Cultural and Heritage Tourism in Asia and the Pacific

Edited by

Bruce Prideaux, Dallen J. Timothy and Kaye Chon

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The Asia Pacific region's enormous diversity of living cultures and preserved heritage sites has significant appeal to many tourists. However, tourism has grown so rapidly that many issues associated with the incorporation of cultural and heritage experiences in tourist itineraries (such as authenticity verses commodification, exploitation of national cultures, impacts on local communities, and the management of heritage resources) have not been adequately addressed and must be debated.

This revealing book reviews recent developments in cultural and heritage tourism in the Asia Pacific region and provides a discussion on how communities have faced and overcome significant challenges to develop and market their culture and heritage resources. A range of models and case studies are used to deepen the reader's understanding of heritage and cultural issues, to illustrate many of the more controversial issues, and to examine new evaluative, and planning tools.

This book is based on two special issues of the *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*.

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Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

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Themes in Cultural and Heritage Tourism in the Asia Pacific Region

Bruce Prideaux and Dallen J. Timothy

Cultural and Heritage Tourism in Asia and the Pacific is the result of lengthy discussions between the editors and colleagues in many countries and is based partially on a double special issue of the *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*. The call for papers for the special issue generated such a large response in submissions that two issues of the Journal (Vol. 9(3), *Heritage in the Asia Pacific* and Vol. 9(4), *Cultural Tourism in the Asia Pacific*) were required to publish some of the papers submitted. There were still a number of excellent papers remaining, and given that there is an ongoing debate occurring on many of the issues raised, the editors decided to publish the collection of papers from the special issue with a number of new chapters as a book. We believe that collectively the contributions provide a benchmark of current scholarly research into the main issues of heritage and culture in the Asia Pacific Region. While we acknowledge that the collection of chapters is not a definitive statement of the breath of research currently underway, it does provide a useful summary and highlights the ongoing nature of the issues that are the subject of scholarly debate.

The overall aim of the book is to create a collection of work that both enhances current understanding and provides a guide to future research. In developing this book the editors were mindful of the need to include chapters by scholars within the region, as well as those who observe from afar, to provide a range of contrasting perspectives. This introductory chapter outlines the structure of the book before undertaking a review of some of the many issues raised by contributing authors.

The Structure of the Book

Cultural and Heritage Tourism in Asia and the Pacific is organized into four parts that collectively contain 22 chapters. The book is organized in a format that introduces readers to many of the key questions, such as

authenticity, before challenging them to consider how authenticity can be retained in the face of the demands of the tourism industry to manage and market cultural heritage. The first part of the book, *Authenticity: The Search for the Real*, consists of seven chapters that examine a range of issues that encompass the debate surrounding the meaning of authenticity and how this can be achieved in a changing world. The issues canvassed in this part of the book influence the structure of cultural heritage tourism and include themes that are examined in greater detail in this chapter.

In the second part of the book the impacts of tourism on heritage and culture are examined in five chapters. It is apparent that many of the issues surrounding the debate on retaining authenticity are dependent on the degree to which the contemporary world is changing and how that change affects traditional expressions of culture and uses of place. Even traditional music undergoes change when it is played by traditional instruments but in non-traditional settings, such as hotels and cultural centres. Similarly, the use of places that have strong heritage values is often contested, as new uses seek to supplant or replace traditional ones.

In Part 3, *Planning, Managing and Enterprise*, five chapters consider issues relating to managing cultural and heritage assets, as well as their planning, and for many organisations involved in bringing culture and heritage to the tourism industry their ability to engage in the establishment and running of successful sustainable businesses. Issues raised in this part of the book have strong links back to the issues raised about authenticity in Part 1, as well as the impacts that cultural exhibitionism may have on culture and heritage as noted in Part 2.

The book's final section deals with issues of marketing. In a competitive world where many attractions seek to maximize their returns from tourism dollars, marketing has become a key activity that organizations must understand and successfully engage in. Marketing in this sense includes promotion and engaging with the distribution system to maximize exposure to potential clients in market regions. The book concludes with a summary and synthesis of the major issues relating to heritage and culture, as well as the identification of some priorities for future research in this challenging area of tourism research.

The Significance of Heritage and Culture

In tourism settings, heritage and culture may be used for a variety of purposes, including entertainment, preservation, information, education, profit and propaganda. For the society whose culture and heritage is the object of presentation to visitors, the themes may be ordinary and familiar, but to visitors these same themes may be unique, exotic and extraordinary, and characterized by differentness from the visitors' own normal environment. Heritage and culture therefore serve a variety of purposes, and the study of these purposes is important both from the perspective of providing a focus for guests to learn about the hosts' culture and for the hosts as a means of preserving and sharing their unique past and way of life with others. In recent decades, as the pace of tourism has increased, heritage has become an important selling point, but it is often sold to buyers who have little real interest in, or concern for, the meaning of the culture they are gazing upon. This book examines a range of issues that impact on the use of heritage and culture by the tourism industry in the Asia Pacific region. This chapter introduces a new
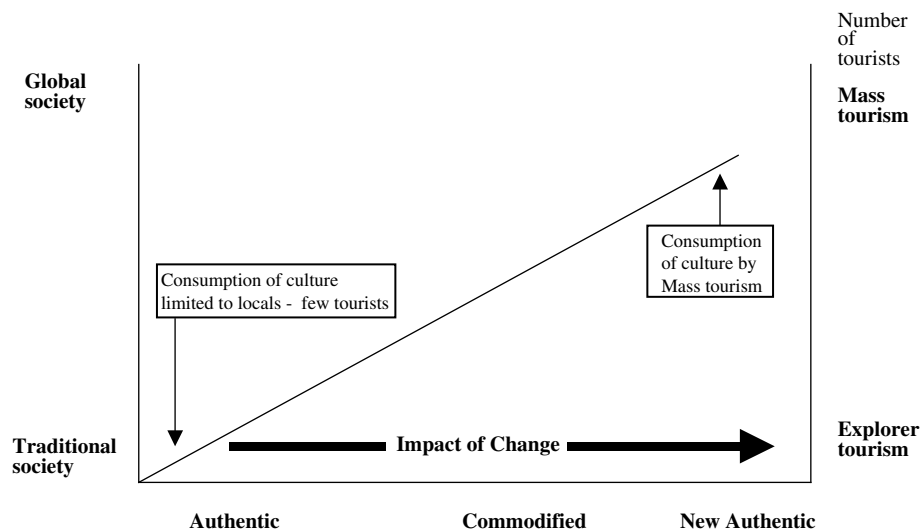
Figure 1   Impact on Culture as Tourism Moves from Small Scale to Mass Scale.

explanatory model that may be used to examine how culture is affected by tourism. Issues discussed in this chapter include authenticity, interpretation, heritage contestation, social exclusion, contested space, personal heritage, control and preservation. The heritage model, illustrated in Figure 1, may be used to classify heritage destinations and visitors using a spectrum that commences with the authentic and then plots the evolution of the authentic through commodification and ultimately the metamorphosis of the authentic into a new authenticity.

