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Tourism Gaining Cogency
From an Industry-Driven Force to a Public-Platform Choice

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A review of the literature suggests that tourism has been constantly changing. Four major transformational phases can be suggested, each as a platform of thinking depicting an era of shifting/maturing process in this field. The first platform took force and gained voice after World War II, when many countries in Europe and elsewhere (re)discovered tourism and used it toward economic (re)construction. As several countries worldwide gained their independence in the 60s, they too quickly subscribed to it as a tool to improve their poor economic situation. Through this decade, all such beliefs about and positions on behalf of tourism—whether coming from the developed or developing countries, as well as from such institutions as the World Bank—supported and even advocated tourism as an important tool for economic development. Thus, because of this tendency, in my earlier writings I have named this period in tourism history the Advocacy Platform, for almost unconditionally promoting growth and development. Then the Cautionary Platform, voiced by those challenging the advocacy position of the 70s, argued that tourism cannot or does not necessarily lead to the economic prosperities and benefits expected of it. Citing both facts and conjectures, they further argued that

tourism could even lead to many economic disbenefits and sociocultural costs. In general, this platform opposed tourism and its development. In its mildest form, it cautioned countries and destinations that tourism comes with many unwanted consequences. After the arguments of the two advocacy and cautionary platforms were heard, including some cross firing between them, a conciliatory position took shape in the 80s. The Adaptancy Platform—the general 80s pattern of thinking and action—believed that after the goods and the bads had been told, the time had come to benefit from these insights by adapting tourism to minimize its costs and maximize its benefits. During this decade, various «appropriate» forms of tourism development were introduced and advanced, including nature tourism, rural tourism, agrotourism, small-scale tourism, ecotourism, culture tourism, and many more.

The three advocacy, cautionary, and adaptancy stands led to the formation of the Knowledge-based Platform. Populated mostly by researchers/academicians, this scientification process and voice—loudest throughout the 90s—took shape and gained strength. Some of the most important advances and recognitions in tourism as a field of study emerged during this decade, as unprecedented development lent, among other things, more strength and legitimacy to tourism study.

Granted these are four generalized snapshots of tourism's recent past (Jafari 2002), then what may be the fifth phase, if any? The new decade (actually the beginning of a new century) is only a few years old. Still, several colleagues familiar with my work have asked if I have already detected a pattern of thinking/development that might characterize the 00s, and what I might be naming its platform. In many ways, the question of what might come next relates to the theme of this forum in Havana.

Tourism Going Public

In everyone's mind, so far the biggest event of the 21st century is that of September 11th, 2001, which sent an immediate shock worldwide, with consequences still unfolding. This was also a big shock for tourism. Immediately after the incident, the industry suffered almost everywhere, at near and far destinations. The situation was so grave that even President George W. Bush loaned his face and voice to tourism's support, encouraging Americans to travel and enjoy the beauty, vastness, and richness of their country from coast to coast. Never before had tourism been shocked and weakened in this way, and never before had it witnessed this level of public sponsorship, at the highest level of the government, in this country and elsewhere. True, the real intent of President Bush was not to promote tourism as such, but instead to encourage an east-to-west and north-to-south traffic in the United States in order to signal that things after September 11th had quickly become normal. But still his

presumed intent would not matter; the fact that tourism was considered so powerful a tool counts, clearly suggesting its still-hidden public importance.

As if tourism had not suffered enough worldwide, in early 2003 came another surprise: SARS. The volume of the industry was immediately reduced to less-than-bare minimum in all affected areas/destinations and their nearby regions. Soon after the SARS incident, once more high-level public faces and voices (both government and big names/popular figures)ofaffected areas—as a review of their public media would clearly show—did not sit back. Instead, they took initiatives to support/rescue their respective tourism industries. This included reacting to and even questioning WHO's alerts against travel to their countries.

Soon after the normalization of the situation, the media exuberantly reported «Vietnam, Toronto, Hong Kong, Guangdong, and Singapore all had heir turn in celebrating the much-coveted WHO-travel advisory lifting». Significantly, the voice came from peoples and groups typically outsiders to tourism systems of operation, taking «ownership» of and supporting «their» own tourism industry, thus bringing together government and people as forces in the name of the public. This clearly signifies that people outside tourism's domain had recognized the importance of this industry to their economies and had taken firm and calculated steps on its behalf.

In addition to these developments, which brought out unusual public support for tourism, other «outsiders» such as UNESCO, UNDP, and the World Bank, though not new to tourism, appear to have increased their presence in it. Still in a different realm, the transformation of the World Tourism Organization to a specialized agency of the United Nations is quite significant. In December 2003, at its 58th session, the UN General Assembly unanimously made the World Tourism Organization a fully-fledged specialized agency of the United Nations, thus being entitled to participate as full member in the UN System Chief Executives Board for Coordination, which elaborates system-wide strategies in response to overall intergovernmental directives on economic cooperation and development. Significantly, this heightened WTO position enables it to work with the UN General Assembly, Economic and Social Council, and the Security Council, as well as giving WTO a status within the system equal to such institutions as UNIDO (UN Industrial Development Organization), UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization), ILO (International Labor Organization), FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization), and WHO (World Health Organization). This all will provide WTO and—

through the UN systems of organizations—tourism with an additional public platform or international podium from which the voice or influence of tourism can reach a field, both positively and negatively. For example, one of its ill effects, sex tourism, actually made it to the speech of the President of the United States addressed to the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 23, 2003: the very global platform to which WTO and tourism now cling.

Together such intergovernmental moves as well as the concrete September 11th scar and the SARS scare suggest a public platform of diverse external agents and voices siding with or finding themselves in tourism: on behalf of peoples they represent and on behalf of the industry itself. Because of these fortunate and unfortunate developments, tourism is increasingly finding itself on outbound turfs, going public, gaining a more authoritative voice than it has enjoyed before. Perhaps this is the right time —the momentum—for tourism to literally step aside and make room for these and other influential agents to occupy the podium: to represent tourism, to voice it, to speak on its behalf, to heighten its position, to advance it in the very arenas from which it has traditionally been absent.

