# Destinations revisited. Perspectives on developing and managing tourist areas

## ATLAS Reflections 2007

## September 2007

**Edited by:**
**Melanie Smith**
**Leontine Onderwater**

ISBN 978-90-75775-27-

# Contents

**Introduction** – *Melanie Smith* 5

**The politics of identity: Representational dynamics in the U.S.** 7
*Carla Almeida Santos*

**Destinations - Development and Redevelopment or Visioning and Revisioning?** 17
*Richard Butler*

**Globalisation, Localisation and Cultural Tourism** 25
*Greg Richards*

**Tourism Local Innovation System or how tourism destinations evolve** 35
*Lluís Prats, Jaume Guia and Francesc Xavier Molina*

**Management of Lamu old town as a heritage site: local communities challenge** 55
*Roselyne n. Okech*

**ATLAS members** 69

**ATLAS regional groups** 75
ATLAS Africa

**ATLAS Winter University** 79
Report 2007

**ATLAS Special Interest Groups** 81
Cultural Tourism Research Group 81
Gastronomy and Tourism Research Group 82
Backpackers Research Group 82
Policy Research Group 82
Tourism SME Research Group 82
Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Research Group 83
Tourism and Socio Cultural Identities Research Group 85
Business Tourism Research Group 85
Tourism and Disasters Research Group 86
Spa and Wellness Research Group 86
Mass Tourism Research Group 88
Capital City Tourism Research Group 89

**ATLAS new publications** 91

# Introduction

*Melanie Smith*
*Co-ordinator ATLAS*
*Hungary*
*melanie.smith@atlas-euro.org*

This has been my second year as co-ordinator of ATLAS and I am pleased to say that the organisation is flourishing as much as ever. As always, a big thank you must go to our excellent administrators Leontine and Jantien who are responsible for all the work that goes on behind the scenes. It should also be remembered that ATLAS is only as dynamic as its membership, so a special thank you to all of those who have been particularly active this year, especially those involved in organising conferences, the Winter University and some of the existing and new Special Interest Groups.

**Conferences and Events**

We have had a large number of very successful events this year, including the revival of the Winter University in Sibiu, Romania. This was a really well organised event and the hosts Ilie Rotariu and his team did an excellent job. Staff and students engaged in some interesting debates about tourism, culture and European Capitals of Culture, and there was a fun social programme accompanying the academic one.

Last year's annual conference in Łodz was a great success. The event was extremely well organised and the hosts treated us to some really interesting tours and enjoyable social activities. Thank you again to Robert Wilus and his team for their hard work. We are very much looking forward to this year's conference in Viana which should be especially well-attended. Planning is also well underway for the 2008 annual conference in July in Brighton, UK. We enjoyed the hospitality of the conference hosts earlier this year when we did a site visit and verified that this will be an exciting event. It has already been decided that the 2009 conference will take place in Aalborg in Denmark, but we will now welcome bids from institutions wanting to host conferences in the future.

**Special Interest Groups**

This has been a really interesting year for Special Interest Groups. We now have 12 approved Special Interest Groups, three of which are new this year. Two of these – Mass Tourism and Spa and Wellness Tourism held their first meetings in Coventry and Budapest respectively. The reports are available on the ATLAS website and new members are always welcome. The Spa and Wellness group are currently developing a standard questionnaire so that profiles and motivations of tourists can be collected across a range of sites and countries, and are arranging a second meeting in Belgium next year. The third new group, the National Capitals SIG will meet for the first time in Viana. The Gastronomy SIG will hold a one day event in Viana entitled 'Food Identity and Intellectual Property Rights', and the Backpacker group are organising an event next year in India. The Cultural Tourism group remain very active with their extensive and ongoing research project profiling cultural tourists and they met in Chaves in 2006. Meetings are also planned for the Religious Tourism group in Lourdes in October, the

Business Tourism group in Tallinn and Lahti in December, and the SME group in Leeds in December. Further details to be found here in Reflections and on the ATLAS website.

**Research Projects**

Most of the ATLAS research projects currently take place within the Special Interest Groups. However, we do encourage members to take initiative and approach other members with bids and proposals on a regular basis so that we can develop a more extensive, funded research programme within ATLAS.

**Publications**

ATLAS publications are emerging all the time. This year we presented the 'Thematic proceedings of ATLAS Africa conferences' and 'ATLAS Cultural Tourism Research Project 2004 - Survey report'. Members had a chance to contribute case sudies to a forthcoming book on 'Health and Wellness Tourism' edited by Melanie Smith and László Puczkó. Many of the Special Interest Group meetings result in publications too. If any members are interested in writing or editing an ATLAS publication, all offers are very welcome.

**ATLAS regional groups**

ATLAS Europe, Asia-Pacific and Africa are all active and continue to organise interesting conferences and to increase membership where possible. The next ATLAS Africa conference in Uganda in October focuses on Tourism and Wealth Creation. Thanks to the organisers for their work on this event. The establishment of an ATLAS Americas is still proving difficult, but some progress has been made this year. I would like to say a big thank you to all of the Regional Co-ordinators for their continuing hard work.

I am very pleased to welcome Anya Diekmann from the Université Libre de Bruxelles who will be the new Co-ordinator of ATLAS Europe from September 2007 onwards. Peter Burns is now busy organising the next annual conference in Brighton 2008, so his energies are required elsewhere but were much appreciated over the past two years. Anya has already been doing an excellent job of updating us about important events and issues arising from meetings in Brussels.

Finally, it just remains for me to wish all members a very productive year within ATLAS and to enjoy the academic, social and networking opportunities. Please do email me with any ideas and suggestions for future projects, events or collaborations.

# Keynote Speech for ATLAS Annual Conference
# The politics of identity: Representational dynamics in the U.S.

*Carla Almeida Santos*
*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*
*United States of America*
*csantos@uiuc.edu*

Good morning Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen. I am delighted that this years' ATLAS annual conference is being held here in Viana do Castelo; a beautiful seaport city with great economic and socio-cultural relevance in Portuguese history and contemporary society.

I am greatly honoured to be invited to share some of my thoughts with you, and I would like to thank you all for giving me this opportunity. In particular, I would like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Carlos Fernandes and the ATLAS Scientific Committee and staff for allowing me the opportunity to address this most important group of fellow researchers, educators and practitioners.

I would like to position my talk today as sharing my thoughts on the issue of revisiting and developing tourist areas from my own research experience in the United States where I have resided for the past 16 years.

The ATLAS theme and challenge before us: "Destinations revisited" is of great significance to my current work.

In particular, seeking to address this year's ATLAS theme and challenge, I would like to talk to you today about what I consider to be a fruitful area for continued investigation regarding the revisiting and development of tourist areas. Specifically, I would like to talk about the development and promotion of tourism in urban ethnic spaces and what I see as some of the most pressing issues facing tourism development in such ethnic spaces. Particularly, issues of representation and identity.

In the last few decades, tourism has become central in the phenomenon of urban revitalization (Zukin 1995). Metropolitan areas all across the world have devoted considerable economic resources to developing tourism as a vital component of the local economy (Ashworth & Voogd, 1990; Eisinger 2000; Judd & Simpson, 2003; Law, 1993; Newman, 2002; Page, 1995). Such urban economic development initiatives have largely underscored culture and cultural products as pivotal to their success (Zukin 1995) and, in the process, have made diversity "the new guiding principle for city planners" (Fainstein 2005).

More specifically, in the context of the United States, urban revitalization and its cultural focus has among other things contributed to the rapid growth of ethnic neighbourhood tourism which seeks to offer cultural insights into particular American ethnic neighbourhoods in such urban spaces as New York City, Atlanta, Boston, San Francisco and Chicago.

Indeed, while during the modernist phase of urban development, ethnic neighbourhoods in the United States were often perceived as transitional spaces and obstacles to rejuvenation and urban development (Atkinson 2003; Gotham 2001), the new voice in the "postmodern" developmental era increasingly imbues ethnic neighbourhoods with new historical, cultural and sentimental value and salience (Judd and Simpson 2003; Newman 2002).

Accordingly, contemporary American urban development policy strives to stimulate growth and equity by focusing largely on diversity and ethnicity; proposing that the presence of ethnic Others and their culture and symbolic representations attract human capital, encourage innovation, and ensure fairness and equal access for a variety of groups.

In response, ethnic neighbourhoods, which operate in an increasingly economic and socio-culturally competitive environment, view their potential to take part in tourism as a strategy to enhance the prosperity of their residents and stakeholders.

Specifically, seeking to profit from this new developmental era, American urban ethnic neighbourhoods, such as for example San Francisco's Chinatown and New York City's Little Italy, are increasingly promoted, and promote themselves, as spaces of tourism. This promotion involves a process of re-visitation, re-orientation, and re-representation of particular ethnic identities.

To be sure, while tourism to ethnic neighbourhoods in the United States clearly differs from ethnic tourism to underdeveloped/south countries, they both share the same underlying logic: each is premised on the desire to gaze at Others who are viewed as being different from oneself.

Consequently, in the United States, a variety of self-interest groups such as governmental leaders, urban developers, ethnic entrepreneurs and tourism officials are increasingly revisiting, developing and showcasing urban ethnic neighbourhoods as sites of difference by drawing attention to their ethnic social agents, as well the historic structures, cultural practices, and ethnic goods and services made available to tourists.

Therefore, considering the significant economic and socio-cultural resources increasingly allocated to the development of tourism in ethnic urban spaces, and the increasing emphases and dependence on notions of "uniqueness", a dialogue regarding the entrepreneurial use of the presence of ethnic Others and their symbols must persist.

Necessarily, as the ethnic social agents involved in the development of tourism in their communities seek to use and maneuver cultural meanings for tourism purposes, this tourism-related project of selling ethnicity involves interlocking socio-cultural and political relationships (Judd and Fainstein 1999) as these sites of difference become foregrounded in touristic discursive practices wherein elements of a locale's cultural identities are communicated to an audience to decode and consume.

In particular, the message is orchestrated in a manner that it delivers a standardized socio-cultural message while deriving the largest possible economic benefit.

In order to understand and acknowledge such socio-cultural politics, in my work I have approached the dynamic process of ethnic neighbourhood tourism from 3 main perspectives.

First, ethnic social agents are increasingly consciously implicated in the negotiation of particularly profitable discursive practices and representations of their own neighbourhoods, and identities.

Second, within ethnic neighbourhood tourism it is not “culture” but rather “culture industries” that are the object of interest. And so, “The city…is no longer lived…it is only an object of cultural consumption for tourists” (Lefebvre 1996:148).

And, third, while some may argue that the actual consumption of ethnic Others, goods, and services, occurs in a vacuum of *in*difference, we must recognize that the cultural meanings of tourism processes stretch out considerably further than merely consumption (Esman 1984; Morgan and Pritchard 1998). Specifically, there are socio-cultural and political dynamics and self-reflective processes between and among ethnic social agents, tourists and society at-large.

I should also note that an approach and focus on American ethnic urban spaces of tourism has greater significance than just within the borders of the United States, or for that matter North America. Indeed, such an examination proves significant and necessary for other nations such as Europe which continues to witness an increase in immigration and ethnic enclaves in its urban spaces; ethnic movement and concentration that will increasingly continue to change the face of many European cities. I am thinking of Paris, Amsterdam, Berlin, London, Oslo, and our own Lisbon.

Indeed, urban ethnic tourism is not a new phenomenon in the United States; dating back to the beginning of the twentieth century, white upper and middle class individuals would visit American metropolitan areas inhabited by the very poor or socially disadvantaged to shop and gawk at the residents (i.e., “rubbernecking”).

What makes the contemporary situation different is the fact that today’s ethnic neighbourhoods promote and welcome the opportunity to be gawked at, not only from an economic perspective but also from a social-action perspective.

Allow me to specifically focus on my current work on Chinatowns as ethnic neighbourhoods in the United States and the social discourse surrounding them – both mass mediated, as well as interpersonal.

The Chinatown, a sound force in the socio-cultural, economic and political fabric that makes up multicultural America, has faced its fair share of struggles.

Such struggles are to a great extent the result of historical processes and interactions, which have shaped, among others, anti-Chinese sentiments and discriminatory legislative actions in the United States.

The most noteworthy example includes the anti-Chinese sentiments found during the 1870’s depression years which forced American labourers out of work and, in the process, made the Chinese a small, but visible minority, an easy target for persecution

and humiliation and ultimately culminated in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (McClellen 1971; Wong 1998). The first time and, as it turns out, the only time when a federal law was passed to specifically exclude a particular group of people by nationality from entering the United States.

Furthermore, other forces such as discrimination within the American legal system, which prompted a law passed in 1863 which forbade the Chinese from testifying in court against white men, also contributed to the struggles of the Chinese community in the United States; and, to this date, serve to explain the reservations found in Chinese communities in the United States toward the American legal system (Kwong 1987; Wong 1982).

While one may contend that such sentiments and discriminatory practices, along with the struggles that ensued, are in the past Chinatown Chinese are not without their contemporary struggles; in particular, a struggle to have their legitimate place and citizenship in American society be recognized; in other words, their struggle for inclusion in multicultural America.

The most recent adaptation facing Chinatown's social agents is in response to the fascination with ethnicity and diversity in America, the growth of ethnic tourism, and the cultural focus in contemporary urban development. In the process, social agents residing in Chinatown, along with their symbols, goods, and services are being transformed in a vacuum of cultural *in*difference into a marketable representation of cultural difference for tourism purposes.

The goal is to attract as many tourists as possible and, in the process, sell that which Chinatown believes tourists' want -- and demand -- regardless of ethnic socio-cultural significance.

Furthermore, because culture does not belong to any particular individual or group, the project of using and manoeuvring the Other is often open to anyone who enters the market and, as Greenwood proposed, when this happens, local culture can be "altered and often destroyed…made meaningless" to its people (1989:173).

Consequently, the discourse and justifications provided to validate and rationalize one's engagement in the tourism-related project of selling ethnicity are often explained in terms of capitalizing on the most recent developmental voice which increasingly posits ethnic neighbourhoods with great historical, social and cultural salience.

But more significantly, tourism brokers in Chinatowns across America have re-visited and re-packaged this ethnic enclave to make it appear more desirable to tourists, while in some ways still continuing to engage with earlier discursive constructions of Chinatown by the dominant white American society as a space of the Other.

Moreover, as society is not objective but rather contingent upon social agents who construct and maintain it through *interaction*, ethnic social agents involved in the tourism-related project of selling ethnicity perpetuate, transmit and capitalize on *cultural objects* "through their repeated expression and through the socialization" of the in-group as well as the out-group (Griswold 2004:62).

Such expression and socialization discursive processes are often proposed by stakeholders as being economically beneficial to the entire neighbourhood and, as such, result in narratives that promote the perception that *The Existing Order is in Everyone's Best Interest*; however real or fictitious.

Such caveat of "however real or fictitious" stems from the understanding that despite recognition that one can revisit, develop and manage previously undervalued ethnic neighbourhoods as tourist attractions, political and socio-cultural dynamics of exclusion still persist and illustrate the difficulty of using ethnic diversity to foster both equity and growth.

As Fainstein and Powers (2005) found, tourism officials' efforts at fostering the dispersion of tourism gains is often negligible. Moreover, while I have found that often entrepreneurs and business owners position themselves as benevolent community advocates, such positioning is located in the claim that economic well-being is dependent on tourists and the continued economic advancement of the business owners doing the hiring.

Such stance ensures that the socio-economic structure between owners and workers is maintained and, as a result, locating the power of business owners in hegemonic terms. The ideology utilized in order to justify the actions of those involved, therefore, ensures that "any doubt about the social utility of the finished products is removed" (Horkheimer and Adorno 2000:121), by allowing business profits to take centre stage in narratives of common good.

It should be noted, however, that workers are not passive social agents when it comes to these representational dynamics. In reality, workers are conscious of this structure. Their awareness translates into an operational mode characterized by both obeying the existing order of conduct while simultaneously distancing themselves by claiming their operational mode as on-the-job *play* (Goffman 1959).

Moreover, by using and manoeuvring their own ethnicity, ethnic social agents in Chinatown create an ethnic niche contingent upon ethnic expertise and physical appearance. This, in turn, allows them to take *A Non-Confrontational, Non-Competitive Stance* with regard to their entrepreneurial and job related undertakings.

Such stance can be best explained by the already mentioned historical stream of events that resulted in anti-Chinese sentiments and discriminatory legislation in the United States and, in turn leads many to avoid being perceived as confrontational or competitive in fear of retaliation from Anglo Americans.

Therefore, by using and maneuvering the ethnic Other and their symbols, these social agents enter into the negotiation of a social terrain where the Other is able to engage with society from a conciliatory standpoint.

This, however, is not to suggest that they have come to terms with and passively accept the social stigmas Chinatown has faced and endured in America.

On the contrary, ethnic social agents have and continue to struggle against the labels others have chosen to impose on them. To a great extent, as part of their resistance,

they dismiss the essentialism inherent in the notion that Chinese culture and ethnicity lies in practicing specific cultural traditions or strictly upholding the same values as those held in the motherland.

This ability to redesign and remarket itself involves the deliberate revisiting, reconstruction and re-representation of Chinatown history, as well as the history of the Chinese in America -- as revealed, for example, with the openings of Chinese-American Museums across the United States such as New York City's Museum of the Chinese in the Americas.

Therefore, considering the current turn to ethnic tourism and its implied outcome of rejuvenating urban landscapes and attracting capital (Law 1993), a critical account of the use and maneuvering of the ethnic Other is not only expected to continue to increase and be of concern among social science researchers (Conforti 1996; Henderson 2000), it is imperative if tourism research is to contribute to an understanding of ethnic politics (Tunbridge 1984). Indeed, it is imperative if tourism research is to serve to further address and elucidate critical issues in urban development and restructuring.

In the case of the United States, examining the use and manoeuvring of the ethnic Other will further assist in questioning and understanding ethnic tourism and its function within multicultural "we the people" of America.

An invocation of a collective "we" often experienced as exclusionary and contributing partly to the justifications of the use and manoeuvring of the ethnic Other as a struggle against past discourse; however, calculated and framed by economic and political interests.

Which brings me to my second main point of discussion here today. In line with a discussion on revisiting, developing, and preserving and managing ethnic urban spaces of tourism, we must also consider the significant role of gentrification. In other words, the contestation of urban space and the resulting forceful relocation of ethnic residents. As such forces increasingly shape touristic discursive practices in ethnic urban spaces.

After all, beneath the touristic façade of ethnic neighbourhood tourism there are complex social interactions, which are implicated when social agents devise means through which to represent their cultural identity to tourists.

The creation and negotiation of such cultural identities is intricately linked to the spatial context where these social interactions occur. As Lefebvre (1996) proposes, space is produced and consumed by collective social practice, involving social relationships and presenting an arena of social struggle.

Recognizing and identifying these dimensions of space allows for a better understanding of how power is reproduced in space, as well as how everyday acts of resistance contest the dominant mapping of urban space.

In fact, space is fundamental to constructions of *cultural identity* because the affirmation, creation and negotiation of social identities occur within and through spatial relations of places (Pratt and Hanson 1994).

Consequently, what I have found in my work is that urban socio political threats to spatial relations, such as gentrification, increasingly serve to shape representational dynamics of cultural identity.

It is then important for tourism studies to situate examinations of representation within such socio-political frameworks, because such frameworks have implications for understanding cultural identity in relationship to tourism.

In my work, a starting point for such discussion has been the conceptualisation of representational dynamics within the social relations of a given contested space where social agents and institutions *interact* to commodify cultural identity for touristic purposes; specifically, I have worked with the toured Puerto Rican neighbourhood of Humboldt Park, Chicago.

I have approached such discussions on tourism and gentrification from 2 main assumptions.

First, that gentrification, as a spatial socio political force, influences the community's sense of cultural identity precisely because individuals' relationship to place aids in the formation and maintenance of personal and collective identities.

And, second, that communities are constituted by their past and they devise means of retelling their story so as not to forget the symbolic nature of this past (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swindler and Tipton 1985).

Particularly, the literature points to the critical socio-economic struggles of those residing in contested spaces, as well as the resulting relocation of residents. As Hall proposes, ''[t]he creation of a 'desirable' middle-class environment invariably leads to increased rents, and is accompanied by a corresponding breakdown in community structure, including ethnicity, as families and individuals are forced to relocate'' (1994, p.162).

One of the many forces employed to create this "desirable" middle-class environment is tourism. Indeed, many scholars have proposed that tourism can facilitate gentrification (Fotsch 2004; Hall 1994; Marks 1996; Meethan 1997; Middleton 2003; Philp and Mercer 1999; Zukin 1995).

Indeed, as cultural geography literature proposes, space and place are "in a constant state of transition as a result of continuous, dialectical struggles of power and resistance among and between the diversity of landscape providers, users and mediators" (Aitcheson 1999, p. 29; Morgan and Pritchard 1999).

Such a contestation of space presents an interesting point of examination regarding tourism representational dynamics because it is through space and place, that "...power, identity, meaning and behaviour are constructed, negotiated and renegotiated" (Aitcheson and Reeves 1998, p.51) (see also Pritchard and Morgan 2001).

Interaction of social agents within spatial locations contributes to the creation, affirmation and negotiation of cultural identities. Tourism representations result from such interaction processes and function as communicative practices through which information on cultural identities and tourism spaces are relayed.

An important consensual factuality, however, is that representations are an “essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture” (Hall 2002, p.15).

Therefore, due to their meaning making ability, representations are crucial in defining and constructing a neighbourhoods’ cultural identity, not to mention, that they are key elements in comprehending the values, and beliefs of a culture or its cultural capital.

Consequently, scholars claim that as our identities are constantly being challenged in society and we are driven to continuously create, affirm and maintain our identity. This quest for an identity is accentuated in communities where physical space is contested.

Such an examination is significant for tourism literature because it continues to extend the path for the understanding of tourism as a vehicle for voices to be raised against spatial exclusion.

Furthermore, it exemplifies the significance of tourism in assisting communities searching for alternatives to fight spatial exclusion by providing an opportunity for transforming exclusionary experiences into potential sources of social and personal enrichment. According to Gotham, “[a]s contemporary cities increasingly turn to tourism …, and as gentrification expands in many cities, we need more critical accounts of the nexus of tourism and gentrification” (2005, p. 1115).

When social agents occupy a contested space, which they are striving to legitimise, they reproduce their identity through the confirmation of cultural representations that speak to their conceptions of themselves and their interpretation of what they perceive to be tourist’s perception of them.

Furthermore, the spatial experiences of social agents are socially and historically determined.

For instance, in the case of Humboldt Park, the awareness of past gentrification experiences are part and parcel of current perceptions toward gentrification and thus the neighbourhoods’ approach to representing their cultural identity for tourism purposes.

As forgotten pasts are unearthed, and as issues of inequity are recaptured with each visiting tourist, ethnic communities find themselves constantly affirming and maintaining their identity, as well as projecting it to those that might challenge its very existence.

Conflict of space conditions the kind of identity production that occurs for community members by projecting representations about a group and its space. Tourism functions as the social world to which the residents project a historical discourse of cultural identity in hope of affirming their identity within the spatial location.

The physical space of Humboldt Park is not a neutral space but rather a constitutive feature of identity creation and affirmation. Tourism as a form of consumption plays a double role as on one hand, it is the means through which sites of difference are promoted yet, on the other, it is the tool through which the community strives to maintain and affirm its cultural identity.

As such, within contested terrain, tourism is a crucial pivot in the struggles that shape identity and render the host legitimate.

History has empowered social agents in Humboldt Park to seek a new identity and they have accepted agency to designate a narrative of their community that encompasses their history.

This narrative is a symbolic representation of the community and one that is needed for participants to affirm and maintain their identity within the uncertain space wherein they reside.
The steel flags that adorn the entry-way to the community are not simply a symbolic representation of the community at large to tourists, but serve as a pledge which the community members have with their Puerto Rican identity.

Consequently, to protect Humboldt Park, its residents have “Puerto Ricanized” the neighbourhood; particularly, in recent years as gentrification forces have gained momentum.

Such a “cultural approach” protects the neighbourhood by communicating to potential developers and in-movers that this is a neighbourhood for Puerto Ricans.

The implication, of such representational dynamics, therefore, is clear: We are Puerto Ricans and this is our neighbourhood. The question becomes, would the representation and its message be the same if gentrification was not in the equation? In other words, would Puerto Rican residents of Humboldt Park represent themselves for tourism purposes in the same manner if they were not faced with gentrification forces?