The breadth and depth of cultural heritage issues that communities in the Asia Pacific are involved with is enormous, evolving, and in some cases controversial. In many instances even the meaning of heritage and culture is disputed. In recent decades a substantial literature on heritage and cultural issues has emerged, paralleling the growth in recognition of the place that heritage and culture now hold in the tourism industry. The study region has an enormous variety of people who express

themselves through their culture and reflect on their patrimony through both cultural expressions and preservation of relics of the past. The ensuing complex mosaic of cultural expressions has provided the tourism industry with a rich well of experiences on which to draw as an increasing number of countries, and regions within countries, recognize the potential of the tourism industry to create employment and wealth.

Tourism is, however, only one of many actors on the stage of national economic, social and cultural development. Tourism works best when uniqueness becomes a point of differentiation from competitors and creates an experience that is marketable because it is not easily substitutable by other places and events. Thus, for the tourism industry, heritage and culture must exhibit uniqueness and marketability; yet culture is rarely static, and the symbols of heritage may be needed for other more contemporary uses, creating tensions that must be resolved. Culture is a living expression of a way of life

and people's relationships with each other, the environment in which they live, the religious expressions which give meaning to their life, and manners in which they cope with the forces of nature and politics.

Globalisation and its associated demands for modernisation offer many improvements in material welfare and health but often at the expense of traditional forms of economic organization and lifestyle. The process of globalization demands change and creates a tendency towards uniformity rather than diversity. Culture is often one of the victims of progress, and the rhythm of daily life that for millennia was determined by the demands of seasons must now change and be determined by a new rhythm created through membership in the global economy. As people migrate from the country to the city the need for harvest festivals and other symbols of rural life are replaced with more impersonal, globalised festivals. Thus, the impersonal experience of watching the soccer World Cup on a television set in one's lounge room has replaced the far more personal experience of participating in a harvest festival with one's neighbours. For these reasons culture is rarely static, as it responds by adapting to the many social, economic and political changes that shape and then reshape society. At which point in time a culture should be frozen to be packaged and exhibited to tourists is therefore an important question that will ultimately be decided by the major stakeholders and the level of demand by tourists for specific cultural experiences.

The dilemma facing communities attempting to attract visitors through their cultural uniqueness is that the changing nature of life is creating uniformity between diverse peoples on a global scale; however, the retention of uniqueness requires participation in traditional experiences that no longer reflect contemporary society. The arguments about authenticity thus take on new meanings because the present is often vastly different from the past. Tourism interest usually focuses on uniqueness, which was apparent in the past but which has been lost to the increasing uniformity of the present. Commodification thus becomes a necessity, and in the process authenticity is typically lost.

Against this background of cultural change communities must seek to build images and attractions that rely on cultural heritage and other elements of tourism interest to fashion a tourism experience. To model this process of change and provide a tool that can be used to measure change to culture quantitatively, Figure 1 illustrates how traditional culture, identified as authentic, undergoes a process of commodification as culture is adapted for exhibition to an increasingly mass tourism market. The left hand vertical axis represents the shift from traditional to global society while the horizontal axis measures change in consumption of culture from traditional forms of cultural expression that can be described as authentic to commodified forms of expression that appeal to mass markets. The curve illustrates the change in the consumptive pattern of culture. In its original form, where culture represented traditional values, tourism interest was low and confined to those who sort out unique cultures in their authentic form. As tourism grows the authentic undergoes change via a process of commodification to reach a new authenticity that represents the new form of cultural expression that is acceptable to the tourist and also fits into the newly globalised form of culture that the local community has adopted.

The patterns described here can be illustrated by examining cultural change in Bali. Traditional forms of dance such as the Legong and Sanghyang trance dances were central to village culture in the period before modernization and mass tourism. At that time tourists were able to view these dances but no allowances were made for the benefit of the tourist spectator. With modernization and the introduction of new entertainment media such as radio, motion film and television, the place once held by traditional forms of dance changed. Simultaneously, tourist interest in these forms of dance has increased with the presentations requiring considerable modification to fit the demands of tourism. Commodification occurred and the dance in a sense metamorphosed from a traditional form to a new tourist focused form.

As tourism reaches into more distant areas, bringing with it change and in some respects being changed, it is important for researchers, policy makers and the tourism industry to recognize the impacts that are occurring, to be conversant with strategies to manage change and to be sensitive to the needs of destination communities (Singh *et al.*, 2003). This chapter explores some of these issues.

Several authors (e.g. Carter in this volume; Prideaux, 2003) have reported on aspects of the use and adaptation of national and regional heritage and culture in the Asia Pacific region. Carter for example models the impact of tourism as an agent for social and cultural change, noting that many communities face the temptation to trade cultural expression for the economic benefits that tourism can provide. The adaptation and elevation of elements of culture as marketing icons is one example of this trend. In Australia, Aboriginal dances and the didgeridoo, the Aborigines' unique musical instrument, have

been largely removed from their tribal settings and promoted as an iconic expression but specifically packaged to meet the needs of the tourism industry. Conversely, cultures must adapt if they are to survive (Harrison, 1996), and to do otherwise may ultimately lead to extinction. In these and other ways discussed later in this chapter, national cultures and heritage are under pressure from the tourism industry. Some face the danger of trivialization and exploitation while others have responded by changing to meet the demands of the contemporary world. Without some form of education, tourists exposed to packaged culture and heritage experiences may return to their homes with little knowledge of the significance of the sites visited or of the cultures experienced.

Management of heritage and cultural sites has become an important issue in many nations as stakeholders have become aware of the difficulties of managing the preservation and development of sites while accommodating visitor needs and the interests of hosts (Vogt *et al.*, this volume). Other issues that may occupy the attention of stakeholders include conflicting land uses, funding, ownership, interpretation and exhibition arrangements. Rejuvination and the need to build sustainable tourism industries are other issues that have received attention (Dredge and Carter in their respective chapters). Carter, for example, argues that a shift in tourism planning is required from outcome-focused to process-orientated where there is greater consideration between the market, product and destination community. The following discussion canvasses a range of issues that require extensive debate within destination communities, as well as in the commercial organizations that profit from these experiences and places.

