizing effect.
- Represent the identity of Alexandria which perceived through sense of place to create a unique brand.
- Develop natural attraction sites in Alexandria such as parks, beaches.

- Provide more services and facilities in Alexandria such as various levels of accommodation- which should reflect sense of place- tourist activities, good roads, better interpretative signs in historical sites and more rubbish bins.
- Think about sustaining and maintaining, not the product or the destination or even the tourism resource, but sustaining instead the sense of place. Places are made up of meanings and experiences, emotions and feelings all difficult to quantify and measure.
- Utilize visitors who have strong, positive senses of place to the destination since they are more likely to, not only return to the destination through repeat visitation, but more importantly, act as informal tourism brokers.
- Encourage tourism patterns that support sustainability and confirm identity such as alternative tourism and community based tourism.
- Take into account the environmental impact assessment (EIA) and heritage impact assessment (HIA) where the sense of place that is becoming increasingly complex with changes in the tourist destination.

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The Past Through Whose Eyes? A Case-Study of the Multi-Vocal Past and Present-Day Urban Changes in the Tophane Neighbourhood

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Abstract

As Istanbul is rapidly globalizing large-scale urban renewal projects are being carried out to present a ‘flawless image’ of Istanbul to the rest of the world. Like its global counterparts Istanbul experiences much renewal: neighbourhoods are currently being renovated on a large scale, which is a stimulus for a ‘social upgrade’, which therefore results in ‘state-led’ gentrification. This gentrification brings along many physical and social changes in such urban areas, which affect their tangible and intangible heritage. Different views on heritage¹ preservation/conservation and urban renewal often bring along tensions and conflicting ideas about what should be preserved and what should be renewed, and whose heritage it is.

Furthermore, we see that such processes have led to unstable situations in which new identities are formed or old identities are reinforced by inhabitants in order to legitimize their positions in the neighbourhood and society in general. Since parallel urban and social developments are at play in other areas in Istanbul and in other large cities in the world, such as London, Paris, New York, Athens and Cairo, the case-study of Tophane contributes to larger discussions and current debates on gentrification, identity politics, urban developments, and heritage studies.

Introduction

This paper is based on research I am carrying out to heritage and urban developments in the Tophane neighbourhood in Istanbul (**Fig. 1 map of location of Tophane**). This paper is based on preliminary outcomes of personal research that I have carried out over the last two years as part of the Tophane Heritage Project, facilitated by the Netherlands Institute in Turkey (NIT). This Tophane Heritage Project is a mainstay of the NIT for interdisciplinary research focusing on Ottoman and contemporary Turkish history, heritage and society.

The Tophane neighbourhood (**Fig. 2 and Fig. 3**) was mainly chosen as a research subject due to its highly heterogeneous history, its varying ethnic, religious and social composition of inhabitants over time and the rapid social and urban changes that the neighbourhood has been undergoing in recent years. I set up this project in 2011 with support from the NIT and have been directing the project since, in close collaboration with various researchers and students from different Turkish and Dutch universities.

¹ Note that my understanding of heritage involves both tangible and intangible heritage. Heritage includes all aspects of the tangible and intangible environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time (Conventie van Faro, Raad van Europa 2005: <http://www.rwo.be/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=mm9slKDh9p8%3D&tabid=15964&mid=22584&language=nl-BE>) This is called cultural heritage by several authors, but in my view all heritage is cultural in the end. Therefore the term ‘heritage’ used in this proposal implies all tangible and intangible cultural heritage.

Figure 1. Map of the location of Tophane and the surrounding neighbourhoods of Galata, Cihangir and Karaköy. © Murat Tülek



Figure 2. Kumbaracı Yokuşu, one of the main streets in the upper parts of Tophane. Photograph by author.



Figure 3. Murakıp Sokak, one of the streets down in the Tophane/Karaköy area, which is rapidly gentrifying.
Photograph by author.



The Tophane Heritage Project provides opportunities for researchers and students in history, art history, heritage and cultural studies, Turkish studies, sociology, oral history, memory studies, social geography, urban studies, architecture and related fields.

Apart from directing this project I worked on my personal research on Tophane, in which I am establishing an ethnographic biography of Tophane, with a focus on the different meanings ascribed to this Istanbul neighbourhood by its past and current inhabitants, whose perceptions of past and rapid present-day social and physical changes I recorded in oral history interviews during field work.

Research Aims and Questions

The biography of Tophane, as constructed in this research, stretching through time from roughly sixty years ago up till the present-day, which expresses Tophane's multivocality and focuses on the different meanings ascribed to the Tophane neighbourhood by its current and former inhabitants in the context Tophane's various different pasts and rapid present-day urban and social changes.

This paper discusses what is actually regarded as Tophane's heritage and by whom. The paper will roughly go into different views from inhabitants and authorities on Tophane's heritage and the way in which Tophane's pasts are 'used' by authorities to present the neighbourhood to the public, including tourists. These issues raise the following questions:

- In which way is cultural, material, and social heritage important for the bottom-up creations of identities in the neighbourhood and for the top-down imposition of a certain identity on the Tophane

neighbourhood by municipalities and national authorities to present it to the public and the outside world, including tourists, by?

- Are there any discrepancies between the narratives of the past as told by inhabitants and the past of the neighbourhood presented to the outside world by authorities?
- To what extent and how are views on and the use of Tophane's heritage influenced by the present-day urban changes in the neighbourhood?

Methodology

Taken into consideration the interdisciplinary character of the biography of Tophane and its extensive chronological scope of about sixty years, I envision a variety of data gathering and mixed methods, of which formal and informal oral history interviews and ethnographical observations form the main focus. These methods aim to gain an understanding of everyday life in the neighborhood, people's attitudes towards other inhabitants, memorization of Tophane's past, and social interactions.

These oral history interviews will be carried out with key respondents from the Tophane community, from various ethnic, religious, and social backgrounds and sub-groups. Additionally, I will interview former inhabitants from Tophane, mainly from ethnic-religious minority groups who were forced to leave their homes in Tophane after the 1950's. I am in contact with several of them who currently reside in Greece. The selection of informants is done through contacting knowledgeable informants who know the activities of the community well. These informants are asked to identify other informants who represent certain groups of inhabitants in Tophane. Through this chain sampling or snowball method correspondents for the research are selected (Vogt, 1999; Atkinson and Flint 2001). Additionally, organizations, clubs, associations, related to sports, social background, town of origin, and religious institutions (mosques, synagogues, churches) and schools in the neighbourhood often are valuable sources to find informants and also to have group discussions. In case of the past ethnic-religious minorities from Tophane and surroundings, such as the Rum, apart from churches and synagogues, specific associations focusing on ethnic-religious minorities³ in Istanbul as well as in Greece, could serve as valuable sources for finding other correspondents from these groups.

In order to have some group interviews/ focus interviews I am planning on organizing one or two workshops in the neighbourhood itself, during which inhabitants will be invited to bring their own memories, in the shape of stories and personal photographs (Portelli 2003, Ritchie 2003).

Additional research is conducted through collection of field notes, sound recordings, photographic and video documentation, and participatory observation. These data give us insights into the different unwritten narratives and memories of Tophane's past, important events, everyday life, provided by inhabitants of various ethnic, religious and social backgrounds, and former inhabitants and their families. Following the ideas and research of Neyzi (1999, 2001, 2008) I argue that it is important to document and research oral history, since those narratives provide additional perspectives on the past- or can be contradictory to the national narrative, national memory and written histories, as created by, for instance, state authorities.

In summary this paper will discuss the small-scale case-study of Tophane with a focus on personal narratives of Tophane's past and present as well as importance ascribed to certain pasts in top-down decisions made on heritage in the present-day context of tourism, neo-liberal politics and urban renewals.

Theoretical context

In order to be able to talk about ways in which Tophane's heritage is regarded and dealt with by different groups of people, it is important to point out what, in my view, the term heritage actually implies. First of all my understanding of heritage, as used in this paper, is considered the legacy of physical artifacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations (UNESCO, 2001). Heritage, in my view, includes all aspects of the tangible and intangible environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time. In my view examples of tangible heritage are built environment, architecture, objects used in daily life, and the intangible heritage includes traditions, memories, stories, ideas, craft (skills), traditions, rituals, knowledge.

Secondly, I regard heritage as something that is not self-defining. The past does not tell a story itself, different stories about different pasts are being told nowadays in our contemporary time, through physical remains and intangible memories, through the preservation of certain pasts, the erasure of others (Lowenthal 1985). Therefore the past cannot be considered separately from the present and, even stronger, both tangible and intangible

heritage do not even exist without the present. Thus, remains and stories from the past do not simply reveal what happened, but show to a large extent a past of our own creation, moulded by selectively pointing out certain pasts as important, ignoring others (Lowenthal 1985).

The recollection of the past is not neutral; the past can be used as a 'political tool' in the cohesion between different present-day groups, inclusion and exclusion of people, and the legitimization of certain present-day positions of individual people or groups in a community or human society (Lowenthal 1985). Since different individuals and different groups of people have different views on the city's heritage, it is important and also challenging to research this multivocality of the past and the way this is or is not implemented in present-day constructions of heritage.

Especially in a city such as Istanbul with multiple and multi-layered, multi-religious and multi-ethnic pasts, 'identities' are subject to continual play of history, culture and power (Bartu 1999). The present-day rapid urban changes bring up questions about who 'owns' urban landscapes, which are made up by events, acts, times, places and people that have passed by and through them (Lefevbre 1991). Continuities and transformations in the life of a neighbourhood over time are reflected and materialized in its tangible and intangible heritage. Therefore, neighbourhoods provide useful case-studies to understand how knowledge, imaginations, stories and physical remains from the past contribute to a sense of identity, cohesion, 'sense of belonging', exclusion in a particular place, and different (often contesting) views on heritage (Mills 2010). Since neighbourhoods exhibit socio-spatial processes through which diverse people imagine, express and sustain their identities, it is interesting to carry out research to how the knowledge of the past actually forms a sense of identity in a particular place? (Mills 2010)

Especially in a globalizing city, 'localness', which implies objects, memories, buildings and traditions that are valued locally and provide a place with a distinctive quality, seems to be important for the 'sense of belonging' of inhabitants of that city. 'Often common places in national terms are deeply engrained with local significance and are special to those who live there' (Mills 2010). A shared memory of the past, either through personal narratives and/or through national memory, can work as a bonding element for a cohesive group identity. Material remains in the landscape, as triggers for that memory, can serve as symbols of the past and can be used to emphasize or ignore a certain past (Mills 2010). Neighbourhoods and their pasts were and still are meaningful in diverse and sometimes contradictory ways to its residents, the government, tourists and researchers who objectify a neighbourhood, a street or a group of buildings, traditions, ideas for their own ends (Mills 2010). The description, definition and identification of a specific locality is often based on the (re) telling of the historical constitution of the present (Massey 1995).

Furthermore, different individuals and different social, ethnic and religious groups passing by, have left behind material and immaterial traces. Changes in immaterial aspects, such as the composition of inhabitants, are reflected in material aspects, such as architecture (Bartu 1999). The in- and outflow of groups of people in and from Tophane results in the fact that groups of inhabitants moving in, mainly from the areas of Siirt and Bitlis in Eastern Turkey, bring their own past from elsewhere into the neighbourhood, and encounter the past of others, transferring it into their 'own' heritage (Bartu 1999). A similar statement can be made about tourists visiting Tophane coming from other regions or countries. This indicates that Tophane, apart from a geographical area, is an identity constructed with reference to connections with or disconnections from other places and times (Massey 1995). The ways in which memory and urban landscape intertwine, also in the case of Tophane, produce different experiences of place and different meanings associated with the place (Massey 1995), which sometimes brings along tensions and conflicts between people with different views on the past and the present.

Consequently the past may be actively used for the creation of new identities in neighbourhoods as well as for exclusion of people and legitimization of positions of ethnic, religious or social groups in the neighbourhood. In this sense the urban landscape does not merely represent or commemorate memory but is the means through which memory and identity are performed by the inhabitants and authorities. Therefore, the past can also be actively used in constructing new identities or maintaining old ones in the neighbourhood during the gentrification process.

Contradictory as well as shared views on Tophane's pasts held by groups of inhabitants from different ethnic and social backgrounds, as well as by outsiders and authorities, become important in the present-day social and urban changes and struggles of the construction and maintenance of a social, religious and political identity (Bartu 1999).

A case-study of a neighbourhood, such as the Tophane-case presented here, can tell us more about the complicated role of the past in the formation of present-day local and national identities and the use of heritage to present this neighbourhood and the city in general to the outside world, including tourists who are visiting the neighbourhood. The research on which this paper is based considers the urban quarter as a layered phenomenon, with multiple layers of pasts and varying narratives as well as tangible remains of both present- and past inhabitants from different social, religious, occupational and ethnic groups. It elaborates on how time and the past are dealt with by the social actors through remembering and forgetting the past and (re)creating a new past. It shows how the material and immaterial characteristics of the neighbourhood are entangled and how they interact as time progressed (Hodder 2012).

Urban changes, tourism and heritage issues in Tophane

Especially since the 2000's authorities have become aware of how to use Istanbul's heritage in the service of tourism and the image of the city in order to put Istanbul on 'the global stage' (Aksoy 2010) and cultural heritage in Istanbul becomes increasingly displayed and promoted as a marketable commodity (Öncü 2007). In this context, large-scale urban renewals and renovations added to the representation of Istanbul as a 'global city' to the outside world (Keyder 2009). In the context of the reconstruction of urban spaces, a new law (Law 5366) was adopted in 2005, which gave new directions to dealing with Istanbul's heritage. It describes the protection of heritage through use and renewal, and practically speaking it confers upon municipalities as well as upon private real-estate developers the full authorization with regard to urban renovation and renewal (Aksoy 2010). In the name of this law, many historical parts of the city have been designated as renewal areas and large-scale projects have taken place to 'clean' and upgrade urban spaces (Keyder 2009) and to turn them over to new uses, such as recreation, retail development, museums, entertainment and tourism (Aksoy 2010).

Heritage and tourism, thus play an important role in the creation of Istanbul's image in the competition for a place on the 'global stage'.

The complex relationships between tourism and heritage, however, are revealed in the tensions between tradition and modernity. Tourism's fundamental nature is dynamic and its interaction with heritage often results in the reinterpretation of the latter. In its essence, the relationship between heritage and tourism parallels the debate that takes place within society's culture between tradition and modernity (Nuryanti 1996). Tradition implies stability or continuity, whereas tourism involves change (Hall and McArthur 1993). This change includes physical and social changes. Since the 20th century and the 21st century heritage and tourism are characterized by a new awareness that seeks to find novel ways to communicate with the past (Nuryanti 1996).

The central challenge in linking heritage and tourism lies in reconstructing the past in the present through interpretation. These interpretations come from different individuals, groups, authorities, with all of these having different relations to the past and present. Heritage has different meanings to everyone, such as to local inhabitants and for tourists. Therefore, preservation of tangible heritage is simultaneously a process of creation and transformation: to commute with the past, people do more than confirm or disprove historical facts; they ascribe a new dimension to history (Lowenthal 1985). Different people respond differently to interpretation, and interpreters should be able to stimulate and challenge heterogeneous market segments with differing characteristics (Rumble 1989). Therefore, variety, multivocality and interpretation should be an integral part of marketing, managing and planning heritage.

In this paper I specifically focus on the use of heritage in the formation of identities, such as a top-down constructed image of Tophane/Istanbul meant for the outside world, and bottom-up creations of social identities by local communities during the gentrification process, in which the latest wave results from the tourism plans of the Galata Port Project. Below an explanation of Tophane's gentrification and the Galata Port Project will be given.

Gentrification in Tophane

After the coup d'état in Turkey on the 12th of September 1980, economic changes which were carried out by the government, aimed to integrate Turkey's national economy in the 'global economy' (Keyder 2009). From then on neo-liberal globalizing developments started to take place. The emergence of new service sectors such as tourism, commodification of culture, and real estate development are part of this economic change. Istanbul gradually became 'a business platform for the transnational corporate elite as well as a playing field for the cosmopolitan consumers of global lifestyles' (Keyder 2009). This new urban elite is looking for 'nice' and 'safe'

places to live, which causes a movement of higher income groups to low income areas in Istanbul's historical centre, displacing the people who were already living there, thus, resulting into the gentrification of inner-city areas and displacement of certain groups (Aksoy 2010).

I follow Islam (2005) and Beauregard (1986) in pinpointing two main criteria for potentially gentrifiable areas, namely 'the creation of gentrifiable housing' and 'the creation of prior occupants who can easily be displaced or replaced' (Beauregard 1986, p. 47). The prerequisites of the emergence of 'gentrifiable housing' in Istanbul go back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The housing in question was inhabited by ethnic-religious minority groups, such as Greeks, Jews and Armenians, who formed the middle- and higher- income groups during those centuries. The criteria of 'the creation of prior occupants who can easily be displaced or replaced' came into existence by the fact that these ethnic-minorities were forced to leave from those neighbourhoods in the process of 'turkification' (Mills 2010).

After the 1950's, migrants from rural regions in Turkey moved to Istanbul into these central neighbourhoods, that became dilapidated due to the fact that most of migrants that moved into these neighbourhoods lacked the economic resources to take care of the buildings (Islam 2005). These urban areas became low-income neighbourhoods and the housing stock became inexpensive (Islam 2005). Istanbul saw different waves of gentrification in which neighbourhoods such as Cihangir and Galata (see **Fig. 1**) belonged to the second wave, which took place in the late 1980's and the 1990's (Islam 2005). In recent years Tophane is undergoing a gentrification process as well.

Tophane, located in between these two neighbourhoods of Cihangir and Galata, comes very late to these developments. The gentrification process there started from 2004 onwards, with the foundation of the modern art museum 'Istanbul Modern' in the storage buildings at the docks dating from the 1950's, which became empty during the 1970's² (Odman 2011). The existence of the museum stimulated exhibitions and festivals (Kurtarir & Cengiz 2005). This museum can be understood as a tourist-related service and it attracts the tourist gaze. Thus, this first wave of gentrification in Tophane largely results from cultural factors, namely the proximity to cultural facilities in Beyoğlu and Taksim (see **Fig.1**), and the foundation of a modern art museum and art galleries. The presence of creative industries 'upgrades' the neighbourhood and the social character of the neighbourhood starts to change. Low-income groups who were living there are forced out and become displaced, due to the increase in rents (Slater 2006).

A second wave of gentrification of Tophane came in the last two years, in anticipation of the implementation of the 'Galata Port Project', resulting into the increase of tourists in the neighbourhood of Tophane. The 'Galata Port Project'³ is a large urban renewal project at the harbour area of Tophane (Schuitema 2013) aiming to develop the area for touristic purposes. The project entails creation of a multi-functional cruise ship harbour housing a museum, shopping malls, multiple-star hotels, and offices (Geçkalan and Sezgin 2011), as well as the renovation and renewal of the surrounding historic buildings and constructing of new ones. Small private entrepreneurs started erecting hotels and cafes. These developments rapidly speeded up the gentrification process in Tophane (Schuitema 2013).

In my view, the third gentrification wave, comes with the actual implementation of the Galata Port Project (**Fig. 4**), which seems to have started these days, and could be considered as a state-led gentrification project. Tourists arriving by cruiseship in Tophane will be close to the large touristic attractions (the historical peninsula and the entertainment and shopping areas, such as Istiklal Caddesi (see **Fig. 1**)). (Therefore, also in this third wave of gentrification, Tophane's historical nature, its proximity to other historical areas, main tourist attractions and cultural facilities, are important incentives for the renewal project and for the eventual gentrification and the displacement and disintegration of communities, due to the increase of rents.

²With the introduction of ro-ro shipping the storage spaces became unnecessary (Odman 2011). Shipping wheeled vehicles (cars, trains) became more widespread. Warehouses were not necessary anymore for this type of shipping and became out of use, the Tophane harbour lost its importance for some time (Odman 2011).

³ The Galata Port Project is a large construction project which is planned to renew the harbour area of Tophane and Karaköy to make it suitable for even more and larger cruiseships than there are arriving today. The area will be developed for more touristic purposes, including a multi-functional cruise ship harbour housing a museum, shopping mall, multiple-star hotels, and offices (Geçkalan and Sezgin, 2011).

Figure 4. Billboards announcing a part of the Galata Port Project. Photograph by author.



One of the interviewees, an inhabitant of Tophane, explains the situation as follows: ‘*Tophane was upgraded*’. He tells that he moved from Tophane to Hasköy recently because he could not afford his increased rent anymore. He describes the gentrification as follows: ‘*It used to be a cheap neighbourhood. Weapons were being sold and it was a dangerous area. Now it is more modern and accessible for everyone, women as well. But it also implies that ‘Most people slowly moved. Rents are in dollars nowadays and start around a 1000 dollars. Many people, non-owners, therefore moved to other neighbourhoods in Istanbul. House-owners ask for high rents.*’

Recently more fancy, luxurious cafes and pastry shops (**Fig. 5**) came up along Boğazkesen and in the direction of Karaköy⁴ (see **Fig.1**), where now many luxurious hotels are being built. Restaurants and café’s came up in the small streets in between dilapidated and industrial buildings as, often in the place of already existing buildings and workshops (**Fig. 6 and Fig. 7**). Nowadays the main groups to be distinguished as gentrifiers are gallery owners, more luxurious café/bar and restaurant owners, hotel and hostel owners, artists (both Turkish and foreign) academicians (Turkish and foreign) and expats.

⁴Karaköy is the name of the coastal strip along the Bosphorus. According to some inhabitants and non-inhabitants parts of this strip do belong to Tophane, others insist that this full strip is called Karaköy.

Figure 5. Recently opened cafes and bars in the Tophane/Karaköy area. Photograph by author.



Figure 6. The workshop of a *kalayycı* (tinsmith), whose occupation has become nearly extinct. Photograph by author.



Figure 7. People preparing *balık ekmek* (fishsandwiches) to sell at the Karaköy harbour at night. Photograph by author.



The nature of Tophane's gentrification is different from the notorious cases of urban renewal in Tarlabası and Sulukule⁵, due to the differences in social, ethnic and political fabric of the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods, and differences in house owning and tenancy ratios. With the disintegration and displacement of communities of the neighbourhood intangible heritage, such as traditions, memories, stories, crafts and knowledge, might get lost (Schuitema forthcoming). At the same time the gentrification process brings along tensions between 'newcomers' and 'old inhabitants' (Schuitema forthcoming).

Social tensions in Tophane

Existing studies on Tophane and articles in the news media about the Tophane neighbourhood, mainly focus on the rapid gentrification of the urban quarter and the tensions that it brings along, which became apparent in several serious conflicts in the neighbourhood between 'gentrifiers' and 'old inhabitants' such as the attacks on several art galleries by a group of local men in the neighbourhood during the *Tophane Artwalk*⁶ on 21 September 2010 (Ahiska 2011, Ergener 2009, Güven 2006). Apart from these attacks, certain groups in Tophane took position against protesters coming from Taksim during the Gezi protests in the summer of 2013 and other left-wing demonstrations through the year. These attacks and the disapproval of a core group of Tophane's inhabitants of the Gezi protests and related activities have pushed the discussion about gentrification in the city,

⁵Tarlabası is a neighbourhood which was inhabited by non-Muslim inhabitants till the second half of the twentieth century, with remaining historic buildings dating from the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. The present-day composition of inhabitants mainly composes of Kurds, Roma, African migrants and transgenders. Large renewal projects started in this city quarter since 2006, which led to state-led gentrification and the displacement of its inhabitants (Islam 2012). Sulukule was a neighbourhood in Istanbul which had been inhabited by Roma for centuries and was renowned for its musical entertainment houses for some decades. In 2005 the area was declared a renewal area, it was completely 'cleaned' and its inhabitants became displaced (Islam 2012).

⁶The Tophane Art Walk is a bi-monthly "art hopping" event that aims to keep the population in the know on the city's contemporary art scene, with participating galleries presenting the latest trends, spaces, and other art projects that the neighborhood has to offer (www.theguideistanbul.com).

until then largely confined to academics, architects, urban planners and activists, and other interested parties, into the broader public eye.

'In 2010 five galleries were opened at the same time and people were hanging outside drinking beers.' says one of the interviewees, working for a gallery in Tophane, *'They were walking from one gallery to the other. Around forty people came and started attacking them, threatening them as if they wanted to warn them to change their lifestyles or move out of the neighbourhood. They started chasing us, but we ran, we could escape. The attacks in 2010 are a combination of several factors, one of those factors is the alcohol, but the main reason is the rapid transformation in the neighbourhood. Tophane is a conservative area, they want to preserve their lifestyles, and they have the feeling that the newcomers will pollute their lifestyle they have established here.'*

The rapid urban and social changes, in my view, are not the only reason for the existing tensions between older inhabitants and 'gentrifiers', a term used for the 'newcomers' into the low-income area who were considered to be different from other middle-class people. One of the main reasons for the tensions between these different groups in the changing urban area, is the fact that 'while the locals do not have many opportunities to vocalize their problems and demands, let alone their memories of the transformations in the district, their motivations are over-interpreted according to differing political ideologies' and that neither theories of gentrification, nor easy assumptions about either the conservatism or the resistance of 'the people' of Tophane can be explanatory on their own' (Ahiska 2011, p.4).

Although Tophane inhabitants are referred to from the outside as 'the people' the existence of such a unified neighbourhood seems to be a myth, as argued by Pérouse (2011). *'One of the problems is that the urban changes happen without any involvement of the residents. This creates this kind of violence.'* argues another interviewee working for an art gallery in Tophane *'They might feel affected by this urban transformation, with this gentrification, everything is changing here, their lifestyle, they are not involved in the state plans, nobody is asking them.'* Therefore, personal narratives of inhabitants and an understanding of elements of bonding, which are at the same time elements of exclusion of others, is important to understand the social cohesion within the neighbourhood, the top-down or bottom-up creation of social identities the, and the tensions brought along by gentrification. These tensions, in my opinion, apart from there economic, political perspectives, are mainly about claims of space and the past of the neighbourhood by different groups in order to legitimize one's own position and presence in the area.

Different views on Tophane's pasts

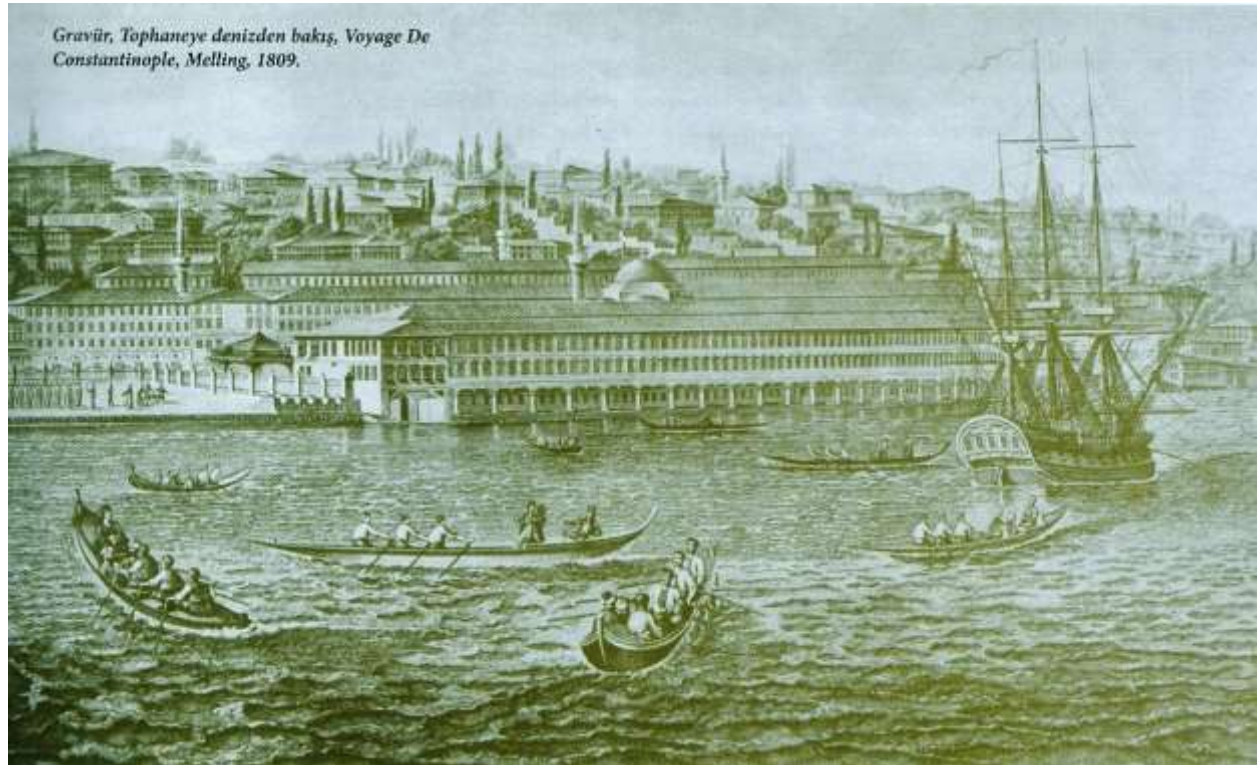
Urban studies (Allen 2000, Atkinson 2004, Freeman and Braconi 2004) have critically addressed the issues of urban renewal and gentrification. Despite extensive research on these topics, scholars examining urban renewal and heritage have not yet fully explored the importance of a profound understanding of multi-vocal narratives and perceptions of the past and present in a specific micro-scale geographical context of urban renewal. In Istanbul, this lack of profound insights into and exposure of the inextricable link between narratives of the past and the present-day built environments and social relations has, according to Aksoy (2010, 2011) and Ünsal and Kuyucu (2010) led to ill-informed and inadequate policies and top-down decisions in urban planning and heritage management.

Research on Tophane can therefore serve as an exemplary study as well for neighbourhoods in other global cities in the world and this research might contribute to a more context-based and multi-vocal, bottom-up conception of heritage value and urban planning (Russell 2010). Below the importance, commonness and uncommonness of Tophane as a neighbourhood will be discussed as well as different top-down and bottom-up views on Tophane's different pasts and heritage.

The Ottoman past

Tophane has for a long time been one of the most dynamic areas in Istanbul (Schuitema 2013a). In ethnic-religious and cultural terms Tophane was a mixed neighbourhood during Ottoman times. The armoury, as well as the other aspects of the military industries, and their administration, founded in early Ottoman times at the geographical location of what would later become the neighbourhood of Tophane, required experts, who were of German, French, Venetian, Genoese, Armenian, Jewish and Greek ethnicity. Not less important is the fact that the Tophane docks (**Fig. 8 the docks of old Tophane**) account for the cosmopolitan composition of Tophane's inhabitants during Ottoman times and the beginning of the Republic (Geçkalan and Sezgin 2011).

Figure 8. The old docks of Tophane. Gravure, Tophane as seen from the sea, Voyage de Constantinople, Melling, 1809 (Göncüoğlu 2009, p. 7)



The Tophane neighbourhood, thus, shows, on a micro-scale, the many different and cosmopolitan pasts of the city of Istanbul, with different tangible and intangible traces left by different groups of inhabitants from different time periods (Mills 2010). The twentieth century, however, saw the disappearance of Istanbul's cosmopolitanism. Turkish/Islamic nationalism and its attempts to redefine the state along ethnic, linguistic, and cultural lines, caused the disappearance of Turkey's and Istanbul's cosmopolitanism (Eldem 2013). These changes also caused buildings until then being inhabited by the ethnic-religious minorities to become empty and re-inhabited by new incoming migrants (**Fig. 9a and fig. 9b**). These developments will be described in more detail in the next paragraph.

Figure 9a. Re-inhabited empty historical house in Tophane. Photograph by author.



Figure 9b. Empty late 19th century building in the Tophane/Karaköy area, which is being turned into a bar these days.



Generally when Tophane's present-day inhabitants are being asked about the Ottoman past of the neighbourhood, they mention some of the religious and monumental buildings that were important during Ottoman times in their views, such as the Tophane-i-Amire, and mosques. Furthermore the ethnic- religious minorities that inhabited the neighbourhood in the past are often mentioned. Elderly inhabitants often mention these groups in a very nostalgic way, describing these former inhabitants as good acquaintances and friends. More recent migrants of the last ten to twenty years, however, seem to feel more dissociated from this past and describe Tophane's physical remains left by the ethnic-religious minorities, such as residential buildings, as the past that does not belong to 'themselves' but to 'others'.

Most of the present-day (migrant) inhabitants of Tophane do mention Tophane's Ottoman past in terms of built monuments, such as the Tophane-i-Amire (**Fig. 10**). 'It is a symbol of Tophane' says one of the elderly interviewees, inhabiting Tophane, '*Sultan Mehmet built it. It is the place where cannonballs were produced. He came here and decided that this is the spot to build it.*' Furthermore, the mosques in Tophane are mentioned by many of the inhabitants as important remains from the Ottoman past, such as the the Kılıç Ali Paşa complex⁷, built between 1578 and 1580, including, burial tombs, a *medrese* (Koran school), and a *hamam* (bath house) (Geçkalan and Sezgin 2011).

Figure 10. Tophane-i Amire (arsenal) as seen today. Photograph by author.



Often the nargileh cafes (**Fig. 11a and b**) close to the mosque complex and the Tophane fountain are mentioned by Tophane's (migrant) inhabitants as important symbols of Tophane's Ottoman past, physical elements that contribute to Tophane's atmosphere. These cafes could be considered re-created references to the Ottoman *kahvehaneler* (coffeehouses) where men could drink coffee and smoke nargileh. These kahvehaneler were created during the Ottoman 18th century reformatations, when revitalizations of open spaces were carried out and such spaces became a focus for social life, as happened with the space around the Tophane fountain (Odman 2011). The coffeehouses lined along the Tophane coastline were demolished in 1846 for the expansion of the existing docks and new constructions were forbidden in the newly opened areas (Geçkalan and Sezgin 2011).

⁷This religious complex was very recently renovated and presently even became a touristic attraction.

Figure 11a. An example of an old *kahvehaneler* (coffeehouses). Painting by Meherdich Jivanian (from Thomas Allom) (1848-1906), dating to the late 19th century. 'A Coffee House in Tophane'. Oil on canvas. Pera Museum Istanbul.



Figure 11b. One of the present-day *nargileh* (waterpipe) cafes in Tophane.

Although the contemporary cafes seem to be a reference to an imagined Ottoman past, an interviewee, an inhabitant of Tophane emphasizes that these cafes differ from those that existed in the past, as was stated by many other present-day inhabitants as well: *'the nargileh cafes do not resemble the Ottoman kahvehaneler. Not many people used to smoke nargileh in the coffeehouses, and if they did, they did not smoke fruit tastes like they do today, but real tobacco.'* In his description this interviewee indirectly questions the authenticity of present-day material references to the Ottoman past⁸. Below I will discuss some views on and uses of Tophane's Ottoman past by authorities in the present-day socio-political and the touristic context.

Commodification of the Ottoman past

Istanbul's present-day globalizing developments and the way in which the authorities aim to put Istanbul on the global stage, involves the use of heritage. In search for a non-territorially defined identity (Turkish-Islamic), authorities increasingly focus on Istanbul's imperial and multi-cultural 'Ottoman' past (Öncü 2007). In contemporary Istanbul, visions of the city's global future and of its (multicultural) 19th century Ottoman past have become inextricably bound with political, public, popular and scholarly discourses (Öncü 2007). Herein the Ottoman multi-culturalism is used as a way of coping with Turkey's present-day cultural diversity (Yavuz 1998) and using this multi-culturalism as a negotiating ground such as for admission to the EU.

⁸Imagined continuity with the legendary Ottoman past, is used to create Istanbul's image as shown to the world outside and to articulate future aspirations for a 'global' future (Öncü 2007). This identification of re-imagined Ottoman imperial heritage as Turkish, seeks to showcase the Ottoman past as the 'glorious' achievement of Muslim Turks (Yavuz 1998). In this context 'Neo-Ottomanism' aims to create loyalty through shared Ottoman historical experience and a broad and diffuse attachment to Islam, as well as using the Ottoman multi-culturalism as a way of coping with Turkey's present-day cultural diversity (Yavuz 1998).

At the same time, the identification of re-imagined Ottoman imperial heritage from the 15th and 16th centuries as Turkish, seeks to showcase the Ottoman past as the 'glorious' achievement of Muslim Turks (Yavuz 1998). In this context 'Neo-Ottomanism' aims to create loyalty and cohesion through shared experience of the Ottoman pasts and a broad attachment to Islam. Imagined continuities with a legendary past enhances the city's attractiveness on the global stage and gives it a cultural background needed to compete in foreign investments and tourist trade (Öncü 2007). As physical examples of such a re-imagined Ottoman past in Tophane, the nargileh cafes and the new wooden 'Ottoman style' building in the neighbourhood which is used as a health center and the location of one of Tophane's *muhtars*⁹. Also the attention paid to the Ottoman Tophane-i-Amire and the Kılıç Ali Paşa mosque complex (Fig. 12) could be interpreted as being part of this trend.

Figure 12. The Kılıç Ali Paşa mosque as it is seen today (after renovation). Photograph by author.



This glorification of the Ottoman past as well as the show-casing of this heritage in segregated 'tourist spaces' results into the use of heritage as a commodity and therefore, the commercialization of it. It also leads to the exclusion of certain groups of inhabitants, many of whom are recent migrants from other parts of Turkey (Öncü 2007). This commodification of Istanbul's diverse heritage is coinciding with an increasing polarization of society and a growing visibility of cultural and social differences among Istanbul's inhabitants, since more recent social communities and their intangible heritage are often ignored in this political trend (Öncü 2007). The choice for a focus on the Ottoman past and material fabric of Istanbul, and not on other pasts, is accompanied by intense political debate, resulting into competing interpretations of different periods in Istanbul's history (Öncü 2007).

Tophane in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries

Although Istanbul was not officially subjected to the forced population exchange⁵ (Renes 2012) and remained cosmopolitan to a certain extent during the early period of the Republic, the second half of the twentieth century, however, marked the city with significant demographic changes. During a process, referred to as 'Turkification',

⁹ Muhtars are elected heads of the neighbourhood, carrying out tasks such as registering the residents of the quarter, providing official copies of birth certificates and ID cards. Each quarter has a muhtar who is elected during local elections for five-year terms. Muhtarlık (the office of Muhtar) has been designed as the smallest administrative office, with representative and enforcement powers at the local level. However, in some cases, the muhtar acts as not only the representative of the government towards the community, but also the head of the community towards the government; subverting official government policies through intricate face-to-face mahalle-level relationships (<http://www.uludagsozluk.com/k/muhtar/>)

most of these ethnic-religious minorities were forced to leave Turkey (Mills 2010). Ethnic-religious minorities were forced out of Istanbul following hostile nationalist campaigns culminating in the violent events⁷ of September 6-7 1955 (Ahiska 2011, Aktar 2000, Güven 2006, Mills 2005).

A law introduced in 1964⁸, stating that Greeks in Istanbul without Turkish citizenship should be deported to Greece, forced the remaining Greeks to move out, which resulted in another significant demographic change (Örs 2006). These actions were mainly directed against *Rum*, but also affected other ethnic-religious minorities, and had the effect desired by the Turkish authorities of making the ethnic-religious minorities leave Istanbul. This marked the complete transformation of Istanbul into a fully 'Turkish' city (Mills 2005).

With the ethnic-religious minorities having been forced to leave, the arrival of large numbers of rural-urban immigrants was seen in Istanbul from the 1950's onwards, due to the rapid industrialization process, followed by decrease of income sources in rural areas and increasing attraction of job opportunities in Istanbul (Mills 2005). Such drastic changes in the composition of inhabitants, as seen in the Istanbul areas of Beyoğlu, Galata and surrounding areas, turns Tophane into an interesting case to study for exploring the relationship between demographic changes and the physical appearance and narratives of the city. My preliminary research suggests that often such relationship is very complex and difficult to detect at first sight (Schuitema forthcoming). When asking interviewees about Tophane's past, the past of the last fifty to twenty years is most commonly mentioned. Contrary to the Ottoman past, this more recent past includes events, buildings and everyday life that inhabitants or their family members, have eye-witnessed and is considered the past that they strongly identify themselves and the neighborhood with.

Generally social cohesion in Istanbul's urban areas is shaped by the '*mahalle* feeling'¹⁰. Although Tophane is not an official *mahalle*,¹¹ some mechanisms attributed to the '*mahalle* feeling' can be found at work in the neighbourhood. Relationships in a *mahalle* create a shared identity, in opposition to the 'outside' world. The historical Ottoman *mahalle* used to be a small urban district centred upon a *mescit* (small mosque), a church or synagogue. The residential area of the *mahalle* was considered a private area, where the state should not interfere (Inalcık 1998). During the first half of the twentieth century the *mahalle* was still the basic community on a local level and functioned as the centres of economic and social life (Duben & Behar 1991).

The composition of inhabitants in the *mahalle* became more complex during the migrations from other parts of Turkey to Istanbul in the 1950's and the social identity of the *mahalle* changed. The *mahalle* often became 'ethnic' quarters where people from the same provincial origin settled (Erder 1999). The most important principle of organization became chain migration, the *mahalle* was shaped around a nucleus of immigrants from specific parts of Turkey, which in the case of Tophane mainly included Siirt and Bitlis. This attracted and still attracts other migrants, often connected by family ties, from the same regions (Erder 1999). From then on strong networks and reciprocal exchange relations, based on mutual confidence, came into being in Tophane (Mischek 2006).

In the case of Tophane, the migration ties, shared religious, conservative lifestyles create cohesion within the neighbourhood and set it apart from the surrounding neighbourhoods of already gentrified Galata and Cihangir, where the inhabitants generally share more global lifestyles. With the present-day urban and social changes taking place in Tophane, this cohesion in the neighbourhood seems to have become less for the neighbourhood as a whole, but stronger among certain core groups, which reinforce the tensions between gentrifiers and old inhabitants.

Discussion and Conclusions

In recent years and increasing amount of critiques on this approach of heritage are being uttered.

¹⁰ A social cohesion within a small urban district called *mahalle*, which has existed since Ottoman times, shaped around a *mescit*, a church or synagogue, in which the residential part was regarded a private area, where inhabitants could function autonomously, not directly governed by the state, due to which close social connections between inhabitants came into being and were necessary in order to have the area function (Erder 1999). In the *Ottoman Empire* the *mahalle* was the smallest administrative entity. The *mahalle* is generally perceived to play an important role in *identity formation*, with the local mosque and the local coffee house as the main social institutions. *Mahalle* lies at the intersection of private family life and the public sphere. Important community-level management functions are performed through *mahalle* solidarity, such as religious ceremonies, life-cycle rituals, resource management, conflict resolution (<http://www.uludagsozluk.com>).