While I can’t conclusively answer such questions, gentrification affects the overall representation in such a manner that the cultural protection component of tourism becomes second to social change.

In the case of ethnic neighbourhoods not facing gentrification (such as for example, Chinatowns), tourism may be seen as a vehicle for “cultural protection” as ethnic groups envision tourism as a way of ensuring cultural sustenance by educating not only tourists but also residents.

However, in the case of neighbourhoods facing gentrification, tourism is a vehicle for “social change”, in the sense that it is seen as a way to affirm a declarative nationalism and spatial rights to the society at large.

The goal is to relinquish any available mirages of Puerto Ricans that the tourist may have and replace these with the messages of social justice carried by the community.

Lastly, I would like to propose that there is no ideal case of an American ethnic urban space of tourism -- when considering the complexities of present-day metropolitan areas, no single city can possibly do that (Harvey 1973; Lefebvre 1991; Gottdiener 1994).

I would like to finish my talk here. My hope is that my talk can be of some help in stimulating thought regarding the notion of revisiting tourist areas – in this case, ethnic urban spaces of tourism and the representational dynamics affecting such spaces of tourism.

I hope that this year's ATLAS research talks and workshops will prove highly productive and rewarding to all of you. I am thrilled to have the opportunity to attend such high-level dialogue and exchange views with a few old and many new friends. I trust that you will enjoy your time in Viana do Castelo, and hope that you will find the opportunity to discover its many unmatched treasures and experiences.

I thank you all for your time and attention.

# Keynote Speech for ATLAS Annual Conference Destinations - Development and Redevelopment or Visioning and Revisioning?

*Richard Butler*
*Strathclyde University*
*United Kingdom*
*richard.butler@strath.ac.uk*

## Introduction

In its infancy tourism involved travelling primarily for the acquisition of knowledge and culture to the major historic and cultural centres of Europe; now it appears to involve travelling more for the acquisition of suntans and low price goods and services. The transformation of tourism from an activity practised for considerable lengths of time at great expense by a very privileged elite, to an almost universal activity in the developed world, now often regarded as a right rather than a privilege, has brought with it equally profound changes in the places which tourists visit. While the great cultural capitals of the world still attract vast numbers of visitors, in the last century and a half particularly, we have witnessed the development of the purpose built tourist destination, the resort. These take many forms, from the classic seaside town to inland spas, to winter sports centres and other specialized activity focused developments, to fantasy worlds and theme parks. In reality, holiday resorts date back some two thousand years at least (Butler 2006a) but what we generally think of as a “classic” tourist destination is a product of the railway age and later.

Such resorts share many common characteristics including their morphology, their visitors’ behaviour and their seasonal pattern of business. Their distinctive morphology has been well analysed by Stansfield and Rickert (1970) and illustrated in Mathieson and Wall (1986) and this pattern of development has stood the test of time in terms of effectiveness in parting the visitor from their money in a mutually agreeable fashion. The key elements of the pattern can be seen even in resorts as far from the sea or the traditional model as Las Vegas. In recent years however, with the onset of global competitiveness in the tourism business to a major degree following the rapid growth in international travel as a result of the surge in accessibility of air transport for the mass market, conventional established resorts have found that their success in attracting a continuing viable market has become far less certain and increasingly more dependent on linkages and promotions than ever before.

## Current difficulties

The traditional “bucket and spade” beach resort of northern Europe has lost out heavily to its lower priced competitors in Mediterranean and Southern European locations, which also have more sunshine and warmer temperatures (air and water) (Urry 1997, Walton 2000). In recent years in turn, these resorts have begun to lose their market share, partly in the face of competition from resorts located even further afield, in the Middle East, in the Caribbean, and in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and partly from new developments closer by. Just as France and Italy lost market share to Spain, and

then Greece, and the Balearics to the Canaries, so too European resorts are losing markets to those in Turkey and North Africa. The tourism mass market in particular has realized over the last forty years that it is no longer tied to domestic or nearby destinations, and is now benefiting from low price airfares to venture much further afield.

However, just as the changing markets have created many opportunities for destinations to capitalize on new and changing demand, so this dynamic demand has exposed the vulnerability of established destinations (Aramberri and Butler 2005). Many older destinations have now passed their peak visitation levels and are facing problems related to declining market share as their offerings are no longer perceived as attractive to the new markets as newer resorts. This dynamic element creates a number of problems for both established and new destinations. In the case of older resorts, one of the key questions is where the often considerable investment will come from that is necessary to renovate and redevelop these destinations, replacing or upgrading infrastructure and facilities, and renovating accommodation and other services. These problems are not minor, old resorts such as Brighton in England face major reinvestment problems, not the least because of the original design of such towns, based first on traffic which came by stagecoach and then particularly by rail. Car parking at the present time is a major issue and the lack of sufficient spaces presents a great problem for the city. Even when funds for reinvestment are found, the question remains of what sort of redevelopment should take place, and that is the same question that is facing new resorts and those in the planning stages, i.e., what will not only attract today's emerging markets but remain appealing in the future to new, as yet unseen tourists.

**Dynamic Markets**

Those managing resorts and destinations need to know what the market characteristics and demands in the future will be, and over what length of time their new or redeveloped resort will continue to appeal to the dynamic elements of the market. Mistakes in the initial development or redevelopment phases are likely to result in a very short period of attractiveness and market appeal for such resorts, increasingly so in this period of global competitiveness. Resorts in the Balearics or the Algarve do not just face competition from the Canaries or Turkey, but also from Thailand, Vietnam, the Caribbean and the Middle East. Or, putting it another way, for how long and in what way will a resort be sustainable (using that much misused term in the sense of both market/economic sustainability and with respect to its social and environmental aspects)?

At this point one might confess to a feeling of déjà vu all over again. This problem has been with destinations for a long time, but has been one which few have faced before real declines in market share became apparent and could no longer be dismissed as the result of bad weather or short term unfortunate occurrences. It is worth remembering that there was no market for seaside holidays to any great degree before the 19$^{th}$ century, just as there was little appeal in mountain areas before the Romantic revolution of the mid 19$^{th}$ century. Winter sport participants did not feature significantly as a market segment until the 20$^{th}$ century, and many of the current specific market segments did not emerge until after the Second World War and even later, so changes

in the nature and level of demand is nothing new. Indeed, it is something which one might have expected the prudent investor and far-sighted communities to have considered throughout the development and operation of a destination.

In reality of course, such anticipation does occur in some, particularly the larger, purpose built integrated resorts around the world, but where it appears to be lacking is in the far more numerous communities and other destinations that cater to the large scale or mass market. One might query, therefore, whether the problems which many destinations are facing now are related to the market for which they were developed, i.e. the now generally undesirable mass tourist, as opposed to the supposedly discerning, high spending and low impacting traveller or up-market visitor. The "stack 'em high, sell 'em cheap" philosophy worked well in many domestic destinations in the first half of the 20th century, and in foreign destinations in the post second World War boom of the late 1950s and through the next two decades. Increasingly, however, as the market has become, if not more sophisticated, at least more demanding in terms of quality of accommodation and range of services and facilities available, the traditional limited offerings of older resorts have fallen out of favour when faced by international competition from new destinations.

We need to question, therefore, if the problems which destinations are facing are of their own making, for example by those responsible avoiding reinvestment and renovation until decline had firmly set in (perhaps because of lack of capital as well as lack of entrepreneurship and leadership), or if they are representative of something more fundamental, including changing perceptions and levels of demand by the market. In reality in many cases it is both reasons, which are causing the problems, which resorts are facing. Most businesses are reluctant to change fundamentally a product, which has performed well for a long period of time, or to alter an image, which has been strongly associated with a destination since its origin, even if they are able to do so. Images are notoriously difficult to change as is well known (Gartner 1993) and there may often be no immediately obvious alternative, which is acceptable to all parties involved. Image change in a single business or institution is never easy, and to change the image of a community with its multiple viewpoints, priorities and concerns is extremely difficult.

There is little doubt that the market has changed significantly over the years, if not in basic requirements (access, accommodation, services, facilities and entertainment) then certainly in the level at which such elements are provided. Shared bathrooms, inflexible meal times, lack of choice of activities, poor organization and inefficient transportation are now not acceptable in most destinations, even if they had been tolerated in earlier years. The expectations of most modern tourists include en suite facilities in accommodation, a range of food operations, multiple entertainment facilities, and cheap and easy access to and within a destination. For the much maligned mass-market, competitive pricing is also an essential requirement. Absence or the ending of monopolies (generally enabled by transportation limitations) has removed the ability to provide limited services at high cost and still attract visitors. In many respects all of the above should be seen as beneficial to tourism as a whole and to destinations specifically.

**Destination Adjustments**

There is now a market which has changed in terms of having more money to spend on holidays, more time to engage in leisure and greater expectations of what it would like, thus offering great possibilities for suppliers. However, at a time when intermediaries (tour operators) are able to offer package deals at low cost to the mass market, that market is becoming increasingly capable of making its own arrangements through the use of modern communications, particularly the internet. Thus in order to stay in business the intermediaries have amalgamated, made vertical and horizontal alliances and linkages in order to keep prices attractive to the market, which have resulted in minimal and often reducing profits on investment for many accommodation and other operators. Minimal returns mean less capital available for reinvestment and thus a gradual loss in quality and refurbishment and ultimately a loss in attractiveness. Such a process applies to destinations as a whole as well as to individual business (Russo 2006). In some cases the aggressive tactics of intermediaries have caused them to be blamed for a multitude of problems, not all of their making (Bastakis et al 2004), including ineffective promotion, coercion of renegotiation of prices, and reduced visitor numbers.

The problems that destinations are facing are nevertheless very real and because of increased competition are only getting greater. The problems are perhaps greatest for destinations, which are communities, often with other, although perhaps less important, economic activities to tourism, which find it difficult to recognize the problem, let alone formulate a solution. (The reference to resorts and communities as apparently living entities is made simply for convenience; such features are either privately owned and managed as in the case of the former, or controlled by locally elected governments in most countries in the case of the latter.) In earlier times, the attractions offered by most resorts were common, accommodation, seashores, bathing opportunities, perhaps scenic settings and a range of entertainments. They were differentiated in two main ways, the spatial origin of their markets and the social class of their clientele. In the present day, resorts are far less easily categorized by the origins of their market, and while a “class” element exists in that some resorts, St Moritz, Davos, Antibes, Neckar Island for example, are obviously priced way beyond the ability of most tourists to pay, the major differentiation now is on the attractions offered.

Resorts are becoming more specialized and focused, aiming at specific segments of the overall market, thus we see “family “ resorts, sports resorts (golf, tennis, water sports, diving, winter sports), fantasy resorts and gambling resorts, while other destinations sell culture, food and wine, sex and hedonism, or even health and relaxation. But with each round of specialization comes the potential of an increasingly limited market, and as tourism becomes ever more fashion conscious, the more specialized a destination, the more likely it is to be subject to fashion in terms of the popularity cycle (Zimmerman 2000) of the activity/activities or attractions it is associated with. Thus while specialization may be one way of changing the appeal (image?) of a destination, it may bring with it a shortening of the length of time that destination will remain attractive to a particular market. Once one has dived a particular reef, skied a certain mountain, played specific golf courses, then one may not wish to return to redo the activity in that location, but move on to other similar attractions. Although there is a lack of empirical evidence, one might surmise that the more enthusiastic and committed an individual is to a certain activity, the more likely they are to wish to experience multiple variations of

that activity, rather than repeating an experience a number of times in the same location.

**Sustainability and up-market movement**

Apart from specializing in the attractions they offer, destinations are also, almost universally moving in two other directions, up-market and towards sustainability; at least they perceive and argue they are. It is rare to find a tourism plan or official policy statement that does not contain the magic S word (not one of the 3 or 4 “Ss” of traditional resorts). There seems to be an almost unanimous feeling among politicians and those responsible for promoting tourism that adding the word sustainable to whatever they are offering, developing, re-developing, or proposing, will make the destination become attractive again, even when it is losing or has lost most of its appeal to its original, and perhaps any, market. This may or may not be a problem. There is no doubt that redevelopment that is in line with current market tastes and demands, is likely to renovate a declining market. Improving hotels and cleaning beaches are actions likely to result in positive coverage and perhaps increased marketing by intermediaries and perhaps increased visitation from the original market (if the price is still competitive). But is this a move towards sustainability in more than name only, if even that?

Moving up-market is a policy beloved by many destinations. After all, what location would not prefer to attract a clientele, which is prepared to pay more money for essentially the same holiday? There is, however, a sad misapprehension that up-market visitors create fewer impacts on the destination and that they therefore must be more sustainable. Thus claiming or even actually moving towards a more sustainable offering, so the logic goes, should enable the operators to charge higher rates and thus attract a more up-market clientele. After all, to truly soothe the ego, as Wheeller (1993) points out, requires some sacrifice, and paying more is easier than undertaking the often less attractive option of actually behaving more sustainably. Up-market guests generally require a higher standard of everything, witness the safari camps provided in Africa to the higher paying guests, were rates run upwards of 400 Euros a night and fine wines and gourmet meals are provided to ensure a comfortable eco/sustainable visit.

Even if it were true that the re-development of an existing destination might be capable of attracting new up-market visitors, a crucial question is whether there are enough such visitors to replace the millions of lower spending “common” tourists that no destination appears to want. Perhaps a more serious question is whether such visitors are more rather than less sustainable, and the answer is probably that they are not. Tourists paying higher charges not unreasonably generally want better quality experiences and facilities. This may well translate into more comfortable accommodation, including air conditioning (becoming essential with global warming of course), higher quality facilities such as ski slopes, golf courses and more exclusive wildlife and marine life viewing (often translated as less crowded). This may involve using helicopters for skiing, constant irrigation of golf courses, and opening new areas for diving and safaris. None of these developments can be thought of as more sustainable, although they may definitely be more up-market.

As well, many of the re-developments involve increasing levels of development, essentially the removing or changing of the very attributes, which made a destination

attractive in the first place. Such developments or redevelopments run the very real risk of alienating the initial market and only offering a transient attraction to the emerging markets. If, as has been argued (Feifer 1985, Poon 1993), tourists are now post-modern and desiring experiences rather than products, such a move away from "natural" experiences to artificial and easily duplicated experiences is surely in the opposite direction to that required. Anyone who has been inside a modern casino will be familiar with the depressing similarity of them all, varied only in most cases by the level of undress of the waitresses, the presence or absence of free alcohol and the level of the bets being made. Once inside, the exterior décor of the Luxor, the Bellagio or the Alice Springs casino becomes irrelevant.

**The need for revisioning**

What is missing perhaps from many examples of the redevelopment of destinations is the revisioning of such places. That is, rather than simply adding development, it is necessary to examine what the destination is attempting to do, what market now and in the future it is trying to capture, what is acceptable to the residents, if we are talking about communities rather than a single integrated resort, and what is the overall image it is trying to portray. Few destinations have attempted such an exercise, which is not a task to be taken lightly. Faulkner and Tideswell (2006) discuss in considerable detail the process undertaken by the Gold Coast in Australia and the lengthy and difficult operation needed to achieve the goals defined for the exercise. Without such integrated planning and acceptance of what is involved, one is likely to see only continued and often inappropriate development. Faulkner and Tideswell (2006: 313) reiterate the question posed by Twining Ward (1999:187) "Why is it that despite knowledge of the risks as well as increased understanding of conservation issues, destinations continue to make the same mistakes?" The reasons she suggests, the inherent problems of common pool resource management, the fact that the most vulnerable features are often the most attractive to visitors, and reluctance by governments to regulate and limit economic activity within sustainable limits are still depressingly common almost a decade after her comments were made.

Faulkner and Tideswell note the great difficulty in getting agreement from the various parties involved in putting forward a common new vision for the Gold Coast. Faulkner (2004) noted that there was agreement on the part of some actors to only accept a visioning statement rather than a revisioning, on the grounds that the latter would suggest there was something wrong with the current image. The reluctance to accept reality in the face of declining visitation is not uncommon. Failure to deal with such problems are depressingly common in tourism destinations, in writing on Cyprus, Sharpley (2004:334/5 ) notes "Despite this apparent failure to control tourism, the authorities continue to pursue a *quality/sustainable* (emphasis mine) tourism development policy……In essence, the current strategy is little more than a reworking of previous policies, although, for the first time, sustainable development is an explicit objective".

**Conclusion**

Thus one might despair that after all the academic research and writing, after numerous consultant reports, and countless government policy statements, destination development and redevelopment still seem to be dominated by one single force, the

economic imperative. Understandable though this may be, with the need for jobs and income for marginal areas and the relative ease with which tourism can oblige these necessities, this represents a generally short term and unsustainable approach. As well, given the large and increasing number of people who wish and can take holidays, it is also unrealistic and elitist. If the increasingly upmarket (read quality and sustainable viz Sharpley above) dominated policy statements are upheld, there will be many millions of people faced with great difficulties in securing a holiday at the price they can afford. This may sit well with some pressure groups that wish to reduce holiday travel, particularly by air, but will help neither society nor destinations in the long run. It is perhaps ironic that in the several competitions run annually to give awards to sustainable tourism operations, most of the awards go to destinations that are far distant from the majority of tourists, thus requiring unsustainable long haul travel, and are of such a nature and/or at such a price level that they are not designed to appeal to or cater for the vast majority of tourists.

Many destinations certainly need to change, both to improve the quality of their offerings and to meet the changing tastes of their markets, but to do so in such a generally uninspiring way and to continue to make the same mistakes of disregarding environmental considerations and often local preferences in return for increased visitor numbers is both worrying and depressing. We seem to have only a few limited models of destination development available; the continuation of the status quo, with increasing homogeneity; the Las Vegas/Dubai model of extravagant and "never mind sustainability" excessive development; or quality and exclusiveness based on high charges, catering to a fortunate small elite. The vast majority of the several hundred million tourists, once limited in their choice of destination by geography and transportation services, are now often equally limited by family, budgetary and institutional seasonality constraints. The modern process of destination redevelopment without revisioning is not serving them well and doing little to help move tourism towards a more sustainable future capable of handling the ever increasing mass market that has been a feature of tourism for a century and a half and is likely to continue so for the foreseeable future.

**References**


Aramberri, J. and Butler, R.W. (eds.) 2005 *Tourism: A Vulnerable Industry* Channel View Publications: Clevedon

Bastakis, C., Buhalis, D and Butler R.W. 2004 The perception of small and medium sized tourism accommodation providers on the impacts of tour operators' power in Eastern Mediterranean *Tourism Management* 25 151-170

Butler R.W. 2006a The Origins of the TALC in Butler, R.W. (ed.) *The Tourism Area Life Cycle Vol. 1 Applications and Modifications* Channel View Publications: Clevedon, 13-26

Butler, R.W. (ed.) *The Tourism Area Life Cycle Vol. 1 Applications and Modifications* Channel View Publications: Clevedon

Butler, R.W. (ed.) *The Tourism Area Life Cycle Vol. 2 Conceptual and Theoretical Issues* Channel View Publications: Clevedon

Faulkner, W. 2003 Personal communication.

Faulkner W. and Tideswell, C.2006Rejuvenating a Maturing Tourist Destination: The Case of the Gold Coast, Australia in Butler, R.W. (ed.) *The Tourism Area Life Cycle Vol. 1 Applications and Modifications* Channel View Publications: Clevedon, 306-336

Feifer, M. 1985 *Going Places* Macmillan: London

Mathieson, A. and Wall, G. 1986 Tourism*: Economic, Social and Physical Impacts* Longman: London

Poon, A. 1993 *Tourism, Technology and Competitive Strategies* Wallingford: CAB International

Russo, A.P. 2006 A Re-foundation of the TALC for Heritage Cities in Butler, R.W. (ed.) *The Tourism Area Life Cycle Vol. 1 Applications and Modifications* Channel View Publications: Clevedon 139-161

Sharpley, R. 2004 Tourism Modernisation and Development on the Island of Cyprus: Challenges and Policy Responses in Bramwell, B. (ed.) *Coastal Mass Tourism: Diversification and Sustainable Development in Southern Europe* Channel View Publications 321-340

Stansfield, C.A. and Rickert, J.E. 1970 The Recreational Business District Journal *of Leisure Research* 2 (4) 213-225

Twining-Ward, L. 1999 Towards sustainable tourism development: Observations from a distance Tourism *Management* 20 (2)187-188

Urry, J. 1997 Cultural Change and the Seaside Resort in G. Shaw and A. Williams, (eds.) *The Rise and Fall of British Coastal Resorts* Cassell: London 102-113

Walton, J. K. 2000, *The British Seaside: Holidays and Resorts in the Twentieth Century* Manchester University Press: Manchester

Wheeller, B. 1993 Sustaining the ego Journal *of Sustainable Tourism* 1 (2) 121-129

# Globalisation, localisation and cultural tourism

*Greg Richards*
Tourism Research and Marketing, Spain
*University of West England, United Kingdom*
*greg@tram-research.com*

Culture is an increasingly important part of the tourism product, even in areas of the world such as the Mediterranean where sun, sea and sand provides the primary tourist attraction. Today, as a growing number of tourist destinations strive to attract high spending 'cultural tourists', they are using more elements of local culture in order to penetrate global tourism markets. This paper examines the impact of this process for one corner of the Mediterranean, and shows how the local is globalised and the global is localised to produce new cultural tourism products.

Cultural tourism is becoming important not just locally for individual destinations, but also globally as a key part of the tourism market. Figures produced by the World Tourism Organisation indicate that cultural tourism today accounts for 40% of all international tourism. In 2004 this translated into over 300 million tourists.

| *Year* | *Total international arrivals* | *Percentage cultural trips* | *Total number of cultural trips* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *1995* | *538 million* | *37%* | *199 million trips* |
| *2004* | *763 million* | *40%* | *305 million trips* |

**Why is cultural tourism so important?**

The growth of cultural tourism can be traced to a number of factors, which are evident at both global and local scales. At a global scale, cultural tourism has grown thanks to the following trends:

- The culturization of society has led to more and more areas of consumption being viewed as 'cultural'.
- This has shifted the focus of cultural tourism away from the 'shining prizes' of the European Grand Tour towards a broader range of heritage, popular culture and living cultural attractions.
- The extension of education has democratized travel and cultural consumption, turning cultural tourism from an elite pursuit into a mass market.
- At the same time, growing competition in traditional tourism markets has caused a search for alternatives on the part of destinations worldwide.
- At the same time, cultural tourism growth is also being driven by local factors, such as:
- In the face of globalization, localities find it increasingly important to assert their identity.
- Localities need to use their cultural assets to generate distinction, in order to attract investment and people.
- In a globalising world, the 'local' is seen as more authentic

We might therefore argue that the growing importance of the local is at least partly a result of globalization. Rather than individual processes of globalisation and localisation, therefore, we might argue that there is a combined process of ‘globalisation’, in which the global impacts upon the local, and vice versa.

We also need to realise that the growth of cultural tourism is not simply an example of economic globalisation, or the simple extension of the tourist economy to all parts of the globe, but is also the result of the globalisation of culture. Nijman (1999) argues that there is a process of ‘cultural globalisation’, which parallels economic globalisation. Cultural globalisation implies: ‘An acceleration in the exchange of cultural symbols among people around the world, to such an extent that it leads to changes in local popular cultures and identities’. This exchange of cultural symbols is supported by an extension of particular consumption systems (such as cultural tourism), and accelerated by mass communication such as Internet as well as mass tourism. This consumption involves not just material commodities, but also ideas, values and information, or in other words, culture.

This extension of consumption systems is part of what Ritzer (1999) has termed ‘the new means of consumption’, which he argues have replaced the means of production as the defining aspect of economic and cultural systems in modern capitalist economies. The new means of consumption involves the production of an ‘almost dizzying proliferation of settings that allow, encourage, and even compel us to consume’, such as shopping malls, theme parks and festival marketplaces. These can be seen as the ‘cathedrals of consumption’ – that is, they have an enchanted, sometimes even sacred, religious character for many people. In order to attract ever-larger numbers of consumers, such cathedrals of consumption need to offer, or at least appear to offer, increasingly magical, fantastic, and enchanted settings in which to consume.