With the four Advocacy, Cautionary, Adaptancy, and Knowledge-based Platforms of the past decades (each still alive and doing its respective parts), a fifth is potentially emerging: a Public Platform. Granted, the decade is too young to name a thematic pattern for it, but at least one could argue that this would be a favorable development for and in tourism. This is desirable professionally: a public platform/voice on behalf of tourism, to help it assume its legitimate/strong position—side by side with other industries—in local, national, and international circles.

The first workshop of this seminar here in Havana intends «to create an interface between public power and groups targeted by tourism». As such, the forum is calling for an interface and collaboration between relevant public agencies and business sectors. The recent incidents, as already noted, have prompted government and nongovernmental agencies, and especially citizens of destinations, to participate in voicing tourism and claiming «ownership» of it. It is important that this shift is taken advantage of so that the industry derives new homegrown roots and gains new «formal» mouthpieces. Those leading tourism as an industry and those advancing it as a field of study should be guided with the foresight of turning this brief transformational momentum into a trend (or a thrust for this decade), into a well-founded Public Platform. The deliberation of this UNESCO seminar in Havana, as this volume of conference proceedings would suggest, can

shed some light on the whys and hows of this process— of building on the past achievements, but also opening the door to what tourism has evolved.

As is known to all, change and crisis are norms—not exceptions—in tourism. Despite this, the industry still waits for things to occur and then it reacts or responds to them, to deal with the problems thrown its way. The September 11th and SARS cases—both dramatic in magnitude and nature, with ripple effects worldwide—are excellent, though exceptional, examples. The typical wait-and-see practice must change. Like other well-established industries, tourism too must have an audible public voice and must function proactively: to foresee developments (positive and negative alike), to formulate options, to have in place alternatives, etc., in order to be able to influence and even shape its course ahead of time. This tourism cannot do by itself; the general absence of public voice/force/stand must be remedied.

In other words, the prevalent technique of simply react to or follow changes/deal with crises has no place in the future we have begun to sample. Even the language of the past—«crisis management» or «crisis committee»—suggests that no contemplations or actions will take place until a destination or tourism company faces an undesirable situation. With the new Public Platform now in the air (but not landed yet), prompted by the unprecedented developments, different ways of conceiving and engineering the future of the industry must be opted for.

Tourism Observatory Commission

The yesterday's mindset, which saw the formation of as-needed (national) crisis committees / treatments only when the occasion so demanded, should be changed for a new mindset with its own «landscape» and «language». In the wake of the new platform, this calls for the formation of a Tourism Observatory Commission (TOCOM): in all countries with ongoing and forthcoming commitments to tourism to author a national scheme of their own. Such institutions as the World Tourism Organization can take the lead in developing and proposing the structure and function of this body.

The proposed commission does not react, as a crisis committee does. Instead, among other things, a TOCOM is a proactive body. Its broad-based membership must know and understand all relevant geopolitical, socioeconomic, and natural forms (as well as the traditional market-driven forces), and foresee what is to come, including what is expectable and thus planned for, and what is less probable and many «what ifs» that might occur.

To be successful, membership of a TOCOM must be made up of both public and private

representations, drawn from appropriate government agencies, academic institutions, and citizen/interest groups. As already seen, many of those speaking on behalf of tourism during and since the two big incidents are not tourism's traditional spokespersons or stakeholders. As never before, governmental and nongovernmental agencies and high-profile individuals have become new tourism brokers or partners: inviting people to travel, despite the situation of the time, whether to the threatened grounds and skies of September 11th or to the SARS-affected destinations in Asia and North America. By drawing into its membership diverse representations, a TOCOM fortifies the position of tourism: shifting, repositioning, and transforming it to an industry envisioned beyond its mundane operational realms. When in 2001 and 2003 the communities/governments challenged the position of WHO in relation to SARS' travel alerts, then tourism had indeed evolved: for it was occupying a different position from that in the past, and it is in these new grounds and settings that the TOCOM program should be nested.

With the new serendipity-formed Public Platform, to which we all must purposefully contribute, the time for the formation of the proposed Tourism Observatory Commission is upon us, with a visionary mission and an orchestrated action that can influence the future with change and crisis no longer atypical. Of course each country needs to design and operate its own TOCOM brand: one which represents and reflects its unique geopolitical position in the region/world, and one which reflects its present/ desired stage of development in tourism. And this is exactly where WTO UNDP, UNEP, and UNESCO can offer blueprints to their member countries.

The Public TOCOM Program

•Today all countries are involved in tourism: either as receiving destinations, asgenerating markets, or both. Every nation is involved, as the host and/or the guest. Tourism is universal in the real sense of the term.

•As an anthropologist once put it, tourism has become «the largest peacetime movement of peoples in the history of mankind». It is no longer a sporadic event in nature and scope.

•Despite its volatility, tourism is a very resilient industry, and it is here to stay — despite economic fluctuation, natural disaster, war, 9/11, SARS, and what have you.

•Tourism is no longer a luxury item: it is a necessity of life almost everywhere. Without tourism, bodies are drained and minds laxed. Economies—all powered by people— cannot retain the edge if their workers' batteries are drained but not recharged. Tourism has become the means of restoring equilibriums, benefiting lives both at homes and at workplaces.

•Thus, tourism is more than an industry—the limited way in which

many continue to view and treat it—and the present administration of it by typical political appointees and technocrats to whom tourism means only marketing and promotion will not do.

•This industry represents more than what economics can quantify. The phenomenon called tourism has to be treated and understood beyond its present economic and operational constitutions.

•In its economics realm alone, governments have used tourism as carrot and stick, to promote tourism to friendly countries and to limit or forbid travel to "enemies". In its sociocultural realm, for example, tourism is even used to repair relationships between reconciling countries.

•The literature shows that tourism must become a locally-rooted and-driven industry in order to succeed. Destinations that have gone native are among the successful ones. And those which have succeeded have had public support, and «ownership».

•The sustainability of tourism depends more on external factors than international resources and knowledge. While past accomplishments of the industry have brought this industry to the forefront, its appeal, success, and sustenance will continue to depend on resources that belong to the host system, be they natural or sociocultural. These are the very substances continuously nurturing tourism, yet the industry does not own or control them.