¹¹ The historical Ottoman *mahalle* was a small urban district centred upon a *mescit* (small mosque), a church or synagogue (Inalcık 1998).

One of these critiques is that the renewal projects result in a sharpened existing hiatus between the city's culturally dominant elite and its disenfranchised immigrant majorities (Öncü 2007). Due to the 'renovation', renewal of the designated urban areas, these areas become 'upgraded' and rapid gentrification takes place, during which the inhabitants become displaced. This displacement implies the loss of intangible heritage, such as traditions, memories, social cohesion of the displaced communities (Kuyucu & Ünsal 2010) and also shows the lack of 'voice' these groups of inhabitants have in such situations.

Another issue of critique is 'freezing' the physical appearance of urban spaces to a specific period in the past, often the 15th and 16th centuries of the imperial Ottoman period, as well as renewal of historic areas for commercial and political ends, i.e. 'hypothetical' reconstructions that fit the expectations and desires of the tourism industry (Aksoy 2010). In summary, several distant and more recent histories, such as the twentieth century past, are being ignored, both in terms of the built environment and in terms of social, religious and ethnic compositions of the neighbourhood (Aksoy 2010). Many different local stories about and views on the past getting lost in the top-down claims on what should be regarded as national memory. In the case of Tophane these are mainly focused on the 15th and 16th century imperial Ottoman past and the cosmopolitan, multi-cultural 19th century Ottoman past.

The plans and implication of the Galata Port Project and the renewal of Tophane bring along gentrification of the neighbourhood and, therefore, result in physical and social changes and tensions between old and new groups of inhabitants and different opinions arise concerning which past should be regarded as most important and should be preserved, and which past is ignored, resulting in fight over the question of who actually makes these decisions. These tensions have led to unstable situations in which new identities are actively communicated and created by inhabitants in order to legitimize their position in the neighbourhood and society in general. For the creation of such identities often the past and claims on the past are used. In this article we got to understand what is regarded as Tophane's heritage and which meanings are ascribed to the neighbourhood both by state authorities and by inhabitants. This also shed light on the importance of (local) heritage for bottom-up creations of identities in the neighbourhood and for the (often top-down) imposition of a certain identity on the Tophane neighbourhood to present it to the public and the outside world, including tourists, by municipalities and national authorities. Furthermore, it shows us the discrepancies between the narratives about the past of inhabitants and the past of the neighbourhood presented to the outside world by authorities.

When being asked about Tophane's Ottoman past most of the inhabitants, often originating from regions in eastern Turkey, mention the religious and monumental buildings in the neighbourhood, dating from Ottoman times. Furthermore, the ethnic-religious minorities that used to inhabit the neighbourhood during Ottoman times and the early years of the Republic, are merely mentioned by elderly inhabitants of Tophane and not so much by the migrants of the last ten to twenty years, who often regard that minority past of Tophane as the past of 'others' and not as their own past. These inhabitants rather mention the past fifty to twenty years as the important past of Tophane, which is a time that they, or their family members, have eyewitnessed and with which they strongly identify themselves and the neighbourhood. It is also this past from which the present-day mahalle feeling originates from, which largely accounts for the present-day neighbourhood's cohesion. So-called 'newcomers' or 'gentrifiers', however, often identify themselves strongly with Tophane's past ethnic-religious minorities, which is probably a way to legitimize their own positions in the neighbourhood by pointing out that also the present-day (migrant) inhabitants cannot claim the neighbourhood as theirs. This strong urge for legitimization of one's own status in the neighbourhood and the use of claims on the past results from the tensions between different socio-political groups in the neighbourhood that came into being due to gentrification.

The heritage of Tophane's Ottoman past is used top-down by authorities to showcase the 'glorious' achievements of that period. The re-creation of this Ottoman past aims to create loyalty and cohesion through shared experience of the Ottoman pasts and a broad attachment to Islam (Yavuz 1998). This includes the renovation of certain Ottoman monuments and religious buildings in Tophane, such as the Tophane-i Amire, the Kılıç Ali Paşa mosque, and the re-creation of the 18th and 19th century coffeehouses in Tophane as well as the construction of a new 'Ottoman-style' wooden muhtar building. With a focus on the preservation and recreation of tangible heritage from Ottoman times, however, heritage from the twentieth and twenty-first century is often being ignored in this top-down context. These more recent pasts, on the contrary, seem to be most important to Tophane's present-day (migrant) inhabitants and the mahalle feeling, originating from that period accounts largely for the neighbourhood's social cohesion that still exists today. This past, therefore, is deeply engrained with local significance and is special to those who live there (Mills 2010). Therefore, the focus on a (recreated) Ottoman past once more shows us the use of the past as a political tool, including the use of heritage in the

formation of identities, such as a top-down constructed image of Tophane/Istanbul meant for the outside world, and bottom-up creations of social identities by local communities.

During the gentrification process of Tophane, in which the latest wave results from the tourism plans of the Galata Port Project, renewal and preservation of the tangible heritage are carried out in order to attract and satisfy the needs of tourists while the locals do not have many opportunities to vocalize their problems and demands and will become displaced soon, which results into the loss of a collective memory of the neighbourhood's tangible and intangible past, especially that of the twentieth and twenty-first century. This collective memory of different groups of inhabitants might be replaced by national created memory, as imposed by authorities, with not much value ascribed to 'localness'. In this context, tensions between different social groups in the neighbourhood become stronger and different identities of those are being reinforced, often with the use of certain views on the past. In other words, differing views on the past become important in the present-day social and urban changes and struggles of the construction and maintenance of a social, religious and political identity (Bartu 1999).

Because of these different contradictory views on the past, as well as a focus on globalization opposing a focus on localness, often for social or political reasons, not only the top-down views should be recognized and be directive in urban renewal and the preservation of heritage, but attention should be paid to local views and narratives.

In my opinion, urban planning, heritage management and the tourism industry should be more inclusive, thereby taking into account inhabitants' personal narratives on the past as well instead of only focusing on tangible heritage of an imagined past. Herein Tophane served as an Istanbul case-study, but to a certain extent also reflects heritage issues in other world cities.

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Personalised Cloud-Based Recommendation Services for Creative Tourism

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Abstract

Mass tourism increasingly gives way to creative and niche tourism. The creative visitor is a more informed tourist, better integrating with the place of a visit, its local culture, history and people. The best ambassadors of a region are local stakeholders who are able to include their offerings within the wider cultural context of the region, as well as visitors who enjoyed a personalised experience, tailored to their wishes, needs and interests. Recent advances in computer-assisted tourism services are well-suited to support the personalisation of the touristic product. Specifically, recommender systems make it possible to support a personalised experience by tailoring offered information and services to the specific context of an individual visit. MYVISITPLANNER is a cloud-based service employing a recommender engine to offer personalised suggestions of cultural activities and a planning tool to create valid tour plans for visitors and residents of an area. In doing so, it also addresses the need of local authorities and regional stakeholders to raise the visibility of their offerings, by providing an easy to use platform for their recording and inclusion in individual tour planning. This paper offers an overview of the underlying logic and implementation for a personalised activities recommender system, developed as part of the intelligent itineraries planning system MYVISITPLANNER. The recommender engine takes into account both a taxonomy of possible activities, as well as user preferences and past recommendations, making it capable of offering recommendations tailored to the overall visit profile.

Keywords: Recommender systems; personalised itineraries; cloud services; privacy; creative tourism.

Introduction

Mass tourism has been the dominant force in tourism business for many decades. Increasingly, there is in parallel a strong surge of individual travellers or traveller groups, wishing to create their own personalised trips and experience offerings and activities that best match their interests and wishes, as well as their constraints. The term 'creative tourism' is often employed to denote a stronger participatory role for the traveller in shaping up the visit experience, boosted by enabling information and communication technologies (ICT). While creativity is mostly associated with urban tourism (Richards, 2014) and smart cities concepts (Lamsfus, et al., 2014), in principle it is not restricted within a single city context but may be applicable to wider area visits.

The current landscape in the tourism industry has been hugely influenced and largely shaped up by the advent of a range of emerging technological enablers, primarily related to advances in ICT, namely web-based and semantic computing, ubiquitous networking, media technologies, smart interfaces and highly capable portable devices and smartphones. A typical tourist may now be considered as a highly active actor having access to a multitude of data sources, dynamically interacting with the environment and offered electronic services and making fast decisions on the basis of the most relevant information, according to individual (or group-wise) interests, desires and constraints. A key enabler to delivering this level of personalisation in the touristic product experience is the emergence of ICT applications able to tailor their offered information and services according to the apparent context of a service request (Emmanouilidis, et al., 2013). The ability to offer sophisticated recommendation services is essentially a reflection of the technical ability to close the information loop between services providers, related stakeholders and end users in the tourist industry and its wider value chain.

This paper presents the development and the offered functionality of a new cloud-based service, named MYVISITPLANNER (www.myvisitplanner.com) (Refanidis, et al., 2014). Instead of relying on static information that can locally be stored, the cloud-based service offers the technological means to integrate large amounts of

data but make available to the end user only the contextually relevant ones. The cloud-based nature of the service brings additional flexibility in terms of the area range coverage, which is practically unlimited, as well as to the range of stakeholders and end users that it may serve. The offered functionality enables a prospective tourist to create and receive personalised recommendations when planning to visit a geographic area of interest up to the point of creating a valid itinerary plan for the visit, while respecting other commitment constraints, such as pre-set appointments or other activities. One of the core system functionalities is to tailor the recommended visit activities to personal preferences, in a privacy-respectful manner, by exploiting an underlying dedicated ontology of activities, default, edited or inferred personalised profiles, as well as past visit historical data. The hybrid manner of operation of the involved recommender engine enables reaching balanced recommendation suggestions, even in the presence of minimal information about the user or past users.

The paper focuses on describing the recommender engine functionality and is structured as follows. Section 2 discusses the role of recommender systems in tourism, especially focusing on itinerary planning. Section 3 provides a high level overview of the overall system, which is described in more detail in (Refanidis, et al., 2014). Section 4 presents the design and implementation of the recommender system. Section 5 illustrates how the system can be used to derive activities recommendations. Finally, section 6 concludes the paper and sets future directions.

Recommender Systems in Tourism

The lifecycle of a visit experience essentially contains three phases, namely inception& planning, realisation and post-visit experience. Whereas in the past the time lag for any meaningful information flows between these phases was slow, current advances in ICT have made it possible to streamline data exchanges and therefore make a real impact on how the actual touristic product can be massively customised to serve individual needs at virtually real time pace (Figure 1). Having a closer look at each individual tour activity phase brings about a wealth of opportunities to enhance offered services through smart information processing and better exploitation of visit lifecycle data.

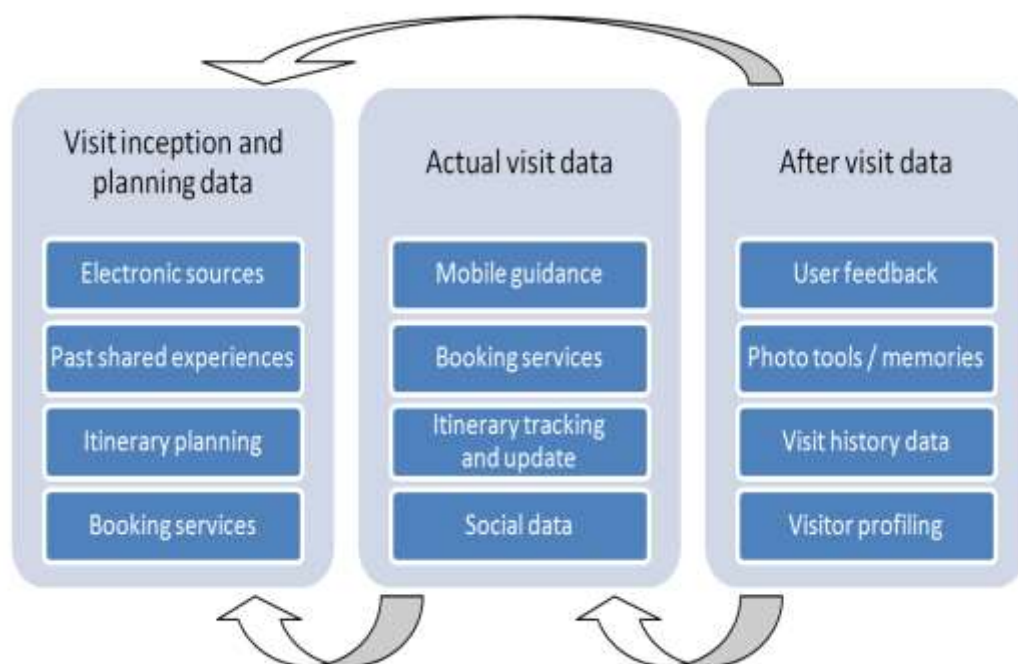


Figure 1. Information availability during visit lifecycle phases

Travellers may consult electronic information sources and shared spaces of past user experience to learn details about their prospective places to visit, determine what to include in their itinerary and use e-booking services to proceed with their planning. During the visit they may use their smartphones to get on-the-move information and services support, share data via social tools and produce a visit track, possibly updating their initial itinerary and make additional bookings if needed. After the visit they may leave available their own visit data, either in the

form of explicit feedback and shared text and media, or indirectly through their activities tracking history, enabling visitor profiling. Smart mobile guides are increasingly employed to enhance the visit experience, vastly shortening the time between information acquisition and action, adding flexibility to the actual visit and enabling tourists to customise their actual path on the go, according to their wishes, interests and constraints (D' Amico, et al., 2013; Schaller, 2014).

A key enabling factor for the successful personalisation of services is the ability to capture context and tailor the offered information and services to the apparent context in each case (Emmanouilidis, et al., 2013). While context has been an attribute largely associated in the past with computational linguistics, it is particularly useful when providing mobile services, enabling the user to become a mobile actor interacting with the surrounding environment. While context is not actually uniquely defined, it can be modelled for specific application domains and in the case of a tourist, acting as a mobile user, it may be classified to belong into five broader categories, namely user, environment, social, service and system context (Emmanouilidis, et al., 2013).

The ability to exploit relevant information to offer recommendations for activities and points of interests to include in an itinerary, has given rise to a body of work on itinerary recommender systems (Agarwal, et al., 2013; Cha, 2014; Chen, et al., 2014; Chen, et al., 2013; D' Amico, et al., 2013; Gavalas, et al., 2014; Herzog and Wörndl, 2014; Koceski and Petrevska, 2013; Lucas, et al., 2013; Moreno, et al., 2013; Schaller and Elsweiler, 2014; Yang, 2013). These follow the typical patterns of design for generic recommender systems (Bobadilla, et al., 2013), but are customised for the tourism application domain. In general, recommender systems seek to combine large quantities of often heterogeneous data, compare it with a certain query or situation and offer information or service recommendations. Important factors for the success of such recommender systems are the way the contextualisation of such processes is modelled and implemented, as well as the way they exploit past information and experience, by employing methods such as Collaborative Filtering (CF) and Clustering. Yet, significant challenges still exist. The quantity of data may vary greatly, ranging from little to no past history data all the way to huge quantities of data, especially when a visit is not confined to a city but to a much larger area. Users may act in very different ways, not always following precise patterns. A single visitor might even wish to follow different visit patterns, depending on time, budget or other constraints and preferences. Furthermore, the validity and quality of the offered data may not always be guaranteed and there is a need to promote stakeholders's engagement to volunteer such data, a service that they are only likely to offer if they can see a direct business or other benefit in the process.

The MYVISITPLANNER Cloud-Based Recommender and Itinerary Planning System

This section describes how an enhanced recommendation functionality can be achieved by bringing together technological enablers such as web-based and semantic computing, cloud implementation and services, machine learning and privacy preserving computing. It forms part of the MYVISITPLANNER cloud-based personalised itinerary planning system, originally presented in (Refanidis, et al., 2014). The main services offered by MYVISITPLANNER for visitors are (a) recommendations of activities to be performed during a visit, taking into account the area of interest and available activities in the area, according to defined or pre-selected visit profiles and preferences, past visit data evaluations and information content as defined in a domain ontology of visit activity types, (b) itinerary plans, provided by a scheduling engine, taking into account the recommended activities by the recommendation engine, individual visitor calendar constraints and scheduling preferences, as well as available time for the visit. For activity providers MYVISITPLANNER offers service for enlisting, describing in a structured way and classifying the offered activities within the MYVISITPLANNER system, so as to be incorporated in the personalised recommendations and itineraries.

While the above constitutes a high-level description of the offered services, more fine-grained services are further included in the system to aid both prospective visitors and area activity providers. The overall system architecture and functionality is described in (Refanidis, et al., 2014), whereas the scheduling and planning mechanisms were adapted from (Refanidis and Alexiadis, 2011; Refanidis, et al., 2011) and further elaborated in (Refanidis, et al., 2014), (Alexiadis and Refanidis, 2013) and (Alexiadis and Refanidis, 2013).

A broad range of activities that might be of interest are considered, such as visiting museums, archaeological sites, monuments, exhibition spaces, attending events, walks through interesting urban and rural paths, outdoors activities, such as mountaineering, rafting or swimming, and many others. Personalization is offered both in terms of deriving recommended activities, as well as devising a personalised visit plan, taking into account the visitors' interest; preferences with respect to the scheduling of activities; and, finally, constraints imposed by other tasks already scheduled within the visitors' calendar. The cloud-based architecture of the implemented

solutions makes it possible not to needlessly limit the offered services to a single city or narrow area of interest, as is typically offered by other itinerary planning systems, to better exploit past experience and user evaluations, by means of a hybrid recommendation approach, that incorporates customised collaborative filtering, and to easily scale-up, expand and update the offered services, without the need for users, i.e. activity providers, or visitors, to update software on their own devices (Refanidis, et al., 2014). Sample tool screens are shown in Figure 2.

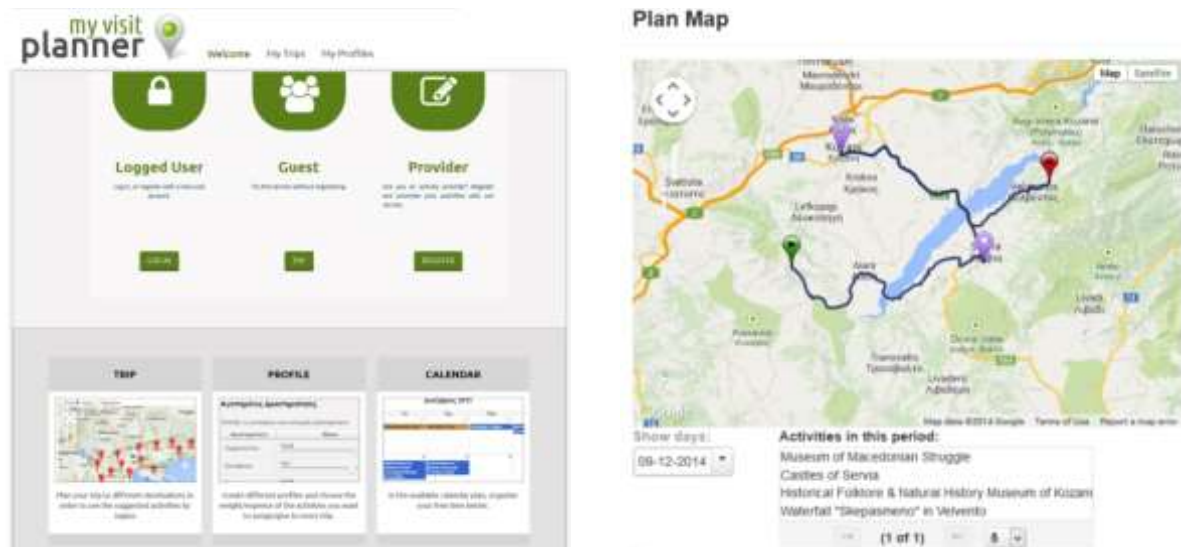


Figure 2. (left) MYVISITPLANNER main interface (right) example of itinerary map-view

MYVISITPLANNER Recommender

The MYVISITPLANNER recommendation approach has been designed so as to offer recommendations exploiting both the similarity of intended visit profiles with existing profiles and activity types, as well as historical evaluation ratings data. In order to achieve this a dedicated activities ontology has been defined, while similarity is assessed by means of appropriately defined distance functions and a fusion of recommendation mechanisms. These are described next.

The activities ontology

The MYVISITPLANNER system ontology design requirements were driven by its intended end-use, that of facilitating the recording of a potential tour visit activities and producing activities recommendations during an area visit. Therefore, it was necessary to design a dedicated ontology to describe activity types in a structured manner. It was clearly not aimed at describing or recording cultural heritage as such an objective would complicate rather than facilitate the end result. This is an important design requirement, since activities offerings were intended to be directly handled by activity providers to input activity descriptions. Such users are not expected to be generally familiar with formal ontological descriptions. Therefore, rather than defining a formal cultural activities ontology, the choice was to define a simple tour activities structure employing commonly perceived terms. A representative subset of the employed activity ontology is presented in Figure 3.

The main hierarchy contains available activity types, such as “Monument” or “Archaeological Site”. The objective is to record the corresponding activities, that is *visiting* a “Monument” or “Archaeological Site”, but not the recording of the actual “Monument” or the “Archaeological” site per se. The activity types are further analyzed at deeper hierarchy levels. An activity provider, thus, has the flexibility to stay at the more abstract hierarchical level. This may be sufficient in many cases. However, it is also possible to proceed at a more detailed hierarchical level when describing offered activities. This may be helpful for users wishing to offer a more elaborate visit profile in order to receive more focused recommendations. Additionally, auxiliary cross-cutting categorizations of the main activity type hierarchy help mitigating a potential combinatorial explosion of activity types that would have otherwise been introduced by a categorization of very fine granularity. More specifically, the theme hierarchy allows the expression of the thematic category of the activity; the historical era

(epoch) hierarchy enables a categorization according to the historical period of interest; and the target group hierarchy assists in linking activities with different target groups.

A key usage target for the defined ontology is to support the description of offered activities, as well as prospective visitor preferences for activity types. Therefore, the description allows flexible sets of ontology entries to be specified. For example, in describing a castle on the shore of a lake, the set {Castle, Lake} can be specified. When considering visitor preferences, composite weighted sets of ontology entries are applicable. For example, a visitor may have a specific interest in sites of speleological interest, with a strong dislike for visiting castles, while remaining indifferent to seeing bridges. The case is just an example of the type of preferences that can be served and can be specified by the set {(Cave, 1.0), (Castle, 0.0), (Bridge, 0.5)}. By defining preferences over the activity types rather than the auxiliary hierarchies, the profiling is characterised by simplicity. Therefore, an evident advantage of the adopted ontological approach is that it combines simplicity towards the user with the ability to handle more complex associations, served by employing a composite similarity metric. In this way the produced recommendations can be finely or coarsely elaborated, better matching the level of detail that an end user may be interested in specifying. The overall process remains simple enough for the average user, while it may involve sufficient detail to satisfy visitors looking for specialised recommendations.

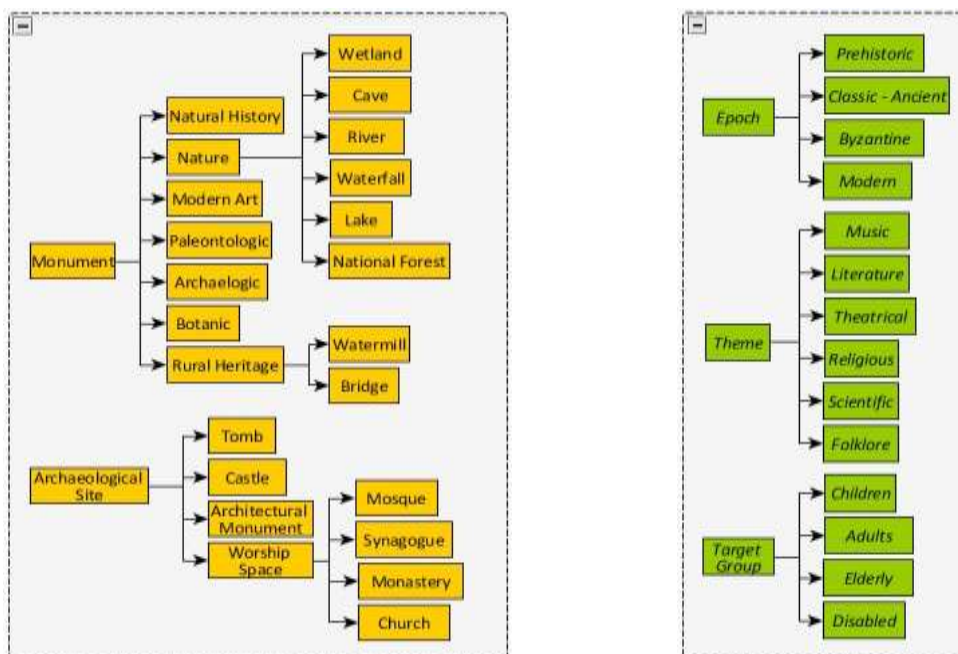


Figure 3. Partial view of the activities ontology (left) activity type hierarchy (right) auxiliary hierarchies

Recommender Architecture

A recommender could be built to offer recommendations based on (a) explicit user-specific defined preferences with respect to activity types, (b) experience from past user-specific interaction with the system to infer eventual user preferences with respect to activity types, and (c) pre-defined generic visit profiles and user assignment to such a visit profile via some form of clustering. While all the aforementioned design options have merits and are supported to a smaller or greater extent in the literature by available recommender systems, each one has specific shortcomings. The first choice is intuitive and practical but the prior matching of end user sense of preferences with activity may fail to capture the eventual preferences, as these might have been captured by past experience from user interaction with the systems. In the second case, historical data can be used to train a system to develop a 'learned' visit profile, thus offering a way forward to take into account visit posterior data, validated by actual choices. However, for such a training to be effective, a dense representation of training data covering different scenario combinations would be needed. This can rarely be the case in practice and it would further limit the ability to offer valid recommendations to cases where sufficient past experience exists. Even if a wealth of such data became available, managing a large set of data comprising combinations of offered activities and

users would soon become computationally hard. The clustering of each new visit profile to a pre-existing set of profiles would be a third choice, but this might either become a limiting factor limiting the personalisation of the visit experience to static profiles, or, in cases of dynamically updated visit profiles, would bring about real time performance and complexity issues. In MYVISITPLANNER a balanced solution is implemented (a) by employing a hybrid recommendation engine, exploiting definitions based on a dedicated activity ontology, visit profile clustering and learning from past data to enhance the quality of the recommendation, and (b) by deploying the actual implementation on the cloud, so as to boost the scalability of the solution to work with data from large geographic areas, with a wealth offered activities and potential users. The functionality of the hybrid recommender engine is described next.

MYVISITPLANNER assists users in obtaining relevant activity recommendations by means of a hybrid collaborative filtering scheme system (Ricci, et al., 2010). The hybrid nature of the recommender enables it to combine two individual recommendation engines. Each engine's recommendation is then fed into a fusion function in order to derive a final ordered list of proposed activities. Some aspects of the engine functionality are shown in Figure 4.

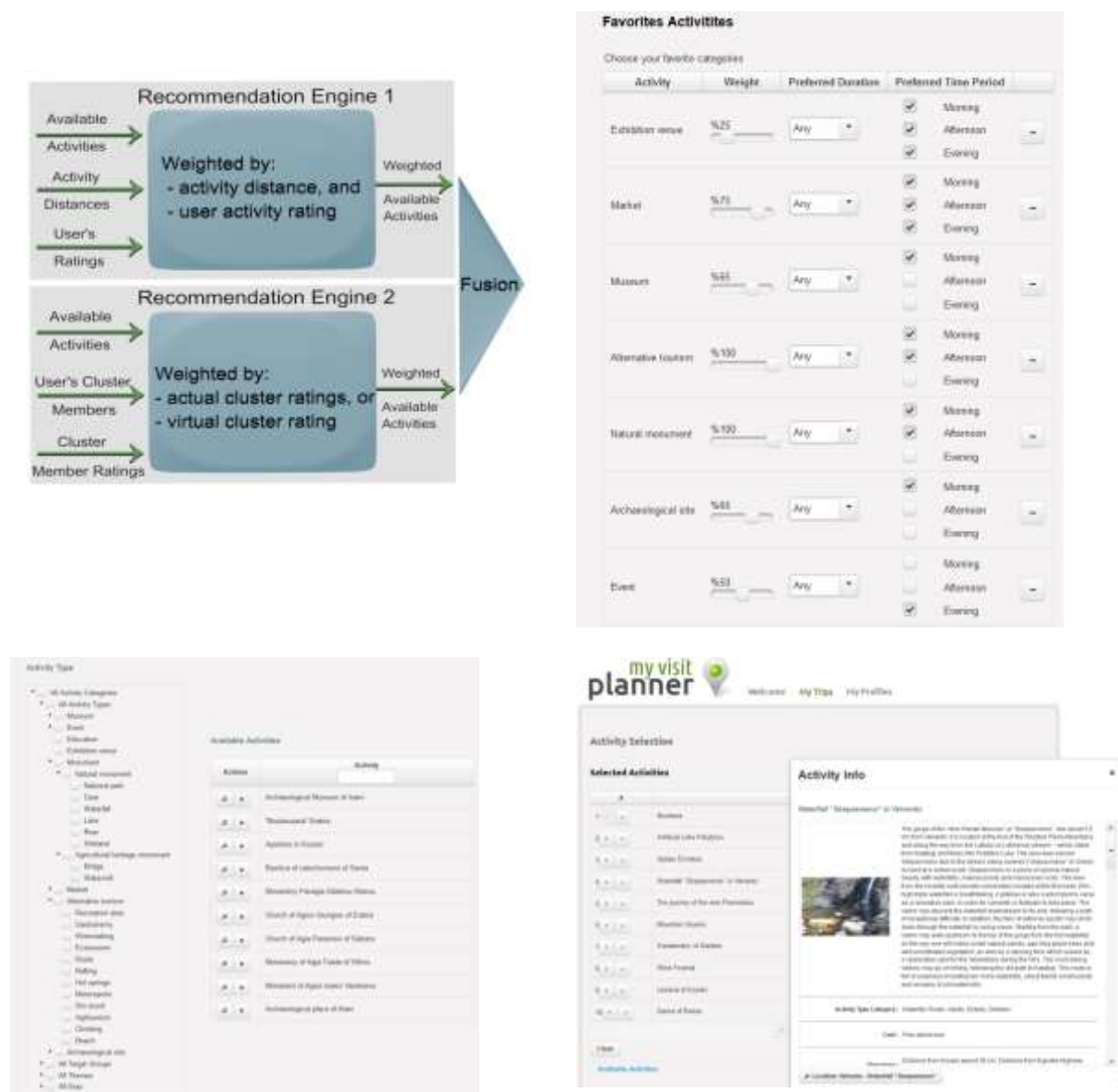


Figure 4. Recommender engine: (top left) the hybrid implementation (top right) visit profiling (bottom left) activity types editing (bottom right) proposed activities

The detailed analysis of the recommendation engine mechanism is beyond the scope of the present paper but a

brief summary follows. In general, the recommendation engine mechanism performs recommendations on the basis of functions and relationships defined over the sets of activity types, activities, users, activities evaluations by users and activities preferences by users. Relationships may be more complex than unary, for example users may have more than one preference profiles, activities may belong to more than one activity types and activity types may be defined at multiple levels of abstraction. To facilitate the recommender engine's reasoning mechanism, sets activity types and sets of weighted activity types can be defined, so that a single activity may belong to different activity types (non-weighted) or a user may express preference for different activity types according to a weighting factor. Furthermore, appropriate distance metrics are defined between activity types, as well as between sets of non-weighted/weighted activity types, with the former always considered to be derived as a specific instance of the latter. An important factor that is taken into account in the definition of the distance metric is the information content of activity type nodes or whole sub-hierarchies of activity types, defined via ontology-based information content (Sánchez, et al., 2011). On the basis of such a distance metric, the distance between non-weighted/weighted sets of activity types is then calculated and activities of short distance are retained and included in the recommendation (Pesquita, et al., 2007). Overall, similarity is therefore calculated via a distance metric between the ontological description of each activity, where the description is represented as a non-empty set of tree nodes taken from the activity type ontology.

More specifically, the first recommendation engine performs recommendations on the basis of functions and relationships defined over the sets of activity types, activities, users and activity evaluations by users. Initially, the available activities are collected, consisting of all the activities which conform to the trip's time and location restrictions and the user's language restrictions. Then, the user's past activity ratings are fetched. For each of the available activities, the most similar set of rated-by-the-user activities are estimated. Each of the available activities' recommendation weight is calculated as a function of the distance between itself and the most similar rated activities and the mean rating of the rated activities. One advantage of this approach for generating recommendations is that ratings for activities are not required from other users, since only the user's own ratings are used. Another advantage is that a large part of the calculations can be pre-computed off-line, since the activity descriptions change infrequently and as a result the distance between the activities remains unchanged. The disadvantages are that the user needs to provide ratings for some activities and that the other users' ratings are not taken advantage of. The former is improved by deducing ratings from a similar visit profile. The latter is addressed by the second recommendation engine.

The second engine performs a variation of collaborative filtering recommendation. It suggests user activities by clustering visit profiles via top-down clustering and suggesting activities rated by other cluster members to members of the cluster. The similarity of the users is calculated via the distance between the ontological description of the visit profile preferences and the similarities in age, gender, spoken languages and scheduling preferences. This engine takes advantage of the ontological information available for each visit and profile as well as the activity ratings of other users. As before, the set of available activities is collected. Afterwards, the user's cluster is employed as a proxy for the user's ratings. For each available activity, if the activity has been rated by one or more members of the cluster, the activity's recommendation weight is assigned as the mean of the other members' ratings. If an activity has not been rated by any of the cluster members, the cluster's aggregate preferences are used to rate the activity, behaving as a virtual cluster-average user, but weighted with a factor signifying the diminished confidence in this approach.

Among the advantages of the second engine are the exploitation of other users' ratings and the fact that a large part of the calculations, but not all, can also be pre-computed as clusters, should be relatively stable and the cluster's aggregate preferences need not be frequently updated. Additionally, this engine also takes advantage of user profile preferences, which are updated from their initial values using machine learning techniques on the user provided feedback. The most important, though, is that the prior availability of user ratings is not a prerequisite for the system to make recommendations.

The main disadvantage is the increased computational load, given the need to perform user clustering and that users need to belong to a cluster. However, this is not a major concern, since user clusters are formed and adjusted off-line, by periodically recalculating the clusters, while the prior definition of default representative user profiles enables usage by new users.

In the final merging stage the outputs of each of the two engines are combined. Each engine produces an independent list of (Activity, Weight) tuples. The merging function expresses the confidence in each engine by examining the richness of the information processed by each engine, such as user profile preferences genericity, ratings, cluster size, cluster virtual profile preference genericity, and weighs the two lists accordingly. Finally,

the list is returned ordered from the most to the least recommended activity. Some parts of the user model are also used in an auxiliary manner to filter recommended activities out before inputting them into the recommendation engines. Age will filter age-inappropriate activities and spoken languages will filter out activities performed in unfamiliar languages.

One of the problems many systems with explicit user profile preferences have is the lack of user engagement in defining their preferences. Therefore, user profile preferences tend to be generic, neither strongly preferring nor strongly disliking anything. A remedy to this adopted by the present approach is to perform non-intrusive learning of these preferences by logging user choices during system usage, such as selecting, deselecting and viewing activities as a proxy for actual ratings. Obviously, direct user feedback in the form of plan and activity ratings is considered more significant, therefore the information gleaned in this manner is appropriately weighted such that the low confidence in these measurements is appropriately represented.

The recommendation subsystem executes the off-line calculations using the Apache Mahout machine learning library on the Apache Hadoop MapReduce framework.

Privacy Considerations

Storage of large amounts of data concerning user interests, travels, preferences and behaviours is a significant problem for both the user and the service provider who stores this data. The users risk having their private and potentially sensitive data misused. The service provider incentivizes more attacks against itself since more data are to be gained by unlawfully acquiring it, and is also potentially liable for any data theft. At the same time, the recommendation subsystem requires the availability of large amounts of data to be able to function. We have attempted to reach a trade-off, which allows the recommendation subsystem to deliver its intended functionality effectively, while at the same time increasing the users' privacy protection and diminishing the potential for large-scale data exfiltration. The penalty for this decision lies in increased implementation complexity, higher computational overheads and optionally, shifting some of the privacy protection burden to the users.

To enhance data protection, apart from the obvious security measures (e.g. access control, logging, auditing), user data which is deemed sensitive is kept in encrypted form in the database. The data is transparently decrypted whenever the user logs into the system, and is kept decrypted for the duration of the user's session and then re-encrypted automatically. The data in the database is encrypted using a symmetric cipher. The symmetric key is itself encrypted using another cipher, using the KEK (Key Encryption Key) scheme (Landrock, 2005), to allow changing user encryption keys without needing to decrypt the data and re-encrypt with the new key. The data which is considered sensitive and thus protected by the privacy mechanism in myVisitPlanner is shown in Table 1, against the main processes where it is accessed and the entities that need access to the data. At this stage the system allows access to the user data to all entities, when the user is logged in. An additional protective measure could be to limit the access of each entity to the data needed for the processes they perform.

Table 1. Data usage in myVisitPlanner processes

Entity	User	Recommendation			Scheduler
Scope	Profile Editing (UI)	Activity Similarity Based Recommendation	User Clustering	User Cluster Based Recommendation	Scheduling
Data Item					
Demographic Data	■		■		
Activity Type Preferences (in User Profile)	■		■		
System Preferences (in User Profile)	■				■
Detailed User Interaction Log	■				
Activity Ratings	■	■	■		

Table 2. System evaluation criteria

General evaluation criteria	
Criteria categories	Comments
Response speed	Rating the interfaces response time; rating the response time for obtaining the recommendations and the itinerary plan
User friendliness	Rating user friendliness for different user groups, considering even non-expert users
Robustness	Rating robustness to erroneous data entry, work load, etc.
Functionality	Rating of the extent to which the system covers specified functionality (without taking into account the quality of the recommendations and plans)
Maintainability	Rating of the extent to which the system is capable of handling content updates (in the first instance) and prospects for integration with other systems
Specific service-targeted evaluation criteria	
Criteria categories	Comments
Quality of offered recommendations	Rating the relevance of the offered activity recommendations to the recommendation request circumstances (e.g. preferences, profiles, etc.)
Quality of itinerary scheduling	Rating the quality of the scheduling of the proposed itinerary plans
Quality of content	Rating the quality of the offered content with respect to available activities

Evaluation Methodology, Next Steps and Conclusion

MYVISITPLANNER is available at www.myvisitplanner.com and is currently undergoing beta testing and piloting by different user category groups, namely activity providers and prospective travellers. Activity providers were selected from the geographic area of Northern Greece. Each activity provider is acting also as a hub for testing the generation of visit plans by prospective travellers. While testing the system, activity providers and prospective visitors are requested to offer their evaluations of the system. To this end, different evaluation questionnaires have been prepared, one for each end user group category. These include questions to assess the offered services according to the criteria shown in Table 2.

Once beta testing, piloting and evaluation is complete and the results are analysed, the MYVISITPLANNER team aims to develop an action plan for moving to the next step, that is the take up of the prototype solution to the level of viable and sustainable service provisioning. To this end great stakeholder engagement will be sought, as it is understood that by the very nature of the MYVISITPLANNER functionality and its placement in the direction of servicing the creative and niche tourism markets, overall success critically depends on the ability to operate in a highly participative, collaborative and eventually crowd-sourced manner. Although the underlying cloud-based recommender and itinerary planning engines are fairly sophisticated, the underlying complexity is hidden from end users, who just have to deal with simple user interaction interfaces. Therefore the system does not essentially require learning new skills apart from basic internet use.

The pilot system currently supports two basic user types, namely visitors and activity providers. While a narrow viewpoint may see the latter group as direct providers of specific visit activities, a broader perspective is to see them as a more abstract category that may engage in the wider value chain of heritage, tourism and hospitality management. Heritage providers may benefit by having their offerings listed in a practical web-based tool that enables other stakeholders and visitors to easily and quickly create and ultimately execute plans that include such offerings within planned visits, thus increasing heritage organisations' reach and impact. Tourism professionals and tour operators are better enabled to offer the right mix of both group and individualised visit options in their services, thus expanding and enriching their portfolio to better match emerging demands for niche and creative tourism. Hospitality professionals may now have the additional advantages offered by enabling prospective visitors to link hospitality options not just with single locations but whole itineraries or even offer additional itinerary planning options for existing visitors. It is interesting that none of the aforementioned user groups need to possess any specific knowledge about how exactly recommender systems actually work, in a way that bears relevance to the way for example customers of Amazon recommender services not required to know anything about the underlying collaborative filtering algorithms running in the background of the recommendation engine. By design the MYVISITPLANNER system may support a wider value chain of stakeholders, that is an extended cluster of heritage, tourism and hospitality professionals. A future system enhancement to link with existing popular social networking tools is a natural and rather straightforward extension. However, the social nature of humans when planning visits can already be indirectly mapped by recording and applying analytics on observed preferences and actions, as well as evolution of activity patterns. The reported work is a step in this direction with many possibilities still open that with further work would push

the exploitation potential of cloud-based recommender itinerary planning services.

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Theme 4: Governance, Partnerships and Communities

The Institutional Stakeholder and the Slippery Paths to Growth: Heritage-Based Strategies in Portuguese Tourism Development

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Abstract

Development through the use of heritage has been part of a consensual and therefore recurrent argumentation among institutional stakeholders. Many different on-going initiatives are vaguely based on the idea that some particular endogenous element can be used for the benefit of local businesses, or for that of economical growth as a whole. Archaeological heritage in particular lends itself to this line of reasoning, creating not only a marketable image, but also a less perceptible sense of local identity. From the stakeholder perspective, co-production of heritage is a crucial element to be considered by local and regional entities linked to tourism. Within the range of public policies, bottom-up procedures are to be contrasted with top-down perspectives, as they often do not entirely converge.

Stakeholders count heavily on the decentralized structure Portuguese administration operates in the field of tourism promotion and supervision, to which collaborative or private associations add both density and originality. EU channels constitute overlapping, transversal dimensions. This cross-sized configuration is to be explored in the light of initial projections and outcomes.

Keywords: Stakeholders, archaeological heritage, Portugal, administration, development.