Current Trends in Heritage Tourism

Authenticity

Despite its widespread popularity as a topic of debate in heritage tourism studies, authenticity is an elusive concept that lacks a set of central identifying criteria, lacks a standard definition, varies in meaning from place to place, and has varying levels of acceptance by groups within society. What is consistent in the debate on authenticity is its inconsistency. Timothy and Boyd (2003: 244–254) created a five-part typology of distorted pasts, which are indicative of the types of inauthenticity that exist most typically within the realm of heritage. The first type is *invented places*, wherein replicas of historic places, non-original renditions of the past, and imaginary or contrived places, people and events are created. In many cases, tourists travel in search of places that never really existed (e.g. the Land of Oz in Kansas, or Peter Rabbit's garden in England). As a result, tourism takes these expectations and marks places and creates spaces that will satisfy tourists' need to consume these make-believe locations (Herbert, 1995; Raivo, 2000).

The second form of inauthentic pasts is *relative authenticity*. Authenticity is a relative concept, influenced and defined by individual experience, social and cultural influences, politics, and official histories. In most cases, the meanings of historic artifacts derive from people's collective and personal experiences rather than from the objects themselves (Burnett, 2001; McLean, 1998, Derrett and St Vincent Welch this volume). Lowenthal (1975: 18, 26) noted that "Much of our aesthetic pleasure in the ancient lies in the belief that such objects really do come from the remote past...because we feel that old things

should look old, we may forget that they originally looked new".

The third type of distorted past is described as *Ethnic intruders* and refers to the situation where actors in a so called authentic reproduction or ethnic display do not belong to the ethnic or cultural group they are representing. This is not uncommon. In an example from the USA, the re-created Bavarian village located in Leavenworth, Washington, is staffed by people dressed as Bavarians but who are not of Bavarian descent.

The fourth type of inauthentic past classed as *sanitized and idealized places and events* is very common. According to Barthel (1990), historical accuracy is not always in agreement with aesthetic and sensory harmony for people can only see representations of the past (e.g. museums, living heritage villages, etc) with eyes of the present. Thus the unpleasant aspects of smell, dirt and so on are sanitized to make them acceptable to the expectations of contemporary tourists (Burnett, 2001; Hubbard and Lilley, 2000; Leong, 1989).

Finally, the *unknown past* implies that it is impossible to achieve true authenticity because people in the current era find it difficult to understand how people lived in the past. Even the most carefully written and preserved archival records and diaries only provide glimpses into what life might have been like in the past. According to Lowenthal (1985: 215) "no account can recover the past as it was, because the past was not an account, it was a set of events and situations". The past is therefore enigmatic and can only be comprehended using imprecise and socially constructed interpretations (Hewison, 1991).

All of these types of distorted pasts in heritage tourism exist in the Asia Pacific region. For example, the Polynesian Cultural Center

(PCC) in Hawaii has been criticized because the performances, costumes, and handicrafts are inauthentic, having been extensively modified to be entertaining and involving performers who are not from the appropriate islands. Thus, the authenticity of the PCC experience is diminished when costumes donned by the actors are more ornate than in the islands, Samoans make Tahitian crafts, and Tongans perform Hawaiian dances (Balme, 1998; Douglas and Douglas, 1991). Taman Mini, an Indonesian theme park, depicts representative villages from throughout the archipelago but, like the PCC, suffers from inauthenticity. Not all interpreters in the Balinese village are Balinese, and how can one be certain that the Tana Toraja long house is in fact representative of all long houses? The many cultural parks, museums and historic sites found throughout the Asia Pacific region must each face these questions and determine what level of authenticity they will strive to achieve.

Cooper *et al.* (this volume) remind us that buildings are often adapted over time and in the Japanese tradition the built form of a particular building has much less importance than the uses of that building over time. It is not unusual, for example, to see shrines and other significant heritage buildings refurbished on a regular basis using modern building materials such as concrete. In a context of this nature authenticity is not seen to be a function of the fabric of the building but more the purpose and use of the structure over time.

Jamal and Hill's chapter addresses some of these issues by developing a typology for examining authenticity in cultural heritage tourism. Authenticity, they argue, can be viewed as multidimensional and include elements of time, space and theoretical approach in one dimension and the objective, constructive and personal in the other dimension. It is apparent that the debate on authenticity is ongoing and one that needs serious consideration by destination communities and other stakeholders.

In many areas cultures are facing two forces of change: globalization, which pushes towards uniformity, and tourism, which encourages commodification but still seeks uniqueness. In the first case, traditional material culture and self sufficiency are replaced by a new material culture based on interdependence, often on a global scale. Changing material culture creates a new authenticity. This can be illustrated by examining the use of the boomerang by Australian Aborigines. The authentic use of the boomerang is for hunting or as a weapon; however, in this setting the boomerang is neither visually attractive nor guaranteed to return to its owner after it is thrown. In the new authenticity, described as the new use of the boomerang as an object designed for tourism consumption, it is no longer used for hunting or as a weapon, but instead is used as a symbol to identify contemporary aboriginal culture and as an implement that can be thrown in the expectation that it will return. Thus, according to new authenticity, (see Figure 1) the boomerang has an entirely different use from its traditional purpose. This is demonstrated in Figure 2. The process of commodification of the old authenticity to create a new authenticity is a consequence of the tourism industry's need for new icons that can be promoted as points of differentness or uniqueness. This process may preserve some form of the original but in a highly commodified way. In the case of the boomerang, if it had not been adopted as a new symbol of indigenous

Figure 2   An Example of the new authentic – in this case a hand painted souvenir boomerang. (Photo by Bruce Prideaux.)

culture it would likely have been replaced by newer weapons and ultimately lost. Commodification therefore need not be a negative force as it refashions elements of culture to provide a new symbol that can be used as a marketing icon.

In the sense described above, commodification is a process of cultural adaptation that occurs where the object or place is reinterpreted to give it a new meaning within the cultural norms of visitors. Thus, a Balinese shadow puppet performance which may take many hours to perform in its traditional setting is transformed into a 30-minute presentation for visitors. The temptation for communities to commercialize their heritage and culture as a means of tapping into the growing demand of the tourism industry for new attractions is strong. Given the global context that cultural change is occurring in and the rapidity with which that process is transforming all societies, commodification is necessary and indeed may be one mechanism via which all communities can retain at least part of their traditional culture and heritage that otherwise might be lost in the march of modernization and its passengers of uniformity and conformity.