•Further, there are other external factors—way beyond tourism's reach—that control it: be it the weather, natural disorder or disaster, political maneuver and turmoil, war, economic fluctuation, and even as specific as the foreign exchange rate; and all do so whether close to its base or thousands of miles away from its operation.

•As such, tourism is a multi-dimensionaly/-faceted industry, internally developed yet externally influenced or controlled.

•It takes more than the industry—it requires a public means—to bring all layers affecting tourism into interplay. Institutions or systems larger than tourism can and must contribute to its constitution and operation

•Further, tourism, more so in the light of recent developments, has no choice but to think, plan, and operate proactively. The industry-driven forces have done all they could to build it up to flourish at this height: the takeoff time has arrived.

•Tourism being inherently inter-regional, intercultural, and externally sourced must be strategized with multidisciplinary means and repositioned for private/public collaborative options. Tourism is more than an art: the tactics of attracting, transporting, receiving, accommodating, entertaining, and serving the tourist. Significantly, tourism has

•Become a science: the dialectics of studying, understanding, and relating tourism to all that structures it and are structured by it.

•Beside the public know-whys and operational know-hows, it takes an engineered vision to bring both its hidden and manifest dimensions into interactional terrains, suggesting the domains from which necessary bodies such as TOCOM are constituted and membership for it are drawn.

•Tourism must be placed at a podium and on a platform appropriate for its global structures and penetrating functions. This is not a call for government bureaucracy, but a repositioning attempt to place tourism on higher grounds guided with informed holistic treatments (Jafari 1987).

Conclusion

In a nutshell, today tourism has become the epitome of the global community. It has become a gauge of national and international affairs, with its slowdowns or growths as telling indicators of the state of broader socioeconomic performances. Tourism's patterns and volumes signal the coming of both good and bad times. When it slows down, this visibly suggests that economies are weak, conflicts are breaking out, and order is being lost. And when tourism resumes its height, this also signals something else: that the weakness has turned to strength and the disorder to resolution.

Should a country leave the making of this phenomenon and the reading of it as a barometer to the tourism industry? Informed participation of the public in tourism is not a choice; it has actually become a must. The proposed Public Platform and the Tourism Observatory Commission as its executing agency can show and pave the road ahead for what tourism is all about.

Tourism should be proud of its past accomplishments. In a short time span, as its history clearly demonstrates, tourism first elevated itself to the rank below that of oil, then at par with it, suddenly above it, and it is now positioned as the largest industry in the world. But research also suggests that sustaining this position is clearly beyond its own ways and means.

Obviously each country needs to determine the level and participation of its many institutions in the making and functioning of its tourism industry and what should constitute its TOCOM body: all placed in foresightful parameters. This way, the visionary mission of the tourism commission operates—in a grounded and contributing fashion—within the national framework, fully understands its sociocultural raison d'etre, works within its limits, protects the host natural and cultural heritage, respects wants and needs of its community, works in respect to its unique geopolitical position, pursues well-informed goals, opts for tourism forms compatible with its whole, develops operational scenarios for both foreseeable and unforeseeable turns, and—significantly— treats tourism not just as an industry, but also as an important activity benefiting the community, yet connecting and contextualizing all: into the global village in which different nations of the world have taken membership.

There is no other way to say this: sustainability of tourism lies outside its traditional parameters,

and so do its predictable and unpredictable futures. Tourism—as a sociocultural phenomenon, as an economic tool, as a geopolitical force, as an institutionalized practice at and away from home—is too important to be left to itself, unguided in the hand of the industry alone. The public platform has a job to do, and all that ahead of it.

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Whose's Authenticity? A Flexible Concept in Search of Authority

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Paris, October 9. Safeguarding the world's intangible heritage, cultural diversity, and the protection of cultural heritage from intentional destruction, were the main topics on the cultural agenda at the 32nd Session of UNESCO's General Conference (September 29th - October 17th) underway at the Organization's Paris Headquarters. UNESCO's 190 member states are looking at the first draft of an International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage which, if adopted, would complement the protection of tangible World Heritage Sites. The convention was approved overwhelmingly onthOctober 17. Intangible cultural heritage is defined as «A set of living practices, knowledge and representations enabling individuals and communities to express themselves through systems of values and ethical standards». (UNESCO Thesaurus) and spelled out for this convention as «oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; the performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and traditional craftsmanship». The other strictures on the nature of the traditions to be identified and preserved are that they be consistent with human rights and

mutual respect among peoples, and that they must be consistent with sustainable development. Kurin points out (2003: 22) that both of these could cause some problems, e.g. in the first place, eliminating songs or ceremonies in which one people celebrates their historical victory or humiliation of people of another group, or in the second, leading one to ask how imperilled traditions could be inherently «sustainable» by their very nature. UNESCO is asking us to help bring these ideas into operation by offering advice about the identification and protection of these diverse human practices. As Kurin has stated (2003: 22) «The strategies for "safeguarding" ICH [Intangible Cultural Heritage] remain problematic». Furthermore, we must be aware that any outside promotion or control of a local ethnic tradition smacks of appropriation or even neo-colonialism (Brown 2003).

Medals, Prizes and Nominations: A Background of Cultural Awards

The protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage has a long and instructive history. At the 142nd general session of UNESCO, in Seoul in 1993, the Republic of Korea placed on the agenda a proposal for the «Establishment of a System of "Living Cultural Properties" (Living Human Treasures) at UNESCO». The custom of giving awards for recognizing distinctive performances has long pervaded human societies. Laurel wreaths, whether for superior athletes or poets (laureates) in classical Mediterranean civilizations, served to both mark what societies thought was excellent and who should be honoured as bearers of these traditions. Thus such awards both identify and help preserve traditions.