Introduction

Literature review

Many different factors lead to the core assumption that tourism can be a solution for low-density areas in which residents deal with severe economic challenges. The correlative decrease of traditional production and of demographic decline, associated with an increase in access to knowledge and funding, have convinced many of tourism's restorative proficiencies. In most Western European areas, they have emerged, under different forms, as an alternative and regenerating strategy to cope with rural unemployment (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004). They have also long been on the political agenda, frequently as a uniform rhetoric that may disregard the particularities of different regions, some of which are not equally exploitable in terms of tourism (Fleischer & Felsenstein, 2000). In any case, it is the uniqueness of a cultural trademark that matters most, and it is now globally agreed on that in the cases where regional competitiveness can be built on cultural heritage, there is no fundamental incompatibility between the latter's conservation and economic enhancement (Alberti & Giusti, 2012; Bandarin et al., 2011; Zan et al., 2007). This is a recent and unevenly on-going development, chiefly of the last decade, turning away from the strictly curatorial way of operating in the heritage sector (Leask & Goulding, 1996), by which no money was to be made from a historical or archaeological asset.

Most textbooks would point to both social efficiency and equity as the main motives for governments to engage in the market (e.g. Sloman & Hinde, 2007), notwithstanding the obvious fact that inefficiency and inequity are impossible to measure precisely in social terms. It ought therefore to be very much underlined that, from a sound economic perspective, government intervention in tourism should occur only in cases of traditional market failures (Weimer & Vining, 2010). Such failures can result from domestic or external factors (Blake & Sinclair, 2007), but there are also some public goods private companies feel little interest in, or indeed cannot afford to do so – a plain example is the promotion of Portugal abroad. Electing tourism as a development tool for other reasons may lead to uncertain and therefore economically uninteresting results.

So governmental involvement in tourism promotion, the particular use of heritage as a facilitator, and sustainable regional development are formally coinciding realities in a number of contexts. Sometimes they are not, as they fail to overlap in practice (Ashworth, 2003). It is also rather clear that above all the mainstream policy on business and trade in general, not specific tourism-related decisions, frame a favourable environment for the tourism sector (Wanhill, 1997), thus entering the field of public choice theory in tourism policy analysis (O'Fallon, 1993; Michael & Plowman, 2002). In any case, the resulting degrees of success depend above all on

the structure of local agents; following this reasoning, the engagement of local stakeholders, and in particular the underlying collaboration processes, has been comprehensively referred to in literature (Gray, 1989; Donaldson & Preston, 1995; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Jamal & Stronza, 2009; Wray, 2011)

It has been pointed out elsewhere in Portugal that virtually all stakeholders identify serious disarticulations between public and private bodies. When it comes to collaboration, a heavy dependency on bureaucratic and hierarchical channels emerges, as well as an excessive prominence of public entities (Fonseca & Ramos, 2012). Whether this is a misconception or a fact is not easily inferable from the available data, yet it seems sound to state that private stakeholders often feel disconnected from the process and either lack access to information or the ability to grasp the practicalities of that same information. Furthermore, public participation may be weakened by the fact that these hierarchical structures become or reflect cultural norms (Pedersen 2002, 39), meaning that even in the private sector some actors tend to capitalise pre-eminences of different sort. When a large association or business enters a dialogue in order to facilitate tourism, chances are that not each legitimate stakeholder is fairly represented, even if inclusive measures are taken (Torres-Delgado & López Palomeque, 2012; hence the variety of stakeholder profiles, see Mitchell et al., 2009). Most small restaurant owners, or residents, or public servants are unaware of the adequate platforms to engage in a reflection on local tourism development, in equal terms as a municipal task force or a hotel association, leading to fairly unpredictable attitudes and awareness towards tourism (Jimura 2011). This is why the perception of failure of sustainable tourism policies is a widespread critique (Ruhanen, 2013) and has to do with management of expectations as to the possibilities of heritage; excessively optimistic outlooks necessarily end up producing discouragement.

Research Design

The paper is structured in two parts: a first section is descriptive and deals with the Portuguese administrative configuration, whereas the second enters a regional dimension, based on three case studies. The latter are approached in their connection with officially induced parameters for heritage tourism. Two statistical indicators were used to empirically support the comparison.

Government intervention

The creation of a single national tourism agency in Portugal dates back to 2007, when a governmental decree (141/2007, 27 April) centralized, either totally or partially, four different bodies into a new public institute, which was called Turismo de Portugal. Among other, it serves the key purposes of proposing strategic solutions to the government, producing statistics and studies, and providing technical support to public and private entities, in order to stimulate the Portuguese tourism industry. The following year, by the enforcement of a second decree (67/2008, 10 April, very slightly altered by a third, 187/2009, 12 August), 27 regional or local structures were declared impractical and promptly extinct, giving way to 5 regional tourism areas and 6 tourism development poles. The former are configured according to NUTS II units, and their legal status (law 33/2013, 16 May) implies a flexible outreach towards (the funding of) private entities whose main purpose is the tourism activity. Another interesting point has to do with stability and medium-term involvement, given the fact that any participating parties can only abandon the regional tourism entities subjecting themselves to a restitution of the obtained resources. This is an overriding principle, as the entities are publicly funded through contract-programmes established with Turismo de Portugal.

An effective set of public policies for the tourism sector was legally outlined (decree 191/2009, 17 August) and substantiated upon the principles of sustainability, transversality, and competitiveness. They translate into a number of guidelines insisting on regulation, not particularly on a direct intervention by the State. The promulgation of this decree implies that the large set of public policies might in fact differ according to the sensibilities of a given ministerial cabinet. Yet it ensures a fundamental constancy as well, on a sector deemed critical to the national economy. Considering the terms used in the law's preamble, the added value produced by tourism seems undisputable. It is responsible for a major part of the GDP and of employment (9,2% and 8,2%, respectively, according to the OECD; Turismo de Portugal, 2014a). It would therefore become nothing but logical to decline the same punch lines into a variety of local realities. This may not be the case in generic terms.

The decade-long time span (2006-15) that had been the subject of a governmental public document regarding long-term tourism policies, named the National Strategic Plan for Tourism, was recently reassessed, in order to deal with the fact that a series of key indicators ended up performing differently than initially predicted. The prospective scenario changed severely following the 2009 financial commotion in Europe, and the ensuing sectorial adjustments. As elsewhere, the Portuguese market did decrease in absolute figures, but ultimately also benefited from deviations resulting from competing destinations affected by social unrest, namely in the

southern and eastern Mediterranean. This state of affairs called for a policy refinement, under the form of an adaptive strategic plan, subtitled Horizon 2013-2015. It insists heavily on forms of decentralization, in order to minimize flaws in the vertical transition processes between a national plan and the regional scale. Among the different implementation programmes, the principle of heritage use is transversal, either as a vehicle for qualifying tourist circuits (e.g. food and wine related) or in the perspective of quality and sustainability.

The use of archaeological structures as pillars for development is, to some degree, built upon an underlying paradox. It has been a traditional understanding that historic sites are to be funded largely by public monies (Timothy 2011, 337). This paradigm has rapidly become unmanageable in the current scenario. Not only do sites have to cope with budget cuts, the most immediate alternatives are often counterproductive. A clear example is the equation between higher entrance fees and decrease in visitors. There seems to exist a definite preference among heritage managers for encouraging secondary spending instead of increasing ticket prices (Garrod & Fyall, 2000), although this may have as much to do with convictions about the social obligations of public services as with commercial management. A tentative number of indirect approaches intended to benefit and involve local communities with regard to value a heritage tourism attraction. In theory, it remains far from clear how this might be assimilated by current marketing strategies (Chhabra 2009, 311), but a vast array of EU instruments continues to be available to an equally diverse number of recipients linked to heritage tourism in economically challenged regions. Interesting for the Portuguese reality, the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund, and the LEADER programme all include components with the potential of becoming operational in the field of local tourism. In the particular cases of Mértola and the Côa valley mentioned below, the INTERREG initiative is useful as a trans-border and inter-regional promotion tool. The subjacent principle has been fundamentally the same since the Common Regional Policy of the 1970s, which recognized a disparity between regions that would continue to accentuate (Wanhill, 1997), given the cumulative benefits more prosperous cities and regions were able to gain from the European integration.

The regional dimension

A major question has to do not primarily with the design of local structures and their strategic planning, but rather with their effective capabilities. This is hard to measure in absolute figures, and various metrics have been applied to this end. Regarding tourism supply, abundant modelling efforts have been attempting to reach correct valuations of heritage economics (Choi et al., 2010). What can effectively be put forward are the correlations between several market failures and public sector involvement, which commonly translates in the use of policy tools by municipalities. It also seems very plausible that these tools are more often regulatory than market-oriented in nature (Costa, 2012). On the other hand, the many officially induced impacts that can be counted as a result of government “collective” spending in the travel and tourism sector are comparatively larger in Portugal than they are in the rest of Europe, with a corresponding higher percentage in employment and GDP (WTTC, 2014). Small and Medium Enterprises in the tourism industry are particularly exposed to setbacks when operating in peripheral areas. This has in part to do with the constraints of economical geography itself, but also with limited business skills, lack of finance and what can be called “free riding” (Wanhill, 1997), that is, a more or less passive anchoring on a local (heritage) attraction, disconnected from a common sustainability strategy.

Regional associations may provide coherence in a more operational manner than other entities do. Most current territorial development theories are in fact based on the idea that local stakeholders are fundamentally important to the process, and that populations feel better expressed through organized structures, which can be formalized as associations. The second Community Support Framework did in fact encourage inter- or supra-municipal infrastructures engaging the promotion of regions, translated into actions such as the Production of Regional Development Potential Programme (PPDR), under which the first Regional Development Agencies did emerge in Portugal (Figueiredo, 2010). This new regionalism focuses territorialism and bottom-up manifestations, in substitution of the neoclassical perspectives on development that depend very little, or not at all, on the input of local agents (Shone & Memon, 2008; Stöhr & Taylor, 1981). Participative development and empowerment of territorially organized communities has indeed become part of a neo-liberal paradigm in which the State reduces its involvement/exposure for practical, but essentially ideological (Sharma & Gupta, 2006), often counterproductive reasons (Augustyn & Knowles, 2000; Pastras & Bramwell, 2013).

At regional level, the five Portuguese Commissions for Regional Coordination and Development are decentralised bodies of the central administration, with a somewhat heavy operational arrangement and a long administrative history that can be traced back to the 1970s. They currently oversee matters important to the development of their respective region. Locally, most municipalities also have internal structures dealing transversally with culture, heritage and tourism, with highly varying competencies. Portuguese administrative tradition, heavily centralized on Lisbon and on a network of cities and towns, lacks the strong regional structures

found in neighbouring Spain, for instance. As a result, municipalities function customarily as the main provider of public services (Rodrigues et al., 2012), including local tourism-related. On this uneven background, several hybrid development structures have been formed during the last decade, through the so-called Collective Efficiency Strategies, which are grouped under the PROVERE (acronym for Programmes for the Economic Valorisation of the Endogenous Resources) activities. Such initiatives are most frequently created as a main instrument of Portugal's National Strategic Reference Framework, in the form of long-term consortia between neighbouring municipalities, a few strategic partners, and local associations of many different natures. They are linked by the common goal of promoting non-replicable endogenous products, preferentially focused on rural areas. In most regions PROVERE are active, with their specifics and operational guidelines patent in the respective Action Programmes – what they have in common is the centrality of a local, non-replicable resource, around which different investment actions may be financed, in view of gaining a sustainable regional development.

The most immediate of differentiating resources would be a strong and consensual reference present in the local community. This seems relatively simple in theory, but it is also hardly surprising that the would-be distinctive local products in the rural areas of the interior are repeatedly the same: wine, cheese and olive oil, sometimes bread or a particular fruit. However distinctive they might effectively be – and they are, of course, even just considering the wine production – the problem arises of creating a uniqueness accepted as such by producers and consumers, both potential and effective. This is where the historical element comes in as a usable form of enhancing locality. Regional development structures have consequently opted for an array of procedures in the attempt to blend an archaeological dimension with some particular endogenous products. The ultimate aim is overlapping tourism and cultural heritage, and this may provide more productive solutions to a given region, in the cases where a cluster arrangement can be successfully established around a cultural element (Stern & Seifert 2010). On the other hand, what seems almost intuitive may be of little effectiveness: there is indeed very scarce empirical evidence available linking local heritage, competitiveness and tourism (Alberti & Giusti, 2012).

Three cases

This may be illustrated by looking at three Portuguese regions that are fairly comparable regarding size, challenges, and attempts to tackle these by engaging in heritage tourism: the Côa valley, in the Northeast, the Sicó region, near Coimbra and the coast in Central Portugal, and Mértola, deep in the Southern Alentejo. Even a quick glance at the demographic evolution (chart 1) shows a steady decrease in population, with two exceptions in the Terras de Sicó and a heavy reduction in Mértola. The cases of Condeixa-a-Nova and Pombal can be explained by the recent lower cost of life in the vicinity of two larger cities, respectively Coimbra and Leiria, while Mértola had to cope with a particular massive exodus towards Lisbon already before EU integration, due to a mining and agricultural decline. Much more striking is the difference in income when compared to the national minimum wage (chart 2), which is an average consistently below the standard, explainable only by seasonal or part-time rural occupations, combined with a relative feeble or unsuccessful economic tissue. The same data might also suggest that whichever incentive was put in action to counter this growing unevenness, it did not produce a result effective enough to invert the regression process. These impressions do not take into account any multiplier effect of tourism, linking sales, income, tourist spending, and so forth, which is the object of another paper and of no direct interest here, but they do emphasise a tendency in three acutely challenged regions. The political response has been diverse, one consensual strategy consisting in placing archaeological heritage at the service of tourism, and tourism at that of development.

This concept has been largely operated through the local development associations mentioned above, functioning as interfaces between EU and national funding, municipalities and populations, and investors as well. The circumstance of being both a large extension of remote rock art locations, and a UNESCO-classified site adds different challenges to Foz Côa. The commonly assumed relationships between rock art tourism and its economic potentialities have been put into question in many comparable sites (Deacon 2006, Duval & Smith 2013). Even if econometrically (Yang & Lin, 2014) a WHS tends to strengthen a destination or a correlated tourist product, it is also true that this is a relative asset, which is not necessarily experienced as such by locals. In addition, the gap between scientific research and precautionary measures, on the one hand, and the quality of the tourist experience, on the other, is often an obstacle to effective growth, and thus to the site's self-management capacities. In addition, the establishment of an archaeological park in 1996 led to a very problematic relationship with local communities, which has been reportedly overcome, to the point where residents look at the park, currently managed by a public foundation, as a partner for integrated forms of tourism (Fernandes et al., 2008). The PROVERE action "Tourism and Heritage in the Côa Valley" is based on public and private partnerships, and on values such as identity, competitiveness, authenticity, and heritage (Moura, 2012). In strictly conceptual terms, one has to admit a rather shadowy margin for differentiation with Sicó,

where the regional counterpart uses exactly the same arguments and deals with similar partners, although with a more specific concentration on archaeological heritage – the PROVERE action was created in 2007 and actually called “Economical valorisation programme of the Romanisation spaces”. This initiative consisted in a rural development plan outlined by six neighbouring towns, designed to capitalise the Roman town of Conimbriga as a tourist hub towards a series of minor sites, in practice five Roman sites, that is, one per municipality. The key player is still the Conimbriga museum, though, with around 100,000 visitors per year – as a reference, the Côa archaeological park counts some 30,000. Thirdly, Mértola receives 25,000 visitors per year, and is one of the largest Portuguese municipalities, roughly equivalent in extension to both the Sicó and Côa regions, where two local entities operate fully since the 1980s in the field of valorisation of heritage, namely the Association for the Defence of the Heritage of Mértola (ADPM) and the Archaeological Camp of Mértola (CAM). These associations (Turra 2008; CAM 2010) are not entirely equivalent to Terras de Sicó and Territórios do Côa, which function as intermunicipal structures, but their aim is similar and they capitalise government and EU funding through the same channels. The former was supported through a PROVERE action as well, in a consortium with the neighbouring municipality of Almodôvar, not on archaeological heritage but on sylvan resources for low-density areas in Southern Portugal. The APDM has been well active since its creation in 1980, making successive use of the Community Support Framework (Guerreiro, 2008) and ultimately generating a “museum town” based largely on the impression of an Islamic distinctiveness. In addition, what all these associations have also in common is that they have grown into long-term employers, consequently having become major regional stakeholders.

Location becomes a major determinant in the process of potentiating a heritage site. This is not really quantifiable in terms of distance alone; accessibility and marketing, as well as what can be called “market ties” (Ritchie & Crouch, 2011), are to be considered. Especially the Côa Valley and Mértola are very challenged by the fact that they are located at a three hours drive from the nearest large urban centre, and at some distance from the major highways crossing the border to Spain. These are not obvious tourism destinations, however they may be marketable for a variety of increasingly relevant segments, namely domestic, all-year round and niche tourism, under the large umbrella of “cultural tourism”, as to create a sense of uniqueness, at different levels (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2008; Kotler & Gertner, 2002). The Côa in particular has transnational links with the Spanish Siega Verde rock art, but is still located in a very remote area with moderate tourism development perspectives (Alçada et al., 2013). Geographical constraints are hard to address through tourism policies alone, even more so because tourism itself develops on local resources. A simple indicator is the nights spent, for which current numbers reveal less than 500 per month in the entire Côa region, whereas Porto, the closest-by coastal centre, comes in the range of more than 10.000 (Turismo de Portugal, 2014b). Relative isolation might be countered by domestic and transnational strategies. Notwithstanding the comparatively defiant territorial issues, distance can be optimized and turned into a trademark for, say, quality time spent in a wine region. Complementarity with more established regions in terms of visitors could be vital here, with Mértola building on the eastern Algarve’s capital, and the Côa on that of the Douro valley.

Figure 1. Population density

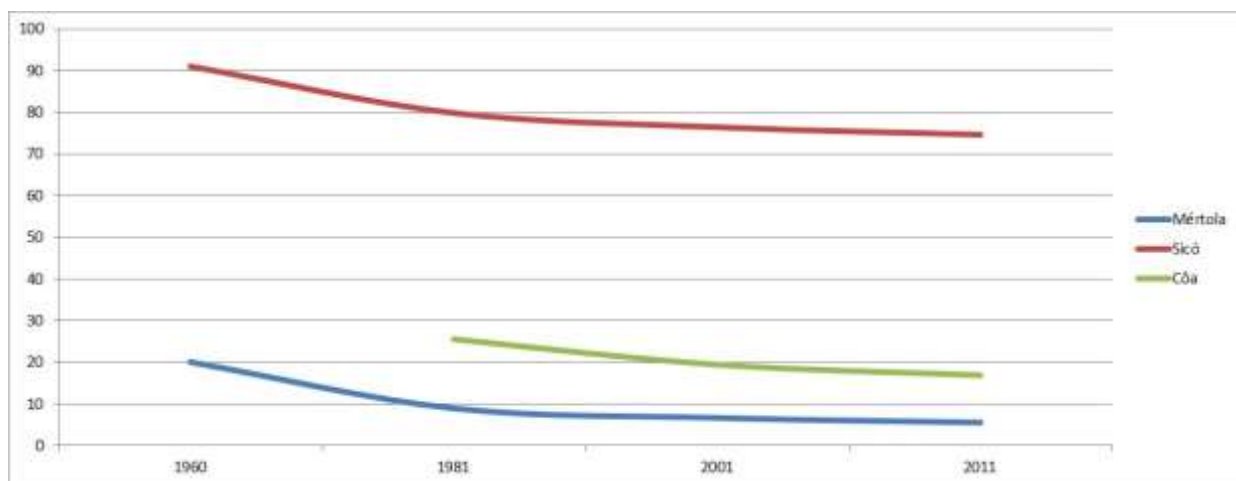
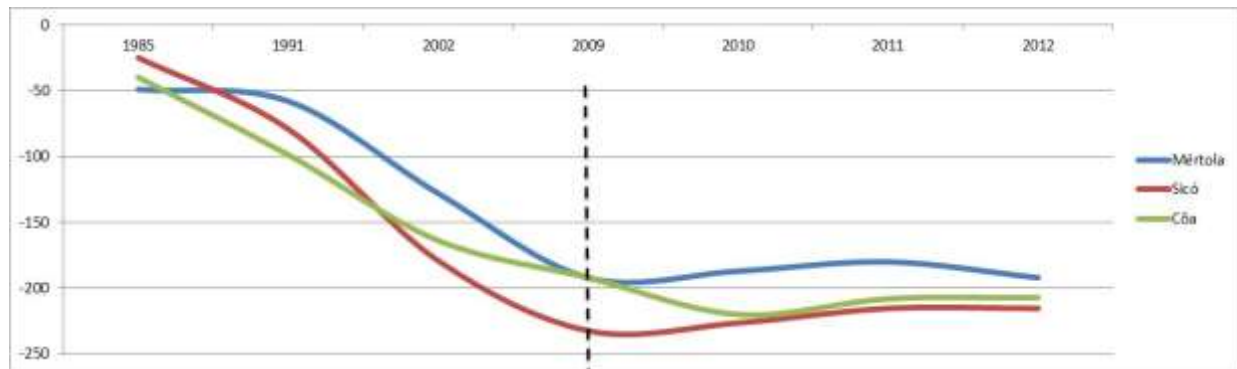


Figure 2. Income



Discussion

Taking into account the Portuguese national framework, on the one hand, and the three regions considered above, a number of issues can be declined from one central question: does archaeological heritage provide a solution for local tourism development? This is an ambiguous matter for which little factual substantiation is available, even leaving out the heritage variable and concentrating on the relationship between tourism itself and economic growth, which is not at all consensual (Sequeira & Nunes, 2008; Di Liberto, 2011; Lejárraga & Walkenhorst, 2013). General figures on tourism indicators do not point towards a consistent growth of peripheral areas that have been primarily investing in the promotion of archaeological heritage. This becomes immediately clear by contrasting them with nation-wide averages and tendencies: econometrically, regional convergence has been a reality for the last 20 years, but numbers reveal also a lower pace for regions located away from the coast and from Lisbon, further accentuated by a higher percentage of dedication to agriculture (Manso & Simões, 2009; Silva & Ribeiro, 2013). Attractiveness of different Portuguese regions has complex reasons, resulting from local and macroeconomic (i.e. “national”) competitiveness, regional tourism patterns being dynamic only to a certain point, whilst relying on heavy consumer loyalties (Serra et al., 2014). But monitoring the effectiveness of regional development programmes can partially advance from the institutional stakeholders’ feedback, especially because engagements related to PROVERE are among the publicly most noticeable actions concerning local heritage. Affirmative visibility and economic effectiveness are different matters, though. Reports on the successive versions of the Community Support Framework have pointed out a dispersion of official guidelines, and a number of loosely conceived projects selected for financing in the Portuguese tourism sector (Fazenda et al., 2008). The injection of considerable funds caused a positive direct impact on infrastructures and human resources, but the indicators of an effective multiplying breadth are lacking. Many goals, such as the appropriate functioning of partnerships and the enhancement of territorial attractiveness, were not at all achieved. Reasons pointed out (SPI 2013) are of two kinds. First of all, the unfavourable international conjuncture has a definite influence on the performance of low density-based initiatives. Second, operational weaknesses remain linked to fragilities in coordination and partnership management.

This paper is based on institutional stakeholders and their joint articulations towards tourism. It leaves out other definitive or dominant stakeholders (Mitchell et al., 1997) surfacing as legitimate powers without which any heritage tourism policy would hardly be put forward, as well as further non-institutional agents, often marginal or unwilling (Savage et al., 1991), whose activity does not directly influence national and local policies. These latter are naturally important, as they integrate regional performance numbers, and therefore end up legitimating the configuration of those same policies. In the case of the Cõa valley, structural change problems are well identified as resulting from a concentration on specific resources, presenting below-average performances in cohesion and competitiveness. In particular the scarcity of entrepreneurial capacity is pointed out, given the very low achievements in a territory with environmental, cross-border potentialities regarding the tourism economies (Figueiredo, 2010). This is true as well for Mértola and the entire lower Alentejo area, where the sole new production factor has to do with the Alqueva dam system. As a result, both regions underwent specific rebalancing actions through direct State involvement, via the above-mentioned PPDR, respectively designated PROCÕA and ODIANA. These have been introducing public incentives since the late 1990s, to tackle economical and demographical desertification. It is noteworthy that procedures include first and foremost the endorsement of local heritage, under the form of traditional crafts, micro-companies, archaeological sites and cultural infrastructures. A second set of measures deals with retaining migrating youth through involvement in natural and, precisely, archaeological heritage. Whether this led to the slowing down of on-going difficulties, or

was of near-negligible significance, can be politically supported either way. From the perspective of population density and of comparative salary loss, though, regional convergence based on heritage tourism has not been achieved, despite some normalization since 2009 regarding income, and severe deviances remain a challenge for institutional stakeholders.

Limitations and Conclusions

Recommendations for future work are of a methodological kind, and need to address the systemic nature of regional development. One can very well establish a point of contact with investment in heritage tourism, however most initiatives lack absolute figures and produce even less measurable outcomes. The result will necessarily be partial and thus not entirely representative of all economical interactions of a given region. Impacts need to be further defined before definite claims on effectiveness are put forward. This is a limitation but also an opportunity for future studies on the relationships between executive and bureaucratic formulas of daily governance.

Research on the topic of heritage-based strategies needs to gain comparativeness, namely through integrative timelines that can bypass the sequence of snapshots on some particular dimension – demographics and income, in this case. Assumptions on the quasi-insignificant impact of heritage development on low-density regions are therefore to be considered as work in progress. On the other hand, it becomes a vastly counterfactual exercise to assess how regional economies would have performed with no specific heritage stimulus at all. Uncertainty is not very substantial regarding direct investment in the restoration of a monument or in a cultural event; it matters above all when considering multiplier effects. Deviations in both analysed variables are negative and suggest the need for different approaches, perhaps more original and integrative, if heritage is to be chosen as a functional tool for development.

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Integral Tourism Destination Planning in the Cusco Valley

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Given the importance of sustainability planning and development issues in the tourism and hospitality industry, this paper applies the POTI (Integral Tourism Destination Planning) methodology, developed by GercInartur Consultancy in the Cusco Valley in Perú. In a context of an overcrowded north Cusco Valley in 2009 travel agencies, tour operators, tourists and local authorities initiated a search towards new attractions and diversification of the tourism supply. This report describes the features of the POTI tourism destination planning, as a methodology for leading destination management planning processes, and analyses its application in the Quispicanchi Province in Peru.

The POTI Strategic Destination Planning process is guided by the belief that destination management is a shared responsibility: no single stakeholder group is solely responsible for generating impacts or preserving the destination's natural and cultural heritage. The aim is to develop meaningful experiences to travellers and improve the quality of life of residents. This study provides practical experience in partnership for destination tourism strategic plans under the responsible tourism approach. Key areas are community participation, local economic development, cultural and natural conservation, product development and strategic infrastructure planning.

Keywords: sustainable destination management, strategic planning, stakeholder management

Introduction

Effective destination management needs to be underpinned by an extensive on-going planning process that considers the tourism environment and stakeholder interests and develops an appropriate strategic direction for the development of the destination. The three guiding objectives are: (1) to develop the province as a tourism destination, (2) a diversified, structured, quality and competitive destination that meets the needs of local people, their representatives and the national and international market, and (3) to respond the triple sustainability approach: a/ economic (products profitable for the local population and investors), b/ social (boost the human development of local communities by improving their quality of life, and c/ environmental (respecting the environment and resources to ensure the successful long-term activity).

The methodology starts with a comprehensive situation analysis, diagnosing the region to ensure understanding of the destination economic, cultural, social, environment and tourism context. Extensive stakeholder mapping and analysis is key to ensure the connection with decision-makers. The tourism research includes a survey to travellers, tourism operators and local suppliers to identify general objectives, strategies and clusters and match these with the desired tourism development, considering any areas of sustainability.

Literature Review

Sustainable Destination Management

Destination management and planning are required to deal with the visitor's impacts and to optimize the use of the destination resources (Davidson & Maitland, 1997). Sustainable Tourism Destination Management focuses on the comparative advantage and competitive positioning of tourist destinations enhanced by their commitment to sustainable development principles and practices (Swarbrooke, 1999). The emphasis is placed on minimizing the negative impacts of tourism and preserving cultural and natural resources, while optimizing tourism's overall contribution to economic development in host communities. Sustainable tourism is essentially tourism based on the concept of sustainable

development, in other words, tourism development that meets the needs of today without affecting the ability for future generations to meet their own needs. Naturally, it takes into account the three dimensions of sustainable development: the economic, social and environmental (UNEP, 2005).

The principles of Responsible Tourism appeared in the Cape Town Declaration (2002) as a response to the need to take responsibility for achieving sustainable tourism development. The purpose of Responsible Tourism is based on using tourism to create better places for people to live and better places for people to visit, in that order. This is a response to particular triple bottom line issues of concern locally. It is about addressing what we do individually and in collaboration with others to address issues that matter locally.

According to Goodwin (2011), Responsible Tourism also endeavours to make tourism an inclusive social experience. It is not unusual for access of natural or cultural heritage sites to be charged at prices which exclude those who live in the vicinity and yet do not cover the full economic costs of the tourist's visit.

Effective destination management needs to be underpinned by an extensive on-going planning process that considers the tourism environment and stakeholder interests and develops an appropriate strategic direction for the development of the destination.

Stakeholder Management

There is an extensive and growing literature on the role of stakeholders in destination development and management. Several scholars have identified the need to involve the different parties in successful destination management (e.g. Hunt, 1991; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Long, 1991; Donaldson and Preston, 1995; Sautter and Leisen, 1999; Fyall and Garrod, 2005; Fyall, 2011). Sautter and Leisen (1999) established the difficulties in getting all the stakeholders involved and argue that these complexities make planning harder for destinations. In a similar way, Ritchie and Crouch (2001 and 2005), Jamal, Stein and Harper (2002), Piggott, Morgan and Pritchard (2003) and Dinnie (2011), amongst others all agree that the key stakeholders have to be included to ensure the effective implementation of strategies. Stakeholders are an intrinsic part of tourism policy and planning and a focal point of interest in destination management. Different stakeholders hold different views, interests and power and understanding these dynamics is essential to effective destination management and planning. These sentiments are echoed by Hall (2000) as scholars therefore agree that DMOS have to harmonise relationships between the different stakeholders.

Palmer and Bejou (1995) discuss how the fragmentation of stakeholders makes destination management very complex as of course to be successful, destination planning must be a collective endeavour (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003). In the same fashion, Morgan, Pritchard and Piggott (2003) reinforce the need for a collaborative process among stakeholders. However, the practice makes this collaborative process difficult to embrace because as Buhalis (2000) indicates, the independent stakeholders look primarily to maximise their own benefits. Arguably, therefore a key challenge to destination management, even if the stakeholders are consulted, will be the tendency for many of them, especially if they are SMEs, to ultimately prioritise their personal benefits over the success of the destination strategies. (Dinnie, 2011; Fyall, 2011). Whilst different countries have different structures in most cases, the public sector and in particular, the local and regional governments will be more aware of the specific necessities of the destination (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003, 2005). Naturally of course, the local community play an important role in the tourism planning process of a destination. Jamal and Gezt (1995) indicate that all the actors who might be affected by tourism policies should be involved in the decision making process at an early stage. This is important to get the necessary consensus and the only way to capture what Gilmore (2002) calls the people's spirit.

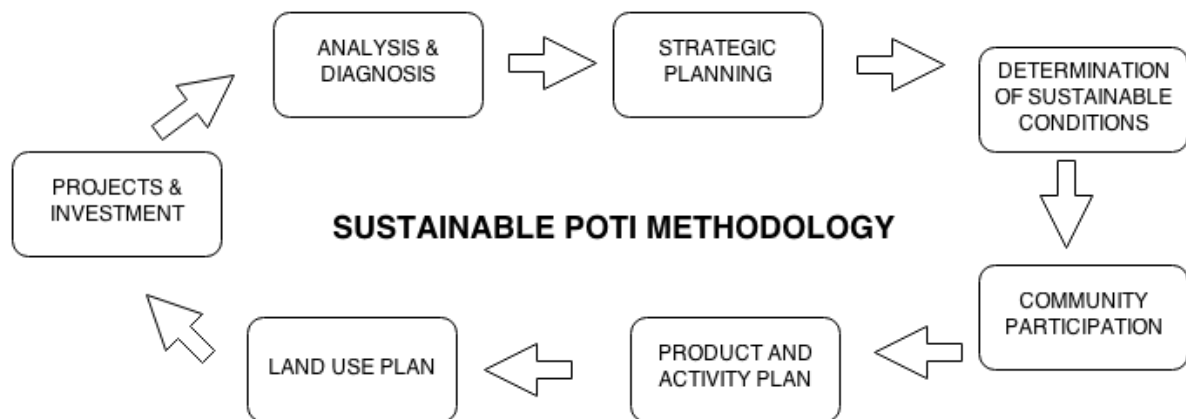
Methodology

This paper applies the POTI (Integral Tourism Destination Planning) methodology, developed by GercInartur Consultancy. The three guiding objectives of the planning process of the methodology are: (1) to develop the province as a tourism destination, (2) a diversified, structured, quality and competitive destination that meets the needs of local people, their representatives and the national and international market, and (3) to respond the triple sustainability approach: a/ economic (products profitable for the local population and investors), b/ social (boost the human development of local communities by

improving their quality of life, and c/ environmental (respecting the environment and resources to ensure the successful long-term activity).

The POTI methodology is aligned with the Responsible tourism guidelines from the Cape Town Declaration (2002) since it calls to all stakeholders to take responsibility for achieving sustainable development in the destination. The POTI methodology consists on the following seven interrelated phases and focuses on a systematic approach as defended by Hall (2008).

Figure 1. POTI Methodology



Source: Author compilation from GERC INARTUR

The methodology starts with a comprehensive situation analysis, diagnosing the region to ensure understanding of the destination economic, cultural, social, environment and tourism context. This is intended to know the area in which the planning will take place.

There are two methods used to develop the analysis. Firstly secondary research from international, national and local stakeholders documents, including books, databases, journals and studies from governmental institutions, NGOs and tourism industry organizations. Secondly, primary research that includes the following:

- a. Meetings and focus groups with local authorities. In this case, 2 meetings with the Association of the local authorities AMPROC, and 3 meetings with local authorities grouped by regions (valley axis, jungle axis and Andean axis).
- b. Interviews with regional stakeholders: mainly NGOs
- c. Qualitative face to face questionnaires to domestic and foreign tourists in the region: 1.210 tourists in the region of Cusco during September 2009 at the main destination arrival points as the airport and train station and main tourist attractions from Cusco and Quispicanchis (Tipon and Oropesa). The aim is to identify their profile, their information habits and product purchase as well as their degree of satisfaction with the various services and activities undertaken during their stay in the area. This survey had a sampling error of 2.87% and a confidence level of 95.5%.
- d. Qualitative face to face questionnaires to travel agents: three quarters of the Cusco region travel agents (400 companies) in order to determine the existing offer, the potential for tourism development and the entry barriers for operators. From a list of 600 companies 400 were chosen based on its volume of business and specialization.

Subsequently the information is analysed to determine, as objectively as possible, what are the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats for the region, being the results published in four major sections: Territory, Society, Administration and Management and Tourism Market. Since the purpose of this study is the tourist management, the topics are treated to draw conclusions what may be directly related to the future tourism development. The fourth section, the tourism market, fully

consists of the analysis of the current tourism situation. The information and diagnosis highlight the basis for the formulation of specific objectives and strategic lines proposed thereafter.

The second stage of the study sets the specific goals and the tourism development strategy. The definition of the specific objectives requires the identification of strategic lines. Once agreed, the required actions to implement are formulated. To guarantee the project implementation and management, the commitment of all stakeholders is paramount. Thus, at this stage, stakeholder negotiations on the future of the destination start, and a process of reinforcement of the decisions takes place. At this stage, the destination is conceptualized in terms of the core product and the core of the proposal to gain positioning with respect to the competition in the tourism markets.

Following from the above, the determination of the sustainable development conditions and the potential tourism resources are evaluated by both the project team and a specific group of experts from various disciplines. A total of 20 experts, ten aware of the resources and ten who do not know them are involved. The expert panel includes the following fields: education, economics, management and business management, tourism, cooperation, law, architecture, engineering, botany, biology, environment, anthropology, and crafts.

To evaluate the resources the following criteria is used: in the case of Cultural Resources: a) Surroundings (evaluating the harmonisation with the local context), b) Local Singularity (level of authenticity and uniqueness), c) Regional Singularity (Level of authenticity and uniqueness in the country), d) History (Access to, Value and Usage of the historical attributes), e) Style (Harmonious architectural style) and f) Scale (Size or scope of the field).

In the case of Natural Resources factors used are: a) Wealth of Diversity in the landscape, b) Local Singularity (level of authenticity and uniqueness), c) Regional Singularity (Level of authenticity and uniqueness in the country), d) Texture of the landscape (Considering the size of its components, uniformity, order of the surface irregularities and density of the surface components), e) Colour, f) Average rating of influence and transformation of human activity on the landscape and g) Scale.

Each expert rates between 1 and 5 each factor for each resource, five being the value given to the best rating. The quality of each resource is obtained solving the following equation: $Q = aA + bB + cC + dD + eE + fF + gG$ where "a", "b", "c", "d", "e", "f" and "g" are the assessment of the experts who know the resources and "A", "B", "C", "D", "E", "F" and "G" are the values given by experts who do not know the resources. Then the highest score is equated to 1 and the rest are reduced accordingly. To set the Primary Hierarchy a number of factors outside the own resource are assessed since these can increase or decrease its tourism potential. The factors to be considered as a corrective measure are: the Connectivity Factor (physical accessibility), the Concentration of resources¹ and Accommodation and catering concentration². These decisions result in corrective value given by the project team.

Moreover, there is a factor defined as K, a constant derived from the cost of transporting the product to the customer. That is, in this case a function of the distance in time of flight between the originating market and the resource. When the target market of each resource is defined this factor is applied as follows: 1 (A maximum distance of 1 hour flight), 0.8 (Over an 1 hour flight), 0.6 (More than 3 hours flight), 0.4 (Between 6 and 9 hour flight), 0.2 (Between 9 and 12 flight hours) and 0 (More than 12 flight hours).

This process determines the importance of each resource in relation to the potential market. Thus this information roots the product and activities plan. However, before entering the product design stage this methodology includes the fourth stage of popular participation. The aim is to know the perception of residents towards tourism and their willingness to actively participate in the proposal process and its implementation. This participatory process is a fundamental condition for sustainability contained in this methodology. In the Quispicanchi case, three popular workshops are organized, one at each axis, with an overall participation of 500 peasants. The locals' perceptions are taken into consideration on the following stage of product development as another relevant factor and communities

¹ Due to the disparity in size of the territory in which the different resources are located, this factor would incur to imbalances and distort the final assessment, thus its result in this case is not significant result. Therefore in the Province of Quispicanchi this correction factor is not applied since the total length is not related to the possible area visited by tourists.

² For the same reason above, in this case the application of this factor is considered inefficient.

that were not willing to receive tourism on their land and the natural and cultural nearby resources were not included in the plan despite its tourism potential.

On the Product and activities plan, first the current tourism products of the destination are identified via internet search and tourism association interviews and evaluated. The connection with other tourism routes is studied to allow establishing the real starting point for the consideration of new proposals to monetise resources more intensively and attractively. The price structure of the products is evaluated along different pricing among the international, national and local suppliers. The products are planned according to a three phase development. Based on the issues to be addressed, the range of possibilities that can meet the various market segment demands, and the characteristics of the region, a portfolio of products is developed. The portfolio is segmented in phases according to the development of general and tourism infrastructure. This methodology, thus, accommodates the generation of products to the evolution of general and tourist infrastructure of the territory gradually accessing new types of visitors in a sequential process. Moreover, by managing the destination development by stages this methodology balances the tourism development with the preservation of heritage.

The Initial Phase focuses on market segments that the existing tourism offer is targeting, improving some aspects and increasing mostly incidence in subsequent phases as new infrastructures and equipment are created, which is followed by the Consolidating Phase, assuming completion of much of the infrastructure and facilities planned in the territory where also new routes and products are created in addition to those described in the Initial Phase. This Phase seeks to diversify expanding the offer by raising new routes and products with moderate investment on infrastructure and services. Thirdly the Final Phase is the culmination of the tourist destination structuring process. A set of accommodations and first class services are consolidated to improve seasonality requiring major investment on infrastructure and services.

After each phase the tourism development is assessed to detect possible imbalances created. Its long-term focus allows for amendments in the subsequent phases. The methodology does not deal with the specific heritage site management approaches, but does recommend monitoring to guarantee the long-term sustainability of its resources and, ultimately, of the destination. Moreover, this methodology confirms the need to engage stakeholders with the development of the destination, which, inevitably, must take into account its heritage.

The following figure summarizes the three phases and its consequences:

Figure 2. Tourism product generation strategy in Quispicanchi

Consequences		
INITIAL PHASE. Flights leaving from Cusco. Nature, hiking and cultural activities.	Consolidate and improve the profitability of current flows.	Start the process of conversion and infrastructure development.
	Improve and enhance existing products.	
CONSOLIDATION PHASE. Diversification of the destination access points. Generation of radial excursions from the accommodation areas.	Extension of the tourist stay in the destination.	Incorporation of new access points to the destination.
	Quantitative and qualitative increase in demand.	
	Radial excursions of short duration (1d and 2d/1n) from Cusco	
FINAL PHASE. Increase quality of accommodation and other services. Circuits with regular departures.	Incorporation of market segments with high purchasing power.	Comprehensive utilization of tourism resources at the destination.

Source: Author compilation from Guix and Pi, 2010b.

The following Phase is the Land Use Plan. It is designed as a set of studies related primarily to the planning discipline, where a system of physical interventions of urban character in the destination are proposed to offer support to a complex system of activities, experiences and tourism flows strongly interrelated and designed as a tourist cluster. This set studies are grouped into three main sections: a) Land occupancy model, b) Zooning plan and c) Regulatory concepts.

Firstly the model of territorial occupation is expressed in the graphic documentation of the Study as the Master Plan or Master Plan. It set this work for the first conceptually consistent in choosing the right section, multi- potential mode or manner of occupying the territory through an urban system, that mode must be inserted on the space POTI each and each urban apprehended and tangible elements that on them (roads and paths) with them (tourist services) or by them (equipment) is put into operation activities and travel experiences on the entire physical space of the destination with the features of a system or tourist Cluster.

Secondly the Zooning plan includes the necessary studies to determine the perimeters and boundaries of the unique natural areas that are currently protected or require special protection leading to the planning of the location of the different components and urban elements proposed in the model.

Thirdly, the Regulatory concepts study contains policy and management, through the definition of the scope of the Plan defining the different models and conditions for building the tourist facilities accompanied by formal and aesthetic references that enable the contextualization of new construction in urban and natural environments. Finally it proposes a set of guidelines applicable to the management of the Plan. The aim is to enable effective implementation of the Plan through the necessary coordination with tourism projects and legislation.