The new means of consumption create spectacles not as ends in themselves but in order to bring in large numbers of people to buy more goods and services. Places compete to attract greater numbers of shoppers, tourists and investors to keep the consumption system going, in the same way that they used to try and attract industries to create jobs. In doing so, they have to connect themselves with the global economic and cultural system (what Castells (1996) has termed the ‘space of flows’) and anchor these flows into the local economy and culture (‘the space of places’). This produces a process of ‘glocalised’ production and consumption for tourism, as for other sectors of the economy. Glocalisation has meant that:

- More places are using culture as a means of distinguishing themselves in global markets
- More places are seeking to use global brands as a means of establishing themselves in global markets

This creates problems of ‘disneyfication’ or ‘McGuggenheimisation’, where the serial repoduction of cultural symbols in search of distinction actually creates more similarity between places.

One could therefore pose the question whether there is any hope for the ‘local’ in the face of the ‘global’? My argument is that the view one takes on this issue is largely related to one’s view of culture. In broad terms, whether one is a cultural pessimist or a

cultural optimist. According to Bennett (2001) cultural pessimism stems from the postmodern loss of faith in progress under modernity. In this climate, everything seemed better yesterday, and nostalgia becomes the defining mood. On the other hand, cultural optimism stems from an inherent belief in the capacity of culture as a living, dynamic force to find solutions to the problems posed by a new set of relations between human beings and their environment. These two opposing views can also be linked to different views of cultural tourism.

1) Cultural tourism as a destroyer of culture
  - Cultural tourism leads to inauthentic experiences being produced just for tourists
  - Cultural tourism causes commodification
  - Cultural tourism leads to a loss of meaning for local culture

2) Cultural tourism as 'good' tourism
  - It creates respect for culture
  - It helps to protect culture
  - It makes local people aware of their own culture

Which of these views is right? Of course the answer is probably both – depending on the circumstances. There are many places which appear to have developed cultural tourism in a 'healthy' way, which contributes to the economy and the culture of the destination. On the other hand there are also many places in which the negative impacts of cultural tourism appear to be only too evident.

In the remainder of this paper I want to consider the impacts of globalisation and localisation in cultural tourism in the context of one specific Mediterranean destination – Barcelona. Barcelona is an interesting case study because it is often held up as a model of successful urban and tourism development, and because it is seen as a city which has made widespread use of culture in this process.

**Wanting to consume Barcelona**

"Conec moltes ciutats del món, però Barcelona em va fascinar des del primer moment: té energia, una màgia especial. M'agradaria viure aquí".
(I know lots of cities all over the world, but Barcelona has fascinated me from the first moment: it has energy, a special magic. I would love to live here) Keith Haring (1989).

Recent data from visitor surveys carried out by ATLAS in Barcelona indicate that Keith Haring is not the only person enchanted with Barcelona. Of 600 tourists surveyed in the city in 2004, almost half said that they could imagine themselves living in Barcelona. The attractions of Barcelona for mobile consumers, and in particular tourists, have been one of the most dramatic developments in European urban landscape in recent years. Barcelona has now replaced Madrid as the cultural capital of Spain, and is rapidly becoming 'the place to be' in Europe.

The figures underline the scale of the transformation. The number of tourists visiting Barcelona has grown by 130% since 1990. The city which once turned its back on the sea is now the leading cruise destination in the Mediterranean. Barcelona is now the city rated first for quality of life on the Healy and Baker rankings of European cities, ahead of Paris, Munich and Stockholm. Barcelona was rated second among European cities in terms of inward investment in 2001.

In a climate of increasing global competition between cities, the key question is why Barcelona has been so successful. Has it been particularly good at playing the global competitive game, or are there specific local factors that explain the particular attractiveness of Barcelona? Could this only have happened in Barcelona, or is there a formula that can be repeated elsewhere? The identification and elaboration of the 'Barcelona Model' seems to suggest that there are some underlying principles which could be transferable, and this is an idea which has been propagated by the city itself in its efforts to convert itself into an 'urban laboratory' (Barcelona Art Report, 2001).

As Benach and Albet (2004) point out, the key element in attracting these consumers is the image of the city. Image becomes a form of visual capital to be developed and employed in the field of inter-urban competition. Barcelona has a clear vision of what type of city it wants to be, and who it measures itself against.

When I grow up I want to be New York. Or perhaps a mixture of London and Florence. Or maybe a bit of Amsterdam and a bit of Paris. No, no. That's it. The best of all is to be Barcelona. (Poster for the exhibition Barcelona(s): The futures of the city, organised by the City of Barcelona in 1999, quoted in Benach and Albet, 2004).

The positioning of Barcelona among the leading 'cultural capitals' of Europe is a clear statement of ambition as well as an indication of the type of image it wants to develop.

As some British cities are finding their inspiration in the 'Barcelona model', Barcelona can also be labelled as a 'wannabe city' ….. That is a city seeking to improve its ranking with strategies of urban reforms and with the promotion of a new image. Today, major cities compete for international prestige and it is necessary to know how to sell themselves as 'cultural capitals' or magnets for attracting capital. It is widely acknowledged that within this sort of competition between cities, the production of urban images plays a decisive role and is very much related to the 'urban spectacle'. (Monclús, 2000)

The ambition to develop a distinct image and to compete with other major cities in Europe has been part of a long process for Barcelona, driven by its position as the second city in Spain, and its role as the capital of Catalunya. The Catalan desire for independence fuelled its rivalry with Madrid and drove Barcelona to project itself onto the global stage long before 'globalisation' became a buzz word. As Monclús (2000) illustrates, Barcelona has been a 'wannabee city' since the 19th century. The major difference with early event-led image strategies was that Barcelona originally wanted to be the 'Paris of the South' whereas it now positions itself as the 'Capital of the West Mediterranean'.

Catalunya was an independent state for hundreds of years before being incorporated into Spain. Barcelona is therefore in the strange position of being the capital of a stateless nation – one of the most important non-capital cities in the world. Years of oppression or neglect by Madrid have had a profound effect on Catalunya, and produced a strong desire for self-determination, cultural identity and linguistic freedom. These feelings were particularly heightened during the Franco regime, which banned public expressions of Catalan culture.

## Concentrating the global gaze

Barcelona has benefited from the resurgence of local, Catalan culture, but at the same time this local culture has also been successfully globalised. In particular, 'icons' of Catalan culture, such as Gaudì, Miró and Picasso have been used to link local culture with the global cultural interests of tourists. Tourism has in turn played a major role in converting the centre of Barcelona into a landscape of consumption, rather than the business centre it was in the 1970s.

Leisure tourism has now firmly replaced business tourism as the leading market segment, accounting for 50% of total overnights in 2003, compared with 23% in 1990. The growth in leisure tourism has been particularly attributed to the increase in cultural tourism, based on major cultural figures such as Gaudí and Picasso. The way in which Gaudí in particular has been transformed into a global icon for the city is reminiscent of processes of commodification and thematisation more closely associated with American cities (Monclús 2003).

The (now almost literal) sanctification of Gaudí by Barcelona is ironic, given the almost total neglect of the Catalan architect by the city in the past. Until the 1980s, La Pedrera, one of Gaudí's most iconic and visible buildings, was used as a bingo hall (Hughes, 1992). Likewise, Casa Battló on the other side of the Passaig de Gràcia, was until very recently closed to the public. Recent years have however seen a major effort to rehabilitate and capitalise on the Gaudí heritage, including the opening of La Pedrera and Casa Batlló to visitors and culminating in the designation of 2002 as 'Gaudí Year' to commemorate the 150$^{th}$ anniversary of his birth.

The development of 'local' cultural figures into global icons has arguably had a significant impact on tourism in the city as well as its external image. Visitors to cultural attractions in Barcelona have grown by almost 150% since 1994, far ahead of the growth in leisure visits. The 'global icons' have played a particularly important role in this growth, with Gaudí attractions alone adding 22% and the combination of Gaudí, Miró and Picasso adding almost 50% to total cultural visits.

The positioning of Barcelona as the city of Gaudí is confirmed by recent studies of the image of Barcelona by the URV and ATLAS. Gaudí is consistently the most important non-prompted element of the image of Barcelona among visitors. The power of Gaudí as a Catalan icon is also confirmed by his positioning in studies of tourists in other parts of Catalunya, where he is ranked fourth behind 'sun', 'sand' and 'Barcelona' in the image of the country. Gaudí is also the most frequently recognised tourism product of Catalunya, with over 70% of visitors linking him to the country. Gaudí has therefore become a global icon to be employed in the narrative-building of Barcelona, along with Picasso and Miró, widely used to attract tourists and strengthen the cultural image of the city.

## Reinventing tradition – La Mercè

At the same time that globally-famous Catalan artists have been used to tie global flows Barcelona shares with other areas of Catalunya an ability to 're-invent tradition' and absorb new ideas into old established cultural practices. Much of the atmosphere of the city can be linked to the re-invention of traditions originally created as part of the

Catalan nationalist project in the 19th century. Many of these have had new layers of meaning added to them by the need to reclaim public spaces after the death of Franco, and the need to include citizens from outside Catalunya. Traditional and 're-invented' fiestas therefore play a major role in social cohesion and inclusion in Barcelona and other parts of Catalunya (Richards, 2004).

La Mercè is effectively the *Festa Major* of Barcelona. The celebrations to honour Our Lady of Mercy (La Mercè) have their origins in 1868, when the Pope proclaimed La Mercè as the patron saint of Barcelona. The municipality of Barcelona organised the first Festes de la Mercè in 1871, and even at that time the event was dominated by aesthetic spectacle, notably large scale firework displays. In 1888 La Mercè was incorporated into the World Exhibition staged in Barcelona.

In this early period of development, the event had a strong commercial element, exhibited through the competitions staged for shop window displays, the exhibitions of food and other commercial products. However, these elements, as well as the traditional and popular cultural content were reduced in the early years of the 20th century leading up to the Spanish Civil War. In this period religious elements became more important.

During the Franco era La Mercè had a much more subdued tone (Schuster 1995). Religion continued to be emphasised, while symbols of Catalan identity and culture were either banned or restricted. The event was concentrated in the city centre, in order to increase the level of control that could be exercised over the crowds. The event was also used as a means of promoting tourism, and was declared a Fiesta of National Tourist Interest by the government in Madrid in 1965 (Pablo 2000). There were also attempts to promote the event to foreign tourists, with promotional material being produced in English and French during the 1960s. Arguably, the event was at that time more directly aimed at foreign tourists than it is today.

The post-Franco democratisation has seen an explosion of cultural expression in events such as La Mercè. There events were used as a means of reclaiming public space and reproducing Catalan identity. In addition to the growth of representations of traditional and popular Catalan culture, an important role in the development of La Mercè was played by contemporary cultural performers, such as els Comediants (Pablo 2000). The modern festival arguably represents a balance between modernity and tradition, which is reflected in the main elements of the event. These include traditional Catalan cultural elements, such as the *castellers* (human towers) the *correfoc* (literally 'running with fire' - teams of 'devils' carrying fireworks and fire-breathing dragons) and sardanas (traditional Catalan dance), a number of large processions featuring *gegants* (giants) and *capgrossos* (dwarfs); fireworks and airel displays; performances of traditional and popular music; activities aimed at children (games, creative activities) and exhibitions and demonstrations.

Today the festival has spread into new areas of the city, taking up an increasing amount of public space and staging a growing number of events. For example, in the first edition staged after the restoration of democracy in 1977, only three main spaces were used for the event. By 1983 this had increased to 12 different locations, and in 2003 24 different sites were used in the city. This has partly to do with the increasing popularity of the event and partly with a deliberate policy of staging events in different

neighbourhoods of the city. The aim of this spatial dispersion is to reach different groups in the community, increasing access and stimulating cultural integration and social cohesion.

**Views of tourists and residents**

In order to find out what local residents and 'global' tourists think about the impact of cultural tourism on local culture, surveys were carried out during Barcelona's main festival, La Mercè in September 2003.

The respondents to these surveys were predominantly young, with over half being under 30 years of age. This is a slightly higher proportion of young visitors than other cultural events in Europe, which tend to attract between 30-40% of their audience from this age group (Richards 2001). The bias towards younger age groups probably reflects the relative dominance of young people at music events and evening events. In terms of educational background, over half had some form of higher education, which is in line with previous surveys. The relatively well-educated nature of the audience is also reflected in the large proportion of professionals and managers surveyed, as these groups made up almost 60% of those in employment. The high socio-economic status of the respondents is also reflected in comparatively high incomes for employed respondents, although the average income for the sample as a whole is depressed by the large number of students. The incomes of foreign tourists were much higher than those of local residents or domestic tourists. The overall audience profile that emerges is not very different from a typical cultural event audience elsewhere in Europe. This does raise potential questions about the social inclusion and integration effects of La Mercè, since the events do not all seem to be attracting visitors from lower socio-economic groups.

Not surprisingly, over half the participants surveyed were local residents, with less than 30% being domestic tourists (from the rest of Catalunya or Spain) and just over 20% being foreign tourists. This indicates that tourists comprise a large proportion of the visitors to La Mercè, particularly at the major events staged around PlaÇa Catalunya and the Ramblas. However, when the motivations of the visitors for coming to Barcelona were analysed in more detail, it became obvious that few of the tourists had specifically come for La Mercè itself. Only 40% of domestic visitors and less than 5% of foreign tourists had made their trip specifically for the festival. Tourists were also asked to indicate when they had made the decision to visit the event. Almost 90% of Catalan visitors said they had made the decision within the last few days, whereas foreign tourists had either decided 'a long time ago' (46%) or they 'just came across it' on the day (31%). This indicates that many foreign visitors are 'accidental cultural tourists'.

The differential experience of visitors by origin was underlined in the responses to questions about their experience of the event. Foreign tourists were far more likely than domestic tourists or local residents to see La Mercè as 'exciting' or 'spectacular'. Participant observation indicates that foreign tourists were particularly surprised at encountering parades of g*egants* and were impressed by the displays of *castellers*. These were also the type of events that tourists were most likely to encounter, as the main parades tend to be concentrated around the Cuitat Vella and the Ramblas, where tourists are also concentrated. Foreign tourists were also more likely to experience the

event as ‘traditional’ or ‘authentic’, again perhaps because of the types of events they encountered. Conversely, they were less likely to perceive it as ‘contemporary’.

Asked about how their visit to La Mercè had influenced their feeling about Barcelona, 35% of respondents said that the event had made them feel more positive, and only 5% said it had made them feel more negative. Foreign tourists in particular were likely to take away a more positive feeling (42%), perhaps because of the positive surprise of encountering unknown elements of Catalan tradition. Similarly, the vast majority of visitors felt themselves to be very welcome during La Mercè, and visitors from abroad and the rest of Spain were particularly positive (65% saying they felt ‘very welcome’).

However, residents of Barcelona perceived that the event was orientated towards global rather than local culture. This feeling tended to be linked to the idea that the event has changed over the years. When asked what changes they had noticed, frequent visitors to the event (almost all of whom were local residents) indicated that there had been an increase in the number of events and an increased possibility to participate in La Mercè. Most significantly, there was also a strong feeling that the number of ‘non-Catalan’ elements in the programme had increased. This feeling was particularly strong among Catalan-speaking respondents. The internationalisation of the cultural content of La Mercè is also indicated by figures produced by Contrastant. Their analysis of the musical programme over the past decade indicates that Catalan vocal performances now account for only for 18% of the performances, compared with almost 40% a decade ago. Part of the reason for the relative decline in Catalan has been the dramatic expansion of the number of performances, which have more than doubled over the same period (www.contrastant.net).

When asked if the event was reaching its aims in terms of developing co-existence (*convivencia*) and integration, the Catalan respondents were much more positive than the Spanish-speaking or foreign residents in Barcelona. Over 75% of the Catalan respondents indicated that La Mercè contributed towards co-existence, compared with 70% of Spanish speaking and less than 40% of foreign residents. The differences between Catalan and Spanish speakers are more marked in the case of the impact of the event on cross-cultural understanding. Over 60% of Catalan speakers agreed that the event had a positive effect, compared with about 40% of Spanish speakers. A similar picture emerges in terms of the role of La Mercè in integrating minority groups in Catalan society, a major aim of the event. Over 35% of Catalan-speaking respondents thought that the event had a positive effect on integration, compared with 17% of Spanish-speakers. The more pessimistic assessment of the cross-cultural understanding and integration effects of the event also reflect a further issue identified in the interviews. The festival helps to develop co-existence over the duration of the festival, but afterwards everybody goes back to their own community and continues to live alongside, rather than with, other communities.

It was clear that local residents perceive that growing numbers of tourists are visiting the event every year. Over 85% agreed with the statement that ‘more and more tourists visit La Mercè’, and Catalan speakers were particularly likely to perceive a growth in tourism. In spite of this, there was little evidence of any negative attitudes towards tourists attending the event. Local residents were more likely than other respondents to indicate that the event was ‘crowded’, but this did not lead to negative feelings. Less than 10% of local residents indicated that they did not like the presence of outsiders.

Catalan speakers in particular were more likely than other respondents to react favourably to the presence of visitors, perhaps indicating a high degree of pride in other people appreciating their culture. One factor that tended to promote a feeling of pride was the level of attachment that people felt to the local area and their involvement in social and cultural life. Those indicating that they were proud of La Mercè attracting so many visitors were most likely to be members of local cultural associations, which were also likely to be actively involved in the cultural production process. Cultural association members were also much more likely to feel strongly connected to Barcelona (35%) than non-members (22%). This points to the role played by social capital in binding the community together and making it more receptive to tourism as well. A socially cohesive community is less likely to feel threatened by the presence of outsiders, and more comfortable with sharing their culture with others.

The role of local residents in displaying and explaining their culture to visitors is also confirmed by the participant observation. A relatively large number of tourists making a conscious effort to visit La Mercè were accompanied by local family or friends, who interpreted the cultural content of the event for them. Such visitors were also more likely to visit some of the more peripheral events in the programme, outside the city centre. In some cases, locals also acted as impromptu cultural intermediaries for those without local 'guides', for example showing groups of young tourists how to dance the *sardana*. One of the issues which needs to be researched further, however, is the extent to which such encounters result in increased cultural understanding on the part of both local residents and tourists.

## Conclusions

The rapid growth of cultural tourism has undoubtedly brought the 'global' more frequently into contact with 'local' culture. The Barcelona case study also shows how the global and the local are beginning to interact with each other in an interesting process of 'glocalisation'. In general, both residents and tourists perceive this process to be positive, although there are undoubted signs that 'local' culture is changing.

The Barcelona case is not typical of the experience of most Mediterranean communities, but it does indicate some of the ways in which the glocalisation of culture can be managed positively. One of the most important elements is the acceptance of change on the part of the local population, and their willingness to use change in a proactive manner in order to strengthen their own culture. The ability of Catalunya to re-invent tradition means that cultural products are not fossilised or detached from global developments, but can be articulated to global cultural streams in new and positive ways.

## References

Barcelona Art Report (2001) Barcelona Art Report: 2001 Experiences. http://www.bcn.es/BarcelonaArtReport/eng/home.html

Benach Rovira, Núria and Albet i Mas, Abel (2004) Barcelona 1979-2004, entre el modelo y el espectáculo. In: Minca, Claudio (ed.) (2004) Lo spettacolo della città / The Spectacle of the City. Padova: CEDAM.

Bennett, O. (2001) Cultural Pessimism: Narratives of Decline in the Postmodern World. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Castells, M. (1996). The information age: Economy, society and culture. Volume I: The rise of the network society. Blackwell, Oxford.

Hughes, R. (1992) Barcelona. London: Harvill.

Monclús, Francisco Javier (2000) Barcelona’s planning strategies: from ‘Paris of the South’ to the ‘Capital of West Mediterranean’. GeoJournal 51: 57–63.

Monclús, Francisco Javier (2003) El “Modelo Barcelona” ¿Una Fórmula Original? De la “Reconstrucción” a los Proyectos Urbanos Estratégicos (1979-2004) Urban perspectives 3, 1-13.

Nijman J. (1999) Cultural globalization and the identity of place: The reconstruction of Amsterdam. Ecumene , vol. 6: 146-164.

Pablo, J. (2000) *La Mercè Il.lustrada: Guia de la festa major de Barcelona*. Tarragona: Edicions el Mèdol.

Richards, G. (2001) *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism*. Wallingford:CAB International.

Richards, G. (2004) Cultura popular, tradición y turismo en las Festes de la Mercè de Barcelona. In Font, Joseph (ed.) Casos de turismo cultural: De la planificación estratégica a la evaluación de productos. Barcelona: Ariel, pp. 287-306.

Ritzer, G. (1999) Enchanting a Disenchanted World : Revolutionizing the Means of Consumption. Pine Forge Press.

*(This paper was originally delivered at the Ágora Universitaria del Mediterráneo (AUMED) conference organised by the Universitat Roviri I Virgili in Tarragona, Catalunya in June 2005)*

# Tourism Local Innovation System or how tourism destinations evolve

*Lluís Prats*
*Girona University*
*Spain*
*lluis.prats@udg.es*

*Jaume Guia*
*Francesc Xavier Molina*

**Abstract**

The evolution of territorial agglomeration models as industrial districts and clusters into the tourism industry to explain the tourism phenomenon are widely analysed in this journal over the last few years. They explained that tourist companies situated in a close territory or space can have some benefits obtained from shared resources. Otherwise, these studies didn't focus on the key role that, in our opinion, the innovation and the relationships among the agents have on the tourism destinations.

Trying to solve this gap, we use the notion of innovation systems model, combined with the relational networks theory into the tourism industry, to present the Tourism Local Innovation System model that can be used to detect the innovation capacity of the tourism destinations and also help to plan and manage the relational network that every destination has.

Finally we applied the TLIS model into the Costa Brava Centre the most visited destination in Catalunya, which is the most visited region in Spain as a real example, using social analysis methods to draw the destination network maps that can help to manage the destination.

**Introduction**

Some years ago, this journal published a number of articles analysing tourism destinations by means of well-known industrial organizations models, in particular Becattini's Industrial district (Hjalager, 2000) and Porter's Industrial Cluster (Jackson and Murphy, 2002). Largely, we agree in using these tools for a comprehensive description of the tourism phenomenon, since territory or space, as well as connections among a great range of participants are claimed as central issues. However, in our opinion, some questions and concerns have been raised due to the direct application of the concepts. In short, specific characteristic features of the tourism phenomenon may require a different approach or at least a deeper reconsideration of existing approaches.

Our focus is far from being a simple comparison between existing concepts (district and cluster) competing to be more suitable to the issue at hand. Rather than an incremental development of these concepts, we suggest that a more complex and dynamic theoretical development is required.

In order to offer a comprehensive understanding of the tourism destination, we would like to discuss three different factors from the cluster and district definitions. First of all, the common ground of both definitions. We assume that both models provide useful insights and ideas but partial contributions; secondly, in some aspects both models have not additional value, we mean, they present contradictory formulations that forces us to choose one or the other and finally, there are elements that, in our opinion, are missed in both definitions. In consequence, for a complete and satisfactory explanation of the tourism phenomenon, new material to be added is needed. For that reason, we propose a reflection about the interest of using these models and, further, propose an alternative, non-exclusive model emphasizing the relational and social elements of territories.

In the paper we coin the notion of Tourism Local Innovation System (TLIS) integrating the territorial perspective with the social or relational capital approach. The district and cluster concepts provide elements concerning proximity, interactions between and description of the participants. A social capital approach, based on the structure and nature of the ties of the network, reveals a great potential to explain key factors of the competitiveness of firms.

The paper has been structured as follows: first, we briefly review territorial approaches in order to find their common ground, contradictions and limitations. Then, we introduce the social capital perspective in order to characterize the social network of tourism destinations. Secondly, in defining the notion of TLIS we propose some ideas and insights that deal with some limitations of previous models. Finally, we describe the destination Central Costa Brava as an illustrative case.

## Theoretical background

### Territorial agglomeration models

Porter (2000) understands a cluster to be a geographically close group of interconnected companies and local institutions in a particular field with common and complementary linkages. On the other hand, the industrial district concept is traditionally defined as a socio-economic entity that is characterized by the active presence of both a community of people and a population of firms in one naturally and historically bounded area (Becattini, 1990: 39).

Porter (1990) found in location or proximity the source of the competitive advantage for individual firms. He analyses a number of industries (e.g. ceramic tiles, dress, press, etc.) all over the world to test the proposed model. Briefly, Porter states that in order to successfully compete in the international market, firms should find the best location or the best environmental conditions for any activity to be developed. He aims to give us a general explanation of competitive advantage as a theory of the firm (Porter, 1991), and consequently, he tries to explain the key questions of the discipline, in particular, why firms vary in performance. Clusters can be found with different degrees of development and so they can be improved through appropriate strategies at different levels. Government should play a secondary role, indirectly enforcing or enhancing the key elements of the model.