Interpretation

Interpretation – a process of communicating to visitors the meaning and significance of the place being visited – is an important part of heritage tourism and can be a useful tool for managing heritage visitors and their impacts. In the context of heritage and culture, interpretation plays at least three major roles (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). First, it is an educational tool. From this perspective, interpretation is important for increasing awareness and appreciation of the resources being presented, which in theory at least should result in higher levels of respect for and understanding of historic events, places and artifacts (Light, 1995; Prentice *et al.*, 1998; Tilden, 1977). Second, interpretation also includes an entertainment factor. Today, education specialists realize that entertainment and learning are not dichotomous terms; learning can in fact be very entertaining and needs to be recognized by heritage managers as an enjoyable experience (McAndrew, 1995; Schouten, 1995). Finally, interpretation is a useful tool for meeting conservation and sustainable development objectives through visitor management, positively influencing visitor spending and other economic benefits, promoting cultural heritage conservation, changing attitudes and values in positive ways, and involving destination communities in the provision of interpretation and other elements of the heritage product (Bramwell and Lane, 1993; Moscardo and Woods, 1998; Pearson and Sullivan, 1995).

In the Asia Pacific region, many issues can be identified in the provision of interpretive services for heritage and cultural tourists. Cultural differences are an important issue in the region, because there are so many different

ethnicities, nationalities, and cultures involved in tourism as both consumers and producers of the heritage product. As part of this, bi- and multi-lingual interpretation is an important element of heritage management in places where visitors come from a variety of countries. All too often interpretive signs and other media are printed only in one language – usually the language of the destination. From a service quality viewpoint, this is a problem and reduces visitor satisfaction. From another aspect, the destination loses out because the guest has failed to understand the cultural or heritage significance of the experience. Rectifying these problems is relatively simple but often ignored. In her chapter on the Maori people of New Zealand, Carr (this volume) examines how interpretations of cultural landscapes is able to enhance the heritage experience and in so doing how it is possible to assist visitors to understand the significance of the culture they are observing.

Heritage Contestation

Heritage dissonance, according to Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), is discord over a lack of agreement and consistency. Heritage is inherently a contested phenomenon, especially when communities are comprised of multiple ethnic groups, belief systems, cultures, and social mores. In this case, then, questions always arise regarding what heritage should be, or is presently, conserved, promoted and interpreted (Ashworth, 2003). Dissonance, or contestation, occurs between groups when multiple groups share the same heritage, when there are heritage divisions within one group, and where overlapping heritages exist in the same places (Olsen and Timothy, 2002). Administrations in power have a

tendency to support and portray the heritages and cultures that function best for their purposes. However, as Frost points out in his chapter about the heritage of the pearl industry in Broome, Western Australia, it is possible to integrate a number of cultural traditions and themes into an experience that adds to the understanding of the past while not excluding the history of minorities.

Social Exclusion

One of the most significant political implications of culture and heritage, and one of the most common forms of dissonant heritage, is the notion of social exclusion or societal amnesia. This political treatment of heritage typically entails the intentional forgetting or leaving out of some aspects of the past, wherein societies elect to ignore and eliminate certain elements of history that are embarrassing or uncomfortable (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). Ashworth (1995) terms this 'disinheritence', which means that certain non-powerful groups are written out of the libretto of history for a variety of ideological or political reasons. In the past, slavery and Native American heritages in the United States were good examples of this, although the climate is changing as heritage managers realize the need to include the pasts of African Americans and Native Americans, regardless of the painful reality of history in that country's national heritage (Bartlett, 2001; Morgan and Pritchard, 1998; Smith, 2000). Similar issues are coming to the fore in South Africa as a new struggle to recognize the contributions of native Africans in the building of the Republic emerges (Goudie *et al.*, 1996; Worden, 1997).

Where this issue has been confronted, the ethnic richness of the minorities has become

a major selling point and in some instances elevated to iconic status. New Zealand has a strong Maori culture that has become a focal point of its cultural tourism industry and to a lesser extent Australia has also recognized the 'selling power' of its aboriginal cultures. Incorporating indigenous and other minority groups into mainstream tourism is an issue greater than the commercial value of the experience and, as noted in the chapter by McIntosh *et al.*, tourism of this nature must be sensitive to the culture on display.

Contested Space

Many significant cultural and heritage sites compete for space with growing populations and a range of land uses. Where this occurs, the value of the heritage site may be less than the value of competing land uses and as a consequence faces the possibility of damage or destruction. In Liang Zhu, China, for example, Dredge (this volume) notes the potential for conflict between residents and the need to preserve the area's rich Neolithic heritage and argues that there is a need to develop cooperative planning to mitigate these problems. As urbanization increases, particularly in areas where there is a long history of human habitation, these problems will continue and will need to be addressed by governments as well as the commercial users of these sites.

Personal Heritage

Attractions most closely related to personal heritage draw people who possess emotional attachments to a particular place, person or event. Often this entails genealogy-related travel to do family history research, to visit communities where ancestors came from, and other places of significance to the individual and his/her family (Timothy, 1997). A recent manifestation of this that is beginning to receive considerable attention in the tourism literature is diaspora-related travel. This ranges from people of a specific race or ethnicity traveling from their present home country to visit the lands of their ancestors and can take the form of visiting friends and relatives if they are first- or second-generation migrants. For others, the trip tends to be one of discovery where people travel to find their roots, learn about their own heritage, or be able to find their place in modern society.

This form of heritage is particularly important in the Asia Pacific region, for there have long been transnational migrations between countries and islands in the region. Diaspora travel among overseas Chinese is an important element of tourism in China, for instance, wherein Chinese populations from Southeast Asia, Australia, New Zealand, North America and Europe travel back to China to visit the lands of their ancestors or to visit relatives who might still be living. Likewise, a growing portion of the urban populations of New Zealand and Australia is comprised of Pacific Islanders from various islands in the region. Fijians, Samoans, Tongans, and Cook Islanders, for instance, make up some of the largest non-Maori and non-European populations of New Zealand. Among these people, traveling back to the home islands is usually undertaken for family purposes, but these trips might also include elements of personal heritage. The same is true of the various diasporic populations in other countries in the region (Coles and Timothy, 2004; Hall and Duval, 2004; Lew and Wong, 2004; Nguyen and King, 2004).

Control

Control of cultural and heritage resources is a significant issue (Ho and McKercher, this volume). Restoration and preservation are expensive and many local communities find the task beyond their resources. While some sites of world significance, Borobudur Temple for example, may attract international funds (Hawkins, this volume), other smaller sites face challenges that may result in the loss of control of aspects of their culture and heritage to others. Li (this volume) cites a range of issues that have emerged as the central authorities in China have devolved power to the regions. In Xishuang Banna the Dai Yuan have struggled to retain control of aspects of their culture they wish to share with visitors. The power of tour operators to select which attractions are patronized has resulted in a de facto power transfer from the local community to commercial interests in a pattern found in other parts of the Asia Pacific. This trend needs to be reversed if local communities are to benefit form tourism development. Leong and du Cross (this volume) examine these issues from a Chinese perspective and emphasize the advantages of local empowerment in decision making. Chakravarty (this volume) also reinforces the need for community participation in tourism even if public participation demands considerable resources and time and may prolong the planning process.