Finally the last phase included in the methodology is the development of projects and investment promotions. This phase aims to access the funding opportunities for the different projects of the three development phases, including both private and public funds.

Analysis: Case analysis

Context

Located in Peru, Quispicanchi is one of thirteen provinces in the Cusco region with an area of 7862.6 km². This is divided into three axis within an altitude of 336-6.372 m: the Vilcanota River Valley (14,9% province), the high Andean mountains (20.8%) and the basin of the Amazon jungle (64.3%) (Atlas, 1997).

In a context of an overcrowded north Cusco Valley in 2009 travel agencies, tour operators, tourists and local authorities initiated a search towards new attractions and diversification of the tourism supply.

Analysis and Diagnosis

The 64,82% of inhabitants live in rural areas. There are in total 124 rural communities (DRA, 2009). This number is in an evolutionary process of binding and cleavage thus varying the number of communities. The local communities inhabiting the area maintain their ancestral traditions while living with the occidental world and Christian values (Mujica, E. Et al, 2012, p. 36). Only 24% of Quispicanchi's population can communicate in Spanish (concentrated in cities/villages) and 52,2% only speaks the native language –Quechua (UGEL, 2007).

The local administration of the Province of Quispicanchi politically consists of 12 districts, including Urcos, its capital. Each of these districts promotes local development of its territory, based on exclusive and shared competences conferred by the New Organic Law of Municipalities. The Municipality of Quispicanchi promotes the economic development of the Province and has developed a Concerted Provincial Development Plan 2008- 2018 (AMPROQ, 2008), which includes tourism references.

The following figure identifies the destination issues, impacts and possible solutions according to responsible tourism criteria from the Cape Town Declaration and data collection.

Figure 3. Current issues concerning tourism in Quispicanchi

ISSUE	IMPACTS	POSIBLE SOLUTIONS	PRORITY (1-5)						L E V E L
			COST	STAKEHOLDERS	HOST COMMUNITY	NATURAL/CULTURAL	VISIT EXPERIENCE	TOTAL	
SECURE PARTICIPATION OF LOCAL INHABITANTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM									
Tourism training and Human Resources Management									
Lack of skilled population and local business organization. Deficiencies in training programmes –not tailor to suit the public. Poor management of tourism in rural communities	Local population has little access to tourism activity. Leads to serious problems within the community, between the community and the environment, and accelerates the process of acculturation.	Develop training Plan according to the needs identified in the Product and Activity Plan.	2	5	5	4	5	21	H
PROTECT LOCAL ENVIRONMENT AND CULTURE									
Environmental Management									
Pollution of the tourism resources Degradation of towns environment and nearby areas Environmental degradation in the jungle	Little ecological and environmental population consciousness. Lack of appropriate wastewater and waste treatment systems Inappropriate land use, shaft mining concessions and mining activities in general (gas, oil, wood and metal material).	Increase awareness of environmental protection (tourists, local community and businesses) Implement strict policies for future tourism infrastructure developments, according to national legislation. Promote preserved areas	4	3	5	5	5	21	H
			2	3	4	4	2	15	M
			2	2	3	5	3	15	M
Tourism Product and Development									
Low quality products Limited hostels and restaurant alternatives.	Uncompetitive products. Fierce competition with Cusco established products. Low variety of products	Product development in gradual diversification with infrastructure and skills. Training programme to upgrade quality. Encourage private investment	3	3	5	3	5	19	H
			2	5	5	4	5	21	H
			1	2	3	4	4	14	M
CAPTURE TURISTIC FLOW ACCORDING TO THE PREVIOUS									
Responsible tourism Marketing & sustainable market									
Lack of consistnt and coordinated marketing actions. Degradation of the Andean Environment due to irresponsible tourists and enterprises Market imbalances: over-demand in high season and oversupply in low season	Difficulty to compete with other regions. Low expenditure market in Andean Area with no respect to nature and local culture. Inappropriate tourist behaviour. High seasonality	Prepare a Destination Marketing plan aligned with the regional and national marketing plans. Training to increase quality and price of products Diversification of products	3	4	3	3	5	18	H
			3	2	4	5	5	19	H
			1	2	2	2	5	12	M

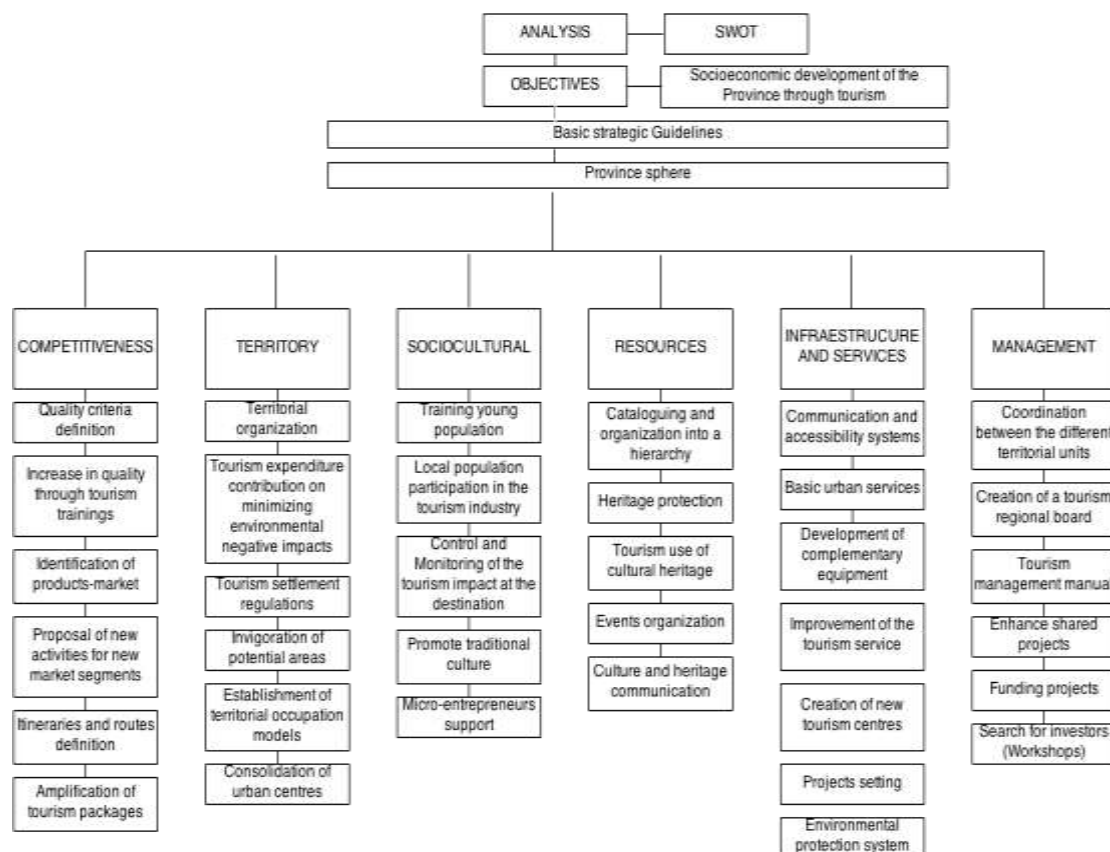
Source: Compiled by the author from: Appendix 2 SWOT Analysis, ATLAS 1996, AMPROQ (2008), Guix, M. and Pi, M. (2009, 2010, 2011)

Strategic Planning

The communication image of Quispicanchi is a destination for tourism yet untapped; hidden. The tourism system consists of two clusters: The Cultural and the Ecotourism. The cultural cluster is divided into two subclusters: Food and History, while in Ecotourism there are three subclusters: Health, Active Tourism and Adventure Tourism.

The following Figure exemplifies the strategic lines of action proposed:

Figure 4. Quispicanchi province strategic lines



Source: Author compilation from case study, 2014.

Determination of the Sustainable Development Conditions

In the Province of Quispicanchi 68 resources are identified with different tourism potential. Each resource has a summary table that contains the major details as: name, type, size, location, weather data, demographic data of the place, accessibility, transportation, utilities, communications, accommodation, catering, other equipment, features, attractions, activities available, degree of current use, potential for exploitation, necessary interventions, priority for its use, level of investment, relative to other resources and risks of environmental and social impacts.

For example Quispicanchi possesses protected heritage with potential to attract local, regional and international tourists. There is the Pilgrimage to the sanctuary of the Lord of Qoyllurit'i that is an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (UNESCO, 2011) and Andahuaylillas Church, a National Cultural Heritage (INC, 2010) and contains three Regional Conservation Priority Areas; Ausangate, Marcapata-Camanti and Huacarpay wetlands. The former is a RAMSA destination and on the other two endangered and autochthon spices have been discovered.

At this stage the popular workshops are organized as community consultation, participation, ownership and control are crucial to success and long-term commitment. Moreover third-

partly linkages are created between non-governmental organizations, enterprises, researchers and public organizations.

Products and Activities Plan

Firstly the existing Quispicanchi tourism products are studied. There are 31 national and international operators and travel agencies currently working in the area. At an international level the province is visited during routes through South America in circuits that span more than one country and have a certain thematic consistency, by geographic areas visited (Andes), for the type of activities performed (eg Trekking), or sociocultural aspects. The incidence in the province on all the circuits studied, is very low (an hour approx. Circuits 15 to 30 days). The most common combination is established with tourism in Peru and Bolivia, followed by Peru, Bolivia and Chile.

Secondly the product price is analysed. Serious imbalances are seen in the final prices of package tours depending on the purchasing country. For example the basic Ausangate Trekking of 6 day and 5 nights, with services of similar nature, ranges from 280-300USD/pax (local Ausangate region) and 640USD/pax (local Cusco operators) to between 800 and 1.000USD/pax (international operators). Although there can be assumed cost differences for some unique benefits the disparity is high enough to confirm the province is an emerging destination.

Thirdly, with the information gathered the products and activities plan is developed. Given the distinct geographical features of the region there is a diversification of tourist flows and market segments. Nevertheless it is necessary to highlight the issues to be addressed to achieve this degree of diversification; overcoming problems related to access, the current reality of their infrastructure and the limitations of these for development in the perspective of sustainable tourism. The products are proposed according to three development stages of tourist infrastructure, tourism facilities and promotion and marketing aiming to avoid imbalances in organizational processes and products that could create false expectations among potential visitors.

In total 31 products are designed, distributed as follows: initial phase (9), consolidation phase (13) and final phase (8). The first phase, focuses on the transformation of the supply, specifically on how to increase profitability of already existing tourist flows and how to raise the quality of services. This initial phase is of particular importance since it sets up the future of the tourism development in Quispicanchi.

The next two phases are the logical consequence of normal evolution, influenced by the usual tourist development of the sector demands. The Consolidation starts from the premise that the level of accommodation has been significantly expanded with a network of hotels in the area and their quality levels are acceptable for international market segments. The focus of this phase is the diversification of products both as a circuit and radial short trips from accommodation centres and complementary activities.

The Final phase is the culmination of the process of structuring the Quispicanchi Province with the consolidation of a set of upscale accommodations combined with the consolidation of activities and local heritage interpretation facilities that enable the creation of high quality alternative products and longer stays.

Land Use Plan

The Occupation plan includes the evaluation and proposal of the transports and communication systems, the accommodation offer, the supportive infrastructure (recreational, sanitary, sociocultural, religious, commercial and markets), tourism services and tourism infrastructure required to develop the destination with a programme to protect the historical and cultural heritage, along with the natural environment. Guidelines for edification are created in order to maintain the traditional architecture design in the future infrastructure.

Barriers to Fully Implement the Methodology

Most of the barriers are driven from the development stage of the country, and more specifically of the region. For example the determination of the sustainable conditions to develop tourism in the province was complicated due to the vast area, accessibility issues and unknown territory. The official maps from the Geography department were not updated and part of the Andean and rainforest region remained unknown for local authorities.

Moreover the province elections took place and even though during the previous electoral year the project team had approached the candidates several times to consolidate the project sustainability, the elected provincial mayor dismissed the project.

Despite these barriers, the documents have been transferred to the appropriate stakeholders to continue individually the proposals. The plan has been partially implemented as some participating stakeholders have actively contributed with their responsibilities. Local operators have adopted the development of some of the products proposed as new trekking routes or cultural itineraries that take into consideration the local population. The project has contributed to raise awareness of the area and several tourism cooperation development projects currently take place under the sustainability approach.

Conclusions

The research describes the POTI methodology for leading destination management planning processes and analyse its application in the Quispicanchi Province in Peru. From this case study the following strengths and weaknesses have been identified.

Figure 5. Strengths and weaknesses of POTI methodology.

Strengths	Weaknesses
It promotes a deep understanding of the local situation by analysing the territorial needs It has a strong market focus allowing the creation of competitive products. It takes account of broader economic, social and political processes It is rooted on the triple sustainability agenda, resulting in a sustainable destination strategy. It has a focus on local engagement, stakeholder management and collaborative governance.	It does not take into account tourism resources outside the destination border defined. It overlooks long-term management aspects and assessment periods (e.g. monitoring its implementation). The inclusion of indicators is currently under development stage. It assumes the participation of a fully committed government with the process, which is the ultimate responsible for the implementation of the strategic plan. And assumes the existence of a company responsible to assist the government during the strategic plan definition. The extensive on-going planning process needs revisiting when the destination conditions change (e.g. entrance of a new gas extracting company in the region). Nevertheless it serves of guiding tourism decision taking in accordance to the strategic lines defined. It needs revisiting the determination of sustainable conditions, specifically the method assessing the physical, social and aesthetic carrying capacities of the resources.

Source: Author compilation from case study, 2014.

The project successfully developed local and international partnerships but failed on securing the support of the local authority in the implementation stage. Cooperation projects are partially

developing the training identified to increase the tourism competencies and skills of the local population.

Despite the uncertainty of the sustainability of the Plan, the process has managed to contribute significantly to community livelihood strategies, involving the communities with environmental protection, awareness and cultural empowerment. The costs of integrating tourism as a complement to community livelihood strategies are economically high, but are viable as a long term strategy if the difficulties of securing a sustainable market, skills development, spread of benefits in the community etc. are overcome. Quispincanchi has tourism potential, and if its future development actions respond consistently to a mission and vision the region will be able to overcome the pressures to balance conservation, dependency and sustainable profits to successfully market the area and to guarantee sufficient economic returns to ensure long term pro-poor benefits from tourism.

Heritage sites located in the destination under a strategic plan generated with POTI methodology must follow the strategic lines, thus guaranteeing a sustainable development. The government is responsible for safeguarding and implementing the strategic lines to achieve the objectives set.

Due to the many negative effects identified on previous literature of community based tourism (CBT), the POTI restricts its development to communities near major attraction sites, with good accessibility, willingness to participate in tourism, and receive and implement specific training. This methodology supports the communities' integration in the tourism sector without substituting their traditional activities but incorporating them on the supply chain as providers of local products, workforce, etc. Future research could focus on a study of the conditions the CBT can consider successful and, thus, recommend a strategic destination plan.

The POTI recognizes the complexity of stakeholder involvement for guaranteeing successful destination planning. Thus, at an early stage (Analysis and Diagnosis) stakeholders are contacted and invited to participate in a collaborative planning process. Consultation and transparency decision-making are crucial for a long-term involvement of stakeholders. Even though stakeholders' goals can be opposed, the plan searches for win-win outcomes of the key stakeholders. Moreover, as the local or regional governments, depending on the planning area, are responsible for the plan, it favours a more holistic decision taking for the destination instead of the independent stakeholder benefits. To assist planning processes, a future research could address the need of developing and testing methodologies of stakeholder engagement.

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Developing Food Tourism Through Collaborative Efforts

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Abstract

Using Wood and Gray's (1991) theoretical framework on stakeholder collaboration the paper reports on the extent of collaboration by different stakeholders during the development of food based tourism and the first Earth Market in the country. The research takes place in the study setting of Foça, Izmir. The town and its surroundings are rich in archeology, nature and architectural elements which are under protection. Data was collected via face-to-face interviews with 50 different stakeholders during March-May 2014. The paper addresses several issues that are important for organizers of food events and tourism developers. Firstly, the groups that benefit most from the event are farmers and restaurants. Hotels have not received any noticeable benefits as there are more daily visitors to the event. Secondly, the achievement of identifying stakeholders, educating and convincing producers to participate at the event within a two year period of time shows the ability of the Slow Food Foça Zeytindalı Convivium to reach a certain degree of collaboration among different stakeholders that have different interests. The study attributes this success to the persuasion type of influence by the convener. Municipality is identified as the most resourceful and powerful stakeholder for further developing food tourism in the town of Foça.

Keywords: Stakeholder Collaboration; Food Tourism; Earth Market; Slow Food

Introduction

The tourism destination environment is highly fragmented and dynamic with multiple stakeholders that have diverse interests and varying commitments to tourism. Tourism development becomes even more complex when the destination is part of a protected area (Hjalager, 2013). Overuse of protected areas by the visitors and the inhabitants can risk the conservation efforts made for the biodiversity and cultural assets (Jamal & Stronza, 2009). In these areas the use of the sustainable tourism approach can help planners in overcoming certain development issues. Participation of the residents, collaboration among stakeholders and informed decision making at the local level are suggested to be crucial for designing effective tourism plans. However, tourism planners can face with specific challenges in establishing these collaborations which can hinder the processes.

Slow Food is both an ecological and gastronomic movement. Towns are encouraged to preserve their gastronomic traditions and heritage food. Earth Market, one of many activities of Slow Food network, aims at providing taste education, knowledge on food production and preserving local traditions by bringing farmers, food producers and visitors together. The first Earth Market in Turkey is formed in Foça, Izmir by the Foça Zeytindalı Convivium. The purpose of this paper is to explore the extent that the stakeholders have collaborated with the Convivium in establishing and developing the Earth Market and food based tourism. The participation intensity and frequency of stakeholders at different stages of the process will display the challenges of forming collaborations. Tourism planners need advice on how to have public participation and collaboration among multiple stakeholders at the local level for sustainable tourism development, and this paper demonstrates how a voluntary organization can manage this process.

Literature Review

The towns in rural areas share concerns for economic, environmental and social development. In regions where there is limited industrial development, tourism is commonly seen as a remedy for fostering economic growth. Beyond doubt, tourism development in a region can be a great power for change. However, empirical studies in the literature have shown tourism having both positive and negative economic, environmental, social and cultural impacts. Indeed tourism can exert great pressures on a rural region's valuable resources. More sustainable forms of tourism development such as green tourism is suggested for rural areas.

For sustainable tourism development (STD) to benefit the society a strategic and long-term perspective is required during the planning process (Simpson, 2001). Furthermore, informed participation from all stakeholders including the residents is desired (UNWTO, 2005). According to this perceptive, residents are in a position to better understand the needs of their community and know how tourism should be developed in their region (Spencer, 2010). Besides informed participation, healthy partnerships among multiple stakeholders should be established for the success of STD. Collaboration and continuous integrated planning is even more critical for protected areas which may possess natural, historical or cultural assets (Jamal & Stronza, 2009). Collaboration can be established voluntarily (grassroots) or by the help of a legal authority as well as at different geographical levels (Selin, 1999). Through collaboration stakeholders in a destination may achieve many benefits such as avoiding future costs, assuring political legitimacy, improvement in the coordination of policies and add value to stakeholders (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999). Furthermore, it is suggested that destinations can use healthier arrangements of collaboration as for better product development (Fyall, Garrod, & Wang, 2012).

Many destinations aim to apply the STD, however many of them also fail to do so. Frequently, the challenges of achieving an integrated collaboration among multiple stakeholders within a destination become a barrier in continuing the process. Firstly, financial and time constraints may prevent some groups of stakeholders from participating to meetings therefore cause a barrier in participation (Graci, 2013). Secondly, at any destination there will be multiple stakeholders with diverse views and interests for development (Jamal & Stronza, 2009). These stakeholders may have differing powers over decision making. And also the institutional frameworks may restrict the contribution and influence of certain stakeholders (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999). Lastly, stakeholders may view their contribution as insignificant for decision making or not value the benefits they will receive.

Fyall, Garrod, & Wang (2012) argue that no single theoretical perspective can explain the complexities of collaboration by itself but they can give insights in different collaboration dimensions. Political based theories explain collaboration through power distribution in the society and the sharing of the benefits. Based on this view, stakeholders that have control over the resources effect the success of the collaboration. Under the same stream of thought Wood & Gray (1991) propose that organizations will collaborate to take control over the critical resources, gain competitive advantage and decrease the level of complexity in their environments or make them more predictable.

Wood & Gray (1991, p.146) state that collaboration takes place "when a group of autonomous stakeholders of a problem domain engage in an interactive process, using shared rules, norms, and structures, to act or decide on issues related to that domain". Based on this definition the authors define the key elements of collaboration as; stakeholders of a problem domain, autonomy, interactive process, shared rules, norms and structures, action or decision, the domain orientation and the outcomes. Gray (1989) identifies a three-phase collaboration framework: 1) problem setting, 2) direction setting and 3) implementation. According to Wood and Gray (1991, p. 151) presence of a convener facilitates the collaboration, however how the influence will occur change according to "the type of influence the convener possesses" and "the type of intervention in the problem domain". Jamal & Getz (1995) have used collaboration theory in the tourism setting and Alonso (2014) applied Wood and Gray's (1991) theoretical model for studying a food and wine event. Next section describes the context of the study.

Context of the Study: Foça and Slow Food Convivium

Foça is a small town located 70 kilometers north of Izmir on the coast of the Aegean Sea. The town and its surroundings are rich in archeology, nature and architectural elements which are under S.I.T.¹ protection in the first, second and third degrees (TVKGM, 2011). The S.I.T. status has prevented new construction in the town center, which aided the preservation of the historical characteristics and the authenticity of the area. The coast of Foça has a diverse marine life and a number of marine cliffs, small islands and underwater caves and is home to the Mediterranean Monk Seal. Starting from 1990, Foça and its surroundings are declared as Special Environmental Protection Area, one of twelve such areas in the country.

The history of the town dates back to the 11th B.C. century. As a result of its 3000 year old history today the grounds of Foça are very rich in archeology. The population of the town is little over 32,000 people (T.C. Foça Governorship., 2014). At the time being, high proportion of the residents is retirees and there are only 2,631 people in employment in the town (Bann & Başak, 2011). As there are many secondary homes in Foça the population more than doubles in the summer months. There is little manufacturing in the area and tourism, fishing and agriculture are the three contributors to the economy. While the people in the town center are working more in service-based jobs, the villagers are more occupied with agriculture.

Tourism in Foça is mostly based on the enjoyment of the coastal area; swimming, yachting and surfing are some of the activities during the summer months. Essentially the first holiday village in the country was built in Foça by Club Med in 1960s, and the residents had benefited from this establishment. But when Club Med's rent contract had expired in 2005 they have left the village and since then the number of international tourist arrivals have dropped dramatically². At the time being, overnight stays are very low as either people stay in their summer homes or they come for short trips from Izmir. The current accommodation facilities in the town are rather small and few in numbers yet there are many small restaurants and souvenir shops.

Residents that are in employment in the town center are highly dependent on tourism and fishing; as a matter of fact 65% of the Special Environmental Protected Area (SEPA) value comes from tourism and recreation in the area (Bann & Başak, 2011). As a consequence, residents agree that tourism should be the leading sector to be further developed in their town (TVKGM, 2011). There are certain concerns that need to be addressed before further developing tourism in the area. Physically there is not much room for expansion because many places in the region are under protection and there are three military bases. There can only be limited new construction, which means the older buildings or facilities need to be renovated and used for tourism. However, from time to time building permits are given within the perimeters of archeological sights. Secondly, the stone houses in the town center have become very popular but expensive for locals to buy. As a result they are being purchased by the outsiders as second homes (Kilinc-Unlu, 2011). The town is gradually being occupied by outsiders, which constitutes a risk of the town losing its own identity and heritage. There are also certain pressures on the natural assets of the region. The prevalence of illegal fishing activities, overuse of coastal areas through daily excursion boats and insufficient municipal structure are some of these concerns raised Bann & Başak (2011) in their economic value analysis study.

Fortunately, the Foça SEPA Management Plan gives foremost importance to the protection of the marine and coastal area ecosystems and controlling and prevention of the environmental pollution (TVKGM, 2011, pg: 53). The same report recommends tourism to be developed using a sustainable approach, exerting less pressure on the nature and taking into account the local characteristics of the region. Essentially, the Plan directs tourism planners and entrepreneurs into considering alternative tourism types in Foça rather than relying on coastal tourism. However, at the time being the town has no short term or long term formal tourism plans.

The sustainable tourism understanding recommends taking into consideration both the physical environment of a region as well as the social and the cultural environment. There needs to be a balance between development and wellbeing of the society and the environment. Within this concept, where

¹ The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, General Directorate of Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets assigns conservation status of varying degrees in Turkey based on the "The Law of Conservation of Cultural and Natural Properties" (dated 21.07.1983; No: 2863; amended by law no: 3386 and 5226) (Bann & Başak, 2011).

² Club Med used to accommodate approximately 10,000 tourists per year (TVKGM, 2011).

possible, local assets should be utilized for the benefit of the society. Development of food tourism in a region may aid provide an opportunity through increasing participation by local actors. A destination can have return tourists (Harrington & Ottenbacher, 2010), increase tourist spending and extend the tourist season through attracting food tourists (Everett & Aitchison, 2008). Serving local food can fall within the domain of sustainable tourism in several ways; it can have a multiplier effect that benefits the local economy, reduces the carbon footprint of tourism, aids the destination to differentiate itself among other similar places and provides “all-round sustainable tourism” for both host community and the guests (Sims, 2009, p. 323).

Within the tourism literature gastronomy is more and more seen as having a role in enhancing visitor experience (Bessière, 1998; Remington & Yuksel, 1998; Hall & Sharples, 2003). This can be linked with the shift in travel patterns of urban people and their interest to understand and experience rural cultures. As a result during their free time they are travelling to more nature filled regions. They have become what Poon (1994) describes as “the new tourist” (Poon, 1994 cited in van Westering, 1999, p.78). Different from previous tourists, they want to live something real, authentic and culturally rich. Food has become the means for this search. Gastronomy reflects a region’s cooking and eating habits and in tourism it is identified with place. It is suggested that gastronomy can be linked with a region’s identity (Everett & Aitchison, 2008), can become the distinguishing feature of a social group (Bessière, 1998) and it can reflect heritage as what is being “transmitted by or acquired from a predecessor or predecessors; a legacy” (van Westering, 1999, p.76). In summary, promoting local gastronomy can aid to meet the local actor’s needs with the visitors’ expectations.

In the same way as the urban people’s quest for something real, Slow Food was formed against the global food industry and fast food chains in the late 1980s in Italy. The network was formed “to defend regional traditions, good food, gastronomic pleasure and a slow pace of life” (Slow Food., 2014a). Today, the global network has millions of supporters, hundred thousand members and over 1500 chapters (Conviva) in 160 countries (Slow Food., 2014b). Preservation of genetic and gastronomic heritage lies at the heart of Slow Food policies (Nilsson, Svård, Widarsson, & Wirell, 2011). Slow Food aims to protect the biodiversity as well as protecting the rights of both the producers and the consumers. Accordingly, the network promises to keep small farmers, producers and communities alive because it promises to defend their place in the market place against fast food chains, global supermarkets and industrialized food. At the regional level activities are organized by local chapters (Convivium). The Convivium carry the Network’s philosophy at the local level and it is therefore important that all activities are carried out in an inclusive manner.

The Earth Market is a farmers’ market that brings together small-scale farmers and artisan producers with the consumers using the Slow Food principles (Earth Market, 2014b). There are 39 Earth Markets around the world of which more than half is in Italy (July 2014). An Earth market can be formed by the collaboration of multiple actors in a community such as Slow Food Convivium, producers, local authorities, and citizens. The food that is sold at the Earth Market should be good, clean and fair for both producers and consumers. The existence of the market benefits the community since they only accept the products that have been produced and sold by the producers themselves or by their families. Besides its economic benefits the Earth Market also promises to become a social meeting point for the community.

The Earth Market in Foça, which was started in March 2012 by Foça Zeytindalı Slow Food Convivium, is first in Turkey. The market takes place every Sunday in the market square of the old city. The town of Foça is blessed with variety of food choices. There is an abundance of fresh fish coming from the Aegean Sea as well as green vegetables and herbs found in the region. The local cuisine is distinct because of these ingredients as well as the Greek influenced food culture. As a market rule, the producers can come from a maximum area of 40 km. of radius and they are all members of family establishments. Some of the activities of the Earth Market Foça can be listed as: demonstrations of traditional local food making, introduction of wild herbs and medicinal plants in the market, support for the use of grape molasses as a traditional substitute for sugar, educational activities for the producers and seed exchange. The next section describes the method of the study.

Research Design

This research seeks to examine the extent of collaboration by the stakeholders with the Slow Food Association during the establishment and development stages of the Earth Market. The data collection in this study was carried out through several stages. During the month of February 2014 an initial

contact was made with Defne Koryürek, Fikir Sahibi Damaklar Convivium Leader in Istanbul. The in-depth non-structured interview has informed the researchers about the current structure of Slow Food Network in Turkey. During the interview various projects of the members have been discussed. The Earth Market in Foça, Izmir that is organized by Foça Zeytindalı Convivium was found to be the most appropriate activity for studying gastronomy tourism development and stakeholder collaboration. Subsequent to this decision a contact was made with Foça Zeytindalı Convivium Leader Gül Girişmen, which was followed by an in-depth interview with her in Istanbul. This interview informed the researchers about the activities of the Convivium since its establishment, the current state of the Earth Market and the stakeholders that have been actively involved in the process.

Qualitative research is about reaching key informants that will provide insightful information into the phenomenon, unlike quantitative approach where the attention is on increasing the number of the sample. For that reason the researchers have employed purposive sampling and in guidance of the literature have identified four stakeholder groups relevant to the study (Table 1). Researchers have prepared structured yet different interview questions for these groups of respondents using Wood & Gray (1991)'s theoretical framework. In qualitative interviews the researcher tries to obtain the most information available in the time available. As a result the length of the interview questions have varied based on the respondent group's sophistication as well as their circumstances. The questions aimed at revealing the extent of the stakeholders' involvement in the development of the Earth Market. Visitors to the Earth Market were also interviewed. The purpose of these interviews was to examine whether Earth Market had enriched their experience while they were in Foça. Foça was visited during May and including the Convivium members a total of 50 face-to-face interviews were conducted during this time period (Table 1). The individual stakeholders within the Other Key Stakeholders category were identified in guidance of the information provided by the Slow Food Leader as well as with the help of the stakeholders.

Table 1. Respondents' Breakdown

Group Name	Number of Respondents	Labeled as
Slow Food Convivium Leader/Member	3	SF
Food Producers	8	FB
Other Key Stakeholders (Local and Central Government, Tourism Related Establishments, NGOs and Media)	22	OKS
Visitors n=50	17	V

The interviews were taped and photographed; and notes were taken during the site visits. The collected data were transcribed verbatim by two researchers while being controlled and corrected by the other researchers. The qualitative software NVivo (version 9.0) was used to manage and analyze the data.

The researchers have used their best efforts to complete the research within a limited amount of time however; there are certain limitations to the study. Firstly the town was visited during the low season and there were few out-of town visitors or international tourists. As a result interviews were mostly conducted with local visitors that routinely travel from downtown Izmir to Foça on Sundays for the purpose of shopping at the Market. None of them stayed overnight. Collecting data from out-of-town visitors during the summer months can add a new perspective to the study. Secondly, some possibly significant stakeholders were omitted during the data collection. Literature suggests education institutions as an important partner to Conviva for food education and heritage preservation. The next section reports the results of the study.

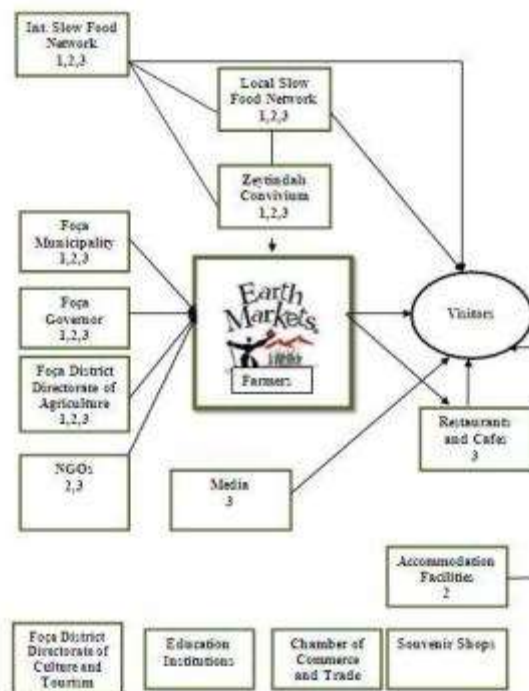
Results and Discussion

Extent of Collaboration with the Convener: The "shared rules, norms and structures" of the Earth Market are formed by Foça Zeytindalı Convivium (Convivium) in line with the Slow Food principles. The Convivium has taken a central role and have acted like a "convener" in this event (Wood & Gray, 1991). The participants, the seeds, the final product, the presentation style as well as the opening and closing hours are structured, which have to be accepted by the producers to take part in the market. In

this manner, the producers are the only participants in this event and they are exercising partial “autonomy” in the collaboration. The other stakeholders can be defined as *enablers* to the event because they help the event to take place but they maintain their full autonomy. The food event has not been yet made part of a larger tourism plan therefore the purpose of the Market and the benefits are not so clear for all the stakeholders. As a result some of the stakeholders are staying at a distance, and there are no connections (Figure 1). Jamal & Getz, (1995) propose that for collaboration to occur recognition of individual and mutual benefits to be derived from the process needs to be known.

Gray (1989) had defined three stages for collaboration. The “interactive process” between the Convivium and the international and local Slow Food Associations, Foça Mayor, the Governor and the District Directorate of Agriculture had started during the “problem setting stage” of the collaborative process. For instance the Municipality had provided the space for the market to take place, the Governor and the District Directorate of Agriculture have helped to identify and educate the farmers. During the “direction setting stage” an NGO and one hotel owner have joined the collaborative efforts. These were chosen because they were found to be interested and powerful for direction setting. In the “implementation stage” media have joined in to promote the event. Restaurants have become part by both buying local produce for their own use and also recommending their customers to visit the market during their stay. In comparison, hotels have had a very limited role. During these three stages two very important stakeholders have not become part of the collaborative efforts; the education institutions and the District Directorate of Culture and Tourism. As some other stakeholders have pointed out, no stakeholder in Foça volunteers to join the collaboration on their own, but waits to be invited by the convener. The convener has initially held public meetings to announce the establishment of the market and invited everyone to support the event. On the other hand, the examination of the process and the results of the interviews with the Convivium (Respondents SF2 and SF3) suggest that the convener has purposefully chosen some of the stakeholders at different stages because they were found to be more in control of resources and critical knowledge. When their role was complete their partnership had discontinued. Collaboration with particular stakeholders is recognized as a temporary structure by the Convivium.

Figure 1. Foça Earth Market: Collaboration Structure of the Stakeholders



Stages of Collaboration: 1= Problem Setting, 2=Direction Setting, 3= Implementation

Overall, achievement of identifying stakeholders, educating and convincing producers to participate at the event within a two year period of time shows the ability of the Convivium to reach a certain degree of collaboration among different stakeholders that have different interests. This success can be attributed to the type of influence followed by the convener. The Convivium applied “the persuasion

style” (Wood & Gray, 1991, p. 152) for interacting with the stakeholders. Gül Girişmen, the leader of the Convivium initiated the process voluntarily and used her own “credibility, influence, knowledge of the problem domain, knowledge of the stakeholder interrelationships and personal charisma” to invite the stakeholders to the collaboration (p. 153).

Benefits from Taking Part in the Collaboration: All stakeholders have agreed that there was need for collaboration during the processes. At the time being the significant benefactors appear to be the producers from the event. The responses of the producers confirm this finding.

My mother had never worked before. When she told us that she was going to sell her produce in the market my father and I did not take her seriously. But now every week we are helping her to get her vegetables to the market, and she is earning money (Respondent FB1, 2014).

Slow Food events are about food education as well as bringing the producers and consumers together. In Foça the producers benefit from the market not only economically but also socially. Every Sunday the market place has become a social interaction place for both the producers and for the weekly visitors to the market. The visitors become involved in what (Hall, 2012, p. 54) defines as “sustainable consumption”.

I come here every week. I prefer to buy from the local producers because I feel it is safer for my family. I can also ask my questions to the producers, I know most of them now. The presence of the Earth Market enriches my visit to Foça. After buying the vegetables, we visit the local restaurants and cafes before returning back to Izmir (Respondent V4, 2014).

The second group of stakeholders that benefit from the presence of the earth Market are the restaurants and the cafes (Figure 1). At the time being the existence of the Market is known only locally and most of the visitors are daily visitors from Izmir or people who come to their secondary houses during summer months. As a result the accommodation facilities or souvenir shops do not perceive any benefits. However during special events celebrated at the Market such as the Terra Madre day (September) the town attracts many local and international visitors interested in gastronomic heritage and food events. There are also some specialized gastronomy clubs visiting the Market.

Future of the Collaboration: The stakeholders have stated that they have only been partially involved in “decision making” for the Market. For stakeholders, involvement in action is not enough for their perception of collaboration; the absence of participation in decision making seems to suggest that they are discouraged in internalizing the projects. They are anticipating in becoming a long-term partner in the process. The comments from the stakeholders demonstrate their expectations from the Market as to increase visitors to the town. However besides the Governor none of them could explain a coherent vision for the event (Respondent OKS3). The stakeholders addressed several points to be improved for the future of the Market. Visitors stressed product differentiation, toilet facilities and better marketing of the event; central and local government representatives added better collaboration among stakeholders; hotels and restaurants wish to be informed and NGOs underlined the need for collaboration with educational institutions.

Conclusion and Implications

The town of Foça and its surroundings are blessed with archeology, nature and architectural elements. It is part of a Special Environment Protection Area and the expansion of tourism needs to be done very carefully and with participatory approach from informed stakeholders. Slow Food Zeytindalı Convivium very successfully identified key stakeholders, convinced producers to participate at the food event and within a two year period reached a certain degree of collaboration among multiple stakeholders that have different interests. A convener need not identify and assemble all the stakeholders of a problem domain, but can choose a pattern to establish the collaboration (Wood & Gray, 1991). However some stakeholders have pointed out that they would like to see educational institutions and trades associations as partners (Respondents OKS4, OKS8 and OKS9). Moreover, the Directorate of Culture and Tourism should be the most concerned governmental institution in Foça for the protection of the cultural and gastronomic heritage, but they are absent from the collaboration (Figure 1). There is big room for improvement at the Earth Market and stakeholders are willing to become part but they are

waiting to be informed and invited to cooperate. They also want to be more regularly involved in decision making processes, which points to the need for more formal and transparent ways of decision making and governance. The sustainability of the event depends not solely on the existence of the visitors but also embeddedness of the event in the local community (Parasecoli & Lima, 2012).

Even though the residents wish tourism to be further developed in their town there is no formal tourism plan and no agreed future orientation. The Municipality is found to be the most resourceful institution for starting a formal plan, however even Earth Market has not yet found its deserved place on their agenda³. Slow Food events have the power of developing sensitivity towards nature and heritage preservation (Buiatti, 2011). However, the lack of a tourism plan in Foça prevents the food event to be strategically connected with STD. It is not promoted properly; interrelationship with the tourism industry has not been established (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Parasecoli & Lima, 2012); and the benefits are not clear for all the stakeholders and therefore cannot provide benefits for many stakeholders. A tourism plan that adopts sustainability approach will foresee both economic results from tourism but will also aim to protect the most valuable assets of the region. The plan should have a food based tourism component that underlines the unique food products of the region as well as cultural value of specific food experiences (Parasecoli & Lima, 2012). This can be further linked with the future projects of the Earth Market in Foça. For instance food related visitor opportunities (food routes, food production demonstrations) that promote longer stays at accommodation facilities can be planned in cooperation with the tourism sector. Significant amounts of cooperation will be needed for the new tourism plan and the Municipality, the Governor and the Directorate of Culture and Tourism are found to be in a right position to coordinate this plan. Generalizability of a qualitative case study research is very limited. But we might suggest that the findings of this study can be applied to similar protected areas like Foça.

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³ The food event is not promoted on the website of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The Earth Market is at the bottom part of the Foça Municipality webpage (<http://www.foca.bel.tr/>) however and in more interested municipalities like Seferihisar Cittaslow Logo or the link to the Market is right at the beginning of the webpage <http://seferihisar.bel.tr/>. The Mayor during the interview stated that they are promoting their football team at the time.

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Territorial Vocation and Territorial Governance: A Situationist Point of View. The Case of Manfredonia Area ¹

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Abstract

The concepts of 'territorial vocation' and 'territorial governance' are focal in the literature of tourism management. These same concepts are also the link with many other research fields such as territorial marketing and local economic development. The paper aims to contribute to the debate on territorial vocation and territorial governance processes by giving an alternative vision, called 'situationist', compared to the prevailing one, defined as 'systemic'. In the traditional paradigm territory is represented as a pre-determined system with respect to the local actors and coalitions. In this epistemological framework the 'territorial vocation' appears as an objective character, self-evident, expression and synthesis of the potential of resources, skills and capacities of a territory. Sharing this approach, the strategic goal in tourism management is to design, implement and control a mechanism of local planning that integrates the local community in the common goal of sustainable development of the territory. In a 'situationist' point of view territory is a concrete system constructed by the actors. This different paradigm qualifies the territory as a space of games, a place of different interests and strategies, a place of interaction, negotiation and conflict among actors and their coalitions. The territorial vocation becomes a rationalized myth, an intersubjective construct, not assisted by an aura of objectivity and functionality to the interests of territory. It is the result, influenced by unintended effects, of the strategic action of a pro-tempore dominant coalition. The situationist perspective into the territorial governance processes is far from simplistic predictive models. It also debunks models of strategic management and place marketing and proposes the winding road of exploration of the strategies - cooperative and conflictual - enacted by actors and / or local coalitions to pursue their interests. The paper presents the case of the concrete dynamics of territorial governance of Manfredonia (Foggia, Italy) and its oscillation between touristic and industrial vocation in the light of the processes of action and institutionalization.

Keywords: territorial vocation, territorial governance, power, action, institutionalization, document analysis

Introduction

The economic, political and social scenario, in a global sense, is made of continuous, radical, often sudden changes. New consumers, industries, competitive models, new political, industrial and financial forces are emerging. The new economic dynamics, both macro and micro, do not respond anymore to many of the acknowledged theories.

Concerning these issues, the management literature widely shows an approach of mutual dependence, sometimes virtuous, sometimes vicious, between development-decline of a firm and development-decline of a territory. The theory describes a co-evolutionary process in which firms and territories mutually are presented as resources one for the competitiveness of the other (Valdani & Ancarani, 2000). There is also a strong convergence on thinking that the sources of competitiveness and value creation, both for firms and for territories, are progressively and irreversibly shifted from tangible to intangible factors.