Becattini (1979, 1990) observed a number of successful experiences in the *Third Italy*, and revisiting Marshall's ideas formulated the model of the industrial district. In contrast with what Porter said, he draws this concept from the community, or people. Rather than a particular industrial organization pattern, social community becomes the unit of reference. The industrial district model is an attempt to explain the key elements for the development of a country or region, and therefore it is much more a theory of development. Taking territory as the unit of reference, it is claimed that not all territorial agglomerations can be identified as industrial districts; some conditions must be considered. The deliberate creation of districts is problematic since they are idiosyncratic and historical processes. However, industrial policy is critical for the evolution of the districts. According to Becattini, social communities are organized economically to develop and improve their life conditions, and this social dimension is determinant. Therefore, the industrial district model is only valid for populations complying with certain conditions.

Originally, neither the cluster nor the industrial district concepts were coined having in mind the phenomenon of tourism. In fact within the tourism literature of the time, we know no relevant studies to be mentioned. According to Hjalager (2000), the industrial district model is focused on productive activities, distribution businesses and other services mostly regarded as ancillary, although recognized as crucial for the formation and viability of the industrial district. Despite this lack of literature, the notion of a tourism destination seems to be particularly suitable for this.

According to Hjalager (2000) the characteristics of industrial districts that can be found in a tourism destination are: 1) interdependence between firms; 2) flexible firm boundaries; 3) cooperative and competitive relationships, 4) trust sustained through collaboration between actors, and finally, 5) a "cultural community" with supportive public policies. However, this author argues that there are some elements that discourage the direct comparison of tourism destinations with industrial districts. They are: 1) non-supportive governance structures; 2) firm dependency of multinationals; 3) firms' free-riding behaviour; and 4) the lack of stabilized collaborative structures that enhance trust and reciprocity.

In order to overcome the potential limitations of the district approach, Jackson and Murphy (2002), took a cluster perspective. While Porter's clusters reflect all of Hjalager's five characteristics, his focus on competitive advantages extend the cluster characteristics beyond them in several key areas. Cluster development efforts must embrace the pursuit of competitive advantage and specialization, rather than attempt to imitate exactly what is present in other locations. This requires building on local differences and sources of uniqueness where possible and turning them into strengths (Porter, 1998: 247), hence, additional characteristics are present.

The cluster emphasis on social and institutional factors are: 1) a shared understanding of competitive business ethic; 2) an existing private sector leadership; 3) a wide involvement of cluster participants; 3) appropriate cluster boundaries; 4) the institutionalisation of relationships; 5) social structure and attention to personal relationships, and finally 6) life cycles.

**How much similar are they?**

Some key elements can be highlighted from the cluster and district definitions: *proximity*, the degree of *interconnectedness* as the nexus among members of the agglomeration and, also a wide assortment of actors or *participants*. This is far more than just firms belonging to the same activity and it includes specialized firms, customers, suppliers and a wide range of local or regional institutions.

Industries persist in being concentrated in particular locations in spite of what could be suggested by globalisation forces, lower transportation costs or high communication technologies, (what is named *location paradox*). Rather than productive factors or other advantages, what explains the success of location are the relational resources; in other words, what Storper and Scott (1989) called *untraded interdependences*. Proximity benefits the intensity of contacts between participants in the cluster or district. Indeed, despite the presence of long-distance interaction, most contacts, especially of an informal nature, are within a short radius of one's home base (Malecki 1995). In these networking relationships, a great variety of actors are found. It is far more than just firms belonging to the same activity and includes specialized firms, customers, suppliers and a wide range of local or regional institution including policy maker agents, universities, research centres and so on. In summary, the essence of the two concepts or approaches is found in three factors: proximity, interconnectedness and variety of participants.

**How much do they differ?**

Both Porter and Becattini describe the conditions under which we can analyse agglomerations. At this point we find some differences between them. Becattini assumes the district as the unit of analysis, which means that relations developed at this level are more significant than those developed at lower or higher levels. In contrast, Porter focuses on the individual firm level, where the cluster is the context under which the firm operates. One implication of this difference refers to the role of the industrial or government policy.

Another relevant difference refers to the fact that, to some extent, where and if we find clusters is a matter of degree. In contrast, a district is much about a model that (at least in the canonical version) only exists under certain restrictive conditions, such as: certain level of productive specialization, and density and dominance of SMEs, among others

A third difference is based on the idea that, according to Becattini, districts are not necessarily the exclusive path to economic development; in fact, it can be done through other organizational forms. In contrast, Porter assumes the universal value of the model

**What is missed?**

In our opinion, both concepts miss some important elements necessary to interpret a phenomenon as the tourism destination. First, both present rather static views. In contrast, the social capital perceptive provides a more dynamic view, since it describes opportunities and threats to be addressed and the factors determining variation in outcomes.

*Interconnectedness* in the agglomeration can be conceptualised as a social network. Firms in territorial agglomerations possess a set of relationships with other actors who provide some benefits and restraints. On conceptualising these characteristic features, authors agree in considering that industrial districts can be seen as cohesive, dense, strong tie networks of contacts. The social capital literature (Coleman 1990) stressed the positive effect of the cohesive structure of the networks on the production of social norms and sanctions that facilitate trust and cooperative exchanges. In the same vein and regarding the relational dimension of social capital, the strong tie argument suggests that it provides organizations with two primary advantages. First, strong ties are associated with exchanges of high quality information and tacit knowledge, and serve as a mechanism of social control that governs the inter-dependencies in partnerships (Uzzi 1996). Consequently, the characteristics of the features of these networks are suitable for exploiting existing opportunities through the sharing of high quality information, tacit knowledge and cooperative exchanges (see for example Rowley et al. 2000).

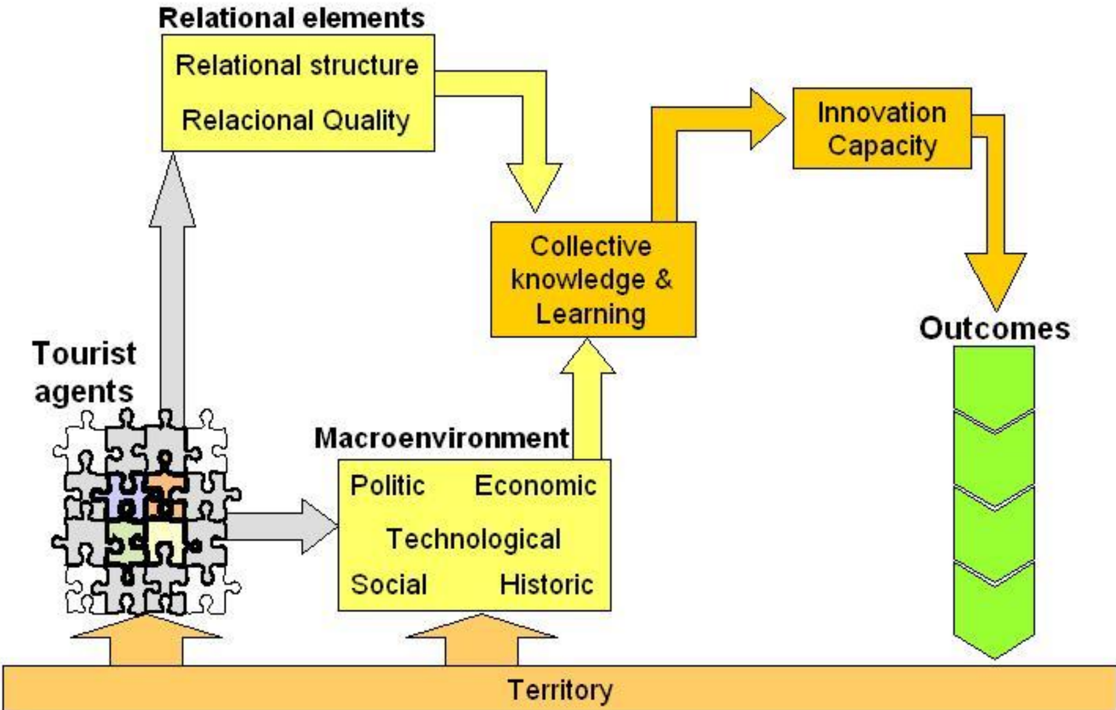
*Space* and *proximity* contribute to the spreading of tacit knowledge and the capacity for learning that support innovation (Maskell and Malmberg, 1999). The development of coalitions are here understood to mean cooperative relations between a wide network of social actors, including workers and managers, but also broader sets of social resources in aid of the processes of innovation (Asheim, 1998). Proximity also facilitates frequent, close, and face-to-face interactions. Firms clustered in the same area often share a common culture, which can act to facilitate the process of social learning (Wolfe, 2002). Such firms build up a common language or code of communication through repeated interaction over time. Finally, this interaction is further supported by the creation of *local institutions*, which help to produce and reinforce the set of rules and conventions governing local firm behavior and inter-firm interaction.

## Theoretical proposition

### The notion of Tourism Local Innovation System (TLIS)

Three basic issues must be described in order to define and properly identify the concept of Tourism Local Innovation System TLIS (figure 1): 1) its basic characteristic features; 2) determinants of tourism innovation at the local level, and 3) indicators explaining the behavior of the system. Once these issues are discussed, the model will also be presented as an analytic tool to be used in comparative research between different tourism destinations or between different phases in the evolution of a particular destination.

**Figure 1:** ***Tourism Local Innovation System (TLIS): Conceptual Model.***

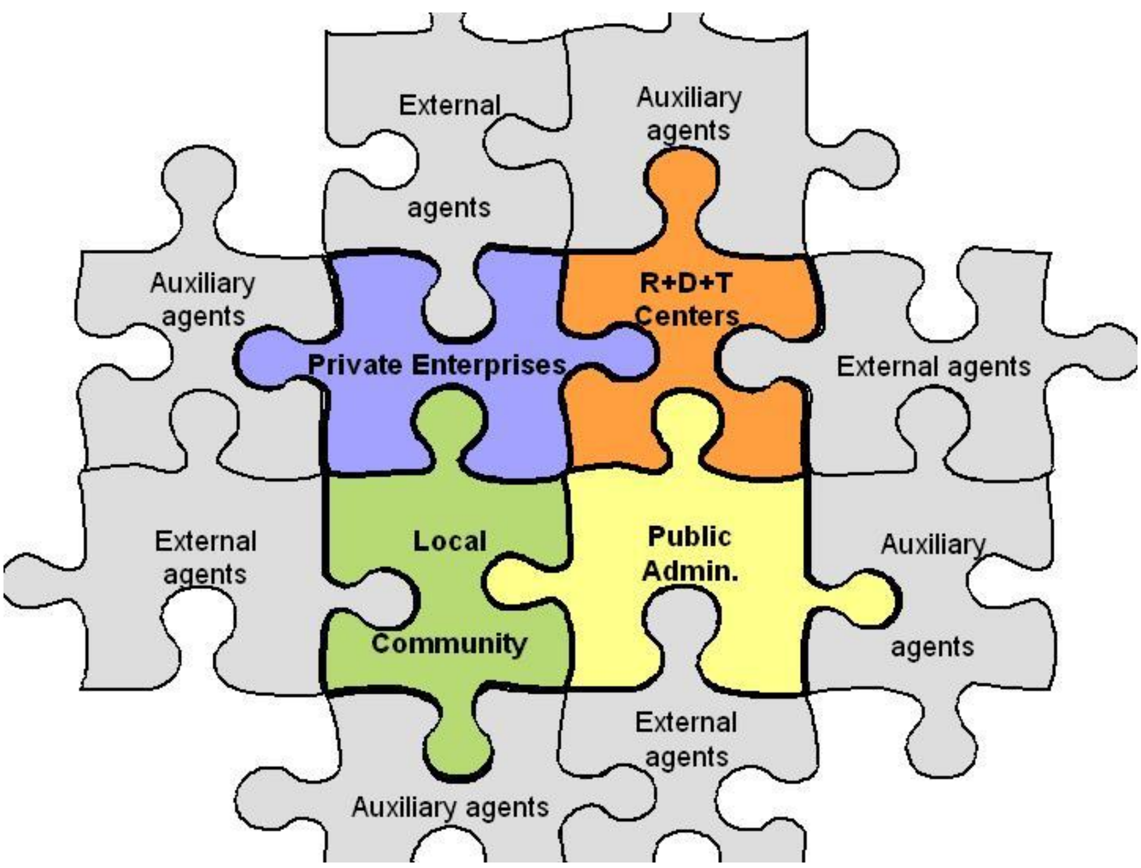



A TLIS is settled on a particular territory where a group of agents interact among themselves, supported by ancillary industries and external agents. They all generate relational assets and establish links with their macro-environment allowing collective learning and common knowledge, both critical in determining the innovation capacity of the system. In other words, the relational assets allow the creation and diffusion of innovation and can explain the competitive advantage of one particular tourism destination.

We understand the meaning of *territory as a* collective *construction*, rather than simply as geographical proximity. Territory is seen as a space where there are, among others, conflicts, bargaining, formal and informal cooperative agreements, resolutions of conflicts or regulation between and among different agents and other processes. In fact, it constitutes a complex entity difficult to understand from a mono-disciplinary perspective (Courlet, 2001). Finally, the territory should be understood as an agglomeration of relevant agents, assuming that an innovation system has not precise physical neither political boundary. Moreover, within these fuzzy borders not all the innate elements belong to the system.

**(1)** ***Tourist agents*** *are an essential part of the system*. These agents include: companies, policy agents, research and training centres and the local community, together with some external and ancillary agents.

**Figure 2: Tourist agents**




Companies. We must consider all companies belonging to the system that directly participate in the tourist experience. Consequently, we include basic activities such as: hotels, restaurants and so on, and those firms which although they don't belong to this sector by definition, are totally or mostly devoted to the tourist industry, such as building activities or cleaning and laundry services (OMT 1998). The classification of firms follows Brusco's (1990) classification of firms within industrial districts: final firms, specialized firms and integrated firms.

Policy agents. They encompass all the public policy agents acting within the tourist process. In tourism activities, a stronger cross-section approach is required, much more than in other industries. To give an example, at local level we can observe relevant fields such as: town planning, environmental norms, cultural activities or sport events among others, all of them with great relevance for the tourism industry. Also, policy can be applied in very different aspects such as: regulatory (e.g. safety norms), control, research, promotion policies, land planning and others.

*Research and training centres.* Although, as it is well known, training and research are key elements for the competitiveness of firms, in the case of the tourism industry they are, generally, poorly used and considered. Some examples of these centers are universities, research institutes, consultancy companies, vocational schools and so on. All these institutions belong to the system since they generate learning and research in tourism.

*Local community*. Following Gunn (1997), and the later adaptation of the OMT (1999), we consider that the local community must be included as an element of the tourism innovation system. We understand the local community as the people that usually live in the relevant area. It can be analysed at the level of individuals or at the more aggregate level of organizations such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), citizenship groups or civic associations. We need to highlight the role played by the local community in the tourist activities since citizen movements, for instance, may struggle and campaign in order to obtain protection to areas because of their environmental, cultural or landscape qualities. Interestingly, these movements are viewed as threats for certain tourist activities and at the same time, as opportunities for others.

*Ancillary agents*. After having described the more basic elements of the system, we introduce the ancillary agents, that is, those that support the activities of the main actors. In other words, these agents are those that clearly benefit from the multiplicative impacts of tourism: shopping, professionals, etc.

*External agents*. They are not members of the tourist system, although they can keep some kind of relationships with internal actors. Two different types of agents can be distinguished: one physically located inside and another outside the system. The insiders can easily be potential members of the system. According to some authors, the financial sector must be included as an example of it (Montobbio 2000). Financial companies are not specialized in tourism activities. However, when a financial institution focuses its activity to a great extent on the tourism industry, it should be considered as one of these external agents. This is the case of some local branches of banks.

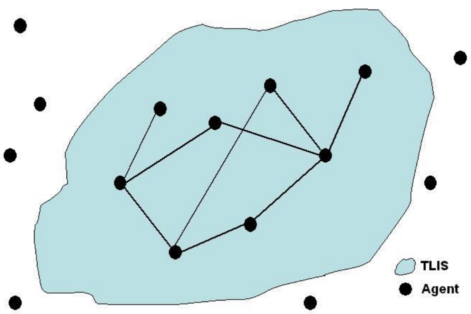
To some extent, the efficiency of the system is a consequence of geographical proximity. It allows agents to benefit from each other and from common infrastructures, shared engineering or tacit knowledge transmission, and so on. Nevertheless, a local system must keep contacts with dispersed or external agents to get the benefits of technology and managerial or organizational innovations developed outside the local system. Rallet (2001) describe these agents as working internally although physically located outside.

**(2) Relational elements.** Interaction will be easier when there is a common knowledge base. In fact, interaction is what brings members of the network closer, and it is the determining factor in explaining why systems vary in terms of success or failure. There are two elements to consider here: structure and relational quality

**Relational structure**

The relational structure of the networks can be restricted to the internal connections of the destination or district, or open to other members from outside.

**Figure 3: Closed relational structure**



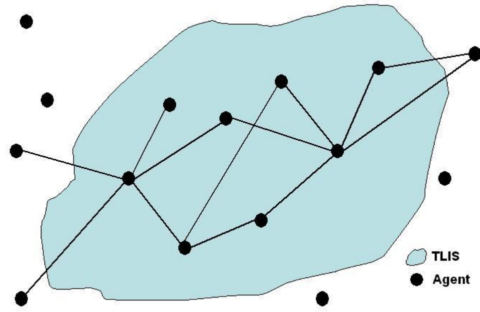




**Figure 4: Open relational structure**

If a system has a closed relational structure (Figure 3), meaning that it has not significant relationships with external actors, its innovation capacity is diminished. As a consequence of the closeness, the system may not have access to the relevant knowledge and resources from external sources, favouring then the risk of falling within a *lock-in* process in the long term. On the contrary, when the system keeps an open structure (Figure 4) this concern is not relevant.

**Figure 5: Poorly connected open structure**

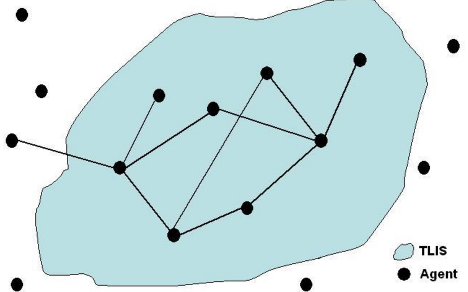
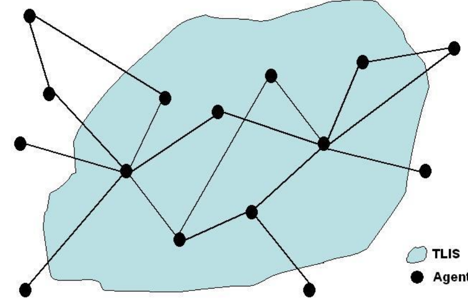



**Figure 6: Rich relational open structure**



Additionally, the *degree of connectedness* represents another relevant element of the structural dimension. Accordingly we find two types of open relational structure: poorly connected structures have a disadvantage in knowledge access, while richly connected open structures better guarantee a continuous flows of new knowledge and resources.

**Figure 7: Connection between systems**

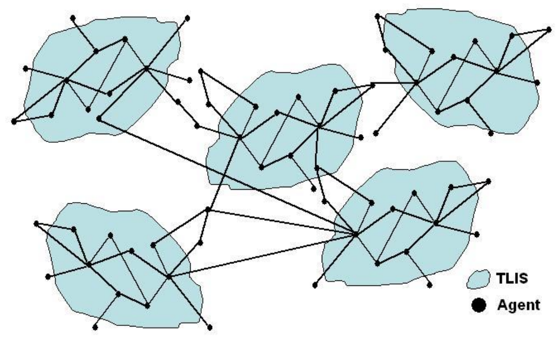
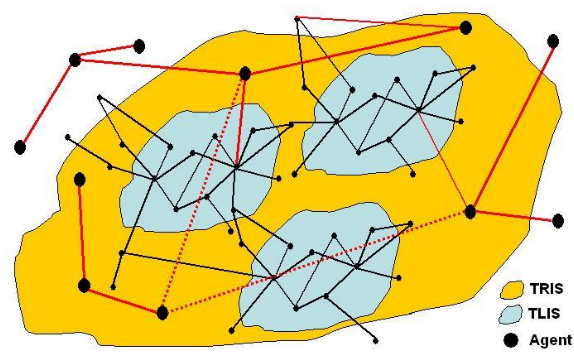



**Figure 8: Connection between suprasystems**




Finally, moving to a higher level of relationships, a particular system may benefit from more specialized knowledge, avoiding redundant resources and favoring the introduction of innovations already existing in other systems (figures 7 and 8).

According to Zimmermann (2001) the degree of local interaction generates a strong connectivity in the network and the system. Higher connectivity provides an improved fluency in the knowledge flows and builds up trust and other shared values and rules.

However, an excess of internal *overconnectivity* can produce a loss in trust in and rejection of external agents. Keeping relationships with agents is costly and risky and, although at the beginning the benefits are greater than the costs, after a particular point, additional relationships not only do not produce additional benefits, but even generate negative affects. Consequently, keeping a minimal amount of interconnections with external agents outside the system assures efficient access to all parts of the system, since they are necessary to provide the system with new information and knowledge.

**Relational quality**

Another important relational aspect refers to the nature or quality of the relationships. Trust is the key factor here, where a higher level of trust in relationships provides greater benefits for the involved agents.

**Figure 9: High relational quality**

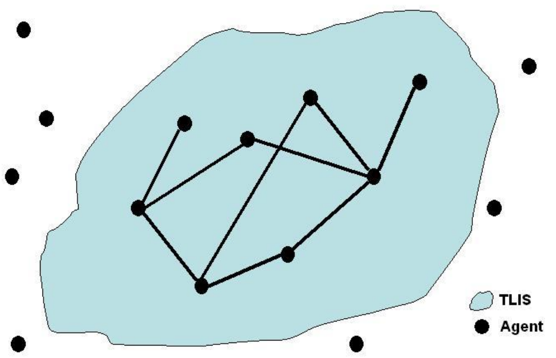
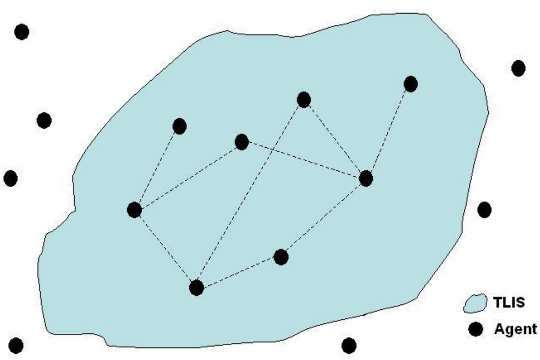



**Figure 10: Low relational quality**

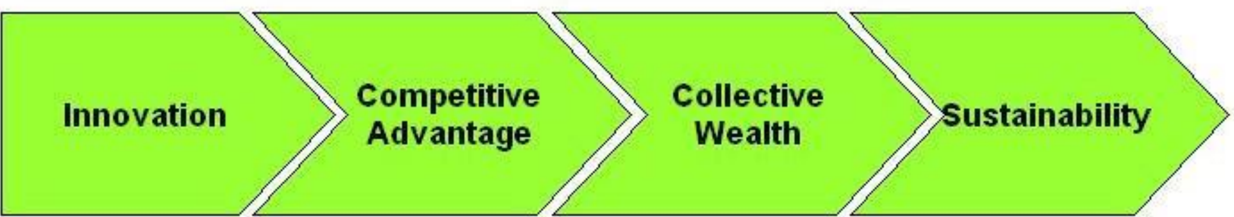



High relational quality is characterized by high levels of trust (Figure 9). The relationships between the agents are strong, frequent and provide a higher quality and intensity of the knowledge flow. In the second type of relational quality (figure 10) trust is low and the relationships are weak and sporadic, thus, producing a diminished flow of knowledge and of poor content.

***(3) Macro-environment.*** A third factor in the TLIS model is the macro-environment, defined by five different dimensions. First, the *political dimension* constituted by policy decisions and political elements from policy makers that affect the system (e.g. industry or innovation promotion policy). Second, the *economic dimension* encompassing different economic features of the system (salaries, economic development, economic cycles, etc.). Third, the *technological dimension* refers to both hard (general infrastructure, etc.) and soft (organizational) types. Fourth, the *social dimension*, including cultural aspects such as civic organizational propensity or educational level. Finally, the *historical dimension* provides the system with historical experience (political regimes, disasters or relevant historical events). Somehow, this macro-environmental component of the system can be considered similar to the well-known PEST analysis in strategic analysis aiming at identifying threats and opportunities for firms.