Preservation

The growing engagement between dissimilar cultures on all levels with the forces of modernization and more recently globalization has placed enormous pressure on many traditional cultures. In an effort to preserve the past, some communities have turned to tourism as a means of preserving the past through a process of commercializing aspects of cultures and heritage that are threatened. However, the commercial imperatives of tourism, where products prosper or fail according to demand, mitigate against genuine preservation and encourage selective preservation of those elements that have a commercial value.

Moreover, cultures are not static and change over time in response to larger changes in society, the organization of the economic system and the form and reach of political organization. In one sense, culture is the contemporary telling of the stories of the present as well as the past. To label the authentic as only that which exists at a given point in time and is representative of all aspects of a target culture is to discount the need for culture to adapt and transform as the world that the culture represents undergoes change.

In a more general sense the issue of representing culture is significant. The neo-colonialist view that tourism is a destructive influence has been challenged but ultimately it is the owners of the culture and heritage who must decide how to present their culture and how much this presentation is representative of their core cultural values. In a discussion on the potential for using tourism as a vehicle to fund the preservation and development of traditional arts in Southern China, Hang's chapter points out that the design and then re-design of experiences may need to occur to meet changing visitor needs. Is this a case of culture being adapted for 'sale' as a tourism commodity or a process of a culture recognizing the pressure of the contemporary world on traditional society and adopting a solution that incorporates both?

Management

Management is an important issue particularly where the ability to present culture and heritage is dependent on financial sustainability. Selling heritage and culture will entail trade-offs as previously discussed. However, in the long run the trade-offs may mean the difference between preservation with commodification or loss because of lack of funds. This is an issue that must be grappled with by stakeholders and the customary custodians of culture. Aside from these issues, which have been debated previously in this chapter, other management issues need to be addressed. For example, Pegg and Stumbo (this volume) remind readers of the need to consider the needs of the disabled traveler. From yet another perspective, Ross (this volume) discusses the significance of identifying visitor motivations, in this case senior travelers.

Access

Access to heritage sites can be discussed from several perspectives, including physically traveling to the site and the ability of tourists to gain admittance once they have arrived at the site. Heritage sites may be located in a variety of settings that may not enjoy easy access to public transport. In Australia for example, many Aboriginal rock paintings are located in remote areas that have few roads and may require walking some distance. Similarly, in the Pacific Islands many cultural sites are located in remote regions that are poorly serviced, if at all, by public transport such as airlines. This is an issue that must be addressed by site managers as the ability of tourists to reach a site will often be the major factor determining the

ability of the site to attract tourists. Pegg and Stumbo (this volume) remind us that access not only includes transport access but also the ability of tourists to enter and move around a site. Exclusion from places or events may occur for a number of reasons including ethnicity, ability to pay, social status, physical impairments or personal economic circumstances. The growing demand for travel by disabled persons will lead to increased demand by members of this tourism sector to visit sites, and is a trend that should not be neglected by managers. Similarly, it is important that local residents also have access to their cultural heritage and are not excluded because of entry costs or social status. It is therefore important for site managers to identify barriers of the nature discussed and attempt where possible to implement policies to mitigate the impacts.

Conclusion

This chapter has summarized many of the major issues facing the development of cultural and heritage resources in the Asia Pacific region, although there are clearly many more which have yet to be addressed in detail. While no solutions are offered, the identification of these issues followed by education (Hawkins, this volume) in its broadest sense are necessary first steps towards resolution. The issues raised are being experienced in many countries of the Asia Pacific region. Other issues have not been covered, not because they lack importance but because of the enormity of the range of issues that surround the development of heritage and culture for tourism purposes.

A danger that many communities in the region face is the rush to modernize and

exploit the unique heritage and cultural elements of the destination for short-term commercial gain. However, this approach is rarely sustainable in the long run. Conversely, living cultures and heritage sites do undergo change and the point at which authenticity is lost is an issue that needs additional debate. The many issues raised indicate the extent of the problem and breadth of research required to assist stakeholders to achieve a sustainable balance between competing forces, including conservation and commercialization.

It is apparent that there is considerable scope for future research in the area of culture and heritage in the Asia Pacific, both from a thematic approach and from the perspectives of specific countries. This collection should therefore be seen as an introduction to discussions on heritage and culture in the Asia Pacific, not the final word.

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Part One
Authenticity – the Search for the Real

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Developing a Framework for Indicators of Authenticity: The Place and Space of Cultural and Heritage Tourism

Tazim Jamal and Steve Hill

Introduction

At an international conference where a portion of this paper was presented in July 2002, a tourism scholar commented, upon hearing what the talk was to be about, that "authenticity is a spent issue" in tourism studies. But a social events brochure enclosed in the conference materials advertised a night trip in an "authentic paddle-wheeler" along the wide river that wound its way past the conference site in Brisbane (Australia). A few days later, a visit to the Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park near Cairns (Australia) revealed a state-of-the-art facility where technology and tradition are woven seamlessly together to provide both a hands-on and visual cornucopia of cultural experiences. Authenticity, as one of the site's administrators said, is a combination of education and entertainment because tourists found education alone boring. Interestingly, printed on the admission ticket stub to the center alongside other information was the following:

WE SELL AUTHENTIC
ABORIGINAL ART
SUPPORT OUR CULTURE

So perhaps for some practitioners authenticity is not a spent issue. Neither is it so in the academic literature on tourism studies, where the concept's substantial role in the discipline has been noted by various scholars (e.g., Hughes, 1995; Uriely, 1997; Wang, 2000). Today, the issues attached to this concept extend urgently into the realm of cultural and heritage tourism. Today's social world is marked by the transformation of destinations and cultures worldwide due to highly mobile capital, labor and technology flows, as well as mobile populations (Urry, 2000). Understanding the tourist's perceptions and experience of objects, events and their properties, as well as understanding the role of the private and public sectors in the packaging and marketing of tourism attractions and destinations, is essential to responsible development and management of tourism. Whether

explicitly or implicitly, the notion of authenticity is intricately entwined in this endeavor and yet, while a number of scholars have made key contributions to this study area, authenticity appears to remain an ill-defined and puzzling concept.