In the modern world of centrally organized nation states, one of the first such distinctions was the French Legion d'Honneur proposed by Napoléon Bonaparte in 1802 and first awarded in 1804. This innovation combined the traditional European system of rewards for «Honneur et Patrie» celebrating military and civil contributions with knighthoods and «garters», with the bureaucratic centralized national-level selection processes such as academies and specialized societies, more often honouring civil services and creative performances of which a nation could be proud. Such systems spread throughout the modernizing world, affirming nations as the unit of selection and pride. This modern system of distinction and international celebrity has fostered the formation of world's fairs, modern Olympics, and international organizations which

eventually led to the present system of world-wide universal membership organizations, of which UNESCO is a leader.

The Case of Japan

Not surprisingly Japan was one of the first nations to implement an entire system of rewards for cultural, especially artistic, performance. The Japan Art Academy, following on European lines, was founded in 1919, covering the fields of «fine arts, literature, music, drama and dance». The 120 members in turn award an annual Imperial Prize and an Academy Prize to non-members. In 1937 Japan established the Order of Culture to reward the same fields, plus theatre. In 1950 the National Ministry of Education (Monbusho) created «Art Encouragements» and «Encouragements for New Artists Prizes» in ten fields of what one might call the «modern» arts. In the same year a lacquer ware master craftsman, Gonroku Matsuda, assisted by General Douglas McArthur, created the honorific title «Living National Treasures» in the quest for preserving unique practices of traditional arts. This most immediate ancestor of UNESCO's present proposal was formalized the same year with Japan's passage of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties to «designate men and women who are judged as outstanding in their field of arts and crafts or in their artistic performances». It established the criteria for the identification of Juuyou minkei bunkazai hojisha, Bearers of Intangible Cultural Assets, better known as Ningen Kokuho, or «Living National Treasures». The craftspeople had to show that their products or performances were part of everyday life, and used natural materials made by hand, as part of a tradition whose techniques dated back at least to the Edo Era, i.e. the period before Japan was «opened» by Western forces in 1858. Artists and craftsmen such as those excelling in weaving, paper, ceramic, metal, wood or bamboo arts are recognized as well as the performing arts such as Noh and Kyogen, medieval forms of theatre.

Since then Japan has established many more categories of national awards, some of which provide lifetime pensions for particularly distinguished service. In 1974 the Agency for Cultural Affairs took over the Living National Treasure system ofrewards. Since 1950 well over 100 persons have been designated but, as many are picked late in their careers, only half that number is still alive; however, among them there are 23 «group holders» which, as corporations, are inherently capable of renewing themselves.

Living national treasures bear a conscious burden that they are expected to demonstrate and pass on their skills, as they commonly receive tremendous publicity and correspondence, and they must go on tour and are sent abroad as cultural ambassadors. Given the small pensions awarded, some of these modest people I have known question whether they should have accepted. These are all problems we must wrestle with in advising UNESCO today.

In considering the «Living National Treasure» system as a model for the UNESCO designations, we should be aware that there are three kinds of situations in which traditions may be selected.

1) The first is the simplest but one that presents great problems. That is the selection of a person who is the only or nearly the last practitioner of an age-old tradition. Though such a person, for instance the last traditional exponent of Tsuruta Kinshi, the Satsumabiwa (a lute), now deceased, or 2003's honouree, the Okinawan 90-year old Sada Yonamine yandaza hanaui weaver, may be easy to identify, the protection of their social life, their health and above all their tradition is difficult. The very fact that they have reached an advanced age without training a number of successors speaks to the fact that few people want to or are capable of learning and/or they may not want to be or are not good teachers.

2) An easier task is faced by other unique traditions where the celebrities are performers in an on-going group, such as the puppet-makers in the Bunraku puppet theatre tradition in Osaka. Their designation halted the decline in number of puppet theatres by giving financial assistance, and by attracting both domestic and foreign audiences through fame and travel. Though the skills and dedication required are onerous and do not attract many young Japanese, the rewards and prestige, and the ability or work as part of a team or family, have enabled Bunraku to prosper and replace retirees.

3) A third form of celebrated tradition is perhaps the easiest to safeguard; that is picking exceptional practitioners of an ancient tradition that is still flourishing —hence one that is not in danger of dying out and that is already organized for evaluation of quality and further training. Such would include potters, of whom fourteen LNTs are still alive—the youngest was born in 1941—out of a total of 30 designated since 1955. Now ceramics is a vibrant world in Japan, with frequent exhibitions and competitions, and an enormous and rich clientele of individuals, companies and

institutions (Moeran 1997). Similarly on a smaller level, Japanese traditional sword makers, who have five LNTs, are organized by the Nihon Bijutsu Token Hozonkai which holds annual national level competitions, at which all entrants are ranked. Those who have won for more than two years are elevated to non-competitive judges and are, presumably, candidates for LNT status.

Whether such a well organized system can be imposed or established in all the nations of the world is doubtful. Japan is a country of four centuries of strong, hierarchical centralization, and obedience to and reverence for traditions local and national. Furthermore it is a wealthy country that can afford to support not only the top art celebrities, but also the whole complex «art world» (Becker 1981) of resources and supports which surrounds each tradition. More subtle perhaps is the assurance of authenticity, for in these cases we have to rely on Japan's experts and, most of the times, this selection is delegated to the relatively strong national or regional support organizations. It is true, however, that there are differences within Japan over the «correct» or most «authentic» versions of certain traditions.

Since 1996 Japan has established a new set of programmes called «Arts Plan 21» to foster creative artistic activity beyond the scope already supported. With an annual budget of over ¥6 billion (nearly US$60 million), support for creative traditions, festivals, tours and performers isone of the highest per capita in the world. Applicants number in the thousands, and screening committees and specialized sub-committees award 2550% of the grants. Of note as an example of what UNESCO may be hoping to support is the Mombetsu Utari Bunka Hozenkai, the Ainu Cultural Promotion Award Organization which was established in 1983, dedicated to «accurate transmission and preservation of Aynu culture». In promoting preservation and holding a Culture Festival every year, in 1994 they were designated as an «Important Folk Cultural Property Protection Organization». They protect some of the most threatened traditions of the Ainu indigenous minority in Japan, and they cooperate with Ryukyuan minority cultural organizations in Okinawa who serve similar purposes.