***(4) Outcomes.*** Collective learning and knowledge are the result of interactions between and interventions of the agents of the system. The more the macro dimensions are favourable and the relationships are of higher quality, the more, better knowledge will flow throughout the system favouring collective learning and creation of new knowledge. The main goal of collective learning and knowledge creation in the system is to generate a dynamic capacity to innovate. This collective capacity should crystallize in some of the outcomes displayed in the next figure 11.

**Figure 11: Outcomes from the system.**




Here, we find four sequential outcomes or results. We contend that it is not possible to gain competitive advantage without innovation and that all four outcomes will be achieved if the TLIS is fully developed. Competitive advantage provides the whole system with generalized benefits. We understand these benefits as the improvement of people's quality of life with regard to, not only the economic dimension, but also the environmental, social and cultural dimensions in perfect balance among them. This balance gives sustainability to the whole system in the long run.

**The building blocks of a SLIT: range, internal connectivity and external connectivity**

After having defined the SLIT we focus now on the type of actors and relational elements of the model, as they are the basic determinants of the innovative capacity and competitiveness of the system.

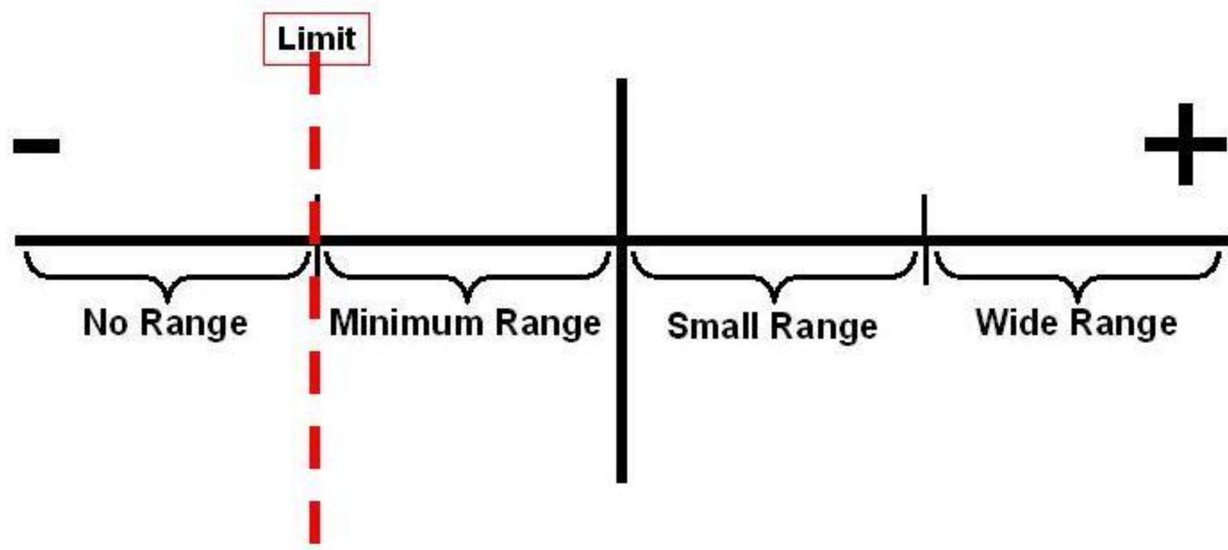
In order to categorize the structure of a destination network and be able to determine whether it has a structure of local innovation system or not, we select three basic elements: the variety of agents, the extant internal connectivity, and the actual external connectivity.

We start with the variety in the composition of the network, or the range of agents present in it. First, we define four categories or types of composition, noting that *total range* refers to the fact that the network contains all the required types of agents, that is, public authorities, trade associations, research centres and training centres, the local community and external agents.

By a *small range* we understand a network where there are public authorities, trade associations and external agents, but neither research/ training centres nor local community are involved. Finally, we define the *minimal range* when in the network there are different types of agents, but there are not public authorities or trade associations.

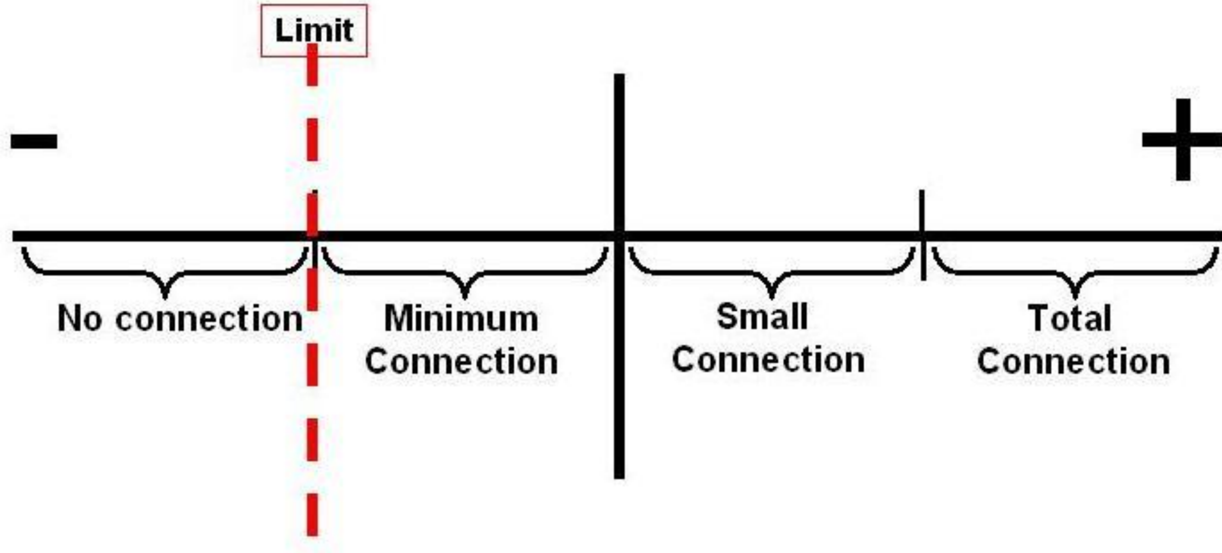
When the network is categorized as *no range* it is not considered an innovation system. It is just a network of agents where public authorities, trade associations, and probably other elements are not present. In fact, these two types of agents are essential for the system to behave innovatively (Perrant and Zimmermann 2003, Prats and Guia 2004).

**Figure 12: Evaluation of the range of the system**



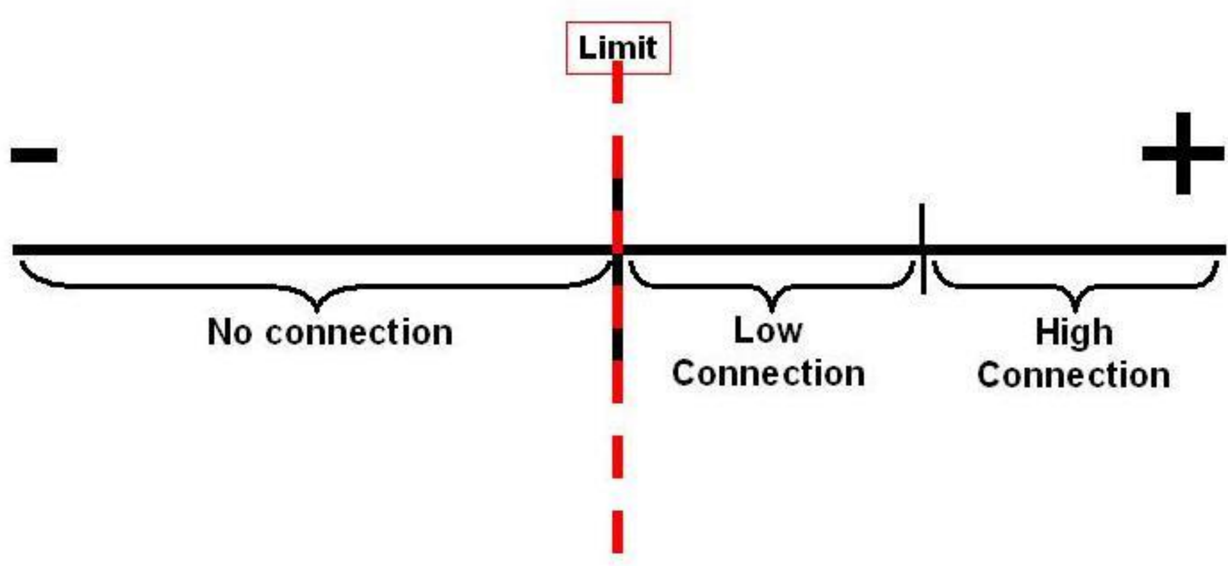

Now, we focus on the internal connections among the agents that make up the destination network. We first define a destination network having *total linkage* when at least one actor of all the agent types present in the network is linked with actors of other types. Second, when a research/training centre or the local community are not connected with other types of agents, even though they are present within the network, we define the system as showing *little linkage*. Third, when a certain number of agents are connected, but they are not with public authorities or the trade associations, we define the network as having *minimal linkage*. Finally, we define a system as having *no linkage* when the agents are connected neither with public authorities nor with trade associations and possibly not connected either with other types of agents, even though there is a strong connection among the rest.

**Figure 13: Evaluation of the internal connection of the system**



Finally, we find three potential types of external connections in a destination network or system. A *high level of external linkage* is found when there are a large number of external ties involving all the types of relevant agents. By a large number of external ties we mean, at least two external contacts within each of the agent types or groups, and overall a number of at least eight contacts. As an exception, when there is only one external contact coming out from the research/training centre or local community types of agents, the system is still considered as having high linkage as far as the rest of conditions apply. Now, we define a system as having a *low level of linkage* when there are less than two external contacts in more than one type of agent, and less than eight in total. And when there are no external connections we define the system as having *no linkage*.

**Figure 14: Evaluation of the element the external connection.**




**Illustrative example: the central Costa Brava destination**

Costa Brava is actually a tourist brand representing the northeastern part of the coast of Catalonia. In the northern tip of the area we find the French-Spanish border. The area is administratively divided into three regions, differentiated by their geography and by their main type of tourism. Taking the tool explained in the previous section, we analyse the Central Costa Brava destination -corresponding to the central or middle region of the three-, in order to find out whether it can be considered a TLIS.

In order to define the whole list of agents present in the destination, we conducted an initial search and found a first list of different public administrations, private business associations, research, training and educational centres and local community institutions. Different information sources such as leaflets, brochures, organizations´ reports, and websites, among others, were used. All the sources were related to tourism and some of them were collected in visits to firms and tourism promotional agencies.

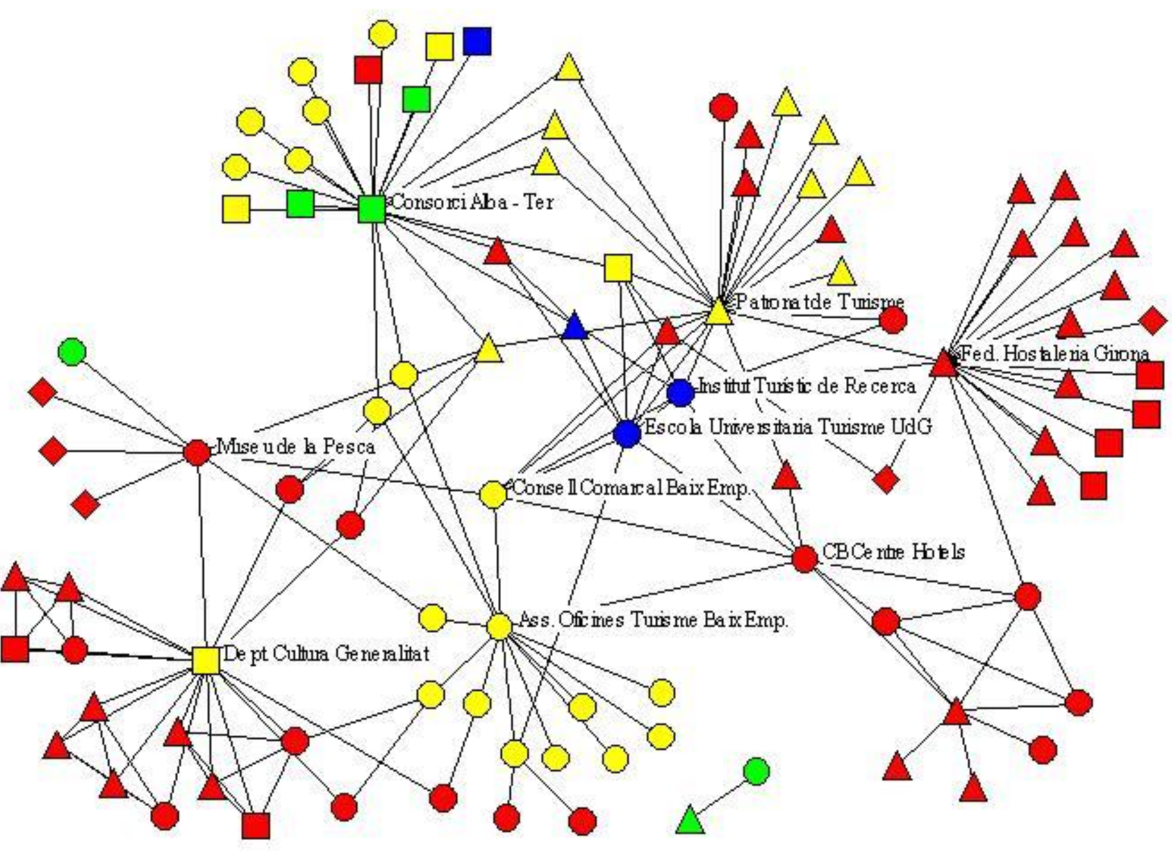
Once we had the list we started by linking actors when we found their names and logos sharing the same promotional leaflets or found existing direct links in their websites. This step allowed us to generate a symmetric binary relational matrix that shows the apparent connectivity among the agents. The second step consisted in carrying out interviews with the most relevant agents of the list. These interviews allowed us to extract further

important information for the analysis of the destination as a TLIS, and also to generate its relational map.

For the visualization of this map we categorized the agents into two types. The first type was coloured according to the sort of agent it was, in other words, trade association (red), public administration (yellow), research and educational centre (blue), and local community (green). The second type depicts the geographical location of the agents and is visually represented by shapes; so agents located within the destination are categorized as a circle, the agents not located in the destination but in the region are seen as triangles, agents located outside the region but in the Girona province are depicted as squares, and finally the actors located outside the province in the supra-territorial system are pictured as diamonds.

The results of this first analysis of the apparent connectivity can be observed in the following figure where all the detected agents are represented. In the diagram (Figure 15) we can appreciate the relationships among the agents that take part in the tourism destination. It must be mentioned that the relationships in the figure are non-directional as directions are not relevant because of the symmetry of the relational matrix. Therefore, the lines in the figure show whether there is relationship or not, and assuming that those relations exist or have existed sometime in the recent past.

**Figure 15: Connectivity diagram of all the agents in the destination**



In the diagram we show the names of the agents that have more direct contacts, that is, those with more *degree centrality*. Therefore, they represent the more relevant actors in terms of information availability and diffusion power. In terms of location, out of these ten agents, six are local agents, two regional, and the rest national actors. Since almost all these actors do not belong to the local system, we can state that there is a strong dependency of the destination on external agents and therefore there is a weak internal linkage. Otherwise, since the network is very well externally connected, the destination will have great capacity to obtain new information and knowledge.

We also detect that amongst the more important local or destination agents, three different agent types are represented, and that there is also a direct connection among them. In particular we see that the Consell Comarcal (county authority) of Baix Empordà, Costa Brava Centre Hotels (trade association), and the Tourism Faculty and Tourism Research Institute (research and training institution) are all connected with each other, suggesting that this is the core of the local system. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that local community agents are totally disconnected with respect to the core and only one of them is connected to the system in a very indirect way.

**Figure 16: Connectivity of the Central Costa Brava Region**

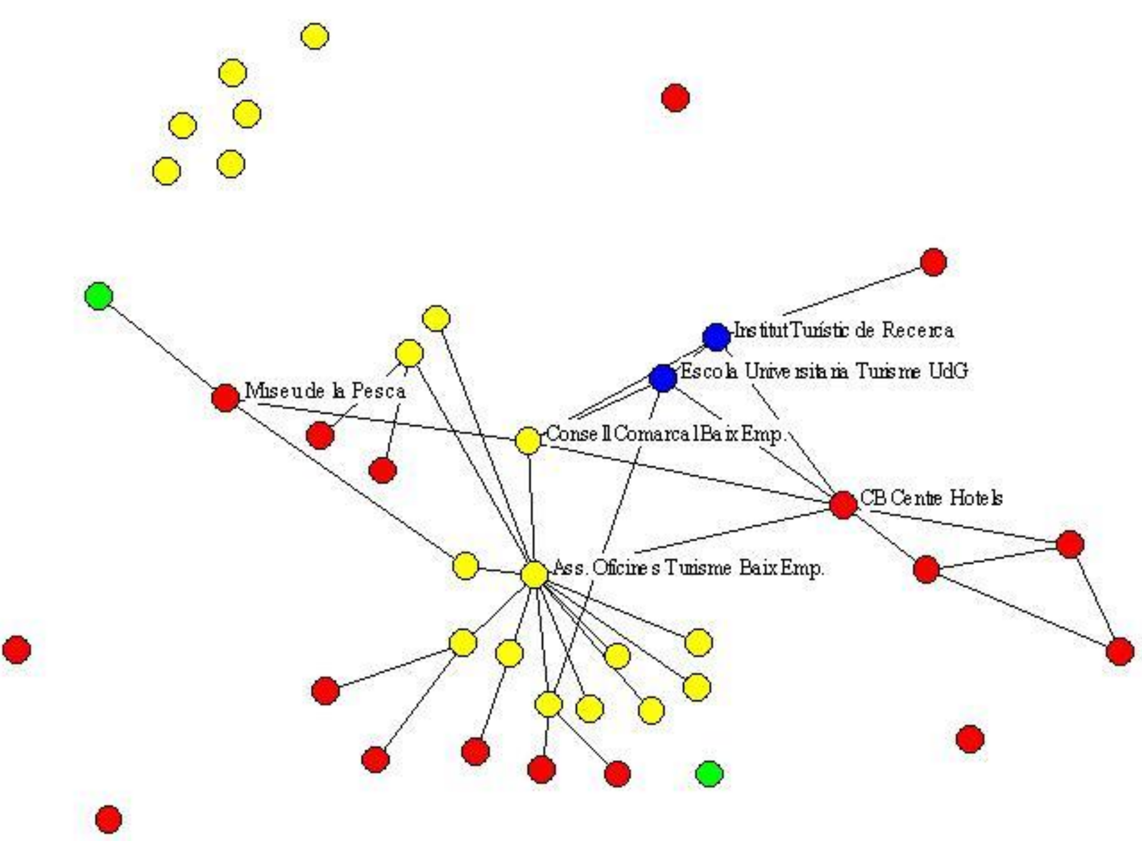



Figure 16 only shows the network actors located within the Central Costa Brava region. The rest of the agents, external to the destination, represent less than fifty per cent of the total number of agents (39,4 %). This fact illustrates the high connectivity among the agents of the Central Costa Brava region.

Finally, a negative result is found in the high number of isolated agents present in the destination. The fact is that most of them are newcomers in the area, meaning that there is a possible social distance with respect to the traditional core agents of the destination. Therefore, other central agents of the system should act as creators of trust toward these third actors.

## Conclusions, future research and limitations

In the previous connectivity diagrams we can say that in the case of the Central Costa Brava destination we can find all the different types of agents that should appear in a SLIT. We can also see that the existing internal connectivity is limited and, therefore, although it works as a SLIT, there is still important potential for improvement. Particularly, the local community present in the system has no direct connections with any other internal type of agents and almost inexistent indirect connections.

As it has been mentioned, the Central Costa Brava destination network has high external connectivity. The network can therefore be considered a SLIT, and consequently, has enough capacity to generate innovation. Nevertheless, there is a fundamental improvement to be made in the network structure and it is the inclusion of the local community and of other local elements that are only linked through supra-local mediators.

Certainly, although the network structure of the destination is favourable for a SLIT, we must not ignore other elements of the system like the relational quality of the links or the macro environment, which have also been defined as essential for the network to have innovative capacity. Therefore, further research needs to be done to explore these elements. In the same way, it would be interesting to analyze other destinations in order to do comparative analysis.

Finally, this paper does not aim at any standardization of destinations, but on the contrary, at producing a tool with which to analyze the relational capital of destination networks. Therefore, it will be interesting to analyze destinations based on the same single tourism product, or other destinations located in different macro environments. The tool will also be useful for practitioners and destination planners in order to assess the innovative potential of their destinations and find out how it evolves with time.

## References

Asheim, B. T. (1998) 'Learning regions as development coalitions: Partnership as governance in European workfare states?' Paper on the Second European Urban and Regional Studies Conference on "Culture, place and space in contemporary Europe", University of Durham, UK, 17-20 September 1998.

Becattini, G. (1979) 'Dal settore industriale al distretto industriale. Alcune considerazione sull'unità di indagine dell'economia industriale', Rivista di economia e politica industriale, vol .1

Becattini, G. (1990) 'The Marshallian Industrial District as a Socio-Economic Notion', in F. Pyke; G. Becattini, and W. Sengenberger (Eds) 'Industrial Districts and Local Economic Regeneration', International Institute for Labor Studies, Geneva, 37-51.

Brusco, S. (1990) 'The Idea of the Industrial District. Its Genesis', in F. Pyke; G. Becattini and W. Sengenberger (Eds), 'Industrial Districts and Inter-firm Co-operation in Italy', International Institute for Labor Studies, Geneva, 10-19.

Coleman, J. S. (1990) 'Foundations of social theory', Harvard university Belknap press, Cambridge.

Courlet, C. (2001) 'Terrotoires et régions les grands oubliés du développement économique', L'Harmattan, Paris.

Gunn, C.A. (1997) 'Vacationscape: Developing tourist areas', Taylor and Francis, Washington D.C.

Hjalager, A.M. (2000) 'Tourism destinations and the concept of industrial districs', Tourism and hospitality research, vol. 2, Nº 3, 199-213.

Jackson, J.; Murphy, P. (2002) 'Tourism destinations as clusters: Analytical experiences from the world', Tourism and hospitality, vol. 1, Nº 4, 36-52.

Malecki E, (1995) 'Culture as Mediator of Global and Local Forces', in Van Der Knaap, B. and Le Heron, R. (Eds) 'Human Resources and Industrial Spaces: A Perspective on Globalization and Location', John Wiley & Sons, Chichester, 105-127.

Maskell P. and Malmberg A. (1999) 'Localised Learning and Industrial Competitiveness', Cambridge Journal of Economics, 23, 167-185.

Montobbio, F. (1999) 'National Innovation Systems: a Critical Survey' Working Paper Nº 2, ESSY, CESPRI, Milan.

OMT (1998) 'Introducción al turismo' OMT, Madrid.

OMT (1999) 'Desarrollo turístico sostenible: Guía para administradores locales' OMT, Madrid.

Porter, M.E. (1990) 'The competitive advantage of nations', The MacMillan Press, Londres.

Porter, M. (1991) 'Towards a Dynamic Theory of Strategy', Strategic Management Journal, 12, 95-117.

Porter, M.E. (1998) 'Clusters and the new economics of competition', Hardvard Business Review, vol 76, Nº6.

Porter, M. (2000) 'Location, competition and economic development', Harvard Business Review, vol 76, 23-32

Rallet, A. (2000) 'De la globalisation à la proximité géographique: pour un programme de recherches' in Gilly, J.P. and Torre, A. (Eds) 'Dynamiques de proximité', L'Harmattan, Paris.

Rowley T., Behrens D., Krackhardt D. (2000) 'Redundant Governance Structures: An Analysis of Structural and Relational Embeddedness in the Steel and Semiconductor Industries', Strategic Management Journal, 21, 369-386.

Storper M, and Scott A, (1989) 'The Geographical Foundations and Social Regulation of Flexible Production Complexes', in Wolch, J and Dear, M. (Eds) 'The Power of Geography: How Territory Shapes Social Life Social Reproduction', Unwin and Hyman, Boston, 21-40.