This paper therefore has a dual objective: (1) to examine the range of meanings that constitute researchers' understandings of "authenticity" in tourism, and (2) to compile a framework for categorizing various dimensions and aspects of authenticity from which useful management indicators might be developed. The overall aim of the framework and related discussion is to assist tourism managers and cultural groups to better understand and manage (1) the meaning of authenticity in cultural and heritage attractions, particularly with respect to how their own interpretation influences how the concept is described, studied, and used, (2) the role of place and space in the "authenticity" of the object, event or experience in tourism, and (3) the politics of authenticity, as related to the politics of identity and belonging in cultural and heritage places and spaces. By understanding how the general framework applies to specific sites and situations, both managers and scholars may develop effective indicators for monitoring and managing the historicizing, marketing and display of cultural objects, sites and destinations. It is not the purpose of this paper to present a single definition of authenticity, but rather to examine some of the meanings, dimensions and aspects associated with the term. Similarly, the framework does not intend to objectify or essentialize the notion of authenticity, or subvert the politically contested terrain in which it plays out. It is aimed to assist managers and scholars to develop effective indicators for monitoring and managing cultural objects, sites and destinations.

This task commences in the next section with a brief critique of tourism research, in relation to the assumptions associated with this term. The subsequent section draws upon this to propose a framework that responds to the typology of authenticity discussed by Wang (2000) and to the larger body of scholarship on authenticity. This framework is intended to help organize the task of developing indicators of authenticity in heritage-based areas and cultural destinations. The framework is then illustrated through examination of a range of indicators researchers have discussed, either explicitly or implicitly in various studies, as well as an examination of space, place, and "sense of place." An example of cultural centers and areas that are home to an Australian aboriginal people is then provided to illustrate some of the concepts presented through the framework. This example also addresses the politics of authenticity, as related to identity, ethnicity and interpretation of cultural and heritage places and spaces. The paper closes with a summary and comment on the embodied and interactive space in which the politics of authenticity is enacted.

Assumptions About Authenticity

Commencing a discussion on authenticity with MacCannell's seminal contribution, The Tourist (1976, 1989), quickly reveals the complexity of the term and its multiple uses. Tourist settings can be viewed as a continuum, with the first and frontmost region being the one that is most for show purposes ("staged authenticity") and the sixth or backmost region being the one that is most authentic and "motivates touristic consciousness" (MacCannell, 1976, p. 102). The dialectic of authenticity, as he points out, reflects an

ontological anxiety of existence, about what we are, what it is that is genuine and objectively true about the human condition. By tying tourism to social structures, the tourist becomes a metaphor for social conditions and a victim of modernity:

The dialectic of authenticity is at the heart of the development of all modern social structure. It is manifest in concerns for ecology and front, in attacks on what is phony, pseudo, tacky, in bad taste, mere show, tawdry and gaudy. These concerns conserve a solidarity at the level of the total society, a collective agreement that reality and truth exist somewhere in society, and that we ought to be trying to find them and refine them.

(MacCannell, 1976, p. 155)

As opposed to contrived, "phony" or "pseudo" in the modern world, there is somewhere an "other" – reality and truth lie somewhere to be discovered. In the quotes above and below, MacCannell appears to identify some potential components of authenticity as well as inauthenticity or spuriousness – the everyday, the tasteless or tacky, the commercial – and a resulting societal discontent. Identifying "real" French homes and "actual" Dutch towns as "true" sights and genuine structure seems to suggest that there must be some essential property or objective quality that qualifies them as such. One might assume from the subjects chosen to illustrate authenticity – an ancient temple or quaint European homes, communities or establishments – that historicity or at least the suggestion of a tie to something in the past, like a previous era or a pre-modern culture or tradition, is part of what qualifies an entity as "authentic" in addition to not being a commercialized artifice (i.e., a copy):

Genuine structure is composed of the values and material culture manifest in the "true" sights. These true sights, real French country homes, actual Dutch towns, the Temple of the Moon at Teotihuacan, the Swiss Alps, are also the source of the spurious elements which are detached from and are mere copies or reminders of the genuine. The dividing line between structure genuine and spurious is the realm of the commercial.

(MacCannell, 1976, p. 155, emphasis original)

In the decades following MacCannell's original book, many other tourism scholars have integrated the notion of authenticity into their work. A review of this literature reveals how researchers' interpretations and assumptions contribute to almost mythical characterizations of authenticity in the tourism literature. In particular, there is a scholarly tendency to (1) ascribe characteristics such as "real" or "true" to an experience, object or event in the tourism domain in a way that suggests an undisclosed normative or personal bias, as well as revealing philosophical assumptions ranging from essentialism to realism, and (2) characterize tourism experiences as "authentic" or "inauthentic" often by implication rather than direct application of the term. The above example is illustrative of the first tendency, while the following example illustrates both. An examination of themed Iowa communities attempting to capitalize on tourism (Engler, 1993) cites The Tourist in its bibliography, but neither MacCannell's work nor the concept of authenticity were discussed in the article. Instead, the article was concerned with "desire to make the imaginary real" (Engler, 1993, p. 8) or sustaining "the priority of a place-rooted community over a tourist-based economy, a commercial fantasy land" (p. 17). It gave numerous suggestions for themes that "connect historical sensibilities"

with the contemporary as a way of "restoring community identity" and "promoting the preservation and the historical continuity of the town landscape" while avoiding "the violent modification of the traditional small town landscape and culture" (Engler, 1993, p. 17). Among the suggestions were recycling abandoned farm structures (e.g., silos or grain elevators) into play structures, galleries or other public buildings; creating outdoor art from discarded farm machinery or other out-of-use materials; or constructing a field of abandoned farm windmills and "amusing weather-vanes" (Engler, 1993, p. 17).

Some might question how such contemporary uses of historic objects relate to authenticity, and others might question whether the article is about authenticity at all. Ultimately, however, the article's concerns – historicity, realness, identity, commoditization – are similar to those addressed in articles which more directly address authenticity in tourism. Wang's (2000) comprehensive study of the sociology of tourism and travel identifies and discusses three "types" of authenticity: "objective", "constructive" and "existential." He points out that discussions of authenticity in tourism could benefit by clearly distinguishing two areas of study, that of the authenticity of toured objects (i.e., "objective authenticity") and that of the experience of authenticity. Those coming from a geographical perspective often argue for greater attention to the situated place and space in which the object is experienced (e.g., Crouch, 2000). Increasingly discussed are the politics of identity and ethnicity in relation to authenticity (for example, see Fees, 1996). We build on these works by focusing on the relationship between object and experience as one that is integrally woven into a physical and cultural matrix. Time and space play vital roles here in situating the peoples and places of cultural and heritage

destinations. The framework discussed in the next section reflects the importance of understanding the methodological and philosophical assumptions that influence researcher views and understandings of authenticity, as well as comprehending the scope and range of the study of authenticity in the tourism domain. It also emphasizes the fluidity and flexibility of the concept, and is based on the perspective that understanding various dimensions and aspects of authenticity is a more fruitful way of working with the concept than a perspective which considers authenticity to be broken down into discrete categories.