In its survey of exemplary systems of reward, UNESCO mentions other national programs. In 1964 the Government of Korea introduced its own system, and by 1995 it

had 92 important intangible cultural properties, held by 167 individuals and 50 organizations. The Phillipines created a category of «National Artists» in 1983, and in 1988 started a program of Living National Treasures with the object of preserving traditions and transmitting them to younger generations. Thailand created a similar program in 1995, covering artists in poetry, design, music and theatre. Romania has created a program for protecting folk artists as exponents of local traditions. In 1994 France added to the categories of national distinctions awarded when the Minister of Culture «elevated some 20 persons» to «Maîtres d'art», who are required to pass on their skill and knowledge.

The United States

The situation in the United States is perhaps closest of all to the ambitious multicultural UNESCO program. Since 1982 the U S National Endowment for the Arts has awarded National Heritage Fellowships on a nationwide competitive basis; over 260 recipients have since then received at least $20,000 p.a. to support their performance tradition. Since 1984, NEA has awarded Life Time Honours in the National Medal for the Arts Program which supports mainly mainstream artists (architects, actors, classical musicians) or nationally known ethnic personalities (such as poet Maya Angelou, Aretha Franklin) as well as major artistic institutions. NEA also has an annual National Jazz Masters Fellowship which awards $25,000.

NEA's National Heritage Fellowships are awarded at the rate of more than ten a year, and could be thought of as Native American (First Nations), National, and International «Living Treasures». Prominent among those selected every year are:

•Native American (Indian) culture bearers, such as Agnes «Oshanee» Kenmille, Salish bead worker and regalia maker, Rose and Francis Cree, Ojibwe basket makers and storytellers (2002), Mary Wilson, Siouxs Storyteller (1999).

•Others are exponents of «American» cultural traditions, such as Norman Kennedy, weaver and singer (2003), Nicholas Toth, diving helmet designer (2003), Ralph Blizzard, old time fiddler (2002), or David Edwards, blues guitarist (2002).

•However, the largest proportion of those honoured are practitioners of traditions from all over the world, resembling very much a prototype for UNESCO's present project: Rosa Elena Egipciao, a Puerto Rican Mundolli lace maker,

Manoochehr Sadeghi, Persian santur player, Jesus Arriado et al., Basque Bertsolari poets, (2003), Kevin Burke, Irish fiddler, Nadim Dlaikan, Lebanese Nye (reed flute) player, Losang Samtem, Tibetan mandala painter (2002) and Seiichi Tanaka, Taiko drum grand master (2001). As Eileen Mason, acting chair of the NEA said «We are fortunate to live in a country in which such a variety of traditions can flourish side by side». She noted that the fourteen awardees were chosen for their artistic excellence, authenticity and contributions to their field.

Not all of these traditions have to be «age- old» to be considered authentic. For instance in 1999, an award went to the inventor of the musical «steel drum», Afro-Caribbean Elliot «Ellie» Mannette, who later came to the USA in 1963 where he developed a U S Navy Steel Band, and where he now serves as artist in residence at West Virginia University.

No one may apply for a National Heritage Fellowship. They must be nominated by someone else, with a maximum of five letters of recommendation or community support. The selection criteria are authenticity, excellence and significance within the artistic/ craft tradition and the nominee must be actively participating in the art form, either as practitioner or teacher. There is a special fellowship, named after Bess Hawes Lomax, for individuals who have contributed to the excellence, vitality and public appreciation of folk and traditional arts (but there is no clear definition of these practices). The nominator is asked to send short biography of the artists, recent samples of their works (slides, recordings, or videotapes), articles written about them, and a list of public appearances and exhibitions, and publications, if appropriate.

The nominations are sent to the NEA in Washington DC where they are judged by experts, who are often also practitioners, either brought in from all over the country or who are resident in D C, for instance at the Smithsonian Institutions. The Smithsonian staff is regularly in touch with folk arts and performances and is engaged inselection for celebration and attendance at the huge annual Smithsonian Folklife Festival (Kurin 1997) which brings together practitioners to present themselves to the public on the «national lawn», the Mall that runs between the White House and the Lincoln Memorial. This Festival, like the HeritageFellowships mentioned above, celebrates the intangible cultural treasures of Native American, American Folk Life, and national and ethnic traditions from overseas, such as Scotland and Mali in 2002.

We will return to the specific features of the NEA model of identifying and promoting the authentic traditions of the peoples of the USA when we consider how much of this may be applicable for UNESCO work at the International level.

Tourism, Protection and Authenticity

Authenticity has been a subject central to tourism studies ever since MacCannell's path-breaking work (1976). He proposed that sightseeing tourists search for an authenticity they fear is lacking in their home lives in the media-saturated consumer-oriented industrial world. Authenticity has two separate components:

- Objective authenticity is a quality particularly stressed by education-minded middle classes referring to the genuineness of some object or some tradition, compared with an idealized «original», as judged by a known or designated authority.

- But the success of tourism often depends as much on the tourists' subjective or on the existential authenticity of the encounters (Horner 1993; Ning Wang 2000, 2001) based on a personal set of meanings and expectations that they bring to the experience.

There is a pervasive anxiety that commercialization or even popularity of a tourist attraction causes it to lose authenticity. This fear is expressed in the UNESCO guidelines to us for this conference: «How can we protect [intangible] heritage and prevent its value from degrading? [...] even more difficult to detect the degradation of intangible heritage [than] sites on the World Patrimony list». And «Should the fact that artisans [and folk performers] adapt [their] production to the tourists' taste be considered a normal and age-long process or should one see it as a menace against authenticity, now consolidated by market mechanisms?». The framers of our workshop then pose the even more difficult question: «Who should protect [...] intangible heritage [...] knowledge and arts and crafts production?».