¹ Even though the Authors share responsibility for the entire paper, output of a common research effort, note that "Introduction" and "Discussion and conclusions" may be attributed to Piero Mastroberardino, whereas "Conceptual and theoretical framework" may be attributed to Giuseppe Calabrese and "Case study: introduction, purpose and methodology" and "Manfredonia through 50 years of territorial vocations" may be attributed to Flora Cortese.

With respect to similar evolutionary dynamics, public administrators, managers and social scholars should abandon the most widespread theories and practices, as acknowledged as overcome. They should experiment with new prospects for observation, able to better understand the emerging logic that supports both the competitive advantage of a firm and the comparative advantage of a territory.

Consistent with these assumptions, the concept of territory has evolved from a mere place, to a “*relational space, complex, unique and difficult to imitate*” (Rullani, 1999, p. 25), going beyond the meaning related to physical space and including cultural and social interspatial connections. The definition cited, with emphasis on uniqueness and difficult imitability, immediately placed in the foreground the issues on which this paper is focused.

How much, epistemologically, can be correct to define and apply models of territorial governance aspiring to high levels of generalization and including large “*pretence of knowledge*” (Hayek, 1989)? How much can metaphors coming from different fields be really effective in this field?

As a matter of fact, in our view the issue of territorial governance is still faced with naivety or hypocrisy and easily adapted to numerous and attractive ‘metaphors’.

Consider, for example, the metaphor of ‘territorial marketing’ that suggests an idea of territorial governance aiming at ‘selling a product’ (a city, an area, a region, a country) ‘to a specific target’ (citizens, tourists, investors and so on) as a result of a strategic analysis aiming at converting the ‘territorial vocation’ in a sustainable competitive advantage (Bellini, 2004).

Another example concerns the approaches framing territorial governance in so-called ‘industrial policy’. Wide and referenced scientific studies define the “true” territorial vocation and determine top-down strategies of economic, social and cultural development. Smart adhocacies of policy makers enlightened by science establish a ‘board of designers’, technicians and experts – rigorously independent – who conceive and design a rational strategic plan for territorial development.

On the other hand, using biological metaphors, there are many approaches that show territorial governance as a spontaneous ordering process, due to phenomena of ‘self-organization’ and able to create virtuous development processes. Models of self-government of the territory should then come out, according to a bottom-up logic, able to reduce to unity the multiplicity of interests of local actors.

All the cited examples refer to the same paradigm, which is widely dominant in management studies, that we can address at as a ‘unified approach’ (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Mastroberardino, 2006, 2010).

This framework, although with significant differences between the ‘board of designers’ option or top-down perspective (Bertalanffy, 1968; Beer, 1966, 1967; Emery, 1974; Golinelli, 2000, 2011; Gross & Etzioni, 1987; Scott, 1981) and the ‘self-organization’ one or bottom-up perspective (Bertuglia & Staricco, 2002; Faggioni & Simone, 2009; Morin, 1993; Prigogine & Stengers, 1981; Taylor, 2005; Waldrop, 1995), reifies the territory and interprets it as a collective entity with its own identity and strategic thinking aiming at generating order, harmony and integration.

In other words, territory is defined as a ‘*pre-determined system with respect to the actors*’ (Mastroberardino & Calabrese, 2013b).

This paradigm is characterized by the interpretation of territory as a system, which is divided into sub-systems at lower levels and is part of inclusive, higher-level systems. In this way all the social actors are interconnected in a total and charming – at first glance – representation of functioning of the whole society (Mastroberardino, 2010). This approach, recalling the expression “domain of teleology” (von Wright, 1971), opts for a systemic rationality, selecting the logic of functionalist explanation in a collectivist and holistic view of social phenomena (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Mastroberardino, 2006).

The local actors, in the frame of pre-determined systems, operate for ‘common good’. The healthy forces of cooperation and convergence are projected to prevail over individual interests.

The competitive advantage of territory is sustainable if it meets the expectations of several local stakeholders (individuals and/or organizations) directly or indirectly involved into the process of value

creation.

In this respect, wide ranges of typical concepts of strategic management (mission and vision, positioning, strategy, resources, stakeholders, competitiveness, value, ethics, etc.) are declined with reference to territory.

In this epistemological framework 'territorial vocation' appears as an objective, self-evident character, expression and synthesis of the potential of resources, skills and capabilities of a territory, resulting from its past and constraining for its future, to be implemented in a sort of implicit and always winning strategy of differentiation in the competition among territories. Sharing this approach, the strategic goal in tourism management is creating and presenting attractions that draw tourists, while simultaneously engaging stakeholders to contribute to conservation of tangible and intangible heritage assets. The function of tourism management is to design, implement and control a mechanism of local planning that integrates the local community and attracts towards the common goal of sustainable development of the territory.

This paper, according to previous considerations, shows an alternative point of view – called 'situationist' – for the understanding of the processes of territorial governance. In a situationist framework territory is not qualified as a "pre-determined system with respect to the actors" but as a "concrete system built by the actors". This different paradigm, a synthesis between political and neo-institutional perspective, qualifies territory as a space of games, a place of different interests and different strategies, a place of interaction, negotiation and conflict among actors and their coalitions (Mastroberardino et al., 2013a).

Territorial vocation becomes a "rationalized myth", an intersubjective construct not assisted by an aura of objectivity and functionality to the interests of territory itself. It is the result, influenced by unintended effects, of the strategic action of a pro-tempore dominant coalition.

Through these lenses, territorial vocation is thus interpreted as a pressure, as a material and symbolic constraint that induces beliefs, practices and patterns of behaviour in the actors of that territory. Similarly, territorial governance becomes a result of a power game based on continuous individual and coalitional strategies. Communication and negotiation processes structure a pro-tempore local order that is, at the same time, product and constraint of human interaction.

Putting these different lenses on, a deep pattern of political actions comes in evidence, aiming at protecting the interests of specific coalitions but systematically communicated as functional to the harmonious development of territory in order to pursuit 'common good'.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

Territorial vocation and territorial governance in a situationist framework. The paradigm of "concrete system built by the actors".

Prior to present the peculiar meaning of key concepts like "territorial vocation" and "territorial governance", as provided by the situationist framework (Sparti, 2002), it is appropriate to briefly introduce the framework itself.

First of all, let's point out its clear distinction from the *Contingency Theory*, which is – in organizational studies – also called 'situational approach' (Burns & Stalker, 1961; Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967; Woodward, 1965). The distance is relevant: the paradigm of "concrete system built by the actors" refers to the micro-actionist epistemological framework, in particular: social phenomenology (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Husserl, 1976; Schutz, 1974; Searle, 1995); symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1934); ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967).

Two theoretical approaches, seemingly divergent, are linked to these roots (Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Mastroberardino, 2006): the political approach (Crespi, 1999; Crozier & Friedberg, 1978; Friedberg, 1994; Pfeffer, 1981) and the neo-micro-institutionalism in organizational studies (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Zucker, 1977).

The political approach emphasizes the strategic action of local actors (individual or coalitional) oriented to protect their own specific interests. The concept of 'power' with respect to a specific 'field

of *concrete action*' (Crozier & Friedberg, 1978; Thompson, 1967) is central to this approach. Power is defined as 'exchange' and not as 'strength' (March, 1994), a social work of construction of fields of strategic action and degrees of freedom with respect to the constraints of a specific local context and not just a struggle among opposing groups.

The perspective here called 'situationist' is focused on the processes of 'action' and 'institutionalization', based on the concrete contexts of human action in everyday life.

The continuous work of these two processes produces building, breaking and reconstruction of social reality (Giddens, 1984). Between action and institutionalization arises the vision of a local actor who, even institutionally constrained, does not surrender to act strategically.

The strategies of local actors contribute to – even not strictly determine – the construction of the complex social reality that we define territory (Mastroberardino et al., 2006; Mastroberardino, 2010). In a situationist point of view, a territory is therefore defined as a "*concrete system built by the actors*", never a "*pre-determined system with respect to the actors*".

Territorial vocation: from objective meta-resource to rationalized myth.

Shifting from the paradigm of "*pre-determined system with respect to the actors*" to the paradigm of "*concrete system built by the actors*", the concept of territorial vocation radically changes. Not just an objective character, a self-evident meta-resource defined as "*the personality of a territory, its natural, social, cultural and economic inclination*" (Golinelli, 2002). Not a *neutral cause* on which the strategy of development of territory has to be built, but the *effect built* – even not wholly intentional – by a *pro-tempore* dominant coalition of local actors, public and private, with converging interests, temporarily joined to achieve specific objectives. The *pro-tempore* dominant coalition works to give an identity to the territory, helpful to a looked-for positioning and to the acknowledgment of the role of collective actor in a wider institutional framework. In this *institutional work* (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2005; Leblebici et al., 1991), this coalition pursues legitimacy and consistency with the institutional framework, tries to connect with the key players, evaluates the available options and chooses a path rather than another based on the opportunities that aims to catch (Mastroberardino, 2010).

The available options are undoubtedly influenced by certain characteristics of the territory, but the strategic choice of a specific development path is the result of political and institutional games among local actors who later on, in a justificatory perspective, build a coherent and rational story that strengthens – or weakens – the social construction of territorial vocation. The believed constraint of a certain territorial vocation (eg, agricultural or touristic) breaks and is overcome by a new story that suggests a different development plan which promises a greater chance of creating value for the territory itself, for *common good*.

The objective character of territorial vocation fades. It rather appears as a social construct, emerging from a complex institutional work in which specific strategies of power and communication are compared (Cyert & March, 1963; Mastroberardino et al., 2012; Thompson, 1967; Govers & Go, 2004).

Once erected and appropriately justified, territorial vocation becomes a *specific dimension of meaning* for local actors (Nigro, 2006), who are pressured to conform their behaviour to gain legitimacy and not be excluded from local practices of distribution of value (funds, supplies, institutional roles, etc.). In this perspective territorial vocation, like any other form of social construct, is an instrument of power – cognitive, semantic, cultural – through which it is possible to steer the behaviour of local actors and the dynamics of local development.

For example, the opportunity to obtain public funds linked to a certain development plan of the territory applies a pressure with respect to entrepreneurial choices and increase the *degree of institutional thickness* (Braczyk et al., 1998) towards the territorial vocation embedded in those plans, generating the well known phenomenon of *self-fulfilling prophecy* (Merton, 1948). Through these processes of isomorphism (Mastroberardino et al., 2013), local actors reinforce territorial vocation. Macro-level (territorial vocation as a social construct) and micro-level (individual or coalitional strategies) are inextricably intertwined.

In other terms, once institutionalized, a certain territorial vocation generates and endorses socially correct beliefs and practices, becoming a *rationalized myth*. A rationalized myth is a powerful taken-for-granted rule or belief system that embodies stories about cause and effect and successful solutions to problems (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977). It appears rational because specifies what local actors must do to be efficient, but it's a myth because its efficacy depends on the fact that it is widely shared rather than inherently correct (Scott, 1983). A rationalized myth is expressed in various forms: classifications, evaluation criteria, performance criteria, quality or environmental standards, product standards, contracts, and so on. A rationalized myth challenges the notion of an objective rationality, arguing that concepts of rationality are socially constructed by widely accepted norms and patterns of behavior (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Powell & DiMaggio 1991).

On the other hand, rationalized myths are not immutable but constantly changing: local actors (individual or coalitional) continuously challenge a certain territorial vocation – that obstructs or damages their interests – to build a new, different one, where they could have wider degrees of freedom. The potential for change depends on the degree of *cultural persistence*. In particular there are three fundamental aspects to understand: generational uniformity of cultural understandings, maintenance of these understandings and resistance of these understandings to change (Zucker, 1977).

The higher is the degree of *objectivity* and *exteriority* of a rationalized myth, the more effective will be the transmission of cultural values to local actors, the smaller the potential for change and the probability of break-up of the institutional framework.

In the situationist perspective, territorial vocation provides a temporary *general screenplay* to local actors. In relation to this screenplay coherent scripts are written (territorial vision, territorial mission, territorial development plan, territorial projects, etc.) emphasizing some aspects rather than others. Roles, behavioural expectations, schemes and procedures emerge to regulate the relationship among local actors. Specific signs and icons verify the compliance of behaviour in such patterns and allow external recognition. Some obvious examples are: territorial brands, collective brands, appellations of origin, territorial product trademarks.

Territorial governance as political and institutional games between 'action' and 'institutionalization'. Understanding territory as a “concrete system built by the actors” means to focus on the political and institutional dynamics among different interests from which interaction, conflicts and negotiations arise. Territorial governance, therefore, is not the solid and rational effect of a rational strategic planning but the *pro-tempore* local order that is, at the same time, product and constraint of human interaction between action and institutionalization.

Local actors (individual or coalitional) work to structure social interactions within a “*field of concrete action*” for their own advantage, in order to gain, preserve and increase their degrees of freedom and unpredictability (Calabrese, 2006; Friedberg, 1994). Strategic action is realized by using political mechanisms (communication, negotiation, cooperation and conflict) in order to increase their influence. So they contribute, even not wholly intentionally, to create, preserve or change structures of territorial governance, which are only *pro-tempore* stable.

On the other hand, neo-micro-institutionalism focuses on material and symbolic constraints that institutions make on human behaviour (Bonazzi, 2000, p. VII), on institutional frameworks and institutional pressures that work on the actors of a specific “*field of concrete action*”. Institutions, however, are not natural entities: they appear as the non-deterministic result of strategic action of local actors who, even unintentionally, end up creating a *pro-tempore* coercive local order. With respect to this order local actors, with the aim of achieving legitimacy, adapt their strategies to institutionalized rituals and behaviours, to common practices and procedures, reinforcing the “*iron cage*” of institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

Territorial governance, even building an institutional framework defined by the balance of power among actors and constricting against them, never produces a definitive and irreversible outcome (Colasanto et al., 2010; Mastroberardino et al., 2010; Nigro & Trunfio, 2010). It appears as the effect of a complex network of interdependent actions, as a never ended continuous construction. In other terms territorial governance can be defined as a process of negotiation among different bundles of interests in which actors (individual or coalitional) pursue a mutually acceptable outcome (Pruitt, 1981). As well as social order is a product of negotiations, so negotiating is in turn limited by previous interactions. Rules

and constraints, thus, on one hand create order and minimize uncertainty, on the other hand generate new conflicts, contradictions and ambiguities (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991).

The territorial characteristics, the indeterminacy of human action and the political nature of the phenomenon do not allow an approach to territorial governance aiming at defining its *general laws*. On the contrary, priority should be given to qualitative research methods aiming at understanding, *hic et nunc*, the specific power relations among local actors (Mastroberardino & Nigro, 2009; Mastroberardino et al., 2011).

The *pretence of knowledge* inherent in the paradigm of “*pre-determined system with respect to the actors*” is weakened and, with it, the idea of a local development in a consistent, defined, purely technical perspective. *Ex ante* rationality of strategic planning is replaced by *ex post* rationality of the “*dynamic, contextual and practice dimension of acting of the actors*” (Ogien & Quéré, 2005).

This approach does not deny the existence of strategic planning processes of local development, but debunks them and switches them among the ‘*strategic games*’ that characterize territorial governance as a process of social construction of reality. The territorial development plan looks like a general frame which has few, blurred requirements of a map, to be followed by actions that resemble an open path along the way and not a track on pre-determined rails (Mastroberardino, 2010).

In this perspective each pattern of territorial governance shows the coding of a social and political negotiation and, at the same time, the crystallization of certain power relations among local individual or coalitional actors. In the Italian institutional framework there are several schemes of territorial governance. For example: PIF (Progetto Integrato di Filiera), PIT (Progetto Integrato Territoriale), STL (Sistema Turistico Locale), SLOT (Sistema Locale di Offerta Turistica), CA (Contratto d’Area), etc.² Local actors evaluate, select and use these patterns depending on the objective to be pursued. Each pattern, in fact, is not merely a technical vehicle for local development but underlies a symbolic dimension and a political dimension that, in concrete, produces asymmetric consequences among different local interests. Moreover, once adopted a pattern, local actors with respect to their perception of the constraints and opportunities resulting from its adoption, indefatigably work to limit its effectiveness or adapt its consequences. On one hand the adoption of a pattern of territorial governance creates a push towards the institutionalization; on the other hand it triggers new power strategies (actions) through which local actors try to become the masters of the game.

These considerations invite us to overcome the temptation to obtain an explanation model of the dynamics of territorial governance, a general theory of local development. Local development is not the result of a specific cause, is not induced by any objective territorial vocation – being territorial vocation a rationalized myth – and cannot be abstractly planned. On the contrary, it is a political and institutional process among local actors, different and divergent stakeholders, working strategically to obtain resources within the constraints generated into the institutional framework.

Case Study: Introduction, Purpose and Methodology

Manfredonia is among the largest and oldest cities of Apulia (Southern Italy). It is located in the Gargano National Park, on the shores of the Gulf of Manfredonia, between Foresta Umbra and Mediterranean Sea (Figure 1).

Founded in the thirteenth century by King Manfredi of Svevia, the city has a relevant historical, artistic and cultural background (Grasso, 2008; 2013). In this paper we summarize the events that characterized the economic development and territorial governance in the last fifty years, with swapping visions about territorial vocations which move back and forth between a focus on tourism and the idea of an industrial development. The purpose is to point out the different justifications that, for decades, have supported the action of the pro tempore dominant coalition. An institutional work that, even within a given institutional framework, aims to build a territorial vocation that could be functional to a certain local development scenario and a specific cluster of interest. We divided the historical reconstruction in five main stages, each characterized by a certain social construction of territorial vocation. Each stage is labelled with a sentence that summarizes the vision of the pro tempore dominant coalition.

²Could be translated as follows: PIF (Integrated Supply Chain Project), PIT (Territorial Integrated Project), STL (Local Tourism System), SLOT (Local System of Tourist Proposal), CA (Territorial Agreement), etc.

Figure 1. Manfredonia geographical position



The methodology used is the analysis of institutional documents. In general, a document is an *“information material about a particular social phenomenon that exists independently by the actions of the researcher (...). It is produced by individuals or institutions for purposes other than those of social research”* (Corbetta, 2002, p. 437). A document, therefore, represents a set of information pertaining to the topic, structured for human comprehension, represented by a variety of symbols, stored and handled as a unit (Sprague, 1995). For research purposes, we used only institutional documents that are *“produced by institutions or by individuals in the context of institutionalized part of their lives”* (Corbetta, 2002, p. 438).

The aim of this research is to identify and highlight the key arguments used by social actors (individuals or coalitions) in order to justify the existence of an objective territorial vocation of Manfredonia area. These arguments, ex post, can be interpreted as rational motivations behind specific policy of territorial governance. The object of investigation is represented by what we call *“the position of the actor on field”*, that is the overall meaning (Downe, 1992) of the action of a specific institutional actor such as detectable by the analysis of institutional documents.

In this case, the position of the actor on field can only have two states: a) The territorial vocation of Manfredonia is tourism; or b) Manfredonia has an industrial vocation. The unit of analysis (Chadwick et al., 1984) is represented by a single written document.

The research involved a judgmental sample of approximately one hundred documents in a period of time of about 50 years (1959-2013). The type of documents collected is as follows: normative texts (laws, regulations, parliamentary acts, ...); judgments of the courts; administrative texts (acts of local authorities); newspaper articles; press releases, minutes of boards of directors and other corporate documents; other documents. We decided not to use any form of interview (to collect memories and / or testimony) because, given the period of investigation, not all the key players would be reached and this would create a cognitive bias in data collection.

The analysis of the documents referred to the Content Analysis techniques (Berelson, 1952, Holsti, 1969; Markoff et al., 1975; Krippendorff, 1988, 2004; Cavanagh, 1997), classically used in the context of communication research for the study of political speeches (Harwood, Garry, 2003).

More specifically, the content analysis was carried out with a qualitative approach (Morgan, 1993; Marshall & Rossman, 1994; Densin & Lincoln, 2000; Bowen, 2009) that is more consistent with our epistemological option than the quantitative one (Weber, 1990; Neuman et al., 1992, Neuendorf, 2002;

Dupagne et al., 2005) based on documentary standardization (Jones, 1991; Salminen et al., 1997).³

Our analysis approach is ethnographic (Picard & Benozzo, 1996; Bate, 1997; Bruni, 2003; Ybema et al., 2009; Sicca, 2010) and aims to detect “the significant scripts” (Schanck & Abelson, 1977) in a perspective of integrated understanding of the textual content rather than statistical indicators of keyword density or keyword association.

Manfredonia Through 50 Years of Territorial Vocations

STAGE 1 – The territorial vocation of Manfredonia is tourism.

Manfredonia will have a bright future if we protect the landscape and enhance its cultural and historical heritage.

In 1959 Enrico Mattei – famous President of ENI⁴ – flying over the Gargano area was dazzled by the beauty of landscape and decided to build a big touristic centre in the area of Vieste. Shortly after the wonderful ENI holiday Centre of “Pugnochiuso” was built. Thanks to the global influence of ENI, the beauty of Gargano area comes to the attention of the world.

The touristic vocation of Gargano area – and the related investments – soon find protection and support at the institutional level. In 1965, the act n. 717 labelled “*Rules of Interventions for the Development of the South of Italy*” and the attached “*Plan for the Coordination of Public Actions for the South of Italy (1966-1969)*” declare the area of Manfredonia and the whole Gargano as subject to landscape protection.

STAGE 2 – Manfredonia has an industrial vocation.

Without a solid industrial development there will be no future for Manfredonia. You can't survive only on tourism!

In 1966 ENI announced to be in search of areas to build new petrochemical plants, huge investments able to generate significant impact on employment and income. The province of Foggia was at the last places in the national statistics on economic development. Some historians and economists argued that the causes of underdevelopment were related to the lack of industrialization (Tomaiuolo, 2006).

The pro tempore dominant coalition identifies a unique opportunity for the socio-economic context of the province of Foggia. The vision for the future of Manfredonia changes accordingly. The elements in favour of an industrial vocation are emphasized; those in favour of the touristic vocation are placed in the background.

For example: in the near Dauno Sub-Apennine there are relevant methane fields that could be exploited; Manfredonia, more than other areas, has a fundamental logistics requirement: the landlocked. It facilitates the supply of raw materials and the transfer of finished product (Ciociola, 2010).

In 1967, CIPE (Interministerial Committee for Economic Planning), despite the landscape protection of the whole area, argues in favour of the industrial development plan.

In March 1968, the provincial committee for protection of landscape gives favourable judgment to the plants. The minutes of the committee meeting says: “*the area, even subject to landscape protection, is monotonous and miserable, of no landscape interest and devoid of vegetation*” (Tomaiuolo, 2006).

Several voices oppose the project. ENI is accused of having exerted pressure on all Public Institutions, national and local, and used its economic influence to control the media (Tomaiuolo, 2006).

³ Main international standards developed in document analysis field are SGML (*Standard Generalized Markup Language*; Goldfarb, 1990) and ODA (*Open Document Architecture*; ISO-8613, 1989). Both are international standards for defining and representing documents of an organization and are based on the idea of structured documents in order to achieve a high level of document standardization coherent with information technology as database information systems and big data analysis.

⁴ ENI Spa is an Italian multinational company involved in petroleum, natural gas, petrochemicals, electricity production, engineering and construction. The name “ENI” was initially the acronym of “Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi” (National Hydrocarbons Authority).

Here is reported the prophetic article by the historian Bruno Zevi (1967) who sums up the opposition to the project:

“If Aldo Moro (Italian pro tempore Prime Minister) does not act immediately to stop the brutal initiative, consequences are easy to predict: 1) Any possibility of enhancing tourism will be destroyed in Gargano area, the only area in Italy miraculously intact in the splendour of rocky landscapes and coastal areas; 2) Manfredonia with its Aragonese walls; Siponto, with its Romanesque Cathedral and archaeological sites; Monte Sant’Angelo, with its Sanctuary, the Castle of Frederick II and the Medieval Village will no longer have any prospect of development; 3) As for the vaunted “co-ordination of public interventions in Southern Italy”, we will see a dramatic paradox: plans against plans. On one hand, law recognizes the touristic vocation of Gargano, on the other hand, ENI abuses it with a huge industrial plant; 4) Finally, people whisper that, by chance, 30 billion were spent in an area included in the constituency of President Aldo Moro and of the deputy Vincenzo Russo, a member of the Christian Democratic Party and, at the same time, a top manager of ENI. Malevolence, of course! But this coincidence can generate suspicions”.

The promise of significant impact on employment and income overpowers critical positions focused on environment and tourism.

In 1969 ENI starts between Manfredonia and Monte Sant’Angelo (now a UNESCO protected site) the construction of the fourth petrochemical plant of Italy. Steel and cement take the place of ancient olive trees, farms, mills, coast and beaches.

The territorial governance leads Manfredonia toward the production of urea, ammonia, caprolactam and ammonium sulphate (Ufficio Responsabile Unico Comune Manfredonia, 2010). An investment of 30 billion Lire (about 15 million Euro), an expected production of 1,000 tons per day of ammonia and the promise of 500 new jobs into the area (Tomaiuolo, 2006).

STAGE 3 – The territorial vocation of Manfredonia is tourism.

Ammonia will kill us. Industrial plants are dangerous, threatening public health and destroying landscape.

1976, September 26: the first accident. A washing column of ammonia bursts. Over 10 tons of arsenic trioxide and 18 tons of potassium oxide are dispersed in the atmosphere. The contamination affects ground and water. ENI minimizes the severity of the accident and communicates the absence of a serious threat to the health of workers and population (Magno, 1977). The mayors of Manfredonia and Monte Sant’Angelo forbid access to contaminated areas, prohibit consumption of local agricultural foodstuffs and interdict fishing within a mile from the sea coast. They also order the closure of schools and the slaughter of all animals. A technical committee suggests the washing of streets and houses with special substances allowing oxidation and insolubilization of arsenic to prevent further contamination of groundwater (Tomaiuolo, 2005).

In the area there are no suitable laboratories to cope with the huge demand for clinical analysis. Panic spreads among the inhabitants. The damages for the area and for citizens’ health are incalculable.

1978, August-September. Two more accidents at the same plant forced the residents to evacuate the area for some days. The citizens are aware that living in ‘that city’ has become extremely dangerous (Langiu & Portaluri, 2008).

In the fall of 1988, the Italian Government chooses Enichem Manfredonia as a suitable place to burn the ship’s cargo “Deep Sea Carrier” containing toxic waste, soon renamed the “ship of poisons”. This additional risk causes the reaction of citizens. The remonstrance appears on TV and gains national visibility. Many political and institutional actors, at this point, support the protest in search of legitimacy and consensus (Langiu & Portaluri, 2008).

In 1993 the closing of the plant starts, although after more than twenty years the reclamation of the area is not complete yet (Ciociola, 2010).

STAGE 4 – Manfredonia has an industrial vocation.

The petrochemical industry has been a huge mistake, but not all industries are the same. Only a new industrialization can create new jobs and local development.

The closure of ENI's plants worsen the already poor socio-economic situation of the area. In 1994 Italian Government orders to the Committee for Coordination of Initiatives for Employment to prepare a special investment plan to deal with the critical social problems and restart economic development.

The territory of Manfredonia, Mattinata and Monte Sant'Angelo, due to the process of de-industrialization, is classified as a "crisis area" and meets eligibility requirements for access to public financial policies. The result is a structure of local governance (before as a Memorandum of Understanding, then as a Local Agreement) to design new investment plans in infrastructure, environmental safety and re-industrialization of the area to be carried out with the help of Italian and European Union public funds. Then a new company called "Manfredonia Sviluppo S.C.p.A." is founded. Enisud S.p.A., a stock company within the ENI Group created for operations in Southern Italy, holds a 40% of the shares. On March 4, 1998 the Local Agreement is signed and the re-industrialization of the Manfredonia area kicks off.

STAGE 5 (current) – The territorial vocation of Manfredonia is tourism.

There was no second industrialization in Manfredonia, just a huge empty box crafted to capture the substantial public funding. Only going back to our origins we will give a future to Manfredonia.

The Local Agreement⁵ of Manfredonia - for further details please refer to the Official Reports of the project (Ufficio Responsabile Unico Comune Manfredonia, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013) - the result of a widespread coordination among institutions, trade unions and industry associations, has not met expectations. The new jobs originated are insufficient and many professionals have come from other areas.

The companies that received public funds came mainly from Northern Italy and, once in compliance with legal requirements necessary to obtain the funds, have divested, leaving the territory. Not even the goal of recovering the area has been achieved!

The recovery project, paradoxically, has been assigned to Enichem. The entire area lacks of basic infrastructure: sewers, water pipelines, telephone networks, railways and roads (Tomaiuolo, 2006). There are several on-going investigations about the public funding procedures and the judiciary has disclosed many cases of serious illegality. Public funds, although formally arrived in the territory of Manfredonia, in substance are not rooted in it. There is the evidence of a substantial absence of new industrialization.

The documents of territorial planning (in particular the "Preliminary Planning Document" and the "Urban Plan") emphasize the need to promote development of tourism, preservation of landscape, protection of natural environment. Local actors are reconstructing a framework of territorial governance working for landscape protection and for a return to the development of historical and cultural heritage.

They require public funding for a long-term investment plan through which develop the 'true' territorial vocation of Manfredonia, for the 'common good' of the local community.

Discussion and Conclusions

The paper (as well as the case of Manfredonia area) underlines the vision of the territory as a political arena (Morgan, 1997), a set of strategic options and development pathways that are not determined by 'initial conditions', as the dominant meaning of the concept of *territorial vocation* seems to suggest. In this framework, territorial vocation becomes a social construct. Rather than a cause, it is an effect, even not wholly intentional, of the concrete political and institutional dynamics emerging from interaction

⁵ A Local Agreement is an agreement among public administrations, trade unions, employers and any other stakeholders to implement actions aimed at accelerating the economic development and create new jobs. Its purpose is to create a favourable business environment able to attract business initiatives and the creation of new jobs through the stimulus to investment.

among different strategies of local actors. In each *field of concrete action* local actors (individual or coalitional) look for a greater degree of freedom and appropriation of value within an institutional framework of constraints, rules, practices and beliefs.

The events of the last 50 years of territorial governance of Manfredonia area show how the pro-tempore dominant coalition intercepted and followed the evolutionary dynamics of the political power – both national and local – and how the local development path became a negotiation process between different actors who strategically worked to obtain key resources, step by step.

As argued in the initial part of this work, in a situationist perspective the territorial vocation is a pseudo-objective character of a territory, a social filter – material and/or symbolic – which produces schemes, procedures, projects, standards, models and behaviours that, converging more and more, institutionalize vocation and show it as objective. Through this iterative process of continuous recalls, territorial vocation is institutionalized and becomes a constraint mechanism for individual or coalitional strategic action.

In methodological terms, the situationist perspective suggests the adoption of a qualitative approach that re-evaluates techniques and tools of historical, anthropological, sociological and ethnographic research. Similar empirical research cannot identify the general laws of dynamics of territorial development or crisis, risking otherwise to fall back into esoteric but unfruitful recipes suggested by many territorial governance gurus.

This could be seen as a significant limitation of the situationist perspective. Of course, applying to territory the approach of '*pre-determined systems with respect to the actors*', it can be true. On the contrary, the epistemological choice of territory as a '*concrete system built by the actors*' turns this limitation into an opportunity for deeper exploration of experiences and cases, successes and failures.

The fundamental empirical fallout resulting from the adoption of this perspective concerns the dynamics of territorial governance. First, in order to understand the dynamics of territorial governance we have to analyse the concrete power of local actors to turn this process of institutionalization to their advantage. The concrete definition of territorial vocation is never neutral. Some interests are sponsored, others obstructed.

The catalysts of this process that can, in turn, accelerate or reverse a certain trend, producing a counter-vocation, represent another field of research. The chance to capture enormous financial funds by adhering to a certain local development strategic plan, as often happens with EU funds or other public policies, are an obvious example. In these cases, as also the case of Manfredonia shows, the external catalyst can change local power structures and trigger a process of counter-construction of territorial vocation. Even a serious accident can produce the same result by evoking fear through the levers of communication and influence of public opinion rather than economic opportunity and creation of jobs.

Abandoning pretentious ambitions of planning, design and control of territorial development, research will support the territorial governance learning and spreading knowledge on lobbying strategies, finally coming out of the naivety or hypocrisy that characterizes it. In the future, hopefully, research programmes will be less conditioned or influenced by value judgments which, cleverly hidden into fascinating theoretical proposals, inhabit management literature on territorial governance, relationship between firms and territories, business ethics, corporate social responsibility, business sustainability and so on.

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An Empirical Analysis of Governance Dynamics in the Italian State Museums

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Abstract

In Italy, the governance of the museum organizations is a widely debated topic. Through different paths of analysis Scholars have detected several critical factors that could adversely affect the capacity to express the real potential of a territory with a natural touristic vocation. This work analyses the governance dynamics of Italian museum organizations adopting a 'situationist' perspective in order to detect: the role played by the actors (e.g. directors/managers) involved in the governance of the National artistic-cultural heritage; the influence of the political system on the conducts of the directors of the museums; the power relations among these actors and the National Institutions. The work is divided into two parts. The first one aims at identifying the elements characterizing the governance of Italian museum organizations, using the Delphi Analysis with in-depth interviews to three key players in the museum sector. The second phase seeks to verify three main statements through an online survey involving the population of Directors responsible for the Italian State Museum: 1) there is a 'gap' between the contents of 'Code of the cultural heritage and landscape' and the organizational structure, internal processes and activities of the museum organizations; 2) the key actors in the governance processes adopt a strategic approach mainly directed to the protection of artistic-cultural heritage; 3) the initiatives aimed at enhancing the artistic-cultural heritage are limited. The work seeks to show the way forward for further studies on the role of directors, enabling a greater comprehension of the topic. The situationist perspective, while enabling a more realistic representation of the phenomenon, it does not provide the scholar with a set of prescriptive 'ready to use' governance practices.

Keywords: governance, museums, artistic-cultural heritage, power, neo-institutionalism, situationist approach.

Introduction

In Italy, the topic of the governance of the museum organizations is widely discussed by Scholars and practitioners, as the rich national artistic and cultural heritage is not supported by adequate resources for its maintenance and development. The museum sector, part of a top-tier cultural heritage at worldwide level, showcasing an impressive "cultural portfolio" throughout the national territory, is negatively affected by several issues: a fragmented institutional framework; discontinuous public policies; few funds available; responsibilities overlap among different bodies having different, sometimes conflicting, visions about the future (Wizemann & Alberti, 2005). In particular, the problem of the institutional fragmentation, if from one side is the main cause of the only partial definition of roles and responsibilities for directors and managers; on the other side, it opens the way for scientific debate on the corporate governance processes of the Italian museums.

So far, the Literature has mainly focused on the strategies and the results of the museum organizations, seen as institutions, in order to explore the actual 'capability to create value' (Dragoni, 2012; Golinelli, 2012; Montella, 2006, 2009, 2010, 2012).

Going beyond this approach, this work, after a preliminary reconstruction of the regulatory environment and institutional framework and a review of the prevailing Literature, addresses the governance dynamics of the Italian museum organizations in a "situationist" perspective.

A different approach is, in fact, required to explore complex relations such as those governing the museum organizations, where an analysis based on a deterministic logic and ex-ante 'explanation' patterns, typical of systemic approaches to the study of organizations, would not work. A more realistic view is necessarily based on the ex-post 'understanding' (von Wright, 1988) of: a) the power relations among the actors involved in the governance of these organizations; b) the influence of the institutions

on the actors' initiatives. The interplay of the two "forces", the power-based "action" and the "institutionalization", generates the dynamics of the governance.

In this perspective, this contribution aims to detect: the role played by the actors (directors and managers) involved in the governance processes of the national artistic and cultural heritage; the influence of the institutions on the conducts of the directors; the power relations among the actors and national institutions.

The main objective is to unveil the reasons of the 'static nature' of some conducts adopted by the actors in charge of the governance of the museum organizations and to verify the following assumptions:

1) there is a 'gap' between the contents of 'Code of the cultural heritage and landscape' and the organizational structure, internal processes and activities of the museum organizations; 2) the key actors in the governance processes adopt a strategic approach mainly directed to the protection of artistic-cultural heritage; 3) the initiatives aimed at enhancing the artistic-cultural heritage are limited.

In the final part the first results of an on-field analysis, conducted to test the above-mentioned assumptions, will be presented. These results provide food for thought around some variables that could possibly generate and explain the trend of 'ultraconservative' policies adopted by the museums' directors.

Regulatory Framework and Literature Review

The following pages present the concepts of protection, preservation and enhancement of cultural heritage, as defined in the Italian institutional regulatory framework, as well as some insights offered by the prevailing economic-managerial Literature in this field.

Over the time, the evolution of the management approach to the artistic-cultural heritage (marked by the transition from a 'static approach' - centred on the protection/preservation - to a 'dynamic approach' - centred on the concept of value creation) has resulted in a review, sometimes only theoretical, of the museums' governance structures with important effects on their organization and management. According to the management theory, in fact, the most critical issues affecting the museums' organizational structures are linked to the ultra-complex governance of the Italian cultural heritage.

In this perspective, an overview of the existing regulatory framework contributes to the analysis of the organizational and managerial structure of Italian museums (Nigro et al., 2012; Wizemann & Alberti, 2005; Zan, 1999).

A Brief Reconstruction of the Italian Institutional Framework

The institutional framework that regulates the governance and management of the museum organizations finds its main reference in the *Code of Cultural Heritage and Landscape* of 2004 (Sandulli, 2012). In the Code the legislator does mark the transition from the concept of 'protection & preservation' of the artistic-cultural heritage to the one of 'enhancement', opening up the debate, on the political front among the others, on several aspects:

- the need to pursue the increase in the value rather than merely protection and preservation of the cultural heritage. In fact, for decades the second approach has been prevailing, regardless of the needs, perceptions, preferences of the consumers (Wizemann, Alberti, 2005);
- the action exerted by the Italian central governments, which have: developed the concept of 'enhancing the value of the cultural heritage'; designed the new structures of corporate governance, compatible with the public sector; set out the different responsibilities of actors involved in increasing the value of artistic-cultural heritage of the country. In short, the different Governments have over the time legitimated the strategies adopted by the museums' managers.

In an attempt to address these issues, the political debate has highlighted the strategic dimension of the governance and management of the cultural organizations, led by actors often appointed by the central

government, and the role played by the latter in the diffusion of isomorphic processes of government among the cultural organisations and the alignment of their organizational structures and management processes to the provisions of existing legislation.

The Legislator solves with the *Code of Cultural Heritage and Landscape* no. 42¹ most of the doubts on the exact meaning to be given to the concept of ‘enhancing’, the relative boundaries and the differences occurring between the notion of enhancing and the protection, management and promotion, etc. The Code no.42 redefines the discipline of management of the Italian cultural assets (Manfredi, 2011), because the previous Consolidated Act no.490 of 1999 - and then the *Code of Cultural Heritage*² - aimed exclusively at the protection of the cultural heritage and its exploitation from a restricted group of people; therefore it was unconstitutional.

The change sanctioned by the ‘new’ Code no.42 makes clear that the artistic-cultural heritage serves the purpose of improving the education and training of the whole community, aiming at increasing the value of ‘human capital’ of the country and, thus, its potential in terms of economic development. This new point of view is consistent with the Articles of Italian Constitution 2 and 9. “*Culture with its inherent elements of creativity and innovation is a value in itself. It has a significant public value and contributes to the achievement of smart, sustainable and inclusive growth in the Eu system.*” (Crismani, 2013, p.43)

The inclusion of the concept of ‘enhancing’ among the goals of museum organizations and, therefore, the shift from a ‘static’ to a ‘dynamic’ approach of the artistic-cultural heritage management is reflected in the assessment of the strategic and operative actions of directors and executive, in charge of the adoption of an effective decision making process aimed at the exploitation of the cultural heritage.

In addition, ‘enhancing’ the artistic-cultural heritage requires relevant policies, consistent with the guidelines provided by the central and local governments (Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – MiBACT, *Regions* and *Provincial Superintendents*). The Legislator, in performing its institutional role, outlines the objectives of development, identifies the principles, criteria and toolbox that should guide the actors who are accountable for achieving those goals (Scuillo, 2010).

This overview, while it seeks to briefly reconstruct the purpose of the museums’ governance, at the same time underlines its complexity. It also outlines the peculiar role played by the directors/executives of the museums in the protection, preservation and enhancement of the national cultural heritage. They seem in many cases to strike a difficult balance between the autonomy prescribed by the normative framework and the pressures from the political actors who have contributed to their appointment.

The analysis becomes even more complex in the context of the current political debate, highlighting the chronic lack of autonomy of Italian museums that actually limits their potential. To date, the museums appear as missing real autonomy and managerial qualifications and subject to the decision-making power of the central and peripheral government (e.g. *Superintendents*) (Franceschini, 2014). The attempt to reduce the complexity has led to a substantial change of course in the political debate towards the ‘modernization’ of the governance of cultural heritage, convergent with the ‘managerialization’ concept.

The Scientific Debate

In the course of time, the scientific debate on the cultural organizations has been enriched by studies of business management, focused on their organizational, economic and financial autonomy as recognized to them by the current regulatory framework. This field of study has described the main features of the organization and management of the museums, focusing on the efficient and effective use of scarce resources (Bagdadli, 2003; Bagdadli & Paolino, 2005; Jalla, 2000; Lord & Lord, 1997) and linking the success of their management to the improvement of the economic performances (Chirielsion, 1999; Solima, 1998).

Further contributions arise from the economic-managerial debate, developed following the introduction of the ‘enhancing’ concept in the regulatory framework, which is accompanied by a new (for Italy)

¹ D.Lgs. n. 42/2004 and art. 10 L.137/2002.

² Laws n.1089 and n.1497 of 1939 and D.P.R. n.1409 of 1963.

discipline, the 'management of culture', based on studies of management, administration, strategic planning, audit and control, organization and marketing (Franch M., 2010).

These studies, applied to the management of museum organizations, focus on the role of 'professions of culture' and on the related skills aimed at the creation of value (Dragoni, 2005, 2010; Golinelli, 2012; Manacorda & Montella, 2014, Montella 2006, 2009, 2012; Petraroia, 2010) in view of territory sustainability and, thus, of the cultural heritage (Segre, 2006). In our view, the Scholars of managerial studies, in discussing of the skills of the 'manager of culture', have contributed to emphasize the shift from a 'static' vision of governance and management of the cultural heritage to a 'dynamic' vision of the same, consistent with the provisions of the Code of 2004.