Situated Indicators: Heritage Time, Cultural Space

Leisure and tourism play an important role in shaping the way individuals come to know about the world in new and different ways, whether through liminal experiences or negotiating and reworking identity and meanings through simpler, embodied encounters with objects and events in situated spaces (such as a family holiday to a familiar destination). Value is conferred on the place through past and present activities, memories, knowledge and sociocultural relationships that occur in relation to that time and space. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) describes three types of time involved in heritage tourism: historic time, heritage time and visitor time. These help to situate the three dimensions of authenticity in the framework shown in Table 1. "Historic time" is the objective point or period in time at which an object or event being judged in terms of its authenticity takes place or took place in the real world (a realist view of authenticity). Historians and scientists are two key groups interested in objectively situating records in historical time; the former attempt to locate

Table 1 Dimensions and Aspects for Addressing Authenticity in Cultural-heritage Tourism*

Aspects of authenticity	Dimensions of authenticity		
	Objective (real)	Constructive (sociopolitical)	Personal (phenomenological)
Time Space	"Historic Time" MacCannell's (1989) "back stage"; real and genuine found in pre-modern locations, outside one's own spurious society. (e.g. sights, markers, 'scientifically' dated material artifacts, "genuine" objects [Bruner, 1994])	"Heritage Time" Production (manufacture) of attraction, community, destination; enclavic space (Edensor, 1998). (social-political landscape influencing nationhood, destination image, sense of place, heritage/historic reconstructions, etc.)	"Resident/Visitor Time" Interactive, performative touristic space; heterogeneous space (Edensor, 1998). (tourists and residents engage in sense-making, narrative and interpretive meaning-making encounters with situated place and contextual space)
Approach	Scientific and positivist paradigms. Realist; essentialist (authenticity is a fixed property of object/event); pre-modern as original/unique	Constructivisim and social constructionism; Postmodernism. Meanings negotiated and emergent; political contest among stakeholders; space is mediated by ideological & technological forces; symbolic and constructed authenticity (Wang, 2000)	Interpretive & narrative approaches. Psychological (perceptions/emotions); Experiential and existence-based, phenomenological, where meanings emerge through the social relations that are situated and embodied in the touristic space (and place)

*Adapted from Jamal and Hill (2002)

this objective moment in the historic record, while archaeologists, geologists and other scientists interested in dating scientific objects of interests will attempt to pinpoint the time, date and spatial location of certain events and objects in the natural world.

In contrast to this realist view of time and the site-specific, physically located space and material objectivity of historical time, "heritage time" is situated within a constructivist or social constructionist approach, where the object, event or site is embedded in an inter-subjective and discursive matrix, i.e., authenticity can emerge through negotiation or be enacted through substantive staging (Cohen, 1988, 1989). The objects and events of a particular time period may be appropriated to construct a story (or a myth) that conforms to the economic, social or political interests in a particular domain (Bruner, 1994). Here, authenticity in the heritage domain has to be evaluated within a sociopolitical context, particularly with respect to the role of public and private sector actions in historic preservation, heritage (re)construction and destination management. The parameters of examination of the constructed heritage space include the temporally situated symbolic or "virtual" objects, representations and material artifacts, as well as the people and the narratives of the place. These are all used to inscribe the heritage story in which a heritage plot constructs "heritage time" as the legitimate time frame by which the heritage site or setting is to be identified and interpreted by the visitor. Thus time, as much as space, becomes an important aspect of the contested narratives of heritage.

Finally, "visitor time" might be thought of as a transcendence of time. The tourist is aware that an event took place in another time, but also is aware of that moment's importance in relation to the tourist's own

life, so that the experiential moment can be simultaneously in the past, present and even future. Of importance here to the notion of being a heritage tourist is the characteristic of time as something experienced by the visitor as being continuous from the past into the present (and future). This allows the tourist to evaluate the authenticity of a heritage attraction or the authenticity of a re-enacted site/object/event against various dimensions, including how well the sight or site being presented to the visitor represents the original sight or site. Note here that the focus of this aspect of authenticity is that of the experience of the visitor, which is discussed in Wang (2000) under "existential authenticity."

What is less clearly expressed in discussions about authenticity is the importance of the personal dimension in situating the other object-related and sociopolitical dimensions of the authenticity framework (Table 1). Meanings about touristic spaces, Lanfant (1995, p. 36) pointed out, lie in the "eye of the beholder." This requires some clarification, however. All that is objective, such as the "real" objects in the destination space, take on meaning in relation to the person, but meaning is not merely a bunch of social constructs derived through symbolic and social interaction. It involves activities of sense-making and identity-building through phenomenological encounters of the self in the destination space. Embodied existence and meaning-making constitute the "lived experience" of those who inhabit lived spaces for whatever period of liminal or extended time (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Heidegger, 1996). This personal dimension includes visitors as well as those who live in the destination and work at the attraction; both interact with the objects and events of the destination space, and with each other

over a particular moment or period in time. For cultural and heritage tourism, the dimension of "personal authenticity" (Table 1) has to include residents and other local participants since their stories and their lived existence are often woven into those of the tourists through narrative encounters and interactions in that lived cultural place. These storied existences are embedded within a wider geographical, bioregional space (Cheney, 1989; Jamal & Hill, 2002) that is also sociopolitical and negotiated (Cohen, 1988). Hence, such cultural sites are dynamic and performative, reinforcing and constituting personal and collective identity through narrative encounters and experiences with the objects in that destination place and space.

Indicators for Understanding Authenticity

The dimensions and aspects of authenticity outlined in the framework in Table 1 and discussed above reveal complex interrelationships between the objects, places and spaces of tourist destinations. While they may be viewed as always evolving, incomplete and partial, developing indicators for identifying and understanding authenticity as related to heritage and culture may be helpful to the challenging task of destination management and historic preservation. The notion of sense of place is particularly important to clarify here, for it requires a paradigm shift away from traditional conceptualizations of objective and apolitical views, towards showing the varied notions of space and the political concept of place as it plays out in identity, heritage and the "lived experience" of both tourists and residents. This has important implications for planning and marketing (e.g. with respect to the politics of destination image), since a destination's sense of place is

not one that is static and objective, but is one that is constructed, contested and lived within a performative space. The examples provided in Table 2 draw upon studies that either sought to assess authenticity directly through measurable indicators or less directly by emphasizing actions and activities that aimed to provide a meaningful cultural or heritage-based experience, or place-based identity. Accompanying the table is a discussion of the studies cited.