Erik Cohen (1988) was the first to propose that commodification does not necessarily kill authenticity. Even commodified traditions and attractions can «emerge» as authentic over time —as Marshall MacLuhan said «All obsolete practices [...] become art [forms]». The ideal tourist encounter preserves and celebrates objective authenticities, while also allowing for the subjective authentic experience, in which a tourist feels a warm glow, a happy discovery, or a dream

come true. And for many peoples of the world, the demand for objective authenticity is less important than the authentic feeling that the tourist gets from the encounter. For instance, in my own research on Japanese domestic tourism (1995, 1998) and as observed in Chinese tourism (Graburn 2001; Sofield and Li 1998) authenticity is far down the list of concerns among mass tourists, well under values such as safety, sociality, enjoyment, comfort, and timeliness. That does not mean that authenticity is of no concern in Japan and China, but rather that it is only the top concern for government authorities, negotiators with UNESCO for World Heritage status, and some local academics. Where does that leave performers, artists, craftsmen, dancers, guides—the carriers of the intangible traditions that are being judged either by some «authority» or by the «customers/ tourist»? The UNESCO papers asks us «Shouldn't the [judgment and] the protection come from the very people who give life to their traditions? [...] or should a recognized national or international body [i.e. a distant authority] give them the seal of approval?».

Ideally the three segments of the tourism venture—the tourists, the tradition-bearers and the members of the tourism industry—are in agreement, but in the real world there are disagreements and self-serving claims, so disagreements arise which affect the tourists' experiences. Touristic attractions, souvenirs, and performances are all products of cultural diversity; they are the resources for cultural, ethnic and historical tourism, for both the hosts and their guests. In touristic settings, these objects, performances and interpretations of history, are constantly reworked and evolve not only to attract and please tourists, but also to enhance people's identity and pride in their own history.

Discussion

First, we have to examine what we mean by authenticity in order to control it. And we can do little to control the subjective experience—which stems from spontaneity and serendipity; the very attempt to construct or control it would destroy the experience of discovery! However, we can suggest protection of traditions from over-commercialization so that the framing or atmosphere does not bring disrepute to an otherwise genuine practice.

Secondly, there is the paradox that a «genuine» folk tale or artefact or initiation dance is by definition NOT one that has been labelled as such. In linguistic terms, the «marked»

category plays second fiddle to the «unmarked», e.g. «folk» art vs. Art. There is danger of falling into the «MacCannell trap» of imagining that everything presented to us as tourists must be «staged authenticity» (MacCannell 1976)—and that we should therefore be very suspicious of anything labelled «GENUINE».

To sharpen our consideration of these questions, let us look at some examples drawn from touristic encounters with objects and performances in Cuba and elsewhere.

If a tradition is associated with a defined ethnic group, it is often easier to protect it by protecting the group from competition and letting the tradition-bearing people manage the authenticity of the practice. For instance, the «Indian Market» has for decades been a place where tourists and locals could always buy authentic Indian jewellery under the portals of the Governor's Palace in Santa Fe, New Mexico. However, in the 1980s, some non-Indian spouses and boyfriends of Indians started to sit there and sell their jewellery too. There was a court case, and eventually it was decided only registered Native Americans could sell at the market, preserving the authenticity [of origin], even though the forms of the jewellers' art are always changing and evolving. (D. Evans-Pritchard 1993). In Canada, the Inuit of the Arctic (Eskimos) began to produce stone sculptures and craft models for sale in the South in the late 1940s and they became very popular by the 1950s. Then Hong Kong and P R China entrepreneurs, and some Canadian plastics companies, started to make imitation Inuit art for export and sale in tourist stores. The Canadian Government created an «Igloo Tag» certifying that the items were made by genuine Inuit. However, the sculptures themselves were never censored or controlled for «authenticity» and have evolved in many novel directions in the past forty years. Companies that copied the art and the tags were sued, and banned from selling in Canada (Graburn 1987). In both these cases, official actions empowered the Native North American people involved but have not restricted their creativity as artists.

A contrary case of threatened authenticity involves the Naxi guest houses in the preserved medieval town of Lijiang in Yunnan, China, and the former capital of Naxi territory, which has been a UNESCO World Heritage site since 1996. These «ethnic accommodations» are supposed to belong to and be run by Naxi, who are non-Han Chinese «tribal» people, as house owners and hosts, wearing distinctive ethnic dress,

preparing special foods. The old part of town looks picturesque and these multi-family courtyard houses are not supposed to be brought up to date with running water and toilets. Therefore many Naxi house-owners rent out their old houses in the old town, because they would rather live in modern apartments in the new town behind the hill. So many guests' houses and shops are run not by Naxi, but by Han Chinese or even Korean Chinese who do not know Naxi food and customs! They have latched on the «discourse of authenticity» better than the native Naxi, and know how to make the guests not only feel «authentic» but comfortable. Only the protests of knowledgeable foreigners, threatening with the loss of UNESCO support, have forced the local officials to maintain local ethnic tradition (Wang Yu 2002).

My last example is from Havana, and illustrates a case where authenticity persists even where the experts thought it would not! Yvonne Daniel, a Black-American dancer and anthropologist and a former student of mine, came to dance with the famous professional Rumba troupes in Cuba as part of her doctoral research on the subject (Daniel 1995; ATR 1996). She rehearsed with them and watched their performances at Sábado de la Rumba or at hotels where tourists were paying to look for exotic ethnic thrills. The performers often said they were bored with the repetition and the foreign audiences, and many snobbish tourists or worldly post-tourists (Urry 1990) (and anthropologists) might cynically say «Oh, it's not authentic; it's just a show put on for pay».

And yet, when the dancers went on stage and got carried away by the music and, even after the show, when they danced with the audiences, many of them went into trance or thought they met their African Orishas, just as in a religious ritual. In this case, the objective and subjective authenticity of the dance was maintained even in the purely commercial setting.

Summary

Let me conclude by making some suggestions arising from this brief survey.

1.The decisions and selections, and the means of protection of intangible heritage, must be made within the nation, but UNESCO can help set conditions.

2.Traditions whose authenticity depends on who carries them out, rather than what the traditions «are», should be handled by «authenticating» the people, the performers, rather than regulating the art forms.

3.It is much easier to protect and

to perpetuate fragile traditions if they belong to or are performed by a group rather than by a few individuals. Groups should be encouraged, especially by restraining competition and providing support, such as in the Ainu case.

4.Where a tradition is somewhat widespread or scattered within a fairly homogenous population, such as the Japanese sword makers, support organizations should be encouraged and supported, and they will take care of quality, authenticity and continuity.

5.Where there are only a very few remaining carriers of a heritage tradition, sympathetic support groups which are not themselves performers, should be honoured and supported. And in these cases it may well be that more distant «experts» have to organize the «certification» and the recognition of the tradition bearers.

UNESCO and us should never lose sight of the tourists either, a potential audience and a source of support. Though they may like to crowd and jostle famous performers and unique artists and have to be kept in check, conditions must be arranged to help them have enjoyable, authentic experiences too, so that they may continue to be interested, respectful and satisfied supporters of national and UNESCO efforts to preserve and foster these rare traditions. It is better to have tourists as knowledgeable supporters of these endangered traditions than masses of ignorant, potentially destructive, tourists.

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Pilot Project for an Observatory of Tourism and Cultural Diversity. Tourism and its Impact

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This project aims to develop a new instrument for observation, information gathering and scientific cooperation in the field of tourism. The proposed observatory will collect and use data on activities related to tourism and cultural change (for example, research and development projects to keep current statistics on tourist flows, hotel rooms, etc.). A data numerical treatment will pave the way for the establishment of a network that will serve as a platform for exchange among researchers, decision-makers, economic players and ordinary citizens concerned about the influence of tourism on culture. The virtual observatory should update information on a permanent basis, especially for long-term tourist-destination studies. This will make it possible to define the parameters of cultural change that are necessary to establish an early warning system. Unlike other tourist observatories, this one will not focus on profitability but on the cultural impact of tourism on the people. This pilot project also aims to establish a source of information that will be available to all and cover new areas and contents.

Motivation

This observatory lays the foundations to monitor cultural changes. It gives decision-makers the possibility to anticipate intercultural conflicts and react on time. It also paves the way for an

international network including national tourist research institutions. A different assessment could thus be made of tourist studies.

UNESCO has taken up the issue of the tourist influence on local value systems and cultural traditions. It has recognized both the tangible and intangible cultural heritage on an equal footing. The observatory, therefore, provides a means to help cultural heritage managers deal with the intercultural situation that the tourist industry has created.

Implementation (Methods and Procedures)

In a first stage, the initial situation in the field of tourism will be defined by conducting (Desktop and other) surveys and interviewing experts. Field studies will be simultaneously undertaken at tourist destinations to be selected by the countries involved in the pilot project. This will make it possible to determine the status quo by applying field methods similar to those used in social anthropology (active participation, for instance), and closely follow up tourist-generated eventual cultural changes. Field studies will be carried out at tourist destinations that have been declared world heritage sites or not. A web site could be developed to gradually make data available to the general public.

Current Situation

To many, travelling today is nothing exceptional. Most people become tourists once a year, for two or three weeks. Everyone likes to visit other countries, get to know other customs and traditions, and, if possible, experience something extraordinary.

The farther the destination, the better, because vacationing in an exotic spot abroad gives tourists a certain prestige in the eyes of those who stay in the country. It is said that travelling is a form of training. That is why, cultural trips are highly valued. But, how does cultural exchange come about in this type of trips? Who exchanges what? What is the impact of cultural tourism on the people on the two sides?

Studies dealing with the influence of international tourism on local populations and their ways of life do not abound and are often conducted from an economic perspective.[1] They also highlight the negative impact of tourism and the need to review the changes that it regularly brings about in society.[2] Long-term studies requiring institutional support are therefore necessary. In general, economic analysis is given top priority while determining how tourist-generated revenues can be increased. Considering that tourism is the largest industry in the service sector all over the world, such a priority is fully understandable and legitimate.

The impact of tourism on the cultural heritage, however, should not be ignored, especially on the intangible heritage. This industry has, in fact, developed thanks to the attraction that is exercised by different intangible cultures and their authenticity. Today, UNESCO recognizes the fact that there are

cultural goods other than the tangible heritage in need of protection.

The current notion of culture encompasses intangible elements that make a contribution to cultural diversity in various ways of life. As a bearer of culture, man plays a specific role in international cultural exchange, including tourism. Interaction among individuals of different cultures at meeting points should thus be considered a key element to understand social change. Cultural exchange in this area should, therefore, cover a persistent bilateral relation that does not necessarily have to unilaterally exclude local forms of existence.

In our countries at least, we tend to think of tourism in terms of Western-style comfort and infrastructure.[3] Aside from what travel brochures say, the quality of cultural exchange is, in most cases, relegated. The so-called alternative tourism does not change this fact much, because demands from both individual and group travellers continue to be the same.[4]

Travel agencies selling certain tourist destinations that have been popular for several decades (Egypt, Malta, Turkey, etc.) rely on a couple of European tour operators who have a true monopoly over the tourist infrastructure and marketing strategies for these destinations.

State-owned travel agencies are, therefore, forced to adapt their marketing policies to the demands and expectations of these tour operators. The pressure that tourism puts on native peoples can lead to socio-economic and cultural tensions that run counter to sustainable tourist practices.

Developing or newly industrialized countries are increasingly recognizing that tourism is a foreign-currency-generating source that provides a means to increase both the quality of their tourist infrastructure and supply to the local population. Taking into account growing consumption by the leisure industry in Western industrialized nations and the interest of their people in visiting new tourist destinations and having new experiences, fundamental research works should primarily focus on unspoiled spots, that is, destinations in developing countries. This is the case of Vietnam, a country that began to develop its tourist industry over ten years ago.[5] These works will make it possible to establish a research base that includes the local cultural identity.

Money, capital concentration, local identity, representation of national and supranational interests, infrastructure, politics and cultural contacts are just some tourist-related key words. Successful tourist studies have to be inevitably made from a multidisciplinary perspective. Tourism, which has caused social problems in many countries, should thus be reviewed applying a multidisciplinary approach. This means that state ministries often have to get involved to secure cross communication and a spirit of cooperation. The capacity

to promote cooperation among players depends, to a large extent, on their communication skills.
Only under these conditions will a sound tourist policy be put together. In this context, it will be very relevant and desirable to establish a tourist observatory.