In particular, they have helped detect several critical factors that could adversely affect the development of the high potential of a territory with a natural vocation to the tourism. Just to name a few: the complexity of the institutional framework that rules the dynamics of governance of the artistic-cultural heritage; the discontinuity of public policies in support of heritage; the inadequate forms of financing; the overlapping competencies between different public entities, sometimes conflicting with each other.

Nevertheless, most of the managerial studies, in an attempt to propose corrective actions to problems, have applied to the museum sector the general interpretation schemes of traditional management, providing an often myopic and, at times, rhetoric reading key of its dynamics. In fact, the scholars have mainly directed their attention to the strategies and the '*results*' of these organizations, '*mandated to create value*', in order to explore their actual '*capability to create value*' (Dragoni, 2010; Montella, 2010).

Against this background, this work, within the broad Literature dedicated to museum organizations, addresses the study of the governance dynamics, and in particular on the decision-making within this type of organizations, as well as on the '*field of action*' created by these dynamics.

Methodology

The 'Situationist' Perspective

The 'situationist' approach represents an interesting epistemological point of view for the analysis of the governance of museum organizations. First of all, it restores the centrality of the *actors* involved in a *pro-tempore* governance of the museum organizations for the promotion of the artistic-historical heritage and cultural diversity. This perspective also focuses on the concrete context of human action in daily life and on the role of social actors who contribute to the definition of the observed reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1969; Garfinkel, 1967; Sparti, 2002).

At a theoretical level, the governance of museums can be understood through a synthesis of *political* and *neo-institutionalist* perspectives.

The *Political perspective* (Crespi, 1999; Crozier & Friedberg, 1978; Friedberg, 1994; Pfeffer, 1981) is centred around the social actors who adopt certain strategies to pursue their own interests, enacting mechanisms of cooperation, conflict, negotiation, etc.. While they aim at increasing their influence and power, the social actors contribute, although not entirely intentionally, to create, preserve and transform the governance structures. The concept of power here used refers to the archetype of '*power exchange*', defined as the ability of the (individual or collective) actor to structure the interactions according to their own interest, exploiting the constraints and opportunities of the context in order to conquer, maintain and broaden their relative margins of manoeuvre and uncertainty.

The *neo-institutionalist perspective* (Meyer & Rowan, 2000; DiMaggio & Powell, 2000; Zucker, 2000; Lawrence, Suddaby and Leca, 2011) investigates the impact of the institutional frame, *pro-tempore* binding, on the social actors' behaviour. In particular, according to this approach, on the one hand the actors aim to conform to institutional prescriptions and to the postulates ('rational myths') in order to gain legitimation from the institutions (Meyer and Rowan, 1991; Powell and DiMaggio, 1991); on the other hand, the institutions and their influences, 'material and symbolic', are the result of the work of these very same players who tend to crystallise rules and constraints to create a local 'order' favourable to themselves.

This is to say that, through a process of 'isomorphism' (Meyer & Rowan, 2000), and in order to obtain external legitimacy, the actors operating in the museums (directors/executive) aim to conform their conduct to the patterns, practices, and procedures designed by the Institutions (MiBACT, *Regions* and *Provincial Superintendents*).

From the interplay of these two forces, 'action' - *political perspective* - and 'institutionalization' - *neo-institutionalist perspective* - it emerges the vision of an actor who, in his deliberate act, while is institutionally bound, he does not give up his nature as a strategic subject (Mastroberardino 2006, 2010). The two processes produce the continuous construction, destruction and reconstruction of social reality.

Hence, applying these 'lenses' to the museum sector, it appears clear that the structure of governance of a museum, even if it is crystallised in a specific configuration in a given moment, defined by the balance of power and compromise among the involved actors, and at the same time binding for them, it will endlessly evolve and change. (Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Mastroberardino, 2006, 2010; Mastroberardino & Nigro, 2009; Nigro & Trunfio, 2010).

For this reason, the governance of the museums should be studied in its dynamics, as a continuous process of structuring and restructuring by the actors with their own strategies to preserve, enhance or destroy the 'heritage' entrusted to them.

On Field Research

In line with the epistemological and theoretical approaches above described, the complexity of the corporate governance of the Italian museums cannot be addressed and explained in a unified way. On the contrary, it is important to consider the very specific nature of each organization, its 'local dimension', where the actors' behaviours are pragmatic and inevitably linked to the dynamics of the context they belong to (Ogień & Quéré, 2005). For this reason, the research has focused its attention on the dynamics of corporate governance of 'local museums', civic or provincial, widely distributed across the Italian peninsula.

That is to say that if, according to the chosen perspective, an universally applicable model of governance does not exist, in the same way there are not predetermined actions that assure an effective and efficient management of all museums (Friedberg, 1994).

However, we tested all the museums in the sample according to the same drivers, as identified in the first stage of the research, based on a qualitative analysis, in order to check for possible similarities in the issues perceived by the museum directors belonging to different contexts but faced with the same normative framework.

Consistent with this approach, the analysis has been divided into two phases:

a. the first stage aimed to identify the elements characterizing the governance of Italian museum organizations. To this end, we used the Delphi Analysis with in-depth interviews to three key players in the museum sector, who are experts in preservation, management and promotion of museums. The output of the first stage of analysis is a list of relevant items (Table 1) to qualify the governance of the museums as 'static' or 'dynamic'. These items were classified on the basis of two main aspects: 1. structure and services provided by the museum (no. 65 items); 2. Opinions expressed by the respondents, in relation to some aspects of governance and management (no. 18 items);

Table 1
Items

<i>Code</i>	<i>Tag</i>	<i>Measure</i>
Cod	Museum code	Nominal
An01	Institute	Nominal
An02	Address	Nominal
An03	PR	Nominal
An04	Municipality	Nominal
An05	Museum's proprietor	Nominal
An06	Management type	Nominal
An07	Form of Direct Management	Nominal
An08	Constitutive Charter	Nominal
An09	Rule book	Nominal
An10	Service charter	Nominal
An11	Autonomous budget	Nominal
An12	Member of museal system (network)	Nominal
An13	Presence of director	Nominal
An14	Presence scientific curator	Nominal
An15	Presence responsible conservation	Nominal
An16	Presence responsible for educational services / education	Nominal
An17	Presence responsible for promotion / communication	Nominal
An18	Training courses for employees	Nominal
An19	Presence of reception point	Nominal
An20	Presence of information panel	Nominal
An21	Presence of orientation maps	Nominal
An22	Presence of information material	Nominal
An23	Presence of panels description works	Nominal
An24	Presence of audio-guides	Nominal
An25	Presence of video-guides	Nominal
An26	Presence of multimedia workstations	Nominal
An27	Presence of signaling pathways	Nominal
An28	Presence of children trails	Nominal
An29	Presence of disabled facilities	Nominal
An30	Presence of territorial context panel	Nominal
An31	Ticket management	Nominal
An32	Parking management	Nominal
An33	Wardrobe management	Nominal
An34	Cafeteria/Restaurant management	Nominal
An35	Bookshop management	Nominal
An36	Guided tours management	Nominal
An37	Babyparking management	Nominal
An38	Tour for disabled people' management	Nominal
An39	Dedicated website	Nominal
An40	Catalogue on line	Nominal
An41	Scientific catalogue for research	Nominal
An42	Web access to selected assets	Nominal
An43	Applications for tablet	Nominal
An44	Recreational/educational Web section	Nominal
An45	Online library	Nominal
An46	Reservation online	Nominal
An47	Visit multimedia online	Nominal
An48	Events calendary online	Nominal
An49	Newsletter	Nominal
An50	Social network	Nominal
An51	Free Wi-fi	Nominal
An52	Activities: Restoration	Nominal
An53	Activities: acquiring new assets	Nominal
An54	Activities: research projects	Nominal
An55	Activities: didactics	Nominal
An56	Activities: conferences/seminars	Nominal
An57	Activities: live shows	Nominal
An58	Activities: publications and scientific books	Nominal
An59	Activities: public subsidies multimedia	Nominal
An60	Activities: reproduction goods	Nominal
An61	Activities: digitization goods	Nominal
An62	Activities: restructuring buildings	Nominal
An63	Activities: equipment renewal	Nominal
An64	Activities: rent local third parties	Nominal
An65	Type of site	Nominal
D01	Opinion: museum autonomy	Ordinal
D02	Opinion: director responsibility/salary	Ordinal
D03	Opinion: director autonomy	Ordinal
D04	Opinion: appointment criteria director	Ordinal
D05	Opinion: political power void/director's choice	Ordinal
D06	Opinion: adequate financial allocation	Ordinal

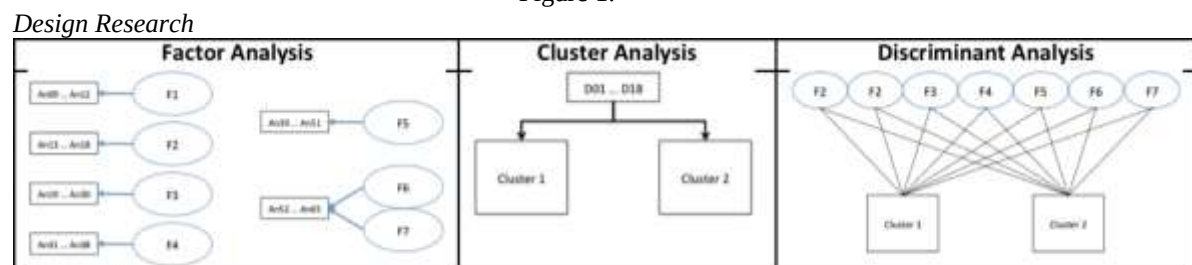
D07	Opinion: bureaucratic intricate and difficult fund raising by private	Ordinal
D08	Opinion: difficulty dispensing funds from private	Ordinal
D09	Opinion: poor visibility of donors	Ordinal
D10	Opinion: inadequate taxation for private donations	Ordinal
D11	Opinion: inadequate accounting system	Ordinal
D12	Opinion: large potential market	Ordinal
D13	Opinion: adjustment in routine/rules	Ordinal
D14	Opinion: good managerial culture of the apical	Ordinal
D15	Opinion: criminal liability as disincentive	Ordinal
D16	Opinion: focus on conservation rather than enhancing	Ordinal
D17	Opinion: paucity of staff	Ordinal
D18	Opinion overall: regulatory framework is not suitable for fundraising	Ordinal
CAP	Zip code	Scale
F01	Functional elements	Scale
F02	Actors in the local governance	Scale
F03	Services on site	Scale
F04	Additional services	Scale
F05	ICT services	Scale
F06	Conservative push	Scale
F07	Promotional push	Scale
QCL_1	Cluster numbers of case	Nominal

b. the second phase, based on the results of the first one, sought to investigate the items highlighted in the previous phase through an online survey involving the population of Directors responsible for the Italian public museums, (ISTAT 2012: 209 Italian state museums and galleries; sample: 57 units). This stage has enabled us to: single out the elements that could characterize the governance of the museum organizations; develop the 'guidelines' for exploration which aims to reconstruct the governance model mainly adopted within museum organizations ('static', that is oriented to the protection/preservation of the artistic-cultural heritage; 'dynamic', more directed to its 'enhancement').

In order to reduce the large number of elements to be analyzed and to propose a dynamic reading of the processes investigated, the analysis followed four steps (Figure 1):

1. *Factor analysis*: the items related to the structure and services provided by the museum were synthesized in a few factors qualifying both the governance model and the perceptions expressed by Directors about some dynamics of management;
2. *Cluster analysis*: the museums' management were clustered, that is grouped on the basis of the opinions expressed by the respondents, in 2 groups: 'positive' and 'negative' approach (or satisfied or not satisfied) with regard to their museum's current governance model;
3. *Analysis of the correlations*: it has been investigated the possible link between the factors identified in the cluster analysis, in order to be able to move some considerations over the assumptions proposed into the introduction of this work;
4. *Discriminant analysis*: the importance (i.e. the weight) of each factor in the opinions expressed by respondents was investigated, in order to understand if the belonging of the managers to the first or the second cluster was discriminated by the presence or the absence of some specific factors.

Figure 1.



Results of the Analysis

Hereby the preliminary results of the analysis are presented.

From the first phase of the analysis the following characteristics of the governance of the Italian state museums emerged among the others:

- a shift of focus from the museum, seen as a system, to the actors involved in the governance dynamics;
- the prevailing procedures for the appointment/selection of directors, currently an expression of political power;
- the (low) level of autonomy of museum directors and, therefore, the level of dependency of local decision making on central government bodies (MiBACT, *Provincial Superintendents* and *Regions*);
- non-homogeneous distribution of initiatives directed to enhance the artistic-cultural heritage;
- the presence/absence of communication skills and provision of communication tools.

A description of the techniques used for the research and their main outputs are illustrated below.

Factor Analysis

Starting from the above-mentioned items, explaining the static/dynamic governance of the museums, 7 synthesis factors were identified with a high level of reliability of the variance explained by each item.

In order to demonstrate the adequacy of the sample the KMO test was run to compare the magnitude of the observed correlations with the partial correlations among the variables grouped together. Moreover, the Bartlett test was run to check the null hypothesis of non-existing correlation between the variables, so to be able to go ahead with the factor analysis. Then the principal components were extracted, each characterized by an eigenvalue; finally, the commonality, representing the amount of variance explained by all extracted components, has been identified.

Table 2

Factor Analysis

Factor 1	Functional elements	
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO)		,557
Sig.		,002
% of Variance		42,673
Matrix of the components (1 component extracted)		
	An10 - Service charter	,822
	An11 - Autonomous budget	-,686
	An12 - Member of museal system (network)	,549
	An09 - Rule book	,509
Factor 2	Actors in the local governance	
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO)		,697
Sig.		,000
% of Variance		50,843
Matrix of the components (1 component extracted)		
	An15 - Presence responsible conservation	,795
	An16 - Presence responsible educational services/education	,783
	An14 - Presence scientific curator	,778
	An17 - Presence responsible promotion/communication	,666
Factor 3	Services on site	
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO)		,723
Sig.		,000
% of Variance		42,345
Matrix of the components (1 component extracted)		
	An23 - Presence of panels description works	,803
	An21 - Presence of orientation maps	,737
	An20 - Presence of information panel	,509
	An22 - Presence of information material	,677
Factor 4	Additional services	
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO)		,681
Sig.		,000
% of Variance		47,016
Matrix of the components (1 component extracted)		
	An33 - Wardrobe management	,774
	An35 - Bookshop management	,602
	An36 - Guided tours management	-,622
	An38 - Tour for disabled people' management	,730
Factor 5	ICT services	
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO)		,706
Sig.		,000
% of Variance		42,610
Matrix of the components (1 component extracted)		
	An48 - Events calendary online	,724
	An40 - Catalogue on line	,680
	An47 - Visit multimedia online	,644
	An39 - Dedicated website	,624
	An50 - Social network	,584
Factors 6-7	Activities	
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO)		,644
Sig.		,000
% of Variance (Component 1)		39,186
% of Variance (Component 2)		17,019
Matrix of the components (e components extracted)		
Component	1	2
An52 - Conservative restoration	,820	
An53 - Acquiring new assets	,709	
An54 - Research projects	,661	
An58 - Publications and scientific books	,621	
An61 - Digitization goods	,523	
An63 - Equipment renewal		,906

The Table 2 shows the data obtained with regard to the factors explaining the static/dynamic governance of museum: KMO value; significance; explained variance; matrix of the components. In particular, the table allows to identify the seven (7) factors and their own percentage of variance:

1. *Functional elements* (42.673);
2. *Actors in the local governance* (50,843);
3. *Services on site* (42,345);

4. *Additional services* (47,016);
5. *ICT services* (42,610);
- 5a. *Conservative restoration* (39,180)*;
- 5b. *Exhibitions renewal* (17,019)*.

* the cumulative variance of factors 6 and 7 amounted to 56,205.

The same work was carried out referring to value judgments expressed (items 'Opinions') by the Directors as to the dynamics of governance as management. Table 3 summarizes the most salient methodological aspects.

Table 3

<i>Factor Analysis - Components' Matrix</i>						
	FG1*	FG2*	FG3**	FG4*	FG5*	FG6
Var%	36,582	33,917	52,929	47,519	34,851	48,578
Var_cum	70,499		52,929	82,370		48,578
KMO	0,591		0,500	0,451		0,654
Sig.	0,01		0,665	0,05		0,00
D01	0,748					
D02		0,693				
D03		0,881				
D04			0,728			
D05			-0,728			
D06						
D07						0,679
D08						
D09						
D10						0,634
D11						
D12					0,971	
D13						
D14				0,829		
D15	0,838					
D16				-0,855		
D17						0,782
D18						0,685

Descriptive Analysis

The descriptive analysis was conducted on the items 'Opinions'. Although less significant, given the nature of 'Opinions' - ordinal variables – this analysis can still offer a synthesis of the data reported. In this case, the descriptive analysis of the interviewees' points of view is limited to the measures of central tendency (mean) and standard deviation (Table 4).

Table 4

Descriptive analysis

		<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>
D01	Presence of autonomy for the museum system	2,81	1,846
D02	Not appropriate responsibilities/salary's Director	8,07	1,334
D03	Greater demand of autonomy for Director	6,46	2,276
D04	Director's transparent appointment	6,14	2,628
D05	Strong political pressures over Directors	4,21	2,630
D06	Inadequate financial allocation	7,53	2,071
D07	Effective bureaucracy for fund raising by private	3,40	2,542
D08	Ease in giving by individuals	4,47	2,752
D09	Good visibility donors	5,32	2,253
D10	Suitable taxation for private donations	3,25	1,976
D11	Adequate accounting system	3,05	2,287
D12	Lack of potential market	4,68	2,720
D13	Lack of rigidity in adapting to routines/rules	4,25	2,140
D14	Lack of managerial culture of the apical	4,89	2,350
D15	Penal responsibility does not influence on the action of the Director	3,72	2,411
D16	Strong focus on the development	3,00	2,104
D17	Adequate staff numerosity	2,61	2,226
D18	Regulatory framework, in general, suitable for fund raising	2,91	2,003

Correlations

In order to deeply investigate the possible logical connections between the structural factors (F01-F07) and those related to the perception of the dynamics of governance/management (FG01-FG06), it is shown in the Table 5 the analysis of correlations between all the factors. Particularly interesting are the following reports:

- between the 'Adequacy of technical/structural' (FG6) and the 'Degree of autonomy of museum system' (FG1) (Pearson's=0.674);
- Between the 'Adequacy of technical/structural' (FG6) and the 'Approach to preservation' (SF4) (Pearson's=-0.562);
- Between the 'Degree of autonomy of museum system' (FG1) and that relating to 'Approach to preservation' (SF4) (Pearson's=-0.353).

These measures give back, first of all, a self-evident response where respondents seem to relate the degrees of freedom in the conduct of a museum to the structure and the resources available and that, consequently, autonomy, resources, and promotional push are highly interconnected to each other.

From reading, finally, of the correlations between the 'Functional elements' (F1) and 'Conservative push' (F6) (Pearson's=0.461) and 'Actors in local governance' (F2) and 'Promotional Push' (F7) (Pearson's=-0.293) would seem to confirm the assumption according to which many Directors prefer to pay particular attention to the formal aspects (F1) favouring a purely conservative approach (F6), while the action of promotion and enhancement would require the presence of top management with specific skills.

Table 5

Correlations		F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	FG1	FG2	FG3	FG4	FG5	FG6
F1 - Functional elements	Pearson Corr	1												
	Sig. (2-tails)													
F2 - Actors in local governance	Pearson Corr	-0,109	1											
	Sig. (2-tails)	0,419												
F3 - Services on site	Pearson Corr	,389**	0,019	1										
	Sig. (2-tails)	0,003	0,89											
F4 - Additional services	Pearson Corr	-0,014	-0,111	,398**	1									
	Sig. (2-tails)	0,919	0,411	0,002										
F5 - ICT	Pearson Corr	,313*	-0,052	,304*	-0,143	1								
	Sig. (2-tails)	0,018	0,7	0,021	0,29									
F6 - Conservative push	Pearson Corr	,461**	-0,14	0,251	-0,023	0,239	1							
	Sig. (2-tails)	0	0,299	0,06	0,868	0,074								
F7 - Promotional push	Pearson Corr	0,177	-,293*	0,132	0,072	0,175	0	1						
	Sig. (2-tails)	0,187	0,027	0,328	0,593	0,194	1							
FG1 - Degree of autonomy of museum system	Pearson Corr	-0,16	0,048	,306*	-0,232	-0,044	0,064	0,022	1					
	Sig. (2-tails)	0,234	0,725	0,021	0,082	0,746	0,639	0,872						
FG2 - Request of autonomy from Director	Pearson Corr	-0,012	0,11	-0,179	0,139	0,081	0,183	0,046	0	1				
	Sig. (2-tails)	0,93	0,414	0,182	0,304	0,548	0,173	0,735	1					
FG3 - Political pressures	Pearson Corr	-0,228	0,164	-0,047	-0,19	0,015	-0,025	-0,065	0,061	,265*	1			
	Sig. (2-tails)	0,088	0,224	0,726	0,156	0,912	0,851	0,63	0,654	0,046				
FG4 - Approach to preservation	Pearson Corr	0,019	0,219	-0,212	0,237	0,074	-0,174	-0,067	-,353**	0,228	0,014	1		
	Sig. (2-tails)	0,888	0,101	0,114	0,076	0,585	0,196	0,619	0,007	0,088	0,915			
FG5 - Distance to market	Pearson Corr	-,358**	0,203	-0,191	-0,081	-0,008	-,384**	-0,144	0,139	-0,087	0,196	0	1	
	Sig. (2-tails)	0,006	0,131	0,156	0,548	0,955	0,003	0,285	0,304	0,522	0,144	1		
FG6 - Adequacy of technical/structural	Pearson Corr	-0,12	-0,06	0,242	-0,015	-0,07	0,096	-0,005	,674**	-0,24	-0,063	-,562**	-0,153	1
	Sig. (2-tails)	0,375	0,659	0,07	0,912	0,604	0,479	0,973	0	0,073	0,641	0	0,255	

** Sig. at level 0,01 (2- tails).

* Sig. at level 0,05 (2- tails).

Cluster Analysis

The cluster analysis has enabled the identification of two relatively homogeneous clusters of actors on the basis of selected variables, summary of 'opinions' expressed by the interviewees. The Cluster Analysis K-means was adopted for this purpose. The activation procedure has resulted, but for the variable '*Adjustment in routine/ rules*' with overlapping values, in two clusters: Cluster 1 (24 units), where the actors of the museum system with an optimistic attitude or positively oriented to the perception of the potential of the museum system converge; Cluster 2 (33 units), where the actors have a pessimistic approach, ie they are oriented to evaluate the critical aspects that pervade the sector (Table 6).

Table 6

Cluster analysis – Final Centres

		Cluster	
		1	2
D01	Presence of autonomy for the museum system	4	2
D02	Not appropriate responsibilities/salary's Director	5	7
D03	Greater demand of autonomy for Director	6	8
D04	Director's transparent appointment	5	2
D05	Strong political pressures over Directors	4	5
D06	Inadequate financial allocation	5	6
D07	Effective bureaucracy for fund raising by private	4	3
D08	Ease in giving by individuals	4	3
D09	Good visibility donors	4	5
D10	Suitable taxation for private donations	5	4
D11	Adequate accounting system	5	3
D12	Lack of potential market	4	2
D13	Lack of rigidity in adapting to routines/rules	4	1
D14	Lack of managerial culture of the apical	4	2

Discriminant Analysis

The discriminant analysis (Table 7) has allowed to detect that the variables n.1 (*Services on site*) and n.2 (*Promotional push*) have a greater discriminating power. This annotation confirms the proper classification of the two clusters. The presence of 'Promotional push' and 'Services on site', to improve the use of the core service, emerge as key elements of an optimistic attitude in the government and management of the museum (Cluster 1). In general, a push promotional strategy works to create demand for a service through the intensification of services on site, making the use of the core services easier and more enjoyable.

The Wilks' Lambda (.092) and Chi-square (534.618) results recognize the high discriminant value of the function, regardless of the errors given by the mis-clustering rates.

Table 7

Discriminant analysis

Wilks' Lambda					
The test of functions	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-square	df	Sig.	
1	,092	534,618	7	,095	
Matrix structure					
<i>F03 Services on site</i>			,674		
<i>F07 Promotional push</i>			,652		
F02 Actors in the local governance			-,277		
F06 Conservative push			,175		
F01 Functional elements			,157		
F05 ICT services			-,141		
F04 Additional services			,116		
The Coefficients of the classification function					
QCL1 Cluster numbers of case					
F01 Functional elements			-,130	,095	
F02 Actors in the local governance			-,081	,059	
F03 Services on site			,590	-,356	
F04 Additional services			,202	-,147	
F05 ICT services			-,356	,186	
F06 Conservative push			,127	-,092	
F07 Promotional push			,304	-,221	
Results of the classification					
QCL1 Cluster numbers of case			Predicted Group membership		Total
			1	2	
Original	Counting	1	21	3	24
		2	3	30	33
	%	1	87,5	9,09	100,0
		2	12,5	90,01	100,0

Conclusions

The reflections proposed on the governance of the Italian state museums have shown the added value of adopting the situationist perspective for the understanding of complex phenomena that cannot otherwise be explained on the basis of *ex-ante*, deterministic or causal approaches where the importance of the *human factor*, meant as interest-driven actor interacting within *humanly defined boundaries* of an institutional framework, is neglected. This preliminary research has allowed, in fact, a broader reconstruction of the investigated phenomenon, taking into account both the directors' tensions to bring forward their strategies according to the principle of 'autonomy' and the inevitable structural constraints (e.g. request of 'rule book' under the regulatory framework) to their action deriving from the 'role' they played. This way the study helped understand the institutional framework *pro-tempore* binding. In addition, in this perspective it emerged that the decision making process and the implementing actions, as well as the preferences and goals of directors and executives are influenced by the *pro-tempore* dominant coalition (composed by a diverse plethora of stakeholders, ranging from the political to the private sectors) also able to influence the strategic trajectories of the organization (e.g. '*Opinions*': 'Museums autonomy', 'Director autonomy', 'Political power void').

In summary, the principal merit of the used approach lies in suggesting to take into account the specificities of the single organizations, analyzing the dynamics of governance through the observation of the effects, intentional and unintentional, produced by the actors.

For this reason, it was useful to survey both the points of view expressed by the interviewees and structural data (e.g. *Functional elements*). The survey has confirmed that: the directors of small museums tend to pursue 'conservative policies' – following a static governance approach focused on the protection and preservation of artistic-cultural heritage (e.g. Cluster 2); the existence of another group, focused on enhancing the artistic-cultural heritage (Cluster 1).

From the methodological point of view, in the second phase of the analysis, the use of the online survey has also shown a few critical points, mainly due to the absence of interaction with the interviewees: the lack of direct contact makes it difficult to embrace the phenomenon in its complexity; in addition there was a limited response rate (27% of the surveyed population - 57 out of 209 contacted).

The distinctive features of the museum sector, as well as the strong heterogeneity of museum organizations, suggested us to conduct further on field analysis. It should be clear that these results represent only the first part, aiming at stating further hypotheses to validate, in an ongoing work we are conducting.

Nevertheless, the analysis has allowed the detection of an important link between the key factors explaining the static/dynamic governance of the museum and the likelihood of finding an optimistic approach, rather than a pessimistic approach, discriminated by the variables 'Conservative push', 'ICT Services' and 'Promotional push'.

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Sustainable Management of Cultural Heritage Tourism: The Case of Western Anatolia

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Abstract

Cultural heritage in Turkey is rich and various and includes the heritage of Romans, Ottoman, Seljuk, Greek Orthodox and Jewish. However, as Baraldi et al (2013) indicate, rich archaeological and architectural heritage in Turkey struggles with serious problems. These problems could be related to conservation and preservation of heritage assets; involvement and empowerment of community in tourism; planning and governance issues. In turn, these lead to an unsustainable state for cultural heritage and tourism in Turkey. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to assess cultural heritage sites and assets management in terms of sustainability to provide governments and administrators with managerial guidelines.

Within the scope of this study, a field trip to the Western Anatolia was organized to observe management of cultural heritage assets in situ. These cultural heritage sites included Troia, Assos, Pergamon, Sardis, Aphrodisias, Ephesus, Sirince, Izmir, and Bursa. After direct observations and unstructured interviews based on a checklist, the state of sustainable management of cultural heritage assets and tourism products were identified; strengths and weaknesses of the site management practices were indicated. At the end, general strategies and tactics were suggested to increase sustainable management of cultural heritage assets and tourism products in these destinations.

Keywords: cultural heritage management, cultural heritage assets, tourism products, inclusion of local people, tourism strategies and tactics, Western Anatolia, archeological sites in Turkey

Introduction

Cultural Heritage Tourism in Turkey

The OECD (2010) confirms that tourism is one of the most dynamic and fastest developing economic sectors in Turkey, with 2010 tourism receipts accounting directly for 2.8% of GDP (or 17.3% of its export share). The consequences of this rapid, and continuing, growth and spread of tourism on the environment, natural, archaeological and built heritage are enormously significant. The risk of unbalanced development as a negative consequence of tourism development is indicated in the [Turkish Tourism] Strategy (Baraldi et al, 2013).

According to Baraldi et al (2013) and Council of Europe, Steering Committee for Culture, Heritage and Landscape (CDCPP, 2013), Turkey's vast heritage relies on the following listings and management structures:

- 9,772 conservation sites
- 85,000+ listed buildings and monuments
- 34 Regional Conservation Councils
- 12 Inspectorate/Survey Directorates
- 2 Conservation Councils for 'renewal' areas

80% of listed sites are classified as archeological and 12% is natural sites. Government takes full responsibility for conservation of a heritage asset after it is labeled as "requiring protection" under the law.

Challenges for Cultural Heritage Management in Turkey

One of the bigger challenges for cultural heritage management in Turkey is bureaucratic fragmentation and centralized governance (Baraldi et al, 2013; CDCPP, 2013; Tosun, 2001). Heritage institutions and central bodies in Ankara regulate museum exhibitions and according to regulation no: 18531 they are required to exhibit artefacts in chronological order (CDCPP, 2013). Therefore, many museums are not free to follow up innovations in museums and collections. Lack of temporary exhibitions can be considered as another issue for museums. Also, many sites are not open for public visit or they are not well organized, and many important collections are waiting in stores. Financial problems for protection and maintenance are primary reasons of this situation; also, high number of immovable heritage assets of Turkey makes this problem much more challenging.

Overcrowding is another serious problem especially for major sites (e.g. Istanbul, Ephesus). 49% of ticket revenue comes from Istanbul alone. Conversely, there is no heritage museum in 16 of Turkey's 81 provinces at all (CDCPP, 2013). This over-concentration of visitors point out that these visitors can experience Turkey's heritage in an extremely limited way. The CDCPP report claims that Greco-Roman heritage is over-promoted compared to Ottoman heritage and other civilizations heritage such as Seljuk, Byzantine, and Hittite.

Literature Review*Sustainability and Cultural Heritage*

Sustainable development is a broad policy framework (Keitumetse, 2011) that departs from a point of view that sustainability can be achieved only when production and consumption factors and levels are monitored (WCED, 1987). The key aim of the concept is '... meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all the opportunity to satisfy their aspirations for a better life' (WCED, 1987, p. 45), using natural resources in particular. Traditionally, sustainability is divided into three major dimensions: economic, social and environmental. Economic sustainability demands that there is an efficient development and that costs and benefits of development are shared fairly. Social sustainability implies that development enhances people's control over their lives; empowers them; sustains and strengthens community life. Environmental sustainability requires that development helps ecological processes, biological diversity and environmental resources to continue into the future (Macbeth, 2005).

Cultural Heritage Assets (CHA) include monuments (monumental sculptures and paintings and inscriptions, elements or structures of an archaeological nature), buildings, sites, belief systems, values, philosophical systems, knowledge, behaviors, customs, arts, history, experience, languages, social relationships, institutions, and material goods and creations belonging to a group of people and transmitted from one generation to another (UNESCO, 1972). In line with this, cultural heritage tourism product (CHTP) represents an asset that has been transformed, commodified specially for tourism consumption. A cultural heritage tourism product should tell a story, make the asset come alive, make the experience participatory and relevant to the tourists, and lastly it should focus on quality and authenticity.

According to Keitumetse (2011, p. 50), cultural heritage assets are those "that are constantly appropriated, re-constructed and re-used by living communities to suit present needs, e.g. use for tourism, national identity, ritual, traditional, activities." The field of cultural heritage management is therefore responsible for conservation and management of cultural heritage assets in a sustainable way. Hence, the link between sustainability and the field of cultural heritage management is summarized as follows (adapted from, Keitumetse, 2011).

- i. Sustainable management of the physical/tangible heritage assets to prevent them from extinction.
- ii. Sustainable management of intangible cultural heritage values and meanings (instilled within communities) that enhance conservation of physical/tangible heritage resources.

The issue on the sustainable management of cultural heritage has gained wider importance in 2000s in Turkey due to various reasons. Gültekin (2012, p. 237) points out that "getting incorporated into globalization or strengthening of policies of opening up to the outside, realization of many legal

arrangements for the ideal of joining the European Union, and local administrations adopting reclaiming preservation were determinative in this development.”

The Issue of Cultural Heritage Tourism

Turkey is a country where cultural heritage assets are heavily utilized for cultural heritage tourism. Francis-Lindsay (2009) identifies cultural heritage tourism as possibly the most prominent of the emerging tourism niches and claims that industry players view it as the most successful specialized tourism market or niche. As literature suggested, cultural heritage tourism has the ability of presenting new tourism products and destinations to the market since the heritage is main source for tourism. On the other hand, cultural heritage tourism became an important instrument for many settlements to get a share from growing tourism market. “Heritage has been a key tool for bringing tourism into and regenerating declining urban and rural areas and bringing life to previously derelict industrial regions” (Timothy and Boyd, 2003, p. 11).

Involving heritage into tourism also offers visitors to benefit from several intrinsic values rather than traditional tourism types and education is a keyword to summarize these intrinsic values. As example, visitors have the chance to understand various cultures, communities and their customs. Either visitors’ own culture or foreign cultures are to be experienced on site which enables them to create much more deeper and strong connections between the visitor and culture through cultural heritage assets. This is exactly why these assets are so precious to protect. Therefore, there must be a delicate balance between tourism consumption and cultural heritage conservation.

On the other hand, Bob McKercher and Hilary du Cros in *Cultural Tourism: the Partnership between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management* (2007) argue that there are challenges in achieving sustainable cultural heritage tourism because “what is good for conservation is not necessarily good for tourism and what is good for tourism is rarely good for conservation” (p.12). Throughout their book, McKercher and du Cros focus their attention on some of the deficiencies in heritage management and tourism. Emerging from this analysis they identify differences in goals, administrative structure and attitudes to assets as contrasting elements between the two forms of tourism product.

It is essential that a comprehensive, cultural heritage asset oriented rather than solely economic gain oriented tourism practices should be applied and policies should be customized to satisfy the specific needs of particular sites and assets, visitors and hosts. According to a paper by Roders and van Oers (2011), “None of the surveyed scientific journals, however, focused directly on linking the fields of cultural heritage and sustainable development, neither on the role of cultural heritage in the sustainable development process, nor on the impact of development on cultural heritage assets.” Hence, this study is unique in that it examines cultural heritage sites and assets in the western part of Turkey altogether and presents a holistic guideline for government institutions and administrators for the aim of sustainable management of those assets.

Research Design

This is an exploratory qualitative study as the authors attempt to identify site management problems and in the last part suggest general solutions and strategies to be applied by governmental bodies.

A trip was organized to inspect cultural heritage management issues in the Western part of Turkey within the course of TRM 541 on April 2013. A judgmental sampling of the destinations was carried out and the route was determined on the basis of archeological and cultural heritage identities of the destinations. Studied sites include Troia, Assos, Pergamon, Sardis, Aphrodisias, Ephesus, Sirince, Izmir, and Bursa. The field trip lasted for nine days.

Specifically, western part of Turkey attracts more mass tourism activities due to package tours and 3S tourism; and this fact contributes to the degradation of cultural heritage sites in that part more (CDCPP, 2013). Thus, the chosen destinations in the study could require immediate attention for sustainable cultural heritage management and also the impacts of tourism are more visible and easier to detect in these places.

In this qualitative study, a multi-method approach was followed. First, to inspect sustainable management of cultural heritage assets (CHAs) and tourism products (CHTPs) within the framework of

sustainability, a checklist based on McKercher et al (2010) and World Heritage Center and ICOMOS guidelines was created and applied. In this way, cultural heritage sites could be observed from various dimensions in a more reliable way. Main items on the checklist were:

1. current state of the site management,
2. site management planning process,
3. staff and finance of cultural heritage sites,
4. image and marketing of cultural heritage sites,
5. policies on visitors,
6. recording and analyzing visitor data.

Laing (2011, p. 173) states that “the challenge for many heritage sites, in an era of declining public funding and pressure for tourism development, is how to present and promote them most effectively to visitors, in ways that enhance their appeal yet accord with sustainability principles. These assets are often highly fragile and may have different meanings to various stakeholders.” Therefore, the checklist items were formed by involving all stakeholders, to see whether environmental and social dimensions of sustainability are included and realized on the cultural heritage sites.

Following the checklist, unstructured interviews were conducted with various stakeholders to elicit more information about the management of cultural heritage in tourism. Second, direct observations on the sites were carried out according to the checklist. After the data was collected through unstructured interviews and direct observations, they were grouped thematically and analyzed.

Respondents included various stakeholders: archaeologists, museum officers, excavation directors, local community, municipal authorities, museum staff, boutique hotel entrepreneurs, and visitors themselves. Respondents for each destination varied greatly due to the nature and level of cultural heritage management. Visited and observed areas mainly composed of archeological sites and museums; therefore, majority of the respondents were drawn from site or museum authorities based on their availability. Also, local people and villagers nearby the heritage sites were met and interviewed to learn their level of involvement in and awareness on cultural heritage in their vicinity. Those respondents were referenced by local NGOs that are involved with tourism activities in select areas.

Results and Discussion

Especially Assos and Sardis are weak in terms of sustainable cultural heritage tourism product development. In Assos, what has been excavated is at museums and these museums are not in the vicinity of the site. There is the Athena Temple, amphitheatre and agora, but it cannot be claimed that archeological excavations brought with them tourism products. For example, no museum shop can be found here although every other site run by TURSAB has those. Local people there sell herbals and crafts but these are not related to the background and history of the site, though what they sell reflects their identities, giving way to intangible cultural heritage. In Sardis, the case is even worse; one cannot find anyone responsible in the site and anything in particular. The case is much different for Ephesus and Aphrodisias. They seem to fully benefit from excavations and the cultural heritage assets by attracting many visitors. However, some of the sites, especially Ephesus suffers from overcrowding. In addition, museums themselves and the museum shops are more successful at these sites compared to others. However, standardization by Bilintur of cultural heritage assets loses points for authenticity and uniqueness, and participation of locals in the process. Furthermore, people dressed as Roman soldiers could be seen showcasing around to sell photos, but these performances were far from reality and were not educative about the history of the site.

Many sites do not have the capacity to develop a cultural heritage tourism product, either. They are mostly concerned with the excavation and conservation phases. Staffing and management team do not compromise a qualified one for this job other than Ephesus and Bursa for the time being since they have a development plan ready with an overall look into the situation. In other cases, the stakeholders such as municipality, museum, and ministry should negotiate and work together to create a sustainable tourism product, which is hard to conduct. When asked their ideas on developing products, different people (archeologist, excavation director, local guide, etc) gives answer differently only based on their insights without evidences. For example, the art historian at one of the ancient sites said:

“We should convert the agora into an open air swimming pool so that our visitors could spend more time there.”

This is, however, an idea which could harm the cultural heritage there. Therefore, it can be argued that most of the sites need managers and staffing who is responsible for tourism product development to meet the lack.

Aphrodisias and Ephesus are nominated for UNESCO World Heritage List. Troia, Bursa and Pergamon are World Heritage Sites now. Pergamon and Bursa submitted their nomination folders to Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2013 and they accepted into UNESCO World Heritage List in 2014. For Ephesus, Excavation director S. Ladstatter stated that:

“There are some coordination problems among the institutions responsible for the site, so first we need to settle down the issues such as authority division. Currently, negotiation is difficult and the meetings are held for very long hours.”

As for Aphrodisias, it was indicated that Geyre Foundation coordinates the management plan process which is a must for nomination.

When looked into the environment design, ongoing excavation sites such as Troia and Aphrodisias have disadvantages because visitor paths could change, and unearthed places need to stay intact not to give harm to ruins and relics. In Troia, for example, there was a huge scale reconstruction of the facilities such as roads and it was hindering people moving smoothly in the site. Assos and Pergamon are literally on the top of mountains, and there are neither warnings nor anything to protect people from falling down. In Pergamon, it is very easy to get lost and find oneself locked at the exit located at the bottom of the site. Ephesus is relatively better on this aspect with good signings and clear visitor paths. Aphrodisias Square is quite well designed with many facilities accessible. Overall, environmental design in those sites seems quite unsustainable for the time being.

Emphasis given on the development of boutique hotels, restaurants and souvenir shops, and local handicraft promotion is best seen in Pergamon. Two boutique hotels there were visited, Les Pergamon and Hotel Hera, respectively, both of which are good examples of how old buildings could be converted into new facilities by maintaining the façade and the decorum. However, there is a lack of restaurants here to meet the demands of the visitors, but there are quite a number of locals selling oil and olive products such as soaps. As for promotion, it is mostly backed up by the internet and the brochures. In Troia, there are only souvenir shops, yet they do not offer local products (actually only a few). In Assos, there are very nicely designed boutique hotels although they are run by outsiders; people who are not locals themselves. Yet, boutique hotels here are promising because of the landscape and the view of houses. There are quite a number of restaurants here like in Şirince mostly due to over-touristification of the site. Again like Şirince, local people sell their products in front of their houses, some of whom disturb visitors. There is nothing relevant to Sardis since there is hardly anyone around the site. Selcuk has only developed thanks to the presence of Ephesus, but here is a place for more mass tourists.

Particularly in Şirince and Assos, marketing tools are highly exploited by the villagers. There are too many restaurants, street shops here, and the attitude of the people could be annoying but the general expectation is that Turkish people are hospitable. Aphrodisias and Ephesus seem better in marketing; they exhibit used material in the excavation, they promote themselves via internet and brochures. For Troia, the movie *Troy* itself a big marketing tool along with the horse itself and they have a good use of these. Besides, Troia is in the UNESCO World Heritage List, and this contributes to their promotion and fame. Pergamon is mostly known due to the Pergamon Museum in Germany, unfortunately. Researchers themselves announce and make these sites known by many people abroad. For example, Ephesus excavation is Austria based and much is shared with Austria public and press. It can be assumed that the most influential marketing tool is the mythologies themselves along with the roots of Europeans here and religious bases. Ephesus and Bursa are great examples for religious bases and for the roots of certain civilizations/nations. Although top down approach of marketing imposed by ministry through TURSAB and Bilintur has its advantages, a more flexible one involving locals and more authentic products could be fruitful.