Urry, J. (1990) 'The tourist Gaze: Leisure and travel in contemporary societies' Sage, London.

Uzzi, B. (1996) 'The sources and consequences of embeddedness for the economic performance of organizations: The network effect', American Sociological Review, 61, 4, 674-698.

Wolfe, D. (2002) ‘Social capital and cluster development in learning regions’, in Holbrook, J.A. and Wolfe, D. (Eds.) ‘Knowledge, Clusters and Learning Regions’, Kingston, School of Policy, Queen's University.

Zimmermann, J.B. (2001) ‘Des “Clusters” aux “Small Worlds” une approche en termes de proximités’, GREQAM document de travail, Nº1, A23; Université d’Aix – Marseille.

# Management of Lamu old town as a heritage site: local communities challenge

*Roselyne n. Okech,*
*Maseno University,*
*Kenya*
*rnokech@yahoo.com*

**Abstract**

Most World Heritage Sites are major cultural tourism attractions. The majority of visitors to these sites are generally motivated by an interest in culture, nature and heritage. The high numbers of visitors to World Heritage Sites usually attract mean that issues of accessibility, transport, accommodation, other service provision, information or impacts of visitor pressure must be discussed and potential problems must be solved by appropriate management techniques. However, a conflict of interests is most likely to emerge among the various parties involved in the management of a site: governments (or tourism organizations) at national level usually wish to use the site as a marketing tool in image creation, local people expect increased tourist flows bringing employment and income, and site managers attempt to preserve the quality of the given World Heritage Site and avoid negative impacts of visitation, by restricting visitor numbers and educating visitors about appropriate behaviour. Kenya has three listed locations as Heritage sites. They are Lake Turkana National Park, Mount Kenya National Park and Lamu Old Town. This article will focus on the degree of involvement in tourism planning, management and ownership of the sites in Lamu Old Town.

**Introduction**

People continue to express and act upon a great attachment to particular sites. Individuals and communities attach meanings to places, which are sometimes intensely powerful sources of identity. How to recognize and express social values in heritage assessments and conservation practice continues to be an important question for professionals and agencies. However, visitor numbers depend on various factors, including the fame of the site, its accessibility or the way it is marketed. The heritage industry continues to explore means of identifying and drawing upon social and heritage values. Research on heritage attractions has become a major theme of study about tourists and host communities (Chhabra et al., Poria et al., 2006; Pretes, 2002), attraction management (Orbasli, 2000). For many local communities in developing countries and elsewhere, the existence of large attractions nearby generates both benefits and costs.

Before the key issues concerning local communities and nearby heritage sites are addressed, the question of what is a local community and who forms it needs to be considered (Brockington and Sullivan, 2003; Hampton, 2005). In geographical or spatial terms, human settlements in close proximity to a given heritage site could be considered as comprising the community (Joppe, 1996). According to Mowforth and Munt (2003), there is a vast body of work that demonstrates that local communities in Third World countries reap few benefits from tourism because they have little control over the ways in which the industry is developed, they cannot match the financial resources available to external investors, and their views are rarely heard. This paper examines the communities' degree of involvement in tourism planning, management and ownership, hence local control or community integration. The hypothesis is that a community characterized as

highly integrated in tourism decision-making would experience greater socioeconomic benefits over another community distinguished by a low level of integration.

The extent of community integration in tourism management can be distinguished by the following indicators:

- the extent of a broad-based, equitable and efficient democratic process;
- the number of participating citizens;
- the degree of individual participation in decision-making;
- the amount of local ownership in the community-based tourism sector; and
- the degree of long-term involvement in planning and management by local communities.

***Economic benefits*** are considered as (a) local tourism-generated income, (b) direct employment related to the provision of tourism services, (c) tourism service ownership, (d) gross sales and profits of tourism-related businesses, and (e) revenue leakages related to the local tourism industry. ***Social benefits*** in this research concern individual and community well-being; specifically, personal satisfaction and democratic, equitable participation in local decision-making. Such predominantly qualitative benefits are measured by perceptions toward the tourism sector and equity inherent in local decision-making power and participation.

**The example of Lamu**

In the early 1970s Lamu acquired a reputation as the Kathmandu of Africa – a place of fantasy and other worldliness wrapped in a cloak of medieval romance. It drew all self respecting seekers of the miraculous globetrotters, and that much aligned bunch of people called hippies. The attraction was obvious. Both Kathmandu and Lamu were remote, unique and fascinating self-contained societies which had somehow escaped the depredation of the 20th century with their culture, centuries-old way of life and their architecture intact. Though Kathmandu is now overrun with well-heeled tourists and the hippies have retired to the rural communes or into business as purveyors of the world's handicrafts, Lamu remains much the same as it has always been – to a degree. With an almost exclusively Muslim population, it is Kenya's oldest living town and has changed little in appearance and character over the centuries. There are probably more dhows (an Arab ship with one large sail in the shape of a triangle) to be seen here than anywhere else along the East African coast and local festivals still take place.

Places to visit include the town buildings which date from the 18th century with intricately carved doors an lintels that have kept generations of carpenters busy. Other attractions include the Lamu Museum, Swahili House Museum, Lamu Fort, Donkey Sanctuary and the beach. In many respects Lamu has led the way despite (or perhaps because of) the fact the there has effectively been no significant modern urban or port development on this site, this port-city remaining largely 'frozen' in its 18th/19th century condition. Located on the sheltered east-facing side of one of a number of small low-lying islands, known as the Lamu archipelago, on the north Kenya coast not far from the Somali border, Lamu remains fairly easily reached by air, road and sea.

Under Kenya's Antiquities and Monuments Act of 1983, a Conservation Area at Lamu was gazetted in 1986 the year which Siravo and Pulver published their detailed study of the buildings of the old town (Siravo and Pulver, 1986). This led to the establishment of a Town Planning and Conservation Office at Lamu in 1987 and to more detailed conservation activity with the support of the government of the Netherlands Conservation

aimed to restore houses, upgrade public areas and urban infrastructures, to promote tourism compatible with local cultures and to educate the community notably in pollution control. The waterfront promenade has been partly paved, and both the town entrance (***lango la mui***) and the town square in front of the Fort (***mkunguni***) were improved in the late 1980s, substantially reducing congestion and enhancing the quality of the urban environment. Subsequent achievements have included the rehabilitation of several buildings and open spaces. There are today more foreign visitors, attracted by the town's character and reputation. Apart from a few government land rovers there are almost no motor vehicles; transport on land is by donkey (for goods and passengers) or by traditional two-wheeled **'hamali'** handcarts (***mikokoteni***) essential for goods transport between the waterfront and the commercial storage and sales premises of the town.

**Community integration**

Wearing and Neil (1999) observe that not all groups want the same things. The tourist industry seeks a healthy business environment with financial security, a trained and responsible workforce, attractions of sufficient quality to ensure a steady flow of visitors – who stay longer and visit more often as well as a significant return on investment. Those interested in the natural environment and cultural heritage issues seek protection of the environment through prevention, improvement, correction of damage, and restoration and also to motivate people to be more aware and therefore care for rather than use up resources. There is no universal approach to effective community participation. However, the central issue in any strategy, programme or specific project is why, how and at what stage is community participation required. The first challenge is to make the people aware of their individual rights, their property rights and even their often overlooked intellectual rights and then make them understand their role in safeguarding those rights and benefiting from them.

Participation can be remedial, token or real. Remedial participation informs the people about a programme or project when everything is finalised and implementation is already underway. Token participation involves the people in design and planning but excludes them from all initial negotiations of project identification including the evaluation of available alternatives. Real participation accommodates all the views of the people, as resource owners, users and partners, in the whole process of project negotiation and identification together with all aspects of planning and implementation (Gakahu, 1992). Sensitisation and education for Lamu community are, therefore required to bring out the problems and concerns, and to determine the available options before decisions and actions are taken. Any method incorporating the above approaches and requirements should take into consideration sociological, cultural and religious factors as well as available local person-power. Human needs are addressed through empowerment. Community-based support programmes, according to De Beer and Swanepoel (1998), can help communities identify their problems and priorities, increase their awareness of what can be done and help them select from a range of components.

The milieu in which popular participation or empowerment takes place focuses the emphasis on community knowledge, resources, self-reliance, initiative and decision-making. Much of the literature on community development has to do with structures or institutions, to such an extent that it sometimes seems as if there is an obsession with structure to the detriment of function. But no one can deny the importance of institutions, especially at the local or implementation level. The debate on the coordination of community development is still wide open. To be successful, coordination of development efforts rely heavily on clear direction and support from political leaders and on the

presence of a political will to implement coordination policies. The evaluation of community development and management still produces a lively debate. The fact that members of these communities lack basic skills and are sometimes provided with appropriate training indicates, however, that they do not have the capacity or the knowledge that will enable them to coordinate.

Much is said about the necessity of qualitative evaluation, but just as much is said on the supposedly subjective nature of qualitative evaluation. Therefore, evaluation can be regarded as the one aspect that is neglected in community development (De Beer and Swanepoel, 1998). This research therefore shows the importance of encouraging community participation at the onset of heritage site management. This is why it is so critical that community residents be involved in all tourism management stages. Partnerships on tourism activities must be forged with the local government fulfilling the functions of facilitation, monitoring and protection of natural and cultural heritage. Non-Government Organizations play a key role in equipping the local population to handle the external interface required for developing tourism. Social benefits in this research concern individual and community well-being. Specifically, personal satisfaction and democratic, equitable participation in local decision-making are important. Hence, it is a positive step forward that most agencies supporting locally-based tourism recognize that the local community and stakeholders must and should include women. The preoccupation of development agencies and conservation organizations with support for preservation of natural resources and sustainable development is such that it is easy for gender concerns to be swept aside in environmental projects (Scheyvens, 2000). Community involvement is the best guarantee of the sustainability of tourism development where various levels can be considered. The Lamu community can for instance, be most closely involved in the components for which it has direct interest. A community can also decide on the way funds are made available to them through sharing benefits. Members can be presented with various alternatives to choose from. Also, there is a need for a sustained programme of community awareness. Involving communities in the implementation and management of a tourism development project necessitates close supervision of the activities, capacity building at the local level and a strong commitment from the communities.

The involvement of communities will depend very much on the nature of the activities (Dieke, 2003). Community development has certainly undergone an evolution and is still at the heart of the latter-day paradigm shift towards a human orientation. In fact, the evolutionary development of community development is a classic example of theory development. The concern today lies in matters such as whether the poorest are reached, whether the approach is still top-down, whether the people have decision-making power over the utilisation of resources, whether human values are met, and whether development is environmently friendly. Kenya is slowly following the same route and so there are still problems to be solved with regard to the management aspect.

**Forms of community participation**

Forms (typologies) of participation are illustrated in figure 1, which contextualizes community participation as a categorical term that allows participation of people, citizens or a host community in their affairs at different levels (local, regional or national) and various forms (manipulatve, coercive, induced, pasive, spontaneous) under site specific conditions (Tosun, 2006). According to Arnstein, citizen participation is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens…to be deliberately included in the future. It is the means by which they can induce significant social reform, whch enables them to share in the benfits of the affluent society (1969:216).

**Figure 1 Normative typologies of community participation**

| Pretty's (1995) typology of community participation | Arnestein's (1969) typology of community participation | | Tosun's (1999) typology of community participation |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7. Self mobilization<br>6. Interactive participation | 8. Citizen Control<br>7. Delegated power<br>6. Partnership | Degrees of Citizen Power | <u>Spontaneous Participation</u><br>Bottom-up; active participation; direct participation; participation in decision making, authentic participation; self planning. |
| 5. Functional Participation<br>4. Participation for material incentives<br>3. Participation by consultation | 5.Placation<br>4. Consultation<br>3. Informing | Degrees of Citizen Tokenism | <u>Induced Participation</u><br>Top-down; passive; formal; mostly indirect; degree of tokenism, manipulation; pseudo-participation; participation in implementation and sharing benefits; choice between proposed alternatives and feedback. |
| 2. Passive Participation<br>1. Manipulative Participation | 2. Therapy<br>1. Manipulation | Non-Participation | <u>Coercive Participation</u><br>Top-down, passive; mostly indirect, formal; participation in implementation, but not necessarily sharing benefits; choice between proposed limited alternatives or no choice; paternalism, non-participation, high degree of tokenism and manipulation. |

**Source: Tosun (2006)**

**Keys: Corresponding categories in each typology** ⇨ ⇦

In this definition of participation, the most important point may be the degree of power distribution. Arnstein has approached this in terms of a ladder of typology of citizen participation including eight levels, which are classified in turn among three categories relative to authentic citizen participation. While the lowest category represents manipulative participation, the highest category refers to degrees of citizen power. The middle category indicates degrees of citizen tokenism. These typologies may be a useful tool to identify the spectrum of community participation from the more common passive, manipulative or token forms towards those which are more authentic and interactive.

**The role of gender in tourism management**

In recent years, Scheyvens (2000) noted that gender analyses have played an important role in deepening our understanding of the tourism industry in general. A focus on gender in research on community involvement is long overdue in the light of other studies which demonstrate how elites, particularly men, often co-opt and come to dominate community-based development efforts and monopolise the benefits of tourism. It may be particularly important to be vigilant about assessing the impacts of tourism on women's lives. There are a number of clear reasons suggested by Okech (2003) and Scheyvens (2000) why any agency interested in promoting effective tourism management should encourage the active involvement of women, even if their primary concern is not gender equity.

Firstly, in countries where socially prescribed roles mean that women and girls generally have greater interaction with the natural environment than men, women's cooperation is needed if that natural resource base, the resource upon which the tourism trade is dependent, is to be sustained. However, past development initiatives, have often seen women's voices sidelined as development consultants, researchers and government officers seek the opinions of village heads or chiefs, the vast majority of whom are men, or consult village development committees, which have no female members. In summary there are three reasons why gender issues and more specifically involving Lamu women should be considered when planning for effective community involvement:

- To ensure that decisions about tourism development and management are made by bodies reflecting the interests of diverse groups of community members, and that these groups genuinely share the benefits of the development;
- To ensure good natural resource management which protects the key resource upon which tourism is based; and
- To ensure that tourism development and management benefits from the skills and knowledge of a broad range of community members.

It is likely that there are further opportunities for women to be involved in tourism which have not yet been adequately pursued, as most tourism endeavors have failed to explicitly consider how they could provide a better product by actively incorporating women's specialist knowledge and skills. Women now make up over 50% of tourists (Obua and Harding, 1996: 449; Pearce and Wilson, 1995: 21). These women could appreciate having more possibilities for interaction with women at local sites, for example, cultural tours which incorporate demonstrations of women's work and guided walks to reveal women's specialist knowledge of forest products, including medicinal plants.

Dieke (2001b), Okech (2003) and Scheyvens (2000) note that women do not always benefit significantly from tourism development, however, they may be largely passed over when a lodge on communally held land is seeking employees, and they may not have the freedom to pursue economically lucrative forms of employment, such as guiding. Even social development projects supported by tourism revenues are sometimes biased against

women, with more funds going to clubs dominated by men. Of greatest concern, however, is not simply that women may miss out on the benefits that tourism can bring. Rather, the more fundamental issue is that women generally have little control over locally-based tourism management. While they may be allowed to engage in economic activities associated with tourism and have their workloads lightened due to installation of new services, such as water supplies, they are typically poorly represented on so-called 'community' decision-making forums which are concerned with natural resource management and tourism (Scheyvens, 2000).

The greatest challenge in the future is to ensure that women are not just consulted, but listened to, when deciding whether to pursue tourism and how to pursue tourism. This is not only fair, it is practical, especially when women are reliant upon natural resources to meet their families livelihood needs and when they have excellent knowledge of these resources. Where women have a deep concern for sustainable use of the natural resource base this can actually benefit tourism endeavors. These constraints to women's active participation in tourism initiatives in terms of both their ability to have control over the ventures and to secure benefits have been noted by authors writing about regions as diverse as the Nepalese Himalayas, Sub-Saharan Africa and Coastal Indonesia. Clearly, a need for gender-sensitive planning and management of tourism extends to any region where community involvement in tourism is seen as a potential development strategy. The preoccupation of development agencies and conservation organizations with support for preservation of natural resources and sustainable development is such that it is easy for gender concerns to be swept aside in tourism projects.

**Conservation issues on the Kenyan coast**

Writing about Arab houses in Zanzibar in the later 19th century, Emily Ruete recorded that: 'It is commonly thought, but without reason, that the Arabs, in token of their love and respect to their dead, allow the houses formerly inhabited by them to fall into ruins. This is incorrect – it is not this sentiment, but their innate indolence that makes them look with indifference on decay. Arab houses are but seldom repaired or renovated – their lime and bricks are of a nature to be easily decomposed by the climate – so that when a house gets rather too much out of repair, a new one is built instead, and the old one is left to crumble away' (Ruete, 1989, p 288). Arabs were not alone in adopting this attitude, however. As Graham *et al* have recently pointed out, 'In the nineteenth century, the idea that some buildings and even cityscapes should not be replaced when physical and functional obsolescence dictated was … a novel one' (Graham *et al*, 2000, p 16). Today, in the context of contrasted cultures, it is sometimes argued that one of the problems of urbanization in the developing world is that there is generally no culture of conservation as far as older buildings are concerned.

Although considerable respect is now paid to indigenous structures of great age – for example in Zimbabwe, Peru and Thailand, albeit not in Afghanistan – comparatively little attention is generally paid to the more numerous and often more utilitarian urban buildings left behind by the tides of Arab or European colonialism, as in India, Hong Kong and Nigeria. The replacement rather than the renovation of buildings is obviously a normal but variable component of heritage development and is a function of cultural attitudes as well as of economic capabilities. There is also a link here with attitudes towards urban growth and the modernization of society in economies where resources are particularly limited and priorities are focussed towards more basic needs. It is at least understandable, in countries where access to health and education services is limited, where food shortages are not uncommon, where environmental conditions are often unfavourable, where political

disturbances are not infrequent, and where the rapid growth of at least the larger towns has outstripped the ability to maintain and develop adequate urban service infrastructures, that the conservation of historic sites and dilapidated old buildings is not universally regarded as a matter of the highest priority.

Conservation is, in one sense, a sensible practicality; and in another sense, it is a cultural construct. People of limited means naturally conserve what is or may be *practically* useful, whether it be food or money or buildings, so as to avoid the cost of replacement; but people do not necessarily conserve what is or may be *culturally* valuable to themselves or their descendants. One reason for this is that people do not always – perhaps not often – fully realize the parameters and attributes of their own culture, or fully appreciate unique elements that are quite ordinary in local terms but highly exceptional in a wider framework. Another is that people whose outlook, as a reflection of economic circumstances and educational levels, is focussed sharply on the problems of today and the immediate future are unlikely to consider wider questions or longer time-perspectives in great depth. The conservation of historic buildings (or other structures within traditional urban areas) thus gives rise in this context to cultural dilemmas and requires a culture-dependent approach. At one level, this involves some appreciation of history and particularly of cultural interactions over time.

The historical legacy within the modern built environment in the coastal towns is a product of the complex interaction, over varying time periods, of a wide range of cultures – including Arab, British, German, Portuguese, Indian and Swahili. These and others have all left their mark on the cultural environments of today, despite the fact that some of them were involved for quite short periods of time. Decolonization, however, has produced a marginalization or suppression of European heritage values, while local inter-cultural tensions have been released, emphasizing the complexities of multicultural heritage in postcolonial societies. At another level, a culture-dependent approach to building conservation, on the waterfront or elsewhere, involves some measure of integration between the perceived value of inherited structures and the practicalities of social change and economic development. Writing about Lamu in the 1970s, Andrew Ligale identified the essential dilemma as being ‘how to ensure that the people … can continue to have an interest in the conservation of their unique houses and culture while at the same time participating in socio-economic changes which may not always be in harmony with existing patterns’ (Ligale, 1978; cited in Group 5, 1993, p.3).

Another aspect of the cultural context within which urban conservation takes place is the need to try to ensure that, as far as possible, all organizations involved are on the same wavelength. It is clear that in Lamu, as in other East African cases to which reference is made in this paper, an appropriate degree of integration and coordination is frequently lacking. Responsibility for specific activities is not always accepted; organizations are not always able to implement the plans and policies they have designed; and appreciation of and support for the efforts of those striving to achieve progress in the field of conservation is not as widespread as it could or should be. In Kenya there are many threats and challenges to historic building redevelopment within the wider contexts of heritage renewal and the conservation of the cultural patrimony. Enormous progress was made in the late 20th century with the conservation of historic monuments (most notably Fort Jesus at Mombasa) and archaeological sites (eg the remains of the coastal town of Gede, near Malindi), but the conservation of historic buildings that are still inhabited presents a different set of problems.

In practical terms, many historic buildings occupy valuable sites. Development is often perceived as a way of generating large sums of money, and long-term cultural resource management strategies are not seen in this context as a priority. Conservation is ultimately a question of perception; of education; of how a society sees itself – culturally rather than politically – in terms of where it has come from and where it is going; and of commitment to longer-term values and objectives. In developing countries, as commonly also in the advanced world, such issues do not always receive the support and understanding they deserve. The Kenya Coastal Zone has, however, been the subject of close attention from a variety of directions in a wider context. For example, the Afrika Studiecentrum at Leiden (Netherlands) published a *Kenya Coast Handbook* (Hoorweg *et al*, 2000) which offers an authoritative interdisciplinary account of many inter-related aspects of the environment, economies and societies of the coastal zone.

The National Museums of Kenya (NMK) have been fortunate to receive the support of various donor agencies over the years for urban conservation programmes involving specific cultural dimensions in the coastal zone. The intriguing world of the Swahili has generated a substantial and authoritative literature covering specific issues and periods and the broader sweep of cultural change and development. On the East African coast today, in Kenya and also in Tanzania, there is widespread awareness of the need to revitalize aspects of traditional Swahili culture. A European Union programme for the revival and development of Swahili culture on the Kenya coast started in 1994, aiming not only to safeguard historical sites and monuments, and to define institutional frameworks, but also through training to strengthen capacity to carry out conservation and to disseminate knowledge. With the support of the NMK, the ILO and the UNDP, a Swahili Cultural Centre was established on the Lamu waterfront in 1995 where training is provided in traditional masonry, woodcarving, leatherworking, needlework and other crafts considered important in the context of the revival of Swahili culture. A similar centre is located in Mombasa. Both provide employment for young people, maintain knowledge of traditional skills, and enhance general awareness of and positive attitudes towards the Swahili cultural revival policy.

These centres, although modest in scale, clearly demonstrate practical links between skills, cultures and employment; and the point is not lost on the young people involved (Abungu and Abungu, 1998). An important element in recent EU initiatives is the establishment of a Conservation Trust Fund designed to provide grants to assist home-owners to rehabilitate or restore historic buildings within the gazetted conservation areas of Lamu and Mombasa Old Towns in accordance with the guidelines laid down in their respective Conservation Plans. Established with EU funding in 1996, and said to be the first of its kind in sub-Saharan Africa, the Fund provides 75% of the restoration costs of buildings selected according to the urgency of intervention and the willingness of owners to provide 25% of the costs. This is an encouraging development as it is clearly a way of helping people to help themselves and of improving urban environments by example and involvement. Several buildings in Lamu were restored with EU Conservation Trust funding in 1999–2000. Not all property owners are interested, however, in conservation as alternative uses of properties and plots, where permissible, can yield far higher revenues than those available through the conservation route. Longstanding social customs are important in another sense, too. Many houses in Lamu are owned under traditional *waqf* or trust arrangements which allow repairs but preclude sale or change of use (Horton and Middleton, 2001, p 150–153).

## The tourism aspect

For many port– waterfront zones in the developing world, improvement of the quality of urban and urban life is a necessary intermediate step towards the restructuring of local economies towards services and notably towards heritage tourism. This has been reflected in the great efforts made, for example, by some larger North American and European cities (Baltimore, Liverpool, Genoa), to redesign and redevelop zones in economic decay, including urban waterfronts. Usually this has involved conserving the architectural heritage while producing new spaces for lively modern uses – leisure activities, cultural facilities, housing developments. The interlinkages between tourism and heritage redevelopment in advanced countries are recognized as complex and varied it is increasingly clear that while the promotion of cultural tourism in advanced and developing countries is an anticipated effect of heritage redevelopment, the growth of recreation and tourism industries can itself provide a catalyst for heritage redevelopment. While the scale of the East African cases discussed here, especially that of Lamu, is very different, the principles involved are essentially similar. Tourism is a major 21st century industry, and waterfronts in port-cities in developing countries frequently offer highly attractive prospects at the interface between the built environment and the water. Inherent virtues include a high degree of accessibility over land and water, exploitable by a variety of transportation modes; and environmental amenities exploitable by the use of promenades with views towards the city and the sea and activity spaces along, over and on the water. Although national and international tourism are quite well developed in Kenya and Tanzania, the essential focus is on the spectacular scenery and wildlife of inland national parks and, at the coast, on extra-urban beach hotel complexes. At Lamu, as at Zanzibar, the area in general, and the waterfront in particular, are themselves significant tourist attractions. Both towns present a small-scale, pedestrian-friendly environment, and buildings of considerable interest to many cultural tourists. In both cases, however, extra-urban beach-related hotel complexes already offer attractive alternative accommodation, albeit to a limited extent.