The importance of place relative to personal authenticity is reflected in Table 2, which attempts to identify indicators of place and "placeness" or a sense of place, as related to the personalized and situated use of space and objects or events within the destination area. Place, as Crouch (2000) notes, is negotiated socially – people define identities, friendships, cultural relationships through embodied encounters with other people and objects in spaces that then become places of memory and knowledge. Hence, three distinct dimensions for developing authenticity indicators (see Table 2) are the object, the experience and the in-between space and time in which these are located, a socially and politically constructed space (as noted in Table 1). Several examples from the literature reveal a range of indicators that may be helpfully applied to the notion of authenticity in cultural and heritage based destinations.

Moscardo and Pearce (1986) conduct a useful study using concrete examples of potentially authentic or inauthentic objects. Elements they examined with respect to authenticity included such categories as activities and demonstrations, buildings, people working in a town, overall setting, craftspeople, shops and refreshment areas, and steam equipment and other machinery. Technically, such items could be evaluated scientifically and categorized in Table 2 as part of the

Table 2 Developing Indicators of Authenticity: Some Topic Areas and Considerations

Topic area	Dimensions of authenticity		
	Objective (real)	Constructed (sociopolitical)	Personal (phenomenological)
Performative spaces and the politics of cultural sites	Buildings, machinery, demonstrations, cooking, crafts in heritage theme park (Moscardo & Pearce, 1986)	Experience theatre (Interpretation of aboriginal culture and history), enclavic spaces (Edensor, 1998, cited in Spark, 2002)	Performative and lived experience of identity, heritage and multiculturalism (Bruner, 1994; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998), heterogeneous spaces (Edensor, 1998)
Crafts purchased by Midwest tourists (Littrells, 1993); Ethnic art (Cohen, 1988)	Production technique; clearly identifiable origin; links to past in design, material, technique (Littrell *et al.*, 1993)	Constructing self and the other's identity through 'substantive staging' and 'emergent authenticity' (Cohen, 1988), illustrating how meanings of authenticity change over time	Appealing or useful at home (Littrell *et al.*, 1993)
San Angel Inns (Salamone, 1997)	Typical dress; elegant dress; elegant furnishings; Mexican high cuisine	Water ride through representation of three historic periods	Atmosphere perceived as refined, elegant
"Third Places" (Oldenburg, 1989)	Cars have not defeated pedestrians; conversation as main activity; plenty of places to sit; regular hours and appearance/attendance of patrons; accessible/accommodating	Relationships appropriate to realm of experience; everyone welcome; neutral ground; social levelers; playful mood reigns	Place is considered: (a) "home away from home," (b) different from home/work; (c) often plain or homely
The "geographical imagination" (Ryden, 1993)	Roadside markers as repositories of geographical meaning	The construction of destination image in relation to placeness, sense of place	Perceived mystery, dimension, depth to stimulate geographic imagination
Country music (Jensen, 1998)	Rural origins; stylized sets; cowboy hats/other suitable clothing; crowded & casual dances, fairs, outdoor concerts	"folksy" interviews/public events	Artists, concerts seen as: heartfelt, spontaneous, accessible
Living/working space	Warm colors; presence of old people; ample light; proximity to parks (Hiss, 1990) Natural light; geophysical energy; feng shui (Gallagher, 1993).	Contested use of sacred places, sites and artifacts; appropriation of public spaces by competing interests	Individual emotional/physiological reactions to light, energy (Gallagher, 1993); experience with feng shui (Gallagher, 1993)

objective aspect of authenticity. Noting that such objective elements as the buildings, machinery and activities had to be substantially reconstructed, thus rendering them inauthentic in objective terms, the researchers determined that visitors still found their experience to be authentic – perceptions that reflected meanings of "personal authenticity" for individual tourists (see Table 2).

Multiple dimensions of authenticity can be identified in Salamone's (1997) study of cultural and heritage negotiations through the hospitality space of Mexican inns. The original San Angel Inn in Mexico City is "original" because it stresses the romance and dignity of Old Mexico, efficiency and courtesy of service, and knowledge of when to allow visitors to linger – in a nutshell, a "coherent pattern of elegant and efficient living … a Mexican variation of the modern good life, solidly based on the virtues of inherited elite status" (Salamone, 1997, p. 318). But the daughter inn also symbolically "romanticizes Mexico's past though imparting a message of classical Mexico's great achievements, one that combats stereotypes in a spirit of old-fashioned cultural pluralism" (Salamone, 1997, p. 319). Specifically, it integrates elements of "Ballet Folklorico" dress worn by wait staff, Mexican high cuisine (as opposed to a greater emphasis on American and Europeans variations in the Mexico City inn), and incorporation of a water ride that passes through exhibits focused on pre-Columbian, Spanish colonial, and modern Mexican culture (Salamone, 1997, p. 316). Here is an example by which the past is appropriated into the present as 'heritage' (Lowenthal, 1998), and provides a good example of the constructed aspect of authenticity in Table 2. But one can also see that each inn depends on a mixture of objective actions or items (i.e., response time to requests, quality of furnishings, colorful dress), constructed presentations of history or social mores and status, and tourists' personal reactions to various elements of the inns' presentations. In other words, all three dimensions of authenticity come into effect in each inn.

Littrell, Anderson and Brown (1993), in their examination of what made crafts authentic for tourists, also developed a number of indicators. Focused on what they called the "real research question" of what characteristics authentic crafts possess, they found the answer varied according to tourist types. Some people needed external criteria (aesthetics, production techniques, or clearly identifiable reference of authenticity such as time/place of manufacture); others used internal criteria, such as whether crafts are appealing or useful when they arrive home. For some buyers, crafts must have links to the past in design, materials, technique, or content; in other situations, tourists are content with changing techniques as long as high quality materials and techniques are used. Other criteria related to authenticity were total number produced (with smaller numbers preferred), uniqueness to region, and whether crafts were made in new or different ways. "Active outdoor" tourists preferred functionality while "urban entertainment" tourists wanted a good shopping experience and viewing of craftmaking. "Arts, ethnic and people" tourists wanted high quality process and materials (Littrell *et al.*, 1993, p. 212). Here, it is clear that the authenticity of the crafts is being evaluated by touristic perceptions, an aspect of personal authenticity where meaning-making and identity-building are of paramount importance rather than scientific study and objective dimensions of authenticity (though they play a role, of course).