The interaction of Cultural Heritage Assets with locals is at different scales from very indifferent to active participants. The general observation on the study is that people usually do not identify themselves with the CHAs since they are not seen in our ancestral roots. A local guide from Aphrodisias, Aydın said:

“There were Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, etc. but not Turks who used to live in these sites in ancient times”. That is why they [local people] did not protect the site most of the time and used the stones from sites for their houses.”

Aphrodisias could be given as a good example since local people used to live on the ancient site in harmony with the ruins using stone tombs for wine making. A local guide, who is a self taught man, and the guide in Pergamon were very enthusiastic about the history and the archeology of their sites. However, local people in Assos and Pergamon seem to be unaware of what they have as CHAs. They say that “there are stones here and there and a few structures built in very old times”, and that is all.

Foreign tourists are generally favored more, since they bring more money to the area, but with mass tourists coming with cruises and via package tours, spend very little time at the sites (40 minutes to sightsee Ephesus) and then leave for another destination. Now local people are trying to find ways to keep people more on the area by designing new facilities and programs. Also, they see foreign tourist as a way of socialization with others, from various cultures like Japan, Germany. The value of cultural and social interactions is usually ignored. The most vivid example is the focus on Arabian visitors, especially in Bursa since they spend most money at the destination. As for domestic tourists, the best interaction is seen again in Bursa since its image is a religious and an Ottoman one and as a consequence it is aimed to attract many domestic tourists. Local people, on the other hand, hindered to access into ancient sites more than three times in a year because of the restrictions imposed by the Muzekart.

Every excavation hires local people to take part in the work, either seasonally or as full time depending on the site. In Ephesus excavation has become a tradition for generations and local people take part in the archeological work since their fathers, grandfathers, etc used to dig the same areas. For Aphrodisias, local people are connected to the site in a different way: their ancestors would used to live on the site and it was their village once. So, their involvement with the site is more. The case is different for museums. There are art historians and archeologists coming from all around Turkey while there are locals on the staff as well.

Roads and busses are the main means for transportation to the archeological sites. Moreover, Bursa and İzmir are accessible through ferries and cruises that arrive in their ports. Only İzmir has an international airport. Since most of the sites are close to settlements it was possible to reach water, electricity and toilet whenever needed. However, at the far end of sites from the entrance some mobile infrastructures such as bathrooms, and clean water points could be located for the ease of visitors.

Recommendations for General Strategies and Tasks for Western Anatolia

Tasks	General Strategies
Task 1.1: A common vision for all sites should be determined. Task 1.2: Community involvement on the sites should be ensured. Task 1.3: Coordination and collaboration of all stakeholders including local and central institutions should be realized. Task 1.4: Partnership of public and private institutions should be supported. Task 1.5: Monitoring, assessment and evaluation of plans, actions and activities should be done systematically.	Strategy 1: An integrated site management system should be developed and implemented.
Task 2.1: Tangible and intangible cultural heritage assets need to be documented. Task 2.2: Conservation of local skills and knowledge through training should be ensured. Task 2.3: Necessary precautions such as supervision of an expert committee, disincentive sanctions and awareness raising should be adapted to ensure high quality conservation of the site.	Strategy 2: Comprehensive site conservation policies should be developed and implemented.

Task 3.1: Core product should be supported more with tangible and augmented products. Task 3.2: Souvenir items should be elaborated, local and traditional products should be supported for the reasons of authenticity. Task 3.3: The needs of disadvantaged groups should be taken into consideration in arrangements of pedestrian and vehicle transportation routes and signaling systems. Task 3.4: Visitor management policies should be determined and applied. Strict rules must be identified for sustainable use of the CHA.	Strategy 3: Sustainable cultural heritage tourism product should be improved and marketed.
Task 4.1: Image of the site should be created. Uniqueness of the site should be emphasized. Task 4.2: The recognisability of the image of the site at both a national and international scale should be strengthened and increased. Task 4.3: Cross advertising should be used to attract visitor from other sites. Task 4.4: Press kits and other materials should be prepared and distributed to magazines, TV shows and etc. Task 4.5: Guest profiles should be researched.	Strategy 4: Marketing and promotion activities should be planned and elaborated.
Task 5.1: Carrying capacity plans and implementations of sites should be determined. Task 5.2: Visiting paths should be created to prevent the confusion between tourist groups.	Strategy 5: Visitor management policies should be developed.
Task 6.1: Regarding the site, awareness should be raised and information of all stakeholders should be increased. Information offices should be established, web pages should be prepared and broadcasts should be made in order to inform all stakeholders regarding the site management plan. Task 6.2: A tourism approach which adopts the conservation-use balance in the site should be enriched, and it should be conveyed to all stakeholders.	Strategy 6: Awareness and knowledge studies need to be developed and implemented.

Conclusion

Within this study, cultural heritage management in nine western destinations in Turkey were analyzed and evaluated in terms of sustainability of cultural heritage tourism and management. Most of the destinations were archeological sites and rest of them was urban sites. Evaluations were based on a checklist by referring to World Heritage Center and ICOMOS guidelines. During the field trip, authors interacted with local community, municipal authorities, museum staff, boutique hotel entrepreneurs, visitors themselves.

It was observed that local communities living around the site did not seem to relate themselves with the CHA available. They perceived the site mostly as a ruin inherited from “the other”. This situation was reflected in the relation they found. Therefore, as there is not a natural attachment, involvement of the local community could be achieved through extra efforts such as increasing awareness activities, empowerment and constitution of incentive mechanisms for local culture entrepreneurs. In this way, the socio-cultural sustainability could be ensured.

Lack of coordination among responsible authorities is another common problem in the sites we visited. In accordance with the quality of the sites, Ministry of Culture and tourism, Ministry of Environment and Urbanism, district municipalities, metropolitan municipalities, foundations directorate, military, universities, excavation teams, site foundations and private owners can be involved in the management processes. For example, conflicts between site management and municipalities can cause infrastructure problems. All these institutions should have a common vision to provide efficient management of the site. To formulate this vision all related stakeholders need to be engaged with the process via participatory methods.

Since the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is the only institution responsible for advertisement and publicity of the sites, destination image and branding activities are very limited. Ministry’s overall approach is to general for answering site specific promotional needs. Rather, municipalities and local government should be responsible for developing their own promotional material. Indirect way of promotion seems more powerful i.e. movies, stories, books, and social media. More importance should be given to them.

Moreover, it was not possible to observe any complete CHTP on any destination. In all cases, the presence of the core product was seen to the full extend. However, tangible products and augmented products should be elaborated not just in quantity but quality with social and physical capacities of the destinations in mind. Increasing the number of the visitor should not be the main goal of destinations, which is the main case in current plans.

Overall, although these destinations seem attractive, there is no coherence between sustainability, management and CHTP. International guidelines and best practices for cultural heritage management should be critically, thoroughly examined and should be applied in these destinations. And then, site specific features should be promoted accordingly, to attract optimum number of visitors.

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On the Evolution of Stakeholders' Interest Demands in Historical Buildings Development - A Case Study of Gulangyu Island Family Inns

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Abstract

Controversies exist regarding the conversion of historical buildings into family inns, the focus being on the contradiction between protection and development. Within the framework of the stakeholders involved in the much disputed transformation of historical buildings into family inns, from an evolutionary perspective, this paper analyzes the behavioral characteristics of the stakeholders in the preservation and development of old buildings in an attempt to elucidate the stakeholders' capacity of participating and the respective roles they play in the renovation. Through a study of relevant government documents issued between 2000 and 2014, a number of interviews with the stakeholders, a consumer questionnaire survey, an on-the-site field study and a careful analysis of hotel promotional advertisements, we have found that in developing historical buildings, major interest groups constitute the contradictory system, all wavering between protection and development. Among the stakeholders, the government has always been a dominant force, tilting the balance between development and protection. The government keeps changing its policies in line with changes in the external environment, showing a clear evolutionary pattern: Protection—Development—Intense Protection (upgrading the tourism destination).

Keywords: Gulangyu Island; Historical Building; authenticity; stakeholder

Introduction

With the diversification of tourism demands, the number of personalized family-oriented small hotels in historical buildings is growing. Some tourists favor cultural and historical destinations, as various kinds of historical buildings do not attract them simply to see sights but to personally experience the history and the culture only found in the buildings. To meet this demand, more and more ancient buildings with some historical significance have been transformed into boutique hotels and family inns. The successful few transformations have not only maintained the architectural styles of old buildings but also diversified hotels, serving as exemplary models.

The transformation has always been controversial. The main controversy concerns the proportions between protection and development. Specific operational issues rise out of the core contradiction: What is the authenticity of original historical buildings? What is Repairing Old As Old? As a rule, old buildings are divided into two categories, i.e. one that is included in the Cultural Heritage Protection List, and the other is not included in the List. But there are disputes about those included in List, and even more about those not included in the List. Liu Boying, Huang Jing (2010) argue that in architectural design, it is necessary to emphasize the protection of the authenticity of original old buildings, however, if an old building has no conservation value or no historical information left, there is no need to stick to the Repairing Old As Old doctrine in the renovation design, or it is all too rigid a regulation and all too clumsy a copy of an antique style^[17]; Yang Chunrong (2009) has observed that disputes on whether to demolish or preserve the Kuan Alley and Zhai Alley² in Chengdu City have never ceased. Demolition proponents argue the original buildings were so dilapidated that they should

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² Kuan Alley and Zhai Alley is the only ancient street legacy of the Qing Dynasty in Chengdu. It consists of Kuan Alley, Zhai Alley and Jing Alley, the city's three old parallel streets, and the quadrangle dwellings culster between them. It has both the western Sichuan dwellings characteristics in the south and the connotation of culture Manchuria and Mongolia in the north. It is the last remains of the old Chengdu's "Millennium young city" urban pattern. As the most typical landmark full of Chengdu marketplace style, Kuan Alley and Zhai Alley has witnessed Chengdu's history and changes, and it is the protection street of Chengdu, a famous historic and cultural city.

be demolished. However, demolition opponents counter argue that “demolition has destroyed the authenticity of the original historical buildings”^[23].

Disputes on the development of historical buildings arising out of tourism development indicate the complexity of authenticity. As early as 1964, Boorstin noted that tourism is a dishonest event as tourists are blinded by well-designed travel products^[2]. Mac Cannell (1973) believed that the so-called “culture” tourists come into contact with is, as a matter of fact, staged local culture. So he proposed the term “Staged Authenticity”^[2]. On the basis of previous studies, Wang Ning (1999) proposed four categories of authenticity, namely, Objective Authenticity, Constructivist Authenticity, Existentialist Authenticity and Postmodernist Authenticity^[20]. After studying Naxi family inns in Yunnan Province, Wang Yu (2007), from the perspective of identification^[11], proposed the concept of Customized Authenticity, which does give a sense of belonging. Authenticity studies have now extended to specific tourism products and further to the protection and development of tourist destinations. But what kind of authenticity do we need? Who has the discourse power and the final say on the matter of authenticity?

This gives rise to our research questions: Who are the stakeholders in the development historical buildings? Who are the interest parties in the process of transforming old buildings into family inns? Is the process a static or a dynamic one? Will their relationship change in a dynamic evolution?

Literature Review

Stakeholder

The study of stakeholders derives from a corporate administration question: Who are involved as interest parties? Freeman (1984) broadly defined stakeholder as “any individual or group that can affect organization objective achievement or affected by the objective”^[3]. Numerous studies suggest that stakeholders vary in importance to an enterprise and therefore it is necessary classify them. Ackoff (1979) went so far as only to distinguish between major and minor stakeholders. In his opinion, major stakeholders are those whose support is essential for the existence of the business, and in turn, the business may have a particular obligation to them. Minor stakeholders, on the other hand, are those who make no special demands from enterprises but may rise up and oppose to company policies and their opposition may be unethical.^[1] In the late 1990s, U.S. scholars Mitchell & Wood (1997) proposed a score-based approach of classification, by which prospective stakeholders are given scores based on three attributes: (1) legitimacy, that is, whether a particular body is endowed with legal, moral or franchised claims on corporations; (2) power, which means whether any particular body has the status, ability and corresponding means to influence corporate decision-making; (3) urgency, that is, whether the claims of any particular body can evoke immediate response from the management. The score level will determine whether a body (or an individual) is a stakeholder or not to a business and what type of stakeholder it is. As Mitchell’s scoring approach greatly improved stakeholder classification operability, it has become the most commonly adopted stakeholder classification method^[7]. In his study, Chen Honghui (2004) pointed out that differences exist in three dimensions, namely, initiative, importance and urgency among ten different kinds of China’s business stakeholders^[13].

Tourism Stakeholder

Stakeholder theory began to be applied to the study of tourism in the 1980s, involving almost all aspects of tourism, major research topics focusing on “community”, “collaboration”, “sustainable”, “destination”, “equity” and “ethics” (Li Zhenghuan & Zheng Xiangmin, 2006)^[16].

The study of tourism stakeholders extends to that of tourist destinations and communities only to obscure the boundaries. With more stakeholders being identified, the relations are becoming more complicated. It is common practice that different tourism organizations and tourism destinations give different definitions of stakeholders.

Sheehan et al. (2005) proposed an approach to define important stakeholders. Using questionnaires, he carried out an empirical study to survey CEOs in tourist destinations in North America, and he picked out twelve major stakeholders from 32 listed DMOs (Destination Management Organizations)^[10].

Another tourism stakeholder study focus is the relationship between interests and power. It is inferred that a stakeholder that is more powerful and influential should be given more favors (Rosenow, 1979;

Markwick, 2000)^[6]. But Haukeland (2011), in his study of Rondane National Park and Jotunheimen National Park in Norway, pointed out that despite their strong support of the national parks' management, the local tourism enterprises sparingly participated in the management planning process. In the end, they had little influence on the final decision-making process^[4]. Other studies suggest that every one stakeholder is equal to another, and therefore, no stakeholder should be prioritized over any other (Sautter & Leisen et al, 1999)^[9].

Raija Komppula (2014) studied the role of small businesses in tourism destinations. He pointed out that these small entrepreneurs, with other competitors, play an important role in establishing a successful tourist destination^[5].

Authenticity

Nara Authenticity File points out that authenticity is a fundamental factor in value judgment. The interpretation of authenticity is of critical importance in the study, maintenance and repair of cultural heritages.

Since the term “authenticity” was introduced into tourism study in 1973, its definition has never been unified and coherent. Currently, there is a general consensus on Wang Ning's classification of authenticity into objectivist, constructivist, postmodernist and existentialist (Wang Ning, 1999)^[20]. The different perceptions of the important concept “staged authenticity” embody the difference between objectivist authenticity, constructivist authenticity and postmodernist authenticity. Zhou Yaqing et al. (2007) pointed out that “staged authenticity” is something of a super lie, but constructivists view it as a real and successful operation in spite of the fact that in the protection of the traditional culture of a community it may mislead tourists in their understanding of the community culture^[25]. Then modernist authenticity proponents even believe that authenticity is a matter of the degree to which tourists feel whether the performances are good or bad. Wang Ning (1999) pointed out that due to a lack of good faith in modern society and a fuzzy self-awareness in public life, people are trying to find their true selves or symbolic existence, temporary as it may be. This is existentialist authenticity^[8]. Zhang Chaozhi and Ma Ling (2008) pointed out that the government, the local residents, tourists and researchers have different understandings and evaluations of authenticity, which derives from the difference of different interest-driven evaluation criteria, hence different behaviors of different interest groups in the development of heritage tourism products^[24].

Wang Jing, WU Chengzhao (2012) believed that modern tourists always search for “authenticity” (not simple facts), and it is tourists that are major “authenticity constructors”^[21].

In summary, previous studies have yielded information on stakeholder definitions, relations between stakeholder interest and power, and various authenticity construction systems in the building of tourist attractions. Much to our regret, few researchers have studied questions concerning interest demands of stakeholders and discourse power in the conversion of historical architecture into family inns in tourist destinations. Equally rare are studies on how stakeholders came into existence and what role the stakeholders have been playing in the creation of travel products.

On the basis of previous studies, the present study probes into two dimensions of the transformation of old buildings into family inns: (1) the mechanism of interest pursuit and mutual influence of stakeholder groups in the transformation; (2) the evolution of stakeholder groups and the change of their status and role in the transformation.

Study Design

Case Study

Gulangyu Island is selected as a case to for this study. Gulangyu Island is located off the southwest coast of Xiamen, Fujian Province, China. It takes the ferry boat only 4.5 minutes to get across the Lujiang River, which is 600m wide. The island covers an area of 1.87 square kilometers with a population of 20,000 people. Administratively, the island presently forms Gulangyu Subdistrict of Xiamen's Siming District. In the late 1800s, as a concession, the island abounded with the numerous foreign consulates, which has left rich historical heritages. European, Southeast Asian and typical

southern Fujian local-style architectures are all represented here, hence the name “World Architecture Museum”.

On Gulangyu Island, there are over 1,200 buildings of various styles constructed before the 1940s, 392 of which are on the list of Historical Buildings, and out of the 392 buildings, 117 are under State-level protection and the rest are under municipal protection³. A total of 235 family inns are housed in these buildings. The map below shows the distribution of the first batch of Historical Buildings on Gulangyu Island.

Since 2007 when Gulangyu Island was duly approved by the National Tourism Administration as a Class 5A tourist attraction, tourism on the island has developed so quickly that the island has the highest density of family inns transformed from the Historical Buildings in the whole of China, one of the attractions to tourists though. The family inn is a form of protection and utilization of historical buildings, through which some Historical Buildings on the island are very well preserved but some are transformed beyond recognition. The stakeholders involved in the management and administration of these family inns have always been wrestling with each other, trying to get the upper hand. Therefore, Gulangyu Island is selected as a typical case to study for its rich historical materials and representativeness.



Figure 1. Map of Distribution of First Historical Buildings on Gulangyu Island

Study Methods and Process

Based on the characteristics of the island, this study adopts the method of case study to collect information about the island's major stakeholders' interest demands, interest realization strategies, mutual influence mechanism and historical evolution by means of in-depth interview, field observation, important documents review, questionnaire, and text analysis.

Information collection consists of two phases:

January 13 - March 29, 2012; June 7 - August 31, 2014

(1) Definition and Scope of study

- **Historical Building.** According to the local government's documents, Historical Buildings are buildings that have a history of over 50 years, that are featured by historical, cultural, scientific, artistic or humanistic values, and that reflect the characteristics of a particular time or a particular region. It is a category between Heritage Building and Ordinary Building. Historical buildings do not fall into the Heritage Building category mainly because of the limited number set on Heritage Buildings. Anyway, they stand for their significance in the city^[12].

3Xiamen Municipal Tourism Bureau, Gulangyu Island sets the historic buildings & tourism area, Encourage social capital to participate in protection of historic houses [EB/OL]. <http://www.xmtravel.gov.cn/news/1333704466322.html>, 2012-04-08.

4 Source: Management Committee of Wanshi Mountain – Gulangyu Island Scenic Spot

- Family inn. In its broad sense, family inn refers to a small accommodation legally owned and run by a family. (Pang Qing & Zeng Guojun, 2010) ^[18].

- Stakeholder. A stakeholder refers to any individual or group that can affect the achievement of organization objectives or be affected by the objectives. As different stakeholders are involved in different events, this study adopts Wang Chunyang and Huang Fucui's definition of stakeholders of Kaiping Diaolou, Sino-Western style watchtowers (2012) ^[19] and Xiong Wei, Wu Bihu's definition of stakeholders of hotels (Xiong Wei & Wu Bihu, 2007) ^[22] for the reason that Gulangyu Island shares many similar characteristics with Kaiping Diaolou and hotels.

The study carried out in-depth interviews with family inn managers, who were asked to name who they believe are the main stakeholders: managers, the government, local residents who have property to lease or sell, and / or tourists.

(2) Selection of in-depth interviewees

We reviewed the renovation of 76 Historical Buildings and classify the family inns into 3 categories: Good, Fair and Bad. Our classification follows the principles of "Repair the Old as Old", "Objective Authenticity", "Recognizable", "Minimum Intervention," and "All-round". After consultation with the Family Inn Association, we chose representative family inn managers and government department heads as interviewees.

Table 1. In-depth Interviewees

Type of Stakeholder	Interviewees
Government officials and relevant social organization personnel	Application Office Clerks for the List of World Heritage (40 minutes)
	Office Director for Historical Buildings Protection (1.5 hours)
	President of Family Inn Association (1.5 hours)
	Director of Housing Management Department (15 minutes)
	Director of Gulangyu Island Administrative Department of Industry and Commerce (20 minutes)
	Staff of Family Inn Association (50 minutes)
Manager	Gulangyu Island Zhongdeji Vacation Villa (1 hour)
	Gulangyu Island Romantic Island Hotel (1.5 hours)
	Gulangyu Island Huateng Woju Coffee Hotel (1 hour)
	Gulangyu Island Lüyangyin Inn (1.5 hours)
	Gulangyu Island Union Apartment (30 minutes)
	Owner of Gulangyu Island Dora Family Inn (1.30 hours) (2 interviews)
	Owner of Gulangyu Island Yangshan Family Inn (53 minutes) (2 interviews)
Resident	Owner of Gulangyu Island Boathouse Family Inn (1 hour) (2 interviews)
	Gulangyu Island resident Ms. Chen (20 minutes)
	Gulangyu Island resident Mr. Wang (15 minutes)
Expert in cultural relics preservation and List of World Heritage application	Gulangyu Island resident Mr Cai (15 minutes)
	Professor of School of Tourism Management, Sun Yat-sen University, and expert in cultural heritage protection (1.2 hours) (2 interviews)

(3) Consumer Survey

Questionnaires were used in the study of consumers' demands for residential hotels. 156 questionnaires were distributed at restaurants, cafés and ferry terminals on Gulangyu Island to people who have had experience of staying in a residential hotel (or family inn) on Gulangyu Island, and 128 valid questionnaires were returned.

(4) Literature Review

In order to accurately understand the local government's views and policies regarding tourism development and culture and history protection in general and development and protection of the local historical buildings in particular, we accessed to 281 documents related to Gulangyu Island made between 2000-2013.

(5) Expert Interviews

We made telephone interviews with tourism heritage experts in order to understand the workflow of world cultural heritage application.

(6) Text Analysis

We analyzed 111 Gulangyu Island family inn promotional brochures to sort out the features of family inns.

Case Study

From a protection and development perspective, we study the conversion of historical buildings into family inns within the analytical framework of protection, development, and evolution. This study first analyzes the characteristics and patterns of relevant government regulations, and the changes in and the attainment strategies of government interest pursuit. Then, it analyzes the characteristics of family inn change. We conduct interviews to understand stakeholders' interest demands, influencing factors and mechanisms and demand satisfying tactics.

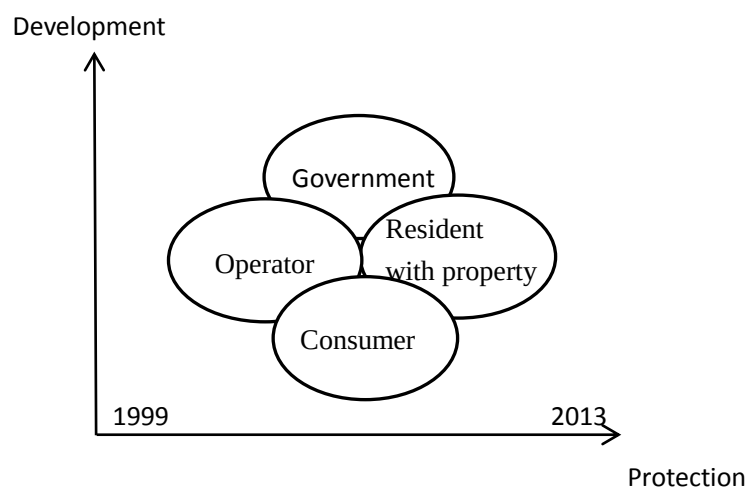


Figure 2: Study Framework

Stakeholder: Government

Government Agencies and Relevant Policies

The government is made of several agencies, each having a different function. As such, their position and value in historical building transformation are different. Anyway, all the agencies are subject to the highest administrative leadership. Governance depends on policies and policy enforcement. From the 281 relevant documents published, we can see that since 1999, the government has consistently paid its attention to the historical buildings. The following is a list of the government's and relevant organizations' important documents concerning the development and protection of the historical buildings and the development of tourism on the island.

Table 2. Documents Related to Historical Buildings and Tourism Development of Gulangyu Island

Time	Document Title (Source)	Main Content
1999	Xiamen Special Economic Zone Almanac	Start a Gulangyu Island architecture expo tour, open 21 Historical Buildings to tourists
2000	China's Public Practical Yearbook	Gulangyu Island's eco-tourism built
2001	Xiamen Special Economic Zone Almanac	<i>Protection Ordinance of Gulangyu Island's Historical Buildings</i> passed in 2000
2004	Almanac of Xiamen	<i>Gulangyu Island – Wanshi Mountain Scenic Area Master Plan (2003-2020)</i> Revision completed
2005	Almanac of Xiamen	Gulangyu Island-Wanshi Mountain Scenic Area Management Committee set up
2006	Almanac of Xiamen	<i>Xiamen Gulangyu Island Scenic Area Management Measures</i> promulgated
2007	Almanac of Xiamen	12 Historical Buildings renovated for a 5A scenic area
2008	Almanac of Xiamen	16 Historical Buildings renovated, two transformed into family inns
	Industry and Commerce Administration Documents	On promoting sound and rapid development of the city's service industry
	Garden Tourism Bureau of Siming District Xiamen Documents	Safeguard the legal rights and interests of tourists hotel managers, standardize operation and management of Gulangyu Island family inns, and create a favorable tourism environment
2009	Almanac of Xiamen	<i>Protection Ordinance of Gulangyu Island's Historical Buildings</i> revised, detailed implementation measures issued, 21 Historical Buildings renovated, one transformed into family inn.
	Articles of Gulangyu Island Family Inn Association	To promote prosperity and development of Gulangyu Island's hotel service industry.
	Xiamen Urban Planning Bureau	Detailed controlling plan for Gulangyu Island, Xiamen
2010	Almanac of Xiamen	Initiate application for World Heritage
2011	Almanac of Xiamen	Re-plan restoration of valuable historical buildings coupled with the efforts to apply for World Heritage, according to the new plan, the number of historical buildings put under protection increases from 308 to 374.
2012	Almanac of Xiamen	Begin to apply for 7 th National Key Cultural Relics, continue the application for World Heritage
2013	Almanac of Xiamen	Xiamen Special Economic Zone Regulations on the Protection of Cultural Heritage in Gulangyu introduced; To assist the process of Gulangyu Island's application for World Heritage, Gulangyu Island Management Committee commissioned Xiamen Institute of Urban Planning and Design to formulate Gulangyu Island's <i>Commercial Network Planning, Special Planning of Outdoor Advertising, Special Planning and Regulation of Family Inns, Planning of Leisure Service Facilities, and Planning of Municipal Infrastructure</i>

Source: Almanac Fujian Province and Xiamen City and relevant documents

Policy Evolution Process

In 1999, the Xiamen Municipal Government changed its policy in Gulangyu Island, shifting the focus from industrial production to tourism, the landmark event being the launching of International Construction Exposition Tourist Route. In 2000, the government promulgated *Protection Ordinance of Gulangyu Island's Historical Buildings*, which sets out to protect Gulangyu Island's Historical Buildings, accede to and carry forward the historical building heritage; to set the standard for Historical Building assessment, and to emphasize the principle of "Balance protection and utilization, protection comes before utilization". The ordinance lawfully regulates the protection and development of Historical Buildings on the island.

Gulangyu Island - Wanshi Mountain Scenic Area Master Plan revised and implemented in 2004 positions Gulangyu Island as a state-class scenic area characterized by "sub-tropical climate, quaint rocks, vast sandy beaches, magnificent city skyline", where tourism, leisure, science and education are well integrated, with natural scenery sightseeing as the core.

In 2005, Gulangyu Island- Wanshi Mountain Scenic Area Management Committee was established to improve management.

In 2007, Gulangyu Island became one of China's first 5A class tourist attractions.

In 2008, tourism on Gulangyu Island was booming, but there were only seven family inns converted from historical buildings, with fewer than 200 beds. The family inn business was running to the bottleneck as restrictions were imposed on conversion of buildings from residential into commercial, so that it was totally impossible to acquire the necessary business license and tax invoice. Many tourists were interested in the slightly mottled and dilapidated buildings on the island, which meant a huge prospective market provided that the renovation of the historical buildings and the development of family style tourism projects went hand in hand. Therefore, the government proposed to "loosen the restrictions on private residence to be converted to family inns on Gulangyu Island on the condition that property rights are clearly defined, the original architectural style well maintained, housing safety absolutely secured"^[15]. Meanwhile, the fire department and the public security department showed support and cooperation with the city government's decision by introducing special fire control and safety equipment requirements for Gulangyu Island family inns; In 2009, Gulangyu Island initiated its efforts to apply for accession to the World Cultural Heritage, and the Xiamen Government recognized the importance of preserving the overall style and began to shift its focus to the protection of ancient buildings and to strengthen supervision of the reconstruction of dangerous private houses. In 2011, another 308 buildings were identified and confirmed as valuable historical buildings. In April 2010, the Xiamen to Shanghai CRH motor car service was open to passengers, attracting a large number of visitors to the Yangtze River Delta, greatly boosting tourism of Gulangyu Island. By the end of the year, the number of tourists increased by 23.1% and 42.2% in the following year. By the end of 2012, the number exceeded the ten million line, reaching 11.36 million. This also brought about management issues to the scenic area as a consequence.

In 2013, to assist the application for World Heritage, the local government issued *Gulangyu Island's Special Planning and Regulation of Family Inns* to implement the toughest protection and management measures ever, prohibiting the establishment of new family inns but island boutique villa hotels in an exotic and artistic style, requiring 31 family inns to be equipped with a piano, putting on the "cultural character" label, and designating the color of umbrellas that family inns use.

Government's Interest Pursuit and Mode of Realizing the Interest

The government's interest pursuit and mode of realizing the interest show a trajectory pattern: Initial Stage (1999-2007) aimed to protect cultural relics as the main interest pursuit through regulations and small-scale protection goals were attained.

Development Stage (2008-2012) aimed to promote economic development as the main target through tourism development, and thus allowing the transformation of old buildings into family inns.

New Development Stage (2013- present) aims to enhance the image of Gulangyu Island as the major objective through application for World Cultural Heritage, and thus implementing strong protective measures.

Due to changes in interest pursuit, the way to achieve the goals changes accordingly, showing a clear pattern of evolution, i.e., protection → development → intensified protection.

The change of the government's interests is correlated with the change in the external environment. When the economy is underdeveloped, the government chooses to increase its capacity of utilization but when the economy is good, the government chooses to attend to the environment.

Stakeholder: Manager

A manager refers to one who has the right, derived either by means of lease, purchase or inheritance, to run a family inn. The manager is one who has a direct impact on the style of the Gulangyu Island family inn. This section will analyze the manager's objectives and way to achieve them from two perspectives, i.e. history, and protection and development.

Basic Conditions of Gulangyu Island Family Inns

On Gulangyu Island, there are a total of 261 hotels and family inns, with family inns accounting for 90%, that is 235 in number.

The development Gulangyu Island family inns can be divided into four stages: (1) Sprouting Stage (2000-2007). There were only two family inns. (2) Growing Stage (2008-2009). The number of family inns increased to 9 in 2008. (3) Thriving Stage (2010-2012). The average annual growth rate reached 51. (4) Shrinking Stage (2013-present). Family inn growth is declining. The year of 2013 saw only 38 new family inns.

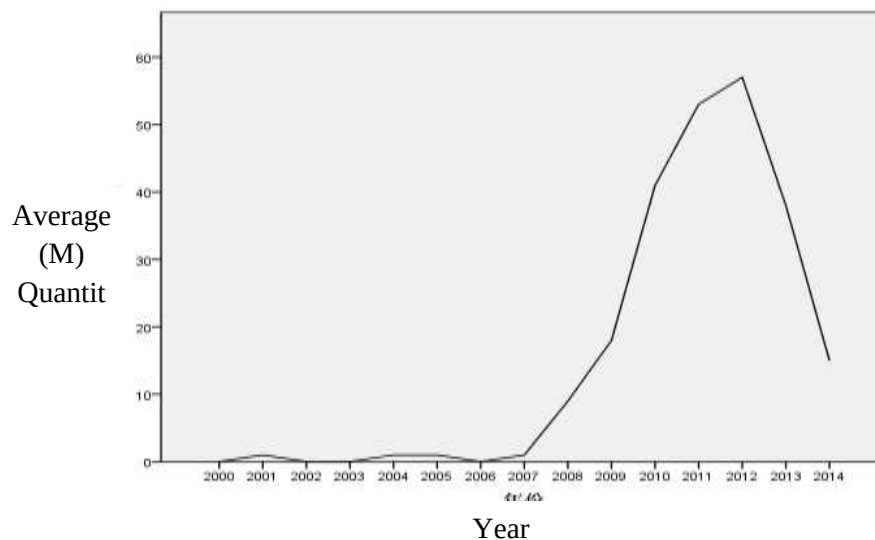


Figure 3. Gulangyu Island Family Inn Development History
Source: Ctrip.com

1.1.1 State of Protection and Development of Family Inns and Historical Buildings

On Gulangyu Island, there are a total of 3921 identified and confirmed Historical Buildings, about 19.8% of which have been transformed into family inns. Others are either transformed into museums, offices, and restaurants or stay private homes, laying the rest to waste.

The transformation of Historical Buildings into family inns results in two states of protection and development:

(1) The original style of the building is well preserved. The repair closely observed the principles "Repair the Old as Old", "Authenticity", "Minimal Intervention", "Recognizable" and other international mainstream principles raised by conservationists, reflecting objectivist authenticity. A

good case in point is Gulangyu Island Chujiayuan Coffee Hotel as well as Gulangyu Island Romantic Island Hotel. The owners recorded the process of repair, of search for materials and of construction and published the records in their blogs on a daily basis as a witness to the growth of their hotels. Another example is the Zhongdeji, which is the former residence of Wang Huangyi, an overseas Chinese businessman in Indonesia, nicknamed Sugar King. In the Republic of China era, it was known as “China’s No. 1 Villa”. After the liberation, it was used as a “State Guesthouse”, which accommodated such political dignitaries as Chiang Kai-shek, Deng Xiaoping, Nixon, Lee Kuan Yew and ten Chinese Marshals. In the renovation process, the most possible original appearance was restored, the original hollow carved ceiling ventilation system, a century old wooden ladder, the fireplace, the vanity mirror and other items were retained, carved details of the facade were repaired, and the frosted ice glass doors and windows were polished. It took the fine craftsmen three years to complete. But only 6-10 family inns are protected to such a high level of satisfaction.

(2) Some elements of the original building are retained. Specifically, the government lays down renovation requirements concerning the façade leaving owners the freedom to modify other parts of the building according to tourists’ needs. The interior decoration generally reflects constructivist authenticity. For example, the interior of the Boathouse, which is listed as a key Historical Building, takes on the “Fresh” style favored by tourists.



Figure 4. The interior of Boathouse family inn. Source: Boathouse family inn website

90% of the family inns are renovated according to government requirements and needs of tourists, which is well evidenced by an analysis of the descriptions in the brochures of 110 family inns. 46.4% of the family inns emphasize the history of their buildings (even some are not Historical Buildings) and the modern furnishing and comfortable interior decoration. Only a few of them point out that theirs are repaired as old and have restored the buildings’ history. 19% of the family inns emphasize their coziness and romantic feel, and 33.8% mention home, culture, arts, oil paintings and music.

Table 3. Analysis of Keywords in Family Inn Brochure Descriptions

Category	Keyword	Keyword 2	Keyword 3
Historical (46.4%)	British Consulate, province-class cultural relics protection unit, Chiang Kai-shek's residence, century-old house, a century of vicissitudes, my grandmother's house 90 years ago	Restoring the old but not the outmoded style, luxurious interior decoration, modern interior decoration	Four master workers spent four years repairing the old as old, took three years to recover the old style bit by bit
Cozy and Romantic (19%)	Graceful, elegant, romantic, birdie twitters and fragrant flowers, roses, unique, land of idyllic beauty, twelve constellations	Fully furnished and equipped	
Geographical Location (0.9%)	Sea view right near your home, central urban, close to scenic attractions, quiet in a noisy neighborhood, cloud and ocean, ocean view, convenient		
Other (33.8%)	Big yard, simplistic, music, homey, aesthetic and stylish, Monet paintings, exquisite workmanship, precious teakwood, music		

Source: Synthesis of Information about Chinese Family Inns on Ctrip.com
Managers' Objectives and the Modes of Achievement

The managers' motivation for opening a family inn is their core objective. In the interviews with them, we find that for most of them, the primary objective is economic benefits (investment, entrepreneurship) and their secondary objective varies. They are running a family inn in order to realize either their childhood hotel dream (they really like the hotel industry) or their Gulangyu Island dream (they like the old buildings and hope their children can go to school on Gulangyu Island and be emerged in the local culture). It is obvious that the managers macroscopically have the same objective (economic benefits) and microscopically have different objectives (subsidiary benefits). Due to differences in investment capital, social experience and cultural background, the modes of achieving those objectives are vastly different. Take the Zhongdeji for example, for lack of stress on capital and a deep love for old buildings, managers were in a good position to strive for objectivist authenticity in the repair and they spent three years restoring the old glory bit by bit.

Table 4. Managers' Objectives

Hotel Name	Start of Business	Architecturally Unique?	Motivation of Business
Xiling Hotel	2007.7	Yes (2 nd batch)	Invest to establish a business
Yuanzhongyuan Hotel	2007.10	Yes (2 nd batch)	Repair ancestral home, establish a business
Wujiayuan Hotel	2008	Yes (2 nd batch)	Invest to establish a business
Bouthouse Holiday Villa	2008	Yes (1 st batch, key protection)	Repair ancestral home, establish a business
Lijiazhuang Casual Coffee Hotel	2008	Yes (1 st batch, key protection)	Gulangyu Island dream, invest to establish a business
Yue Boutique Hotel	2009	No	Investment
Tongling Family Inn	2009	Yes (2 nd batch)	Investment
Walking Sun/Moon Family Inn	2009	Yes (2 nd batch)	Investment
Linshifu Boutique Hotel	2010.7	Yes (1 st batch, key protection)	After the Linshifu building collapsed in 2006, invest to repair, investment and development
Huateng Woju Coffee Hotel	2010.10	Yes (2 nd batch)	Invest to establish a business
Gulangyu Leisurely Hotel	2010.10	No	Invest to establish a business, realize hotel dream
Zhongdeji Vacation Villa	2010.10	Yes (1 st batch, key protection)	Accidentally found desolate Zhongdeji, decided to restore it
Romantic Island Hotel	2011.1	Yes (2 nd batch)	Accidentally discovered Ru'nian Villa, decided to invest, to pursue hotel dream, Gulangyu Island dream
Naza Hotel	2011.1	Yes (2 nd batch)	Shanghai designer, cherishes Gulangyu Island dream, hotel dream
Dora Family Inn	2010	No	Likes Gulangyu Island culture, thinks of children's future education, invest to establish a business

Source: Interview records

*Stakeholder: Tourists*Information on Tourists

156 questionnaires were distributed and returned, 28 of which were unfinished and so discarded, 128 were obtained as valid. The effective rate of 82%. Among the valid questionnaires, women respondents accounted for 53.9% and men 46%. The difference is accounted for by the fact that Gulangyu Island tourists are mainly either couples or females. The age groups range from 20-40 years old. 65.6% of them are having or have had an undergraduate education.

Tourists' Expectations and Preferences

Statistics from the questionnaire show that 43.8% of those who have a preference of family inns to other types of accommodation prefer a European style featured by uniqueness and exotic interior decoration, 20.3% prefer a thick historical charm. 18% like them because they are economical, nice and clean. 10.9% would choose those that are well-known and have artistic atmosphere. A cross-analysis between the level of education and preference finds that tourists with a college education background show a clear preference for family inns featured by old-style architecture.

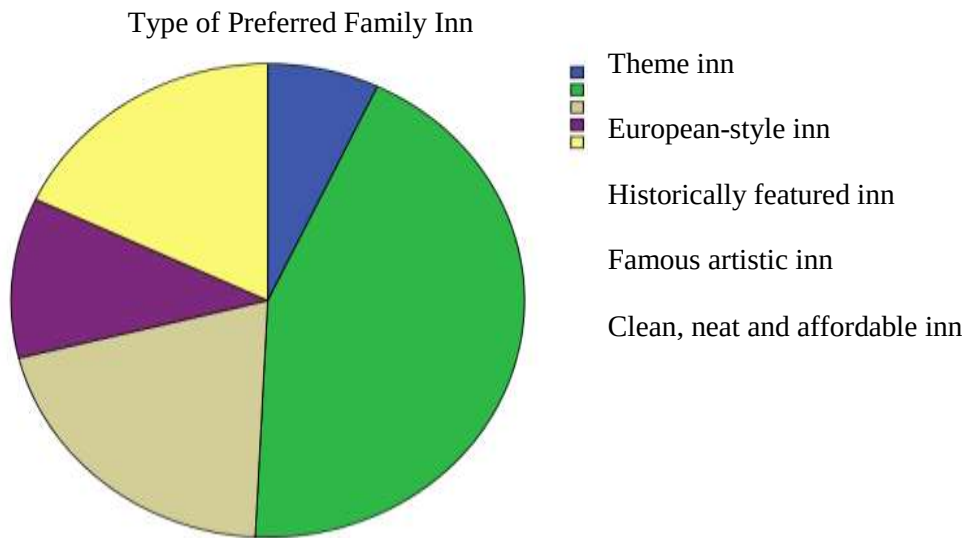


Figure 5: Style Preferences by Tourists

Tourists' Willingness to Pay

Under normal circumstances, the room rates of style inns are higher than those of non-style inns, because the transformation of the former requires a much larger initial investment and a much higher building standard. Non-protected old buildings are less bound in the transformation process. The investment cost is relatively smaller and the operating pressure is smaller, so the price is relatively lower. Consumers' willingness to pay is an important factor that determines the actual purchase. Preference is one thing but willingness to pay is another. Without tourists' financial support, the transformation of old buildings is impossible. The questionnaire survey result shows that 54.6% of tourists are willing to pay a higher price for the inn rooms, 15.6% are not and 29.7% are not so definite.