The growth of tourism in Lamu and other East African coastal towns is, however, a controversial phenomenon from many points of view. The juxtaposition of apparently very rich visitors (whether international or national, of whatever ethnic group) and apparently poor local people can create problems for both groups and can lead to exploitation, cultural attrition and occasionally violence. As elsewhere in the developing world, particularly in conservative Muslim societies, it is very easy for insensitive visitors to offend local susceptibilities. Tanzania, especially Zanzibar, has for these and other reasons been somewhat reluctant until relatively recently to encourage the growth of tourism; the potential value of a well-organized tourist industry to the country's weak economy has, however, been a factor in the formulation of more open policies in this context. In contrast, Kenya's tourist industry, in the context of that country's more capitalist economy, continues generally to flourish and to provide at least some worthwhile economic advantages for the coastal towns. Lamu stands, however, on the fringes of this industry, geographically and structurally; that is part of its character and its attraction.

## Conclusions

Heritage Site Management involves a spatial domain where, by means of physical redesign, substantial beneficial change and development can be effected at relatively low cost. The revitalization of Lamu heritage is invariably sensitive and controversial, and needs careful, appropriate planning solutions. This is a key element in this wider framework. Success requires an appropriate balance between external and local support,

between the demands of modern society and respect for traditional cultures, and a widespread appreciation not only of short-term gains but also of the longer-term value of action while there is yet time. Lamu thus provides an illustration of problems encountered as the modern and increasingly global Diaspora of heritage revitalization reaches remote corners of the developing world. It would of course be preposterous to compare Lamu with London Docklands, or to draw too close an analogy with Liverpool, and the festival marketplaces of Lamu are not those of Baltimore or Sydney. Yet, Lamu provides, albeit in microcosm, an example of heritage management processes at work, in a context of urban conservation and renewal, processes that are essentially the same as those governing the transformation of far larger-scale and better-financed environments elsewhere.

It is not absurd to suggest that some of the answers found in Lamu might be extrapolated and applied effectively elsewhere. As an historic port-city experiencing continuing tourism development, Lamu contributes a component to the global mosaic and helps to lace all other port-cities in perspective. The diversity and continuing vitality of this port-city underpins an important aspect of the search for a solution to current problems in this sphere in all port-cities: The dilemma of reconciling competing local interests while simultaneously responding to global trends in heritage site management. This raises a multitude of questions including: what kinds of networks and partnerships – local, regional, and national can be developed to promote heritage conservation? What is the most effective role of local actors? What part can best be played by external sources of expertise and funding? How can opportunities and challenges inherent in global change be met most effectively in a local context? And how can corruption be contained?

At Lamu, some remarkable buildings have been sensitively rehabilitated, but many others are still at considerable risk. This attempt to situate Lamu within the global revitalization movement suggests that this small east African port-city can be seen as an example of the process of changing the established framework and practice of heritage design in developing countries towards larger-scale interventions and the more advanced physical design of space; as a challenge to improve the quality of the built environment in other traditional and sometimes remote locations, building on long-established relationships between cities and the sea; and as a vision for the development of such centres in the future, placing them on the global map as a destination of special interest, quality and character. The study also has found out that greater community integration in tourism planning and management enhance local socio-economic benefits. Economic benefits include direct and indirect employment, revenues, ownership and profitability. The kind of employment and degree of influence within the local tourism scenario is as important as the distribution of economic benefits.

Social benefits encompass positive perceptions and attitudes towards the local tourism industry, as well as changes in traditional lifestyles. Nevertheless, it was found that integration elements – awareness raising and equitable sharing of benefits – may be congenitally easier to achieve in communities characterized by a long tradition of solidarity. This paper has also demonstrated that influential local and often non-local dominant interest groups may circumvent overall community needs or wishes, but at the same time provide the semblance of consensual decision-making. Perceptions and possibly conflicting views of members of the community may be largely ignored or sacrificed for the sake of unanimity, whereas overt conflict can bring out legitimate differences and opportunities for resolution. Likewise facilitating input decision-making by marginalized community members such as women may be difficult yet critical to attain, especially if equitable sharing of power and other benefits are desired. In the final analysis, it is critical that community residents be included in all tourism development stages as well as

management should be encouraged whenever possible. Future research could further explore whether the relationship between the communities and the destination is essential in understanding management aspects.

Moreover, future research should explore the concept of "cultural distance" or heritage proximity" (Uriely et al., 2002; Poria e al., 2006) as a factor relevant in the perception of historic settings. Such research would provide data on the proportion of the community in Lamu who own, manage and work in different categories of tourism enterprises as well as reveal the constraints of the community participation in tourism by conducting more in-depth interviews. Policy makers must move quickly and prepare creative plans which will provide a significant role to the local people and assure that tourism's multiplier effect trickles down sufficiently to the local.

**References**

Abungu, G. and Abungu, L. (1998) "Conservation in East Africa: Saving Mombasa and Lamu Old Towns." NMK Horizons 4, pp. 3-7.

Brockington, D., and Sullivan, S. (2003) "Qualitative Research." In: R. Scheyvens and D. Storey (eds.) *Development Fieldwork: a Practical Guide*. London Sage. Pp 57-76.

Chhabra, D., Healy, R. and Sills, E. (203) "Staged Authenticity and Heritage Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 30: 702-719.

De Beer, F. and Swanepoel, H. (1998) "Community Development and Beyond: Issues, Structures and Procedures." Published by J.L., van Schaik, Pretoria.

Dieke, P.U.C. (2001) "The Forgotten Giant: Women's Role in Africa's Delayed Tourism Development." In: Y. Apostolopoulos., S. Sönmez and D.J. Timothy (eds.) *Women as Producers and Consumer of Tourism in Developing Regions*. Praeger Publishers. pp 167-190.

Dieke, P.U.C. (2003) "Community Participation in Tourism Development: Some Reflections on Sub-Saharan Africa." Keynote Paper delivered at the European Association for Tourism and Leisure Education (ATLAS) Africa Conference on 'Community Tourism: Options for the Future', held in Arusha, Tanzania, 20-22 February, 2003.

Gakahu, C.G. (1992) "Participation of Local Communities in Ecotourism: Rights, Roles and Socio-economic Benefits." In: C.G. Gakahu and B.E. Goode (eds.) *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development in Kenya.* WCI. pp. 117-123.

Graham, B., Ashworth, G. and Tumbridge, J. (2000) "A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy". Arnold, London.

Group 5 (1993) "Final Report: Technical Assistance Programme 1992-1993 for the Lamu Town Conservation Project". Belft, The Netherlands, for the National Museums of Kenya.

Finlay, H. and Crowther, G. (1997) "Kenya, a Lonely Planet Travel Survival Kit." Lonely Planet Publications, 3rd Edition.

Hampton, M.P. (2005) "Heritage, local Communities and Economic Development." *Annals of Tourism Research* 32(3), 735-759.

Hoorweg J., Foeken, D. and Obudho, R (Eds) (2000) “Kenya Coast Handbook: A Study in Local and Regional Development”. African Studies Centre, Leiden.

Horton, M. and Middleton, J. (2001) “The Swahili: The Social Landscape of a Mercantile Society”. Blackwell, Oxford.

Hoyle, B. (2001) “Waterfront Revitalization in an East African Port-City.” *Cities* 18(5), 297-313.

Joppe, M. (1996) “Sustainable Community Tourism Development Revisited.” *Tourism Management* 17: 475-479.

Ligale, A. (1978) “Lamu Workshop Conference Report.” Star Printers. Nairobi.

Mitchell, R.E. and Eagles, P.F.J. (2001) “An Integrative Approach to Tourism: Lessons from the Andes of Peru.” *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 9 (1), 4 – 28.

Mowforth, M. and Munt, I. (2003) “Tourism and Sustainability: Development and New Tourism in the Third World (2nd edition).” Routledge, London.

Obua, J. and Harding, D.M. (1996) “Visitor Characteristics and Attitudes Towards Kibala National Park, Uganda.” *Tourism Management* 17 (7), 495-505.

Okech, R.N. (2003) “Empowering Women Through Involvement in Ecotourism: Reflections on Africa.” Paper Presented at ATLAS-Africa Conference held in Arusha, Tanzania, February 20-22.

Orbasli, A. (2000) “Tourists in Historic Towns.” London: Taylor and Francis Group.

Pearce, D.G. and Wilson, P.M. (1995) “Wildlife-Viewing Tourists in New Zealand.” *Journal of Travel Research* 34 (2), 19-26.

Poria, Y., Reichel, A. and Biran, A. (2006) “Heritage Site Management – Motivations and Expectations.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(1) pp. 162-178

Pretes, M. (2002) “Tourism and Nationalism.” *Annals of Tourism Research* 30: 125-142.

Pulver, A. and Siravo, F. (1986) “Lamu: A Conservation Plan for Kenya’s Oldest Living Town.” *Kenya Past and Present* 18, pp. 17-31.

Republic of Kenya (1994) “Lamu District Development Plan, 1994-96.” Government Printer, Nairobi, for the Ministry of Planning and National Development

Republic of Kenya (1997a) “Lamu District Development Plan, 1997-2001.” Government Printer, Nairobi, for the Office of the Vice President and the Ministry of Planning and National Development

Republic of Kenya (1997b) “The Eighth National Development Plan for the Period 1997-2001.” Government Printer, Nairobi.

Ruete, E. (1989) Memoirs of an Arabian Princess from Zanzibar. Weiner, Princeton. NJ. Reprinted 1996.

Scheyvens, R. (2000) “Promoting Women’s Empowerment Through Involvement in Ecotourism: Experiences from the Third World.” *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 8 (3), 232-249.

Siravo, F. and Pulver, A. (1986) “Planning Lamu: Conservation of an East African Seaport.” National Museums of Kenya, Nairobi.

Sindiga, I. (1999) “Tourism and African Development: Change and Challenge of Tourism in Kenya.” African Studies Centre Research Series.

Wearing, S. and Neil, J. (1999) “Ecotourism: Impacts, Potentials and Possibilities.” pp. 72-85 Butterworth-Heinemann.

## ATLAS members

### Full and Associate members
### September 2006

**Argentina**
Universidad del Salvador

**Australia**
University of Queensland
Monash University
Victoria University
University of Technology Sydney
James Cook University
Curtin University of Technology
University of Canberra
International College of Management

**Austria**
FH Joanneum GmbH
University of Innsbruck
International Management Center Krems (IMC)

**Azerbaijan**
Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences
Western University

**Belgium**
University of Leuven
Université Libre de Bruxelles
Erasmushogeschool Brussel

**Bolivia**
Circulo de prensa turistica Bolivia

**Brasil**
ISTS Instituto Superior de Turismo

**Bulgaria**
University of Architecture, Civil Engineering and Geodesy

**Cambodia**
Royal university of Phnom Penh

**Canada**
Sir Wilfred Grenfell College
Mount St. Vincent University
Carleton University Library

**Chile**
Defensores del Bosque Chileno
Fundacion DuocUC

**China**
Hong Kong Polytechnic University
Tibet University
Institute of Tourism Studies (IFT)
Kunming University
Macao University of Science & Technology
Hainan Teachers College
Northwest University
Tianjin University of Commerce
Peking University
Canton Institute of Ethnic Studies
Hainan HuaYe Group
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

**Costa Rica**
FLACSO-Sede Académica de Costa Rica

**Croatia**
Faculty of Tourism and Hospitality Management, Opatija
Motovun
Institute for Tourism

**Cuba**
Escuela de Hoteleria y Turismo Playas del Este

**Czech Republic**
Institut of Hotel Management Prague

**Denmark**
University of Aalborg

**Estonia**
Estonian School of Hotel & Tourism Management (EHTE)

**Finland**
University of Lapland
HAMK University of Applied Sciences
Rovaniemi Polytechnic

Mikkeli Polytechnic, School of Savonlinna
HAAGA-HELIA UAS
Laurea Polytechnic
University of Joensuu
Lahti Polytechnic

**France**
Université de Savoie
CERAM Sophia Antipolis
Group ESCEM

**Gambia**
Gambia Tourism Authority

**Germany**
Hochschule Harz
ISM International School for Management
Tourism Futures Org

**Ghana**
University of Cape Coast

**Greece**
TEI of Larissa
TEI of Thessaloniki
Petreas Associates
Trinity International Hospitality Studies
Organisation of Tourism Education & Training (OTEK)
TEI of Heraklion

**Guatemala**
Royalty, Escuela de Turismo

**Hungary**
Károly Róbert Foiskola
Budapest Business School / BGF - KVIFK
Heller Farkas College of Tourism
University of Veszprém
Xellum Ltd.

**India**
Goa University
Culture and Environment Conservation Society
India Tourism Development Corp
Gujarat Inst. of Hotel Management
Royal Institute of Business & Hospitality Management
Equations

**Indonesia**
Universitas Mardika Malang
Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan Semarang
Universitas Sahid
Akpar Satya Widya Surabaya
School of Tourism Economics
Universitas Sanata Dharma
Forall-Consult - Research and Study on Tourism
Institute of Technology Bandung
PPM Institute of Management
Trisakti Academy of Tourism
Winaya Mukti University
Satya Wacana Christian University
Institute for Indonesia Tourism Studies
Dagjah Mada University (UGM)
Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya
Indo.com
LinTas
Pelita Harapan Tourism Academy
Directorate of Environmental Technology
Sahid Tourism Academy
San Tours and Travel
Akademi Pariwisata Yadatepe / Yogyakarta
Manajemen Parawisata Indonesia (Mapindo)
Universitas Sebelas Maret
Udayana University
Diparda TK II Buleleg
Tourism Academy Triatma Jaya
Hasanuddin University

**Iran**
Iran Tourism Strategic Studies Institute

**Ireland**
Dundalk Institute of Technology
Limerick Institute of Technology
Tipperary Institute
Athlone Institute of Technology
University of Limerick
Fáilte Ireland - National Tourism Development Authority
Dublin Institute of Technology
Institute of Technology Tralee
Cavan Monaghan Rural Development Co.
Tourism College

**Israel**
Kinneret College on the Sea of Galilee
Zimet Ltd., Advertising Agency

**Italy**
Università Bocconi Milano
Università della Calabria
Università degli Studi del Sannio-Benevento
University of Bologna
Free University of Bolzano
Universita Ca' Foscari di Venezia
University of Molise
IRAT - Institute for Service Industry Research

**Japan**
Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University
Global Development Research Center

**Kazakhstan**
Kazakh Ablai khan University of Int. Relations and World Languages

**Kenya**
Moi University
Kenya Utalii College
Maseno University
Kenya Disabled Development Society

**Korea**
Kyonggi University

**Latvia**
Vidzeme University College

**Lithuania**
Klaipeda University

**Malawi**
Soche Tours and Travel

**Malaysia**
University of Malaysia Sabah (UMS)
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
University of Malaya

**Malta**
ITIS Malta
University of Malta

**Mexico**
Universidad de las Américas Puebla

**Mongolia**
New Civilization College
Mongolian University of Culture and Arts
Institute of Tourism Management
University of the Humanities

**Morocco**
University of Ibn Zohr

**Mozambique**
Universidade Eduardo Mondiane

**Namibia**
Polytechnic of Namibia

**Nepal**
The Nepal Trust

**Netherlands**
NHTV
Hogeschool Drenthe
Wageningen University
Alterra
INHOLLAND University
WICE
SNV
University of Tilburg
Hogeschool Zuyd
Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam
Christelijke Hogeschool Noord-Nederland
Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

**New Zealand**
University of Canterbury
University of Otago
Auckland University of Technology
Waiariki Institute of Technology
The University of Waikato
UNITEC Institute of Technology
Lincoln University

**Nigeria**
University of Ibadan
Empire Travel Services Ltd.

**Norway**
University College of Sogn & Fjordane
European Event ROI Institute
Lillehammer University College

Harstad University College
Finnmark College

**Pakistan**
Dawood College of Engenering and Technology
Asif Zaidi Tours Pakistan
Ecotourism Society Pakistan
SMEDA (Small & Medium Enterprise Dev. Authority)
Blue Sky Travels

**Palestine**
Gaza Community College

**Peru**
ESAN (Escuela de Admin. De Negocios para Graduados)
Red de Turismo Sostenible (RedTurs)

**Poland**
Warsaw School of Economics
Academy of Physical Education and Sport
University of Lodz
University of Economics and Computer Science
Katowice School of Economics

**Portugal**
ESHTE
Universidade de Aveiro
Escola Sup. de Tecnologia e Gestão de Viana do Castelo
Instituto Politécnico de Coimbra
Escola Superior de Educação de Leiria
Universidade de Algarve
UTAD - Universidade de Tras-os-Montes e Alto Douro
ISAI-Instituto de Assistentes e Interpretes
Instituto Superior Politécnico Gaya

**Republic of Mali**
Adventure Discovery Mali

**Romania**
Faculty of International Business and Economics
Sextil Puscariu University
Euro-Asia Foundation
University of Lucian Blaga Sibiu
Academy of Economic Studies
"Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University Timisoara

**Russia**
Sochi State University for Tourism and Resort Studies
Smolensk Humanitarian University
Russian International Academy for Tourism (RIAT)
St.-Petersburg Academy of management and Economics

**São Tomé e Principe**
Instituto Superior Politécnico

**Serbia and Montenegro**
Geographical Institute "J.Cvijic" SASA
The College of Hotel Management Belgrade
College of Tourism
Faculty of Sport and Tourism

**Slovakia**
Slovak Agricultural University
University of Matej Bel

**Slovenia**
Turistica - College of Tourism Studies
University of Maribor

**South Africa**
University of Pretoria
Vista University
University of South Africa (UNISA)
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Cape Peninsula University of Technology
University of the Witwatersrand
Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa
Tshwane University of Technology
Border Technikon
Walter Sisulu University

**Spain**
Equity Point
EUT Mediterrani
Fundacion Universitaria de Las Palmas
Universidad de Sevilla
Universidad de Deusto
University of Girona
ESADE - E.U. de Turismo Sant Ignasi
Universidad de Jaén
Tourism Research and Marketing

University Rovira i Virgili
Universitat de Barcelona

**Sweden**
Dalarna University
University of Kalmar
Mid Sweden University

**Switzerland**
Ecole Hotelière de Lausanne
IMI - International Hotel Management Institute
Swiss Hotel Management School (SHMS) University Centre

**Taiwan**
National Chiayi University

**Tanzania**
The Professional Tourguide School
Peace Through Tourism Promotion Programme

**Thailand**
Chiang Mai University
Kasetsart University

**Turkey**
Akdeniz University
Akdeniz University - Alanya Faculty of Business
Eastern Mediterranean University
Balikesir University
Anadolu University
Istanbul University
Dokuz Eylul University
Bilkent University

**Uganda**
Jimmy Sekasi Institute of Catering
UCOTA
Makerere University

**Ukraine**
Institute for Local Development of Chernihiv Oblast

**United Arab Emirates**
Emirates Academy of Hospitality Management

**United Kingdom**
University of Surrey
Liverpool John Moores University
University of Hull
Coventry University
Oxford Brookes University
Scottish Agricultural College (SAC)
University of West England
University of Brighton
University of Plymouth
Canterbury Christ Church University College
Buckinghamshire Chilterns University College
University of Hertfordshire
University of Derby
London Metropolitan University
WA Consultants
University of Lincoln
University of Gloucestershire
University of Sunderland
Bournemouth University
University of Chester
Leeds Metropolitan University
Manchester Metropolitan University
Swansea Institute, SIHE - University of Wales
University of Wales Institute Cardiff
University of Strathclyde
Queen Margaret University College
Napier University Edinburgh
Glasgow Caledonian University
University of Wolverhampton
University of Birmingham
Khalsa College London
University of Westminster
University of Bedfordshire
University of Glamorgan
Birmingham College of Food, Tourism and Creative Studies
University of Salford
Nottingham Trent University
University of Greenwich
St. Mary’s College
Sheffield Hallam University
Loughborough University

**United States of America**
Haworth Press Inc.
VIASINC
Colorado State University
Virginia Tech

**Zimbabwe**
National University of Science and Technology

# ATLAS regional groups

## ATLAS Africa

*John Akama*
*Moi University, Kenya*
*jsakama@yahoo.com*

### Introduction

The ATLAS-Africa Board is pleased to report that ATLAS-Africa has now become of age. The membership of the association is currently over 50 institutions spread over Eastern, Southern and Northern Africa. We are still trying to market and recruit new membership, especially in Central and Western Africa. ATLAS-Africa stands as a unique association in the African continent since there are few association in the continent that are involved in the development and advancement of tourism and leisure research and education, curricula development, staff exchange and organization of conferences and symposia.

### Conference Activities

In the last 7 years, ATLAS-Africa has managed to organize 5 successful international conferences that were held in different African countries including South Africa, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Most of these conferences have been well attended attracting delegates from most parts of the world.

The fourth ATLAS-Africa conference was held on 16th to 18th February 2006 in Mombasa, Kenya. This was the second conference to be held in this congenial East Africa city which forms the hub of the flourishing Kenyan tourism industry. The Mombasa conference attracted over 50 delegates that were drawn from different parts of the world. Apart from participation in presentation of papers and panel discussions, delegates were encouraged to participate in various outdoor recreational activities and the active social life of this Indian Ocean coastal city. In particular, delegates sampled various aspects of African hospitality including indigenous dance and music, water sports, visitations to Haller Park, Fort Jesus and model African villages. The young at heart, did not miss the opportunity to sample the unique nightlife of Mombasa such as visitation to Mamba village and Tembo discotheque.

At the end of the conference, several delegates visited Kenya's world famous hinterland national parks, particularly Tsavo East, Amboseli and Masai Mara where they participated in Wildlife Safari. Also, delegates who had the opportunity to visit Kenya's hinterland managed to sample various aspects of indigenous African cultures including the Bomas of Kenya Cultural Centre, Masai Manyattas in Southern Kenya and village tourism in Central Kenya.

The fifth ATLAS-Africa conference will be held in the magnificent green city of Kampala in the Africa heartland of Uganda, which the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill

described as the 'Pearl of Africa'. The conference will be held on 27th – 29th October, 2007, and is being sponsored by Makerere University and SNV-Uganda. The theme of the conference is "Tourism and Wealth Creation". Already over 60 Abstracts have been submitted for the conference.

The goal of the conference is to discuss how tourism can be used as a major economic strategy to create wealth and alleviate poverty in the Africa. The conference will focus on tourism resource use to create wealth, business and entrepreneur creation, new policy formulation and revenue generation. For more information concerning the conference contact the ATLAS Website: www.atlas-euro.org

**Publications**

With the main goal of promoting research, knowledge creation and dissemination of information, ATLAS-Africa has in the last 7 years mad a number of publications. Most to these publications have been drawn from the previous conference proceedings. After its inaugural conference which was held in 2000 in Mombasa, Kenya, the papers of the conference were published in a book entitled: 'Cultural Tourism in Africa: Strategies for the new millennium,' edited by J.S. Akama and P. Sterry (2002).

ATLAS-Africa is also planning a series of publications. The first volume of this series, entitled, tourism and nature in Africa, edited by M. Smith and L. Onderwater (2006) is already out. The other two volumes dealing with 'Local community participation in tourism,' and 'Aspects of tourism in Kenya' are going to be out soon. The 3 volumes present the state of the art of predominantly applied research on African tourism. Last but not least, a scientific publication on tourism in Africa by Wels, Wishitemi and Spenceley will be out in late 2007.

**Research Project Activities**

Through the ATLAS-Africa network, a number of institutions of higher learning in Eastern and Southern Africa have now established close collaboration. A good example is the close collaboration which currently exists between the Department of Tourism Management at Moi University and the Department of Geography at Makerere University. The two Departments are working together in areas of curricula development, exchange of information, staff visitations and research projects.