Project Development

Taking into account the initial situation that has just been described; the main objective of this project is to establish a tourist observatory that will examine the interaction between tourism and culture. The project can build on the experience of existing observatories where the approach to the relationship between tourism and culture has not been entirely successful.[6]
The Tourist Observatory in Walloon (Belgium) pioneered these efforts. To implement an effective tourist policy, Walloon believed it important to have comparative, reliable data on the sector. Various organizations have traditionally collected statistical data, but they have done so applying their own methods, following their own criteria and pursuing their own goals.
The main task for this observatory is, therefore, to harmonize statistical data to provide decision-makers and investors with sound information.[7]
The general idea is to set up a database that will include a list of officially recognized tourist offers and help evaluate current demand both quantitatively and qualitatively. There are national and regional tourist observatories in France (Côte d'Azur, Alsace, île-de-France, Languedoc-Roussillon and Rhone Alps), Portugal and Canada (Quebec). All these (virtual) institutions focus primarily on economic aspects. They mainly seek to support regional economic development by supplying structural data.
As tourism is considered a global phenomenon, its socio-cultural importance is of special interest. The huge impact of tourism on local culture, economy and ecology pose many risks to sustainable tourist development. At the same time, tourism provides an opportunity to organize intercultural exchanges in an atmosphere of tolerance, and promote understanding among peoples. Unfortunately, there are many tourist development projects exclusively based on economic considerations. This has a negative bearing not only on the local ecological and cultural potential but also on mid and long-term economic development efforts.
To guarantee sustainable economic development and respect for cultural identity and national independence, it is crucial to closely follow up the changes that tourism introduces in a country.
The proposed tourist observatory takes up this challenge and provides a comprehensive approach to the sector. Along with economic and ecological issues, cultural matters are given top priority. Evidently, this makes the project different from

similar undertakings. Interdisciplinary studies will help reach a better understanding of the foreign (tourist) influence on the local population and create conditions to work in an intercultural context. Aside from its interdisciplinary character, this observatory will for the first time provide a virtual space for scientific and cultural exchange.

The tourist observatory will seek to collect as much tourism-related information as possible (data collection function). This will earn it prestige as a public utility, easy-to-accede project. It will meet external demands in the form of independent expert reports (recognition function). It will also promote growing interconnection among different spheres of competence and knowledge, and a new attitude toward problem prevention and solving. A multidisciplinary approach will certainly provide for sustainable solutions in a spirit of world development cooperation, which includes the tourist sector in many countries.[8]

The observatory could, to a certain extent, play the role of an independent observer for development projects (monitoring function); because it will provide follow up on a permanent basis to better assess international cooperation projects. The multidisciplinary assessment of these projects will provide an integrated approach to punctual actions that are part of development policies (interconnection function).[9]

Another interesting function of the observatory is the direct communication it will foster to disseminate contents, concepts, vocabulary and knowledge of national cultures and tourist attractions.

It will take into account the tourists' understanding of local culture and the «interpretation» of cultural specificities and peculiarities of scientific interests in a coherent way.

This will make local culture understandable and attractive to foreign visitors (interpretation function) and play an important role in intercultural communication and mutual respect.

This observatory does not have to be based necessarily in a specific place. It can have a virtual existence and be present everywhere, thereby generating very limited expenses. The ideal thing would be to see all existing institutions of any affiliation provide data on a voluntary basis to the observatory's coordinating arm, for treatment and systematization purposes. This will only be, however, a long-term objective because it will not be possible to start up the project simultaneously in all parts of the world. In this regard, a three-year pilot project could well become a starting point to lay the foundations and conduct scientific studies of the influence of tourism on local values and ways of life, and update data on a permanent basis about national and international tourist development.

As the UNESCO Universal

Declaration on Cultural Diversity (and its Plan of Action) indicates, the idea is to conduct a long-term analysis of cultural changes.[10] It is, therefore, to be expected that this or any other institution, foundation or even a State will seek to support a similar project that could be related to this one to provide for multidisciplinary analysis, consistent decision making and sustainable effectiveness. Item No. 2 in UNESCO's Plan of Action[11] highlights the possibility to establish an observatory of cultural diversity, although it does not set out any guidelines for its operation.

This initiative could encourage other organizations to follow suit. The observatory that has been described here gathers together different points of view (anthropological, geographical, economic and legal) to reach the objectives mentioned above and carry out studies on the following issues:

1.Value systems, culture sensitivity and changes that are brought about by tourist development.

2.Conflict between the people's ardent desire of understanding and the development of tourist projects.

3.Interaction between originality/authenticity and tourist projects.

4.Role of tourism in women's integration in economic and social processes.

5.Development of sustainable tourist projects, including adaptation to the natural space.

6.Increased economic impact of tourism at a national and regional level.

7.Impact of the economic structures that have been developed by the tourist sector on occupational structures, local population flows due to price rises, etc.

8.The analysis of social realities, which provides the basis for tourist, social and economic development, shows the impact of tourism on cultural realities and helps formulate recommendations for sustainable tourist development and respect for cultural diversity.

Project Preparation and Methodological Approach

The tourist observatory will be established in three stages:
Stage No. 1: Preparatory research
Stage No. 2: Field research
Stage No. 3: Implementation

The first stage includes a preparatory research work aimed at laying the foundations for current analysis and future work. The idea here is to conduct a theoretical study of the tourist phenomenon and its interaction with the economy, ecology and sociocultural

realities in a country. In this context, it is advisable to carry out a case study (on a Desktop basis) at certain tourist destinations, with special emphasis on the relationship between tourism and culture. This will make it possible to conduct further research and detailed planning for field observation in the second stage. The data collection function is the core of the first stage. This involves identifying basic sources of information and undertaking a data gathering process.

Interesting information will cover, on the one hand, the tourist situation in the country under review (natural and cultural realities, infrastructure, transportation, training programs, economic indicators, etc.) and, on the other, the country's integration into the international tourist market (offers by tour operators, development projects under preparation and/or implementation, investments, etc.).

Regarding methods, the information will be obtained from