Tourists' Tolerance of Inconveniences

Family inns transformed from old buildings are more often than not less sound-proof, less effectively heated, etc. If the target groups are unwilling to bear such problems, even though they like family inns with a historical flavor, they may not make a check-in decision in the end. The questionnaire result shows that 46% respondents are willing to put up with the inconveniences brought about by the transformation, while 54% are not or unsure.

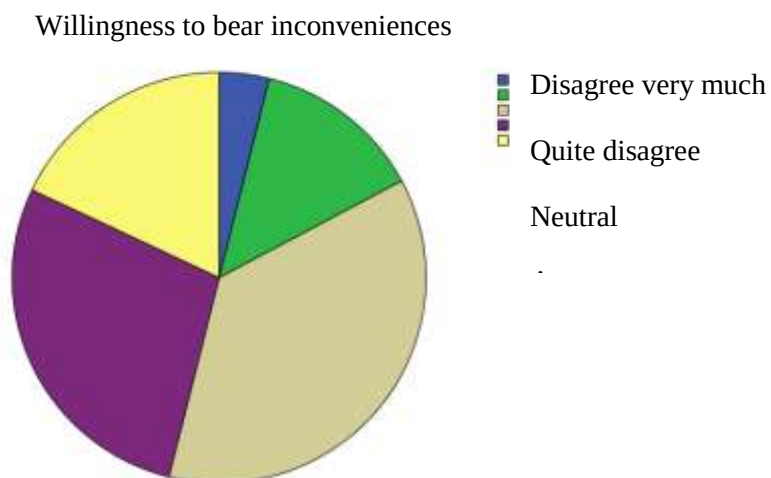


Figure 6. Tourists' willingness to tolerate inconveniences brought by transformation of old buildings into family inns

Tourist's Demands and Modes of Achievement

Tourists' demands for family inns transformed from old buildings vary. A majority like buildings, whose style is exotic and whose facilities are comfortable and convenient. At least 20% of the respondents show a deep love for old buildings and a willingness to put with the inconveniences brought about by the transformation of historical buildings into family inns and to pay a relatively higher price for it. Tourists can achieve their demands simply by checking in and making actual payment.

*Stakeholder: Community Residents with Property*Basic Situation

In the implementation of the local government's overall plan to develop Gulangyu Island into a tourist attraction, some industrial enterprises, hospitals, high schools and arts and crafts schools have been relocated and moved out of the island, leaving quite a number of the Gulangyu Island residents jobless and greatly reducing the convenience level of life on Gulangyu Island. At present, approximately 3,000 local people are still living on Gulangyu Island, most of whom are elderly. There are three main reasons for them to stay. (1) They are too used to the leisure and quiet island life. (2) They have a strong emotional attachment to the native homeland. (3) They can not afford the high housing price in Xiamen City. The younger generation often work in the Xiamen urban city, where there are more job opportunities and richer and more colorful urban life. Not all island residents are related to old buildings. It is only those island residents who have property to lease or sell that care about old building transformation. Gulangyu Island residents are inclusive for tourism development but most agree that the current tourism development situation cannot provide an atmosphere for most tourists to experience the original and authentic Gulangyu Island, which only lingers in their dreams and but for those dreams they would have left.

Participation in Tourism

As a rule, residents of the island will transform properties, if any, appropriate for tourism development into family inns. The family inns differ greatly. There are middle-class and high-class family inns, like Boathouse and Yuanzhongyuan, as well as low-end unlicensed family inns. In addition, some ordinary local residents rent their houses to non-local workers here.

Community Residents' Objectives and Modes of Achievement

In the process of transforming old buildings into family inns, the local residents have diverse objectives. The biggest winners are those who have old buildings to lease out, or sell, or use for self-employment. They all try to gain an even bigger slice of the cake. In principle, they disagree to intense protection and moderate development but agree to moderate protection and intense development. They achieve their goal by engaging themselves in the tourism business, like running a family inn themselves. So engagement is their mode of objective achievement. But in making decision concerning their interests, they are the least consulted.

Mechanism of Mutual Influence for Stakeholders in Old Buildings Transformation

In the process of transforming old buildings into family inns, different stakeholders pursue different objectives. With the passage of time and changes in the external environment and the internal structure, their objectives change. Then, how do these changes affect one another in the evolutionary process? Are there advantaged interest groups and disadvantaged interest groups? Do the advantaged interest groups manipulate the evolutionary process of old building renovation? What are the characteristics of the evolutionary process? Answers to these questions can only come from a study of the relationship mechanism.

Changes in Objectives of the Stakeholders

First, the property community residents are supportive of the tourism industry, and some are strong supporter of intense development and moderate protection.

Second, tourists' objectives rarely change. Tourists always support the transformation of old buildings, though they differ somewhat in the choice of a style.

Third, managers' objectives moderately change regarding making investment decisions and their response to the local government's management system. When the government shifts its focus from intense development to intense protection, investors change from low cost projects to high investment projects because they know that under the current government management system, they have to change their objectives accordingly. In 2012 when the government decided to regulate the external environment, they gave their full support because the regulation created a favorable environment for the family inn business. However, in 2013 when the government was to carry out the stricter *Family Inn Management Regulations*, the managers had their own opinions.

Fourth, the government's objectives greatly change. The objective of Gulangyu Island tourism has changed from initially a scenic spot to subsequently a 5A scenic area and to finally the World's Cultural Heritage. Not surprisingly, the government's objectives in the utilization of old buildings have taken on this change pattern: protection (moderate development) — protection (intense development) — intense protection (moderate development). In the weak protection period, the government simply required that the exterior appearance of the walls be retained in the transformation. The government has laid out very specific regulations for intense protection, both exterior and interior alteration, the setup of outdoor billboards, umbrellas, locality, colors, interior decoration and lighting are all specifically regulated.

Table 5. Change in Stakeholders' Objectives

Time	1999-2007		2008—2010		2011-2013		2013—present	
Interest group	Tourism	Ancient buildings	Tourism	Ancient buildings	Tourism	Ancient buildings	Tourism	Ancient buildings
Tourists	Sightseeing	Sightseeing	Little sightseeing	Sightseeing + little accommodation	Much sightseeing	Much accommodation + sightseeing	Much sightseeing	Much accommodation + sightseeing
Managers	No	Seldom	Support	Start investment	Support	Large-scale investment	Support	Decrease investment with the hope to standardize and support development
Government	Not interfere the free development	Protection	5A scenic spot	Guide and support	Turn to apply for World Cultural Heritage	Shift to protection	Regulation	Intense protection
Residents leasing or selling property	Support	Pay no attention	Basically support	Support and pay no attention	Support and not support	Pay no attention and support	Support and not support rectification	Pay no attention

Source: interview records

Interest Group Influence Mechanism

Throughout the development process, the government has always been a dominant leader in the transformation of Gulangyu Island old buildings into family inns, who lays out the development principles and specific regulation details. Therefore, in the reconstruction of old buildings, the government, for its legitimate status, is the most powerful influencing stakeholder.

Tourists as an interest group express their understanding of Gulangyu Island through their consumer choices, so that family inn managers who pick up the message should build their inn to meet consumers' expectations. There are consumers who demand both objectivist authenticity and constructivist authenticity. In fact, they influence inn keepers in two ways.

Inn keepers are both influencees and influencers. First, they have to meet the demands of the government, consumers and community residents. Meanwhile, in the reconstruction process, they can choose to show objectivist authenticity and constructivist authenticity. In this aspect, they are power bloc that can exert an influence on tourists' demands, the government's objectives, and the requirements of local community residents.

The property community residents have influence on family inn transformation mainly through prices (rent and sales).

With regard to the problem of Gulangyu Island family inn renovation from old buildings, no family inn managers, no tourists and no local residents have any opportunities or rights to express their views on what the ultimate development objective of Gulangyu Island should be, that is, should it be a scenic spot or a World's Cultural Heritage site?

Conclusion and Discussion

Conclusion

In the process of old building renovation, the government is a dominating stakeholder, which exerts its influence on the overall transformation of old buildings through its institutions and regulations. Another important influencer is tourists, who affect inn managers in their transformation direction. The manager is both a re-constructor who integrates their understanding of old buildings into renovation and an influencee who have to put themselves in a position in the market according to the government's policies and consumers' demands. Community residents, on the other hand, affect building renovation through sale or rental price.

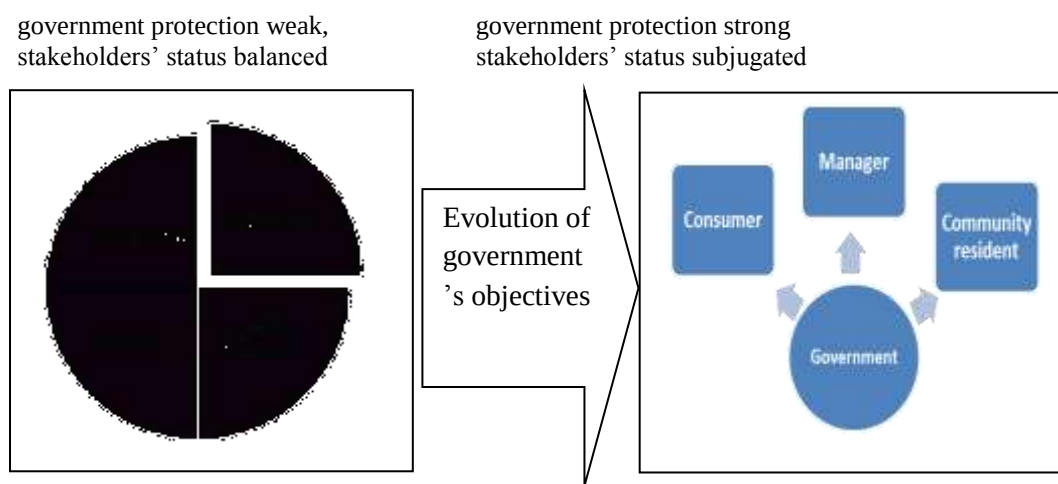


Figure 7: Evolution of Stakeholders' Objectives in the Development of Historical Buildings

In the evolutionary process, the government constantly changes its position only to cause a tremendous impact on the transformation of old buildings into family inns, the impact gaining momentum gradually, and on the status and role of inn managers in the reconstruction, the impact losing momentum gradually. Tourists' influence weakens with time whereas the influence of local residents

increases with time. As the government intensifies its protection measures, demand will exceed supply eventually. Therefore, prices are expected to rise, making old building transformation less feasible.

This study once again verifies the claim that the definition of stakeholders differs with tourism organizations and tourist destinations (Chen Xin, 2012)^[14] and the claim that a cultural tourism products can only be made by concerted efforts of the government, hotel managers and tourists (Ma Ling & Zhang Chaozhi, 2008). But This study also finds that the status of stakeholders in a place with a cultural heritage changes with the government's protective policies. In other words, when the government adopts a soft attitude towards heritage preservation and a strong attitude towards development at the same time, the status of various interest groups are equal and balanced. However, when the government adopts a strong attitude towards heritage preservation and a moderate attitude towards development, all other stakeholders are subjugated. In addition, the study reveals that inn managers and tourists achieve their objectives in different ways. The result of this study does not support the hypothesis of Wang Jing and Wu Chengzhao (2012) that tourists are the main constructors of "authenticity". In fact, this study shows that it is the government that is responsible for the construction of "authenticity". The discrepancy may have arisen from different cases. Indeed, this study does give support to the claim of Haukeland (2011) that in spite of the firm support that tourism business representatives give to the management of national parks, they are rarely engaged in the management planning process and do not leave a mark on the final decision-making process. In the case of Gulangyu Island, similar things happen. Inn managers and other stakeholders make great contributions to the local tourism business, but do not have much of a say in such big issues as tourism development goals and the establishment of family inn standards.

The above-mentioned problems are attributable to differences in the stakeholders' power and status. The government is in an absolutely advantaged position in the process of building renovation. But how should old buildings be renovated? Should they be renovated following the objective authenticity path or the constructivist authenticity path? This depends on the government's understanding of authenticity and its implementation efforts.

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Intangible Cultural Heritage, Tourism and Local Impact

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Abstract

The paper aims to approach the ambivalent relationship between intangible cultural heritage processes of conservation and valorization, communities of practices and super-local promotion of the territories, global visibility and marketing of local traditions.

I start my considerations from a group of important ceremonies in three different small towns and villages of a south-central Italian region (Molise) that constitute the core of these local communities both economically and socio-culturally. We seek to show how, for small communities, ceremonies and rituals represent not only a socio-cultural frame for embedding local identity, but also one of the most important resources for local areas and their sustainability (Appadurai, 1986; Grasseni, 2003; Herzfeld, 2004; Krauss, 2008; Bendix, 2012; Broccolini, 2012). In this case, economic crisis intersected with local, national and international debates on animal rights, local community rights and sustainability, thus clearly revealing the key role played by rituals and traditional ceremonies not only as part of local culture, but also as a concrete resource for local areas when all the other productive activities break down.

The ethnography is the occasion for rethinking central questions like the notion of 'tourist attraction', local sustainability, governance of the processes of valorization of intangible cultural heritage, economic impact of this kind of processes in the locality and tourism.

In this particular ethnographic case we face, at least, three different problems of heritagizing processes in relation to tourism and sustainability.

The first is the 'desire of local communities' for a stronger visibility at a national and supranational level and relative mediations that communities are putting on place for negotiating with different levels of governance of heritagizing processes (local authorities, national government rules, European protocols and UNESCO recognition).

The second is the problematic relationship that these rituals are proposing for new global attitudes towards animal rights that in this case risks to put in serious danger the survival of these ceremonies.

The third is represented by the difficulty to build a concrete network of cooperation at a local level among different economic activities, excellent products (typical food, handicrafts) and landscape valorization (particularly olive oil landscape). It is a way to see how localities try to build efficient networks of promotion, but also to observe problems of governance of these processes.

Rituals and ceremonies represent the core of communities and their capacity of facing economic crisis and political disaffection, but they are also a powerful tourist attraction for their enhancement and media visibility. Then a critical analysis of these shared practices is an extremely interesting occasion for discussing notions like 'cultural commodification', spectacularization of cultural heritage, the impact of tourism in the local dimension and marketing of the territories.

The ethnography of these ceremonials and their impact on communities started in 2013 and is still ongoing. We documented all the activities involved in organization of the feast by observing participation, filming all the different phases of ceremonials and of related events, collecting documents and archive stuff connected to the origins and transformations of the ceremonials. We work together the communities of practices involved in these ceremonials not only during the period of the feasts, but also during the other phases of the year that are continuously signed by events connected with the ceremonials. We realized also a photographic exposition collecting ancient and new images of the ceremonial documented by professional photographer and by the common people. In the spring 2014 we realized some conferences in the different small towns focusing on intangible cultural heritage and local development, specifically insisting on images of the feasts as one of the most important element of promotion and self-reflexivity of the community, but also centering on the specific debate aroused by the animal rights activists against this group of ceremonials and the controversy between locally embedded values and global ones. According to the most recent directions of UNESCO

(UNESCO ICH Convention, 2003) and European Council (EU Council Convention, 2005) conventions we started also a work on a participated inventory of the different elements of the ceremonials (self-documentation, focus groups, cooperative networks inside the communities of practice), considering this process one of the most important and efficient way for realizing a really community-based ethnography.

Keywords: Intangible Cultural Heritage, Ethnography, Locality, Commodification of Tradition, Tourism

Cultural Heritage, Tourism, and Local identity: A Debate

In the last decades social scientists – even anthropologists - deserved more attention to tourism and its relationship with definition, safeguard and promotion of tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Some of them considered tourism as a ‘global ethnography’ (Burawoy, 2000) for monitoring relationships between Occident and other worlds and the search for authenticity that pulls tourists to meet other communities, other forms of life, and other practices. Culture – as many authors assert (Wallace, 2009; Sahlins, 1990) – means “organizing diversity” creating relationships and networks of comprehension between different cultural expressions. This paper aims at contributing to this debate by discussing the main scientific reflections on relationships between heritage, identity, tourism and economic sustainability by presenting the first results of a research embedded in a specific area of a small Region in the South-Center of Italy, Molise, characterized by a very particular group of ceremonials consisting in devotional ox-cart races. Economic and socio-cultural impact of these rituals in the branding of these territories and communities and their increasing leading role in defining the lines of its territorial marketing will be, then, at the center of this work. Key concepts as the idea of an “heritage from below” (Robertson, 2012) and of “culture from inside” (Noguès, 2007) with consequent analysis of practices of participation of the local to a wider and trans-local definition of local identity, cultural heritage, and landscape are at the very center of this ethnography. Many different disciplines beyond social and cultural anthropology have contributed to this debate, as, for example, heritage studies (Smith, 2006), tourism geography (for relationship between geography and heritage studies, in particular: Graham, Ashworth, and Turnbridge, 2000: 1) and tourism studies, in a relatively strong cross-disciplinarity. In the last decade, particularly, interesting contributions were given by network marketing studies and sustainable tourism global projects. There is, however, a specificity of ethnographic methodologies that makes them particularly perspicuous in this area of investigation. Thickness of the ethnographic investigations and representations allows a deepness understanding of the processes of ‘heritagization’ and their economic and socio-cultural consequences.. In this case study we will see how communities are deeply involved in the process of redefining and promoting their territories from a driving force represented by their own intangible heritage.

At the core of touristic experience there is the “tourist gaze” (Urry, 1990) considered as a form of seeing predicated on difference, on looking for alterity in search of self-definition. Last years, nonetheless, we registered a radical shift in marketing conceptualization of cultural tourist and a less critical approach to tourism impact on local communities than in the past, because of the appearance of a new profile of tourist, as for example in Meethan (2001):

“Rather than the simple aimless pleasures of mass tourism, the cultural tourists are those who go about their leisure in a more serious frame of mind, To be a cultural tourist is to attempt [...] to go beyond idle leisure and to return enriched with enriched with knowledge of other places and other people even if this involves gazing at, or collecting in some way, the commodified essences of otherness” (p.128).

Tourism represents also the social structure to organize diversity (Di Giovine, 2009) in which differences and particular cultural forms are produced or reinvented according to tourist expectations (Bendix, 1989; Leong, 1989).

We need to consider, nonetheless, an important economic impact of tourism on hosting communities, but also ‘acculturation’ (Nash, 1996) of these communities to consumerism with a consequent “commodification of culture” (McLaren, 1997; Rossel, 1988; Serlen-Baldinger, 1988; Strasser, 2003), a process by which things come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value and then become ‘goods’ - even if ‘cultural goods’ - to sell (Cohen, 1988).

At the same time (Robertson, 2012)

“Heritage is about more than visitors, audience and consumption. It is about more than access to economic resources. It is about people, collectivity and individuals, and about their sense of inheritance from the past that result from that deployment of the past” ((p.3).

and ethnography allows to understand how much, today, tourism and heritage are also contexts of production of anti-hegemonic possibilities and narrations running counter dominant interpretations and practices of locality.

We must anyway notice that acculturation and commodification of visited communities often determines a loss of cultural identity as a result of tourism and many authors still expressed strong critiques against the influence of tourism in local cultures. According to this view tourism shapes “the outcome of touristic encounters by giving preference to locals who look and behave in ways that are authentically indigenous or ethnic”, even if ‘authenticity’ is a subjective concept and often what tourists consider ‘authentic and genuine’ relies more on popular stereotypes (Adam, 1984; Crick, 1989), is also influenced by tour operators (Silver, 1993) and by representations of places produced by popular media (Urry, 1990), but also by the State (Volkman, 1990; Bendix, 2012) with its plans and platforms for valorizing specificity and ethnicity as a part of the project of attracting foreign tourists (Matthews & Richter, 1996).

At the same time, on the contrary, tourism can become an empowering vehicle of self-representation and locals may use pro-touristic images for reinventing themselves and rethinking their past and collective memory (Cohen, 1988). In some cases these self-representations are in conflict with tourists’ images of the locality and ‘natives’ are “toying with tourists” (Evans-Pritchard, 1989: 96) producing other representations of themselves and of their locality (Howell, 1994), another idea of genuine and authenticity, partially or, sometimes, totally, conflicting with the tourists’ one. It is what some author has defined by the key concept of “dissonance” (Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996; Atkinsons, 2008: 385) in the representations of heritage, determining its polivocality and complexity, in which “the past in the present exists as both a cultural and an economic good” (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000: 5) and stressing the idea of cultural heritage as a process and an experience active on reality (Smith 2006: 83), halfway between vernacular representations (Dicks 2000: 37) and hegemonic discourses: a radical dissonance intrinsic to heritage (Robertson 2012: 9). More often we face a “staged authenticity” (MacCannell, 1973), a sort of relational, negotiating notion of what is traditional and genuine (Cohen, 1988), contextually established (Salamone, 1997), or ideological (Silver, 1993).

Post-modernist thinking has progressively reformulated this notion deconstructing the boundaries between the copy and the authentic, defining this kind of perception as ‘hyperreality’, as for example in Eco and in Baudrillard (*simulacrum*). This idea of authenticity deals with history, nostalgia (Goulding, 2000) and with identity, meaning, and values (Cova, 1999) and with the bodily experience of the cultural goods and places, often commoditized and structured into specific space-temporal frames (touristic experience). Heritage tourism thus becomes “almost anything about the past that can be visited” (Richter, 1999: 108) and both heritage and tourism become “collaborative industries; heritage converting locations into destinations and tourism making them economically viable as exhibits themselves” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998: 151). Tourists perceive “commercial presentations of history, heritage, and culture(s) as (more or less) authentic” (Kolar and Zabkar, 2000, but see also: Chabra, 2010).

Nonetheless the critical approach which has characterized social studies on tourism from the beginning is presently redefining its boundaries, considering that cultural heritage management is not only a matter of big tour operators and tourist industries, but increasingly represents also a tool for the empowerment of local communities within a more global market. These communities, in fact, become increasingly entrepreneurial and autonomous in definition, protection and promotion of cultural heritage, even in a way which is often entertainment-oriented. From an original, strongly asymmetric relationship between host and guests, many authors today prefer to think of a relative autonomy of the receiving societies in the definition and exploitation of their natural and cultural resources, in a word, of their heritage and of a positive relationship between heritage and local development, often mediated by anthropologists (Noguès-Pedregal, 2007: 49-50; Palumbo, 2013).

Cultural heritage became an object of interest for tourism and adapted itself to multiple publics and interests, even if sometimes in conflict with international organizations at a global scale expressing a

growing influence on shaping and regulating cultural heritage, as UNESCO, ICOMOS, WMF and so on. These conflicts about what it is and it is not to be considered as cultural heritage are linked to local development and the interpretation of cultural goods as tourist attractions (Tunbridge-Ashworth, 1996) in a way that make increasingly difficult to establish a clear boundary between heritage processes and tourism industry (Noguès-Pedregal, 2007: 52; Rojek & Urry, 1997: 3; Richards, 2001). Production and transformation of cultural objects in a marketable object happens through different passages both in the communities than in institutions. These passages imply the attribution to the heritagized objects of a brand of quality distinguishing an object from all the others. This distinction of the heritagized cultural object enables the “rethorics of excellence”, certifying the value of the object as a commodity in a globalized market selling out identities, very often essentialized and stereotyped as resources for a global tourism (Palumbo, 2003). Heritagization couples with the marketing of the cultural good, enabling imaginaries and rethorics for promoting it in the global arena of the place consumption (Urry, 1995).

Notions as “social capital” or “cultural capital” (Bourdieu, 1979, 1980) often connected with the valorization of cultural goods, and even the concept of “symbolic” and “value” are projected in a new post-industrial and neo-liberal economic scenario. Cultural goods and authenticity thus become a “motivational force” of tourism (Grayson and Martinec, 2004; Leigh-Peters-Shelton, 2006) and a claim (Peterson, 2005), and they are ‘branded’ to become marketable in the new economic regime.

We face here a context characterized by three main variables: the tourists, the heritage and the place, each of which is extremely variegated internally (Ashworth, 2003). At the same time communities strongly compete for emerging in visibility and appeal, stressing specificity and uniqueness instead of cooperating together with other communities, even of the same geographic area or region (Ashworth, 2003).

Neo-liberal regime implies the separation between production and consume of the goods – even cultural goods: tourists consume places and cultural objects completely separated from their contexts of production, as spectacle and marketable objects.

Cultural goods become increasingly “labels” for a global market, subjected to a classificatory and bureaucratic system as in the UNESCO and other national frames we see very well. The same collective identities that produced these goods are de-materialized as labels during this process of heritagization. Other concepts are linked to this process as “authenticity”, antiquity, diversity: they become useful rethoric tools for institutional discourses on the global arena and in the “global hierarchy of value” (Herzfeld, 2004: 4), influencing also the real social actors of the community (Bunten, 1998; Peuthz, 2011; Dines, 2012; 2013). This transformation makes available these cultural resources in post-modern touristic scenarios. There were, however, in recent years, marketing studies that have highlighted the critical aspects of the relationship between tourism marketing and heritage (Silberberg, 1995). In these studies it emerges clearly that heritage tourism is highly competitive and market-oriented, but at the same time a very ambivalent context of representations and cultural constructions, halfway between visitors’ demand and local needs and expectations. Representations are crucial in this relationship and place visitors/consumers increasingly rely on them, above all acceding to information via Internet (Bindi, 2008).

Press, journals, media, and new media are increasingly considered “as places of traditional and/or folklore elements. [...] It soon became clear that the mass media contribute to the existence and development of folklore” (Klaus, 2010: 294). Some authors observe that some expressions of “folklore” are produced because of the media and new media (Dègh, 1994; Dundes, 2007).

This mediatization and commoditization of local traditions and products emerge in the Seventies, at least in South-Central Europe, reducing common rural and popular practices and uses to marketing icons, engulfed by the persuasive mass media industry. Lombardi Satriani, already in its work *Folklore e profitto* (1973) speaks about “devourers of folklore”, pointing out the staging of food traditions into media hyper standardized frames (Nora, 1997: 12; Le Goff, 1998: 9-13; Hervieu and Viard, 1996; Bindi, 2005; Heinich, 2009).

Texts on heritage marketing propose narratives and representations of cultural goods very different from the anthropological approach.

Language and the point of view used for talking about cultural heritage changes dramatically in these works on cultural heritage. They talk about valorization of these cultural goods as “place specific”, “embedded”, as “local brands” putting them in value as a “stock of capital to valorize” potentially giving a trustable and an attractive experience to the “visitor/consumer” (Cerquetti, 2010) by an *ad hoc* “cultural thematization of places” (Dick, 2003: 94; Ritzer, 1999). It is what is generally called “branding of a territory” comprehending not only the politics of product, but also communication, the naming of the image of the line of product in its relationships with the consumers (service encounter). The “cultural product” has to be easily recognizable, coherent, available and attractive, but above all cultural goods, according to this logic, are unthinkable out of a tourist frame. In some case, for example, some authors think to the possibility of a branding at a national scale as, for example, for Italy (Gallucci, 2007 on ‘Made in Italy’ brandization).

Many authors talk about the opportunity of re-contextualizing cultural goods in their territories and communities (Lipovetsky, 2007; Pine and Gilmore, 2007), others point out “the need of authenticity for the postmodern consumer” (McIntosh and Prentice, 1995: 137) for a “more efficient positioning of the territory in the consumers minds” (Ruggieri Tricoli, 2000: 16-17).

We find an interesting approach to these questions in El Sayyad who insists on a critical rethinking of “the consume of tradition” (ElSayyad, 2001) by defining the “powerful marketing value of cultural difference” (Ibidem: 2), noticing that “native traditions are dissembled and rearranged in order to recreate a marketable semblance of ‘authenticity’” (Ibidem: 7). The goal, in this case, seems to be “to package, image and transform traditions, rituals and ‘ways of life’ into saleable products” and authenticity becomes not only a desirable target achieved “through manipulation of images and experiences” (Ibidem, 15).

If in anthropological works cultures are depicted as “value free”, released by economic aspects, in many marketing texts they are represented as “just another product to be packaged”, consumed and impaired in terms of political and social participation.

The Carresi of Molise: a case study We can find many element of this complex interrelation between heritage and tourism in the case study I’m studying in the last two years.

The Carresi are ox-carts ritual races celebrated in honor of different patron Saints in three small towns of an Italian Region, two of them being Albanian minority group towns. (San Martino in Pensilis, Ururi, Portocannone).

This ethnography revealed an increasing interest of local communities in defining and promoting their intangible heritage, probably determined by confrontation with two orders of problems: on the one hand the crisis of agriculture and farming, on the other hand the attack of the animal rights movements to their ceremonial practices. The case study shows how much communities invest and rely on wider – national and even global – acknowledgements of their heritage and in media visibility as a form of safeguarding and conserving it and as a way of enhancing their tourist appeal. As Richards has pointed out: “The idea that “local” identities are somehow more authentic” is deeply rooted in the analysis of tourism as well as in the practice of tourism product development” (2007, p. 4). These communities seem extremely aware of their need of a branding process of their territories and cultural heritage as a mean to face isolation and depopulation and to enhance their tourist appeal, coupling two aspects of local cultural heritage: the exceptionality and uniqueness of their specific ceremonials (Richards & Wilson, 2007, pp. 257-258) and of their ‘typical’ landscape and food products and the ‘unexceptionality’ of their everyday life that increasingly becomes, in the new tendencies of ‘reverse marking’ (Breckus, 1998) one of the most interesting aspects of the quest for authenticity expressed by post-modern tourists (Middleton & Clarke, 2004).

The ethnography of these ceremonials and their impact on communities started in 2013 and is still ongoing. We documented all the activities involved in organization of the feast by observing participation, filming all the different phases of ceremonials and of related events, collecting documents and archive stuff connected to the origins and transformations of the ceremonials, interviewing and observing in action many local actors of these ritual practices (in-depth interviews, story-telling, technical explanations, free narratives arising from the observation of photographs or videos). We work together the communities of practices not only during the period of the feasts, but also during the other phases of the year that are continuously signed by events connected with the

ceremonials. We realized also a photographic exposition collecting ancient and new images of the ceremonials documented by professional photographers and by common people. In the spring 2014 we organized a cycle of conferences in the different small towns focusing on intangible cultural heritage and local development, specifically insisting on images of the feasts as one of the most important element of promotion and self-reflexivity of the community, but also centering on the specific debate aroused by the animal rights activists against this group of ceremonials and the controversy between locally embedded values and global ones. Local communities and ox-cart associations were very active and participating to these debates. According to the most recent directions of UNESCO (UNESCO's ICH Convention, 2003) and European Council (EU Council's Faro Convention, 2005) conventions we started also a work on a 'participated inventories'¹ of the different elements of these ceremonials (self-documentation, focus groups, cooperative networks inside the communities of practice), considering this process one of the most important and efficient way for realizing a really community-based ethnography and a shared action of heritagization "from below", as many UNESCO and European documents and conventions on Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage strongly recommended in the last decade.

The origin of these ritual competitions and relative ceremonials dates back to the Middle Age and their mythical etiology roots in miraculous recoveries of relics of Saints and sacred objects (as for example the Holy tree of the Cross) by oxen according to a ritual model rather widespread in South-Central Italy (Spitilli, 2011).

Historical and hagiographic documents mention Larino and San Martino in Pensilis – two small autochthonous towns of South Molise as the places of origin of this tradition. The first, particularly, was the seat of the Episcopal Curia in ancient times, then the devotion would later spread also to Portocannone and Ururi, both formed around a common Albanian core since the migration from Albania under the pressure of Turkish persecution at the middle of XVI century.

At the beginning of these ritual practices, presumably, animals involved were oxen and horses used for farm works, provided by the most prominent families and driven by their workers (cattlemen, farmers, stewards).

This ritual familiar system continued until the twentieth century, when, probably due to the decrease of the number of cattle in the country and the decadence of many rich families, passed to associations and 'parties' collecting a number of families in the effort of conquering the honor of carrying in procession, the day after the ritual competition, the icon of the Patron Saints.

This system continues without interruptions until today, with a progressive specialization of the roles in managing the stables, in organization of the race, leading to a considerable reduction of the times of the competition and a great spectacularization of the performance. The ritual seems today more a sport competition than a devotional one, and animals are always more selected and trained to this specific end. Conserving and continuing this tradition implies a great economic effort for Associations involved and an amazing amount of voluntary work for men and women who are involved. Carresi thus represent also an evident social and economic driving for these small towns.

Today local communities show an increasing awareness of the value of these particular ceremonials in the Italian 'heritage-scape'. They know that these rituals can give greater visibility and social and

¹ Reflection and work on communities' 'participated inventory' of local cultural heritage are really beginning in the last five years in different communities of practice, starting from the suggestion contained in Council of Europe's Framework Convention (the so called Convention of Faro, 2005) on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society. In particular at the Art. 12 of the Framework Convention we read: "Access to cultural heritage and democratic participation. The Parties undertake to: a) encourage everyone to participate in; b) the process of identification, study, interpretation, protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural heritage; c) public reflection and debate on the opportunities and challenges which the cultural heritage represents; d) take into consideration the value attached by each heritage community to the cultural heritage with which it identifies; e) recognize the role of voluntary organizations both as partners in activities and as constructive critics of cultural heritage policies; f) take steps to improve access to the heritage, especially among young people and the disadvantaged, in order to raise awareness about its value, the need to maintain and preserve it, and the benefits which may be derived from it.. More generally the present Convention emphasizes the importance of a shared information and decision-making process about cultural heritage in which public authorities, private stakeholders and local associations work together for conserving and promoting local cultural heritage. The Council of Europe's Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Eu Council Faro Convention, 2005) can be consulted at: <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/199.htm>)

economic development to this Region: it's because local population is extremely involved in associations and 'parties' and the promotion of locality and of rituals as real 'tourist attractions' is growing.

This is probably derived from the crisis of productive agro-pastoral system, previously central in the economy of this area, and from an increasing attention to the tertiary sector of the economy even in regions before centered on agriculture, farming and, more recently, some rare industry (factory of car components, sugar refinery, and so on). Advertising about these traditional ceremonials is incredibly growing, media and new media production are solicited and required by the 'parties'², public authorities increasingly invest on the safeguarding and enhancement of these ceremonials as a resource for the regional area while private actors (tour operators, hoteliers, traders) are firmly convinced that only a full appreciation of these ceremonies can improve the local economy.

Communities today are aware about the value of intangible cultural heritage both for local identity and tourism development even in relation to the attack that these ceremonials have received by animal rights activists in the last decades and that, in last three years, became stronger. Animal rights movements accuse, in fact, people of the Carresi of cruelty to animals and denounce these practices as a form of cultural backwardness.

All the local political actors tried to get 'up into the chariot' for defending traditions and, obviously, catching the local consensus, but at the same time the attacks from the part of animal activists are extremely interesting to follow.

How do local communities react to so fueled debate? What does this example tell us about relations between locality and "heritage regimes" (Bendix, 2012)?

For local communities defending and safeguarding their 'traditions' is in some case not only a matter of identity and social cohesion, but a real question of 'survival', as a real economic drive for their stability at a time of crisis.

Mayors of these three small towns having received notices of investigation for having authorized 'Carresi' in 2012 – when the Ministerial Decree already was in force – have tried to adapt to the new rules to ensure the conduct of racing, but at the same time they proudly assert publicly and through the media the value of these ceremonials for their communities as a cultural and economic resource.

The Mayor of one of the three towns after few months was elected at the Regional Council and nominated Councilor for Environment and Agriculture of the same institution. He declared in the November 2012: "We are already organizing the new edition of the Carresi for the next Spring and we wait from the Minister specific indications given that raising cattle and horses costs thousands of Euros and you can not blow up everything at the last moment. We need answers as soon as possible" (Il Tempo – Molise, 14/11/2012).

Just a few weeks before the vote (national and regional), an important woman in the Region, the Senator for the center-right party, insisted on the "value" of Carresi for the communities of Basso Molise, and for the entire Region, as these festivals and ceremonials "are one of the most attractive and visible events for the territory". From the opposite political side came heartfelt appeals to safeguard and valorization of these celebrations as fundamental resource for local communities and 'showpiece' of regional culture.

Mayors and other important local stakeholders (Presidents of the local Associations, owners of oxen and horses) supported the argument of safeguard and valorization of these ceremonials in the name of love that local communities feel toward animals. They ensured the maximum willingness to adapt to the new rules imposed by Ministerial Decree while not having to give up this extraordinary local heritage along with local typical products, in particular olive oil and a particular local sausage called *Pampanella* (Pampanella is a particular kind of spicy sausage, produced exclusively in this area; the production of olive oil, instead, is typical of this region and it attained, in the last decades, a very good level). It is no coincidence that in recent years in particular in San Martino in Pensilis some

² After the end of a family-based system of recruitment and organization of the ceremonials (at the beginning of the XX century), local population is divided into a system of 'parties' (Giovani, Giovanotti, Giovanissimi) collecting a certain number of families.

conferences and international competitions were organized specifically on olive oil excellent products. In 2012 an exposition about ancient documents (from Samnium and Latin era) of olive cultivation in the area was organized.

The integration of these aspects of marketing of landscape and excellent agro-food products with the system of promotion of local traditions and, in particular, the Carresis as unique and exceptional element of the territorial offer deserves a supplemental investigation. At San Martino in Pensilis, for example, the promotion, of the local olive oil through international conferences dedicated to the protection of the Italian extra virgin olive oil production (MolisExtra) against counterfeiting of olive in the contemporary international scenario puts the area in direct dialogue with one of the true excellence of the 'made in Italy' agro-food industry, placing it as the local dimension competitively communicating at a national and supranational level.

At the same time, however, this process claims for a local specificity linked to a resource, which is also 'heritagized': the landscape, MolisExtra is a project that, in addition to the debate on the production and protection of olive oil, promotes an annual competition that rewards the best extra virgin olive oil coupled with a parallel evaluation (by another jury of students of architecture, landscape and socio-anthropologists) of the best images of olive groves and mills. The idea that holds together the two sections of the competition is that a 'good' landscape expresses great oil and vice versa. This example shows very well how, at the local level, the community is aware of the value of the food products as well as of the landscape in close relationship with the intangible heritage (The conference and the competition took always place during the days immediately before the Carrese).

More recently, projects and processes has been started up for a national (Protected Designation of Origin) and international (European protocols) certification of the most important food excellence in San Martino in Pensilis, the Pampanella (also produced in one of the other municipalities in the area as Ururi) and of other place specific food products in the area, as the 'torcinello' (a sort of tripe sausage) in Portocannone. In this particular local context we noticed, at the moment, an important involvement and leader role by public local and regional authorities while private stakeholders simply ask the institutions a greater help and support in the promotion of local products as well as the cultural heritage. This strong subjection of the private sector to the public in promoting food production, cultural heritage and tourism can be understood in the larger context of the overall history of the center-south of Italy, historically placed in a position of high dependency on public institutions, and a State 'welfarism'.

Local communities are involved, nonetheless, in a strong process of transformation of these festivals in local cultural heritage, coupling them with other aspects of the local heritage and of productive system of the area: olive oil, meat products and wine³ also. Typicality has been coupled with culture in a conscious action of local development in which Carresi play a leading role as 'tourist attractions' and become the real core of the process of valorization and local promotion otherwise doomed to failure.

The Ministerial Decree, moreover, comes at the very heart of the economic sustainability of the communities involved, imposing security rules and safeguard for animals wellness, rules that require, to be complied with, many expenses and investments: security for spectators, anti-doping exams, vet-checks, conformity of soils for races and processions.

All this pushes the debate to a strong biasing in economic terms along with a process of commodification of the cultural heritage according with recent global processes of 'heritagization' and manipulation of landscapes and cultural heritage from tourism industry. Economic sustainability and its implications on territories thus become the real core of the issue, even if the question of animals involved in ceremonials became the most evident argumentation against these ancient forms of local cultural expressions face to the strong attention to these as an element of local identity, sustainability and development, as I already noticed before.

³ There two main 'cantine' (wineries of Di Majo Norante e Catabbo) in the area producing the most important and 'autochthonous' wine (the Tintilia). They are both involved in promotional activities for the territory and the Carresi. Cfr. Bindi, 2012.

Some conclusions...

In this particular ethnographic case we face, at least, three different problems of the heritagizing processes in relation to tourism and sustainability.

The first is the 'desire of local communities' for a stronger visibility at a national and supranational level and relative mediations that communities are putting on place for negotiating with different levels of governance of heritagizing processes (local authorities, national government rules, European protocols and UNESCO recognition). These communities are clearly aware of the value of these rituals as a *pivot* for socio-cultural and economic renaissance of their area and they make efforts for promoting these feasts by investing in media visibility, tourism offers and event management. At the same time they are working on actions of safeguard of these traditions and in international promotion, using for example the emigration networks.

The second is the problematic relationship that these rituals are proposing for new global attitudes towards animal rights that in this case risks to put in serious danger the survival of these ceremonies. Animal rights movements attacks determined an increasing awareness of the value of these traditions – both in term of identity and of market. This pulls communities to start positive actions of conservation and valorization both for protecting and for promoting them against animal rights activists' critiques and security concerns for audiences and spectators by different law enforcement agencies. It's because they are making efforts to improve transparency and visibility of everyday traditional practices, starting initiatives and campaigns as "open stables", organizing debates and expositions, trying to show how much in these ceremonials human-animal relation is absolutely non violent nor prevaricating, trying to promote good practices and observance of legality in general and in particular for what concerning the animal welfare, but also defending their right to maintain and protect their secular traditions.

The third aspect is represented by the difficulty to build a concrete network of cooperation at a local level among different economic activities, excellent products (typical food, handicrafts) and landscape valorization (particularly olive oil landscape). It is a way to see how localities try to build efficient networks of promotion, but also to observe problems of governance of these processes.

At the entrance of one of the small towns studied (San Martino in Pensilis) we read in a large billboard: "San Martino in Pensilis, the town of the Carrese, of the olive oil and of the pampanella". Across the road another billboard reproduces an enormous image of an oxen-cart launched in the race. Under the image we can read a phrase extracted from the traditional song of the *Carrese* connecting the ritual race to the local secular devotion to the Patron Saint. The phrase is written in vernacular local language, which is evidently another element of cultural heritage. San Martino in Pensilis, in fact, is an autochthonous community while Portocannone and Ururi are, on the contrary, ethno-linguistic minorities, Arbëreshë speaking.

Rituals and ceremonies represent the core of communities and their capacity of facing economic crisis and political disaffection, but they are also a powerful tourist attraction for enhancement and media visibility of the local. Then a critical analysis of these shared practices is an extremely interesting occasion for discussing notions like 'cultural commodification', spectacularization of cultural heritage, and the impact of tourism in the marketing of the territories⁴.

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⁴ On this specific topic see a special issue of the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* on European Intangible Heritage, particularly the paper of Bindi L.-Joan Frigolé-Cristina Grasseni-Ismael Vaccaro, *Consumption and Spectacularization of heritage: desire, commoditization, and consumption of patrimony*, forthcoming.

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