Currently, members of staff from the two Universities are working on a research project entitled, 'community based wetland resource management for poverty alleviation through ecotourism development in the Lake Victoria region.' The project is being supported through the Lake Victoria Research Initiative (VicRes) of the Inter-University Council for East Africa.

The project was conceived due to the realization that wetlands in the Lake Victoria region of Eastern Africa are increasingly being degraded through unsustainable consumptive uses (sand and clay extraction, agriculture, firewood and timber extraction, brick making etc) and increasing human settlements. Using participatory approaches including FGD, PRA, participant observation and oral interviews, the project endeavors to examine the role and promotion of ecotourism in the sustainable utilization and conservation of wetland resources for overall socio-economic development and poverty reduction among local communities.

The research project is being conducted in two wetland sites: Sango Bay and Nyando in southern Uganda and Western Kenya respectively. The two sites are endowed with a diversity of resources (birds, flora, fauna, waterfalls, fish, etc) which can be harnessed for ecotourism.

**Acknowledgement**

The ATLAS Board would like to express its gratitude to all those institutions and individuals that have assisted in various ways in the growth of the association. Special thanks go to Leontine Onderwater, Bob Wishitemi, Rene van der duim, Harry Wels, Pius Odunga, Marjolein E. Kloek and Jockey Nyakaana. We are also grateful to Moi University and SNV for supporting the activities of ATLAS-Africa.

## ATLAS Europe

*Anya Diekmann*
*Université Libre de Bruxelles*
*Belgium*
*adiekman@ulb.ac.be*

## ATLAS Asia-Pacific

*Michael Hall*
*cmhall@business.otago.ac.nz*
*Florence Ian*
*flor@ift.edu.mo*
*Malcolm Cooper*
*cooperm@apu.ac.jp*

## ATLAS Americas

# ATLAS Winter University 2007
# Tourism and culture: Unity in diversity
# Sibiu, Romania
# January 20-30, 2007

*David Bruce*
*University of West England*
*United Kingdom*
*David.Bruce@uwe.ac.uk*

The 12th ATLAS Winter University on Tourism and Leisure was held in Sibiu, Romania in January 2007. Despite, the best attempts of the forces of nature to keep us away - the storm that swept through as we travelled by plane, train and car over the continent claimed 44 lives across Europe - all the students and lecturers managed to gather safely in Sibiu, the 2007 European City of Culture. As the clouds from the storm dispersed we found ourselves in a classic European historic town looking out towards the snow peaked Carpathian Alps of Transylvania. Welcoming us was Ilie Rotariu, with the staff and students of University; in front of lay a hectic week of workshops lectures and intensive networking, often lasting late into or right through the night. Soon we discovered (or for lecturers rediscovered) why the Winter University's is a unique way of kindling and rekindling enthusiasm for the advanced study of leisure and tourism.

By Winter University tradition, we began with Greg Richard's overview of tourism, leisure and European identity with the famous (or infamous) Winter University 'banana' more and more in evidence. Workshops involving the students in learning from each other and from their surroundings in the town and countryside of Sibiu followed in quick succession. In lectures, Melanie Smith took us to the depths and heights post modernism, orientalism and globalisation, Martin Groters to the outer limits of regional marketing, László Puczkó to concepts behind the World's Heritage, Carlos Fernandes and Alexandra Correia to rural marketing networks and David Bruce to the inner sounds, shapes and identities of walled historic cities. In between Ilie Rotariu introduced us all to the history of Sibiu itself as we were escorted round it and out to the very heart of folkloric Transylvania, where we saw 'Saxon' fortified churches, the mansions of Gipsy Kings and Emperors as well as the traditional Romanian art that helped inspire the Dracula and vampire myths. We also saw and met the organisers of the Sibiu international documentary film festival and soon had many of our preconceptions about deepest, remotest Transylvania comprehensively

demolished. By the end of the week most of the students were able to produce inspiring presentations based on their workshops and learnt how much there was to be learnt when Latvian and English, Portuguese and Dutch, Chinese and Serbian students seek understanding together.

To put the week's experience into context, the history of the ATLAS Winter University dates from 1989 when a small group of universities began running courses in the areas of leisure, culture and tourism. The basic concept of the Winter University was to bring students and staff from different European countries together to analyse and discuss the implications of major social, cultural and economic changes for the development of leisure in Europe.

Since the Winter University (WU) began much has changed in Europe. Most dramatically the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of former communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe provided both new challenges and new opportunities for the organisation and analysis of leisure. Over the years the scope of the Winter University has broadened to include participants from a growing number of European countries and event to include staff and students from outside Europe as well. One of the major changes has also been the extension of the SOCRATES programme of the EU to include Central and Eastern Europe. This has not only allowed more staff and students from these countries to participate, but has also facilitated the organisation of the WU there. Romania was the fourth CEE country to host the event, after Poland, Hungary and. Slovenia

In spite of the changing venue of the WU, many things have remained the same. A focus on the issues of reunification, a core programme of lectures designed to introduce major theoretical themes and a series of workshops to generate student participation have been a constant factor.

We are all extremely grateful to a large number of people for helping to make possible the 2007 Winter University event in Sibiu, the 2007 European Capital of Culture, which sponsored the week and is sponsoring publication of the proceedings. Ilie Rotariu and the rest of the staff and students from the University of Sibiu did a wonderful job of making us feel welcome in Romania and providing all the facilities we needed. Thanks also go to all the staff and students who attended and participated in the WU sessions and discussions. A very special thanks goes to Laslo Pusko's parents for helping to ensure that Melanie's child enjoyed the week too! The student participants set up a website friends site at http://uk.groups.yahoo.com/group/sibiufriends/

Next year's Winter University is being actively planned and details and venue will be announced at the ATLAS annual Conference in Viana di Castelo in September.

# ATLAS Special Interest Groups

## Cultural Tourism Research Group

*Greg Richards*
*Tourism Research and Marketing, Spain*
*grichards@tram-research.com*

The ATLAS Cultural Tourism Research Project is now in its 16th year, and to date has generated over 40,000 visitor surveys at cultural sites around the world. In 2007 the group continued to develop its research activities and publications. You can find more details on the project website: www.tram-research.com/atlas.

A number of changes have been made to the research programme for 2007. The latest version of the questionnaire has been modularised to make it easier for participants to adapt the basic questionnaire to their own research needs. This also makes it easier to use the questionnaire as a part of research assignments for students.

The 2007 questionnaire is currently available in English, French, German, Greek, Italian, Latvian, Portuguese, Serbian, Spanish and Turkish. Other languages will be added as these become available. As in previous years, different versions will also be produced for different world regions, including Africa, Asia, Australasia, Europe, North America and Latin America.

In previous years each round of surveys has been restricted to a single calendar year. However, we have now decided to extend the timescale of the research so that the current programme will run with the same survey format for at least three years. This will allow partners more flexibility in the timing of their surveys, and also give them more time to build the surveys in their own research and student assignments.

The group is also developing a qualitative research strand to run alongside the quantitative visitor surveys. There will be a special session on this at the group meeting during the Annual Conference in Viana.

The group had a very successful Expert Meeting at Chaves in Portugal in November 2006. The theme of the meeting was Cultural Tourism and Identity, which attracted papers from all corners of the world. The meeting was hosted by the Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro, and was excellently organised by Xerado Pereiro and Veronika Nelly. The proceedings of the meeting will be published by UTAD and launched at the ATLAS Conference in Viana in September.

Other group publications have also appeared during the past year. The papers presented at the Barcelona group meeting In 2003 have now been published by Haworth Press in the volume ‘Culture Tourism: Global and Local Perspectives’. A link to this volume can be found on the publications page of the ATLAS website.
The report of the 2004 ATLAS Cultural Tourism Surveys has also now been published, and is available from ATLAS (www.atlas-euro.org).

Portuguese-speaking members of the group may also be interested in the publication from the Universidade do Algarve ‘O Evento FCNC 2005 e o Turismo’, which analyses the

Portuguese Capital of Culture event held in Faro in 2005. This study was based on the ATLAS methodology which was also used to study previous Capitals of Culture, and therefore provides interesting comparative data.

ATLAS has also established a collaboration with European Cities Marketing, a network of 140 cities across 30 European countries. The aim of the collaboration is to partner cities and research institutions in the development of cultural tourism and other visitor-related research projects. A presentation on the ATLAS research was made at their Annual meeting in Barcelona in May.

## Gastronomy and Tourism Research Group

*Kevin Fields*
*University of Gloucestershire, United Kingdom*
*kfields@glos.ac.uk*

No report available yet.

## Policy Research Group

*Michael Hall*
*University of Canterbury, New Zealand*
*cmhall@business.otago.ac.nz*

No report available yet.

## Backpackers Research Group

*Kevin Hannam*
*University of Sunderland, United Kingdom*
*kevin.hannam@sunderland.ac.uk*

No report available yet.

## Tourism SME Research Group

*Rhodri Thomas*
*Leeds Metropolitan University, United Kingdom*
*r.thomas@leedsmet.ac.uk*

*Hans Holmengen*
*Lillehammer College, Norway*
*hans.holmengen@hil.no*

The SIG project on SME policies and practices in European transition economies was published during the year: Thomas, R and Augustyn, M (Eds) 'Tourism in the New Europe: Perspectives on SME Policies and Practices'. Advances in Tourism Research.

Oxford: Elsevier. The publication contains papers from ATLAS colleagues throughout Europe.

The SIG conference on events SMEs to be held in December has transformed into a one day symposium with invited keynote presentations only and space for exploring issues raised. Details can be found on:
https://owa2k3.leedsmet.ac.uk/exchweb/bin/redir.asp?URL=http://www.leedsmet.ac.uk/lsif/events/beyond/index.htm

Colleagues interested in taking a lead on new projects should contact Rhodri Thomas: r.thomas@leedsmet.ac.uk

## Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Research Group

*Vítor Ambrósio*
*Escola Superior de Hotelaria e Turismo do Estoril, Portugal*
*vitor.ambrosio@eshte.pt*

*1st Meeting of the Group*

The Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Special Interest Group was launched by ATLAS and hosted by the Polytechnic Institute of Viana do Castelo (Portugal) with the sponsorship of the Tourism Board of Leiria-Fátima. One of the aims was to increase the relatively little research that has been done in the relationship between cultural tourism, spiritual tourism, and religious tourism.

The 1st Expert Meeting was held at one of the world´s most renowned religious and pilgrimage sites—Fátima, Portugal. Papers on issues relating to the conference theme were presented and proceedings were published and are available through ATLAS.

*2nd Meeting of the Group*

At the meeting of the ATLAS Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Special Interest Group in Naples, a number of ideas were put forward for future research in activities of the group. The discussion was wide ranging and not only extended the ideas put forward by the different contributors but also included new thoughts and suggestions.

*Compile a religious tourism and pilgrimage bibliography*

A suggested activity was to begin compiling a religious tourism and pilgrimage bibliography among group members. An initial list of sources was sent to all group members in order to contribute with new references. The Laboratory of Tourism at the Polytechnic Institute of

Viana do Castelo, Portugal, would compile the list.
This bibliography should summarize studies on religious tourism and pilgrimage in all languages, and cover such topics as planning and development, marketing, sustainable development, economic and other effects of tourism.

*Synergy with the ATLAS Cultural Tourism Special Interest Group*

In 2004, the ATLAS Cultural Tourism Special Interest Group conducted visitor interviews at a range of different cultural sites and attractions around the world, including religious ones. It was proposed to work closely with this group and possibly analyse the data to maintain an overview of the relationship between tourism, culture and religious space for (1) understanding the demand for religious space, (2) character profiles of the populations choosing to visit religious space and (3) the motivations for visitors / tourists to seek out these spaces.

The questionnaire has questions applicable to religious tourism and pilgrimage contexts, including if respondents visited or planned to visit certain cultural attractions or cultural events in this area. One of the options was religious sites.

The questionnaire is available on the web: www.geocities.com/atlasproject2004

*3rd Meeting of the Group*

The experience at the Naples meeting showed that the group had a fair amount to discuss and that a brief meeting during the ATLAS conference is not really enough to do it all. It was suggested that the next meeting not be held in 2005 but rather in 2006. This would give members time to conduct the case study research. The meeting should probably be much like the format of the initial meeting in Fatima—12 to 15 participants meeting for two days with presentations and enough time devoted to discussion.

However, several members of the group suggested that a meeting should take place during the ATLAS Conference in Barcelona. As a result, ATLAS Secretariat was contacted to include the meeting on the conference programme. The meeting was scheduled parallel to workshop sessions, and during it a new coordinator was elected (it was also decided that the coordination of this group would be on a rotating basis). During this meeting Christos Petreas from Greece suggested to have the next expert's meeting (the 4th meeting of the group) in his country, in Kalambaka, by the end April, beginning May 2006; unfortunately, due to a reorganization of the Greek government/ Ministry of Tourism (during Springs 2006), it didn't take place.

In meanwhile other contacts were made, and finally a meeting will take place in Lourdes (France) on the 26th and 27th October – the theme will be The Development of Sanctuary Towns". Before the meeting another one (an informal meeting) will take place in Viana do Castelo (Portugal), on the 04th September, one day prior to the annual conference – here will be discuss the possibility of having projects (concerning religious tourism and pilgrimages) which may include more than one country.

*Dissertations and Publications*

Razaq Raj and Nigel Morpeth from Leeds Metropolitan University edited in CABI "Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Festivals Management – An International Perspective". Many chapters are contributions from the Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Special Interest Group members.

Vitor Ambrósio discussed his PhD dissertation "Religious Tourism – The Development of Sanctuary Towns" last December.

*Discussion list*

The ATLAS Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Special Interest Group discussion list is active (religious@atlas-euro.org). Only subscribers of this list can send and receive messages send to this address.

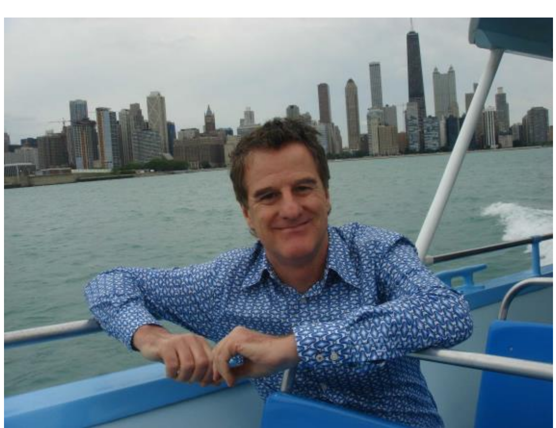
## Tourism and Socio Cultural Identities Research Group

*Peter M Burns*
*University of Brighton, United Kingdom*
*P.M.Burns@bton.ac.uk*

No report available yet.

## Business Tourism Research Group

*Rob Davidson*
*University of Westminster, United Kingdom*
*davidsr@westminster.ac.uk*



The ATLAS Business Tourism Special Interest Group held their annual conference in Mannheim, Germany, from 04 to 05 December 2006. on the theme: "Contents & Methods: New Didactic Approaches & Solutions for Academic Business Tourism & Events Management Education". There were delegates from 9 different European countries, and the event was hosted by the Mannheim University of Cooperative Education. Day 1 of the conference was taken up by the presentation of papers on a variety of topics pertaining to the theme of the event. Day 2 of the conference was sponsored by M:con, the conference centre of Mannheim. Delegates had a tour of the venue, including a behind-the-scenes insight into the management and operations of the building, followed by a presentation by the managing director.

In the Spring of this year, members of the Business Tourism SIG learnt with great sadness that the host of our 2006 conference, Professor Klaus Beckmann, had lost the battle with his illness and had passed away. From the inception of our SIG, Klaus was an active and loyal member, attending every annual conference. He will be greatly missed by us all.

Our 2007 annual conference will take place from 02 - 05 December, and has a Baltic location, beginning in Lahti, Finland and continuing in Tallinn. The theme this year is: EDUCATION AND RESEARCH FOR THE MEETINGS AND BUSINESS EVENTS INDUSTRY TODAY.

## Tourism and Disaster Research Group

*Alexandros Paraskevas*
*Oxford Brookes University*
*aparaskevas@brookes.ac.uk*

No report available yet.

## Spa and Wellness Research Group

*Melanie Smith*
*University of Greenwich, United Kingdom*
*M.K.Smith@gre.ac.uk*

Historic concept, future prospects
25 - 28 June 2007, Budapest, Hungary
Summary of the Event

The first Spa and Wellness Tourism Special Interest Group meeting was attended by 21 participants from 14 different countries. As well as engaging in some lively debates about the history and development of spa and wellness tourism, delegates visited a typical historic Hungarian spa and enjoyed a group dinner courtesy of the Hungarian National Tourism Office. Informal social activities also gave participants the chance to get to know one another and share interests.

The academic Programme was diverse and interesting with presentations of an excellent standard. The general themes covered included:

- Definitions, typologies and motivations of wellness tourists
- Managing wellness tourism
- History and development of spas
- New product development in wellness tourism

Case studies focused on a broad range of destinations and sites such as historic and heritage spas, day spas, wellness hotels, medical wellness centres, holistic centres, and mountain, lake and seaside wellness resorts.

The main issues discussed could be summarised as follows:

**1) Definitions:**
There is a definite need for a comprehensive definition of wellness tourism. The question is, should there be one all-encompassing definition or many - i.e. for each typology of wellness (e.g. medical, spa, holistic, etc). There will clearly be national variations, especially as the word `wellness` does not exist in some languages.

**2) Demand:**
It is difficult to know who is primarily motivated by wellness tourism and who is an `incidental` wellness tourist (e.g. predominantly in a hotel or resort for leisure, business or other purposes). It seems that in many regions of the world healing as a motivation is in decline and is being taken over by leisure. There are problems of mixing groups with different interests and motivations within one facility (e.g. young leisure tourists and older medical tourists). There is also a question about how to target new markets to wellness destinations (e.g. men).

**3) Diversification:**
Many presenters talked about the problems of using resources in a creative way at the same time as preserving heritage. The globalisation or standardisation of products was seen as a problem for destinations trying to find unique selling points. There are also some interesting questions about the relationship between authenticity and fantasy within a wellness setting.

**4) Service:**
There was some discussion of labelling and measurement of quality in wellness tourism. Staff attitudes and training were seen as key issues, as were qualifications and regulations. It was agreed by the group that a customer-orientated rather than a product-orientated approach was optimal.

**5) Experience:**
The importance of experience was acknowledged as being a priority, for example, the atmosphere, emotion or `soul` of a wellness destination or resort. There is sometimes a need to move away from the `hospital feeling` of many traditional health resorts (e.g. in Central and Eastern Europe). On the other hand, we need to question whether the creation of an Asian atmosphere (e.g. through Ayurveda, Thai massage, etc) is the most appropriate for a heritage spa in Europe.

**6) Wellness and lifestyle:**
The issue of individual responsibility for wellness was mentioned frequently by presenters. Prevention rather than cure is seen as the way forward. Wellness is sometimes seen as a basic human right with fundamental links to quality of life, however many people are not well-informed about available activities. There is a need for better public education, marketing and familiarisation trips. There was a question about whether wellness tourism can influence peoples` lives in the long-term.

**7) Marketing:**
The group discussed different marketing approaches and tools (e.g. Alpine Wellness). The creation of unique selling propositions which are indigenous to a region or destination were deemed important. The use of (in)appropriate images was discussed (e.g. the use of bikini-clad women to sell heritage spas). Sometimes it was thought that the core products did not match the excellent marketing (e.g. run-down facilities and poor service in CEE). The attraction of new target markets is seen as a challenge (e.g. more men, younger people) as well as the problems of mixed markets.

# Mass Tourism Research Group

*John Beech*
*Coventry University*
*J.Beech@coventry.ac.uk*

Mass Tourism - Whatever happened to 'Sunlust Tourism'?

Futures Institute, Coventry University
United Kingdom
Monday 14th May 2007

Report on 1st Meeting of ATLAS Mass tourism SIG

It was back in 1970 that H Peter Gray proposed the terms 'sunlust tourism' and 'wanderlust tourism'. Since then, academia has made great strides in researching the latter, arguably at the expense of researching the former. Package tourism still makes up nearly half the tourism business transacted and yet we know relatively little, compared to niche areas of the market, about it. The ATLAS Mass Tourism Special Interest Group (SIG) was founded to help redress this balance by encouraging research into tour operators, travel agents, airlines, the mass tourist and the impacts of mass tourism.

Members of the SIG Mass Tourism were welcomed by Professor Gillingham, Co-Dean of Coventry University Business School (CUBS). The Chair then presented a brief update on what was happening with the SIG, and reported that there were now 67 individual members based in 19 countries.

John Swarbrooke then gave a keynote address. He emphasised that not only was 'mass tourism' due a revisit in terms of what the term meant, but also that, by any sensible definition, it was in fact growing, notwithstanding the decline in the traditional mass tour operators market. He felt that the timing of the meeting was particularly appropriate as a new research agenda was needed.

The rest of the day fell in to two groups of presentations, the first of which was a series of presentations on members' current research in the various fields of mass tourism. Their presentations are available at the ATLAS website at www.atlas-euro.org.

The concluding phase of the meeting turned to specific proposals for joint research, followed by a plenary session chaired by Professor David Noon, the second Co-Dean of CUBS. During this session the meeting was joined by Dr Laura Everall, Business Development Manager at CUBS, to give some helpful input on funding possibilities.

The first proposal by was by John Beech, and considered the establishment of an annual airline passenger survey with the emphasis on assessing perceptions of airline service quality. The feeling of the meeting was that more pre-research was needed to determine the potential demand, and John was asked to take soundings from his airline industry contacts.

The second proposal was by Dimitris Koutoulas. He proposed a joint effort on hotel benchmarking, culminating in a book [*There is an implication that ATLAS would publish this*]. Given the level of interest expressed, it was proposed that Dimitris go ahead, and

SIG members were invited to make contact with Dimitris directly (d.koutoulas@ba.aegean.gr).

During the plenary discussion a third proposal was mooted – the formation of a virtual Travel Industry Observatory. [*Exemplars of the Observatory concept can be found in the area of Planning at http://www.idoxplc.com/iii/managedservices/ukplanning/index.htm and in the Automotive field at http://corporate.coventry.ac.uk/cms/jsp/polopoly.jsp?d=1793&a=12822*] John Beech agreed to investigate this further and report back to the SIG.

There was a brief discussion on future meetings of the SIG. It was agreed that the next would be held at the ATLAS Conference in Portugal in September. This would be followed by a meeting similar to the present one to be held in May 2008. All SIG members are invited to offer to host the latter (the Chair indicated that he would, other things being equal, prefer that a non-UK host might come forward in order to avoid the SIG becoming in any way UK-centric).

## Capital City Tourism Research Group

*Robert Maitland*
*University of Westminster*
*United Kingdom*
*r.a.maitland@wmin.ac.uk*

*Brent W. Ritchie*
*University of Canberra*
*Canada*
*Brent.Ritchie@canberra.edu.au*

No report available yet.

## ATLAS new publications

Richards G. and Richards B. (2006)
*Medical tourism: A global analysis.*
Arnhem: ATLAS. 98 pp
ISBN: 90-75775-22-9

Smith, M.K. and Onderwater L. (eds) (2006)
*The transformation of tourism spaces. ATLAS Reflections 2006*.
Arnhem: ATLAS.
ISBN: 90-75775-23-7

Hall, D., Smith, M. K., and Marciszewska, B. (2006) (eds)
*Tourism in the New Europe: The Challenges and Opportunities of EU Enlargement.*
Wallingford: CABI.

Greg Richards (2007) (ed)
*Cultural Tourism. Global and local perspectives*
New York: Haworth Press, 375 pages

Van der Duim, R. and Kloek, M.E. (2007) (eds)
*Tourism and nature in Africa. Thematic proceedings of ATLAS Africa conferences. Volume 1*
Arnhem: ATLAS 160 pp
ISBN: 978-90-75775-26-6

Greg Richards and Célia Queirós (2005)
*ATLAS Cultural Tourism Research Project 2004 – Survey report*
Arnhem: ATLAS 27 pp

Smith, M.K. and Onderwater L. (eds) (2007)
*Destinations revisited. Perspectives on developing and managing tourist areas. ATLAS Reflections 2007*.
Arnhem: ATLAS.
ISBN: 90-75775-27-

**For the complete publication series,**
**inclusive summaries of almost all publications,**
**and easy ordering, visit:**
**www.atlas-euro.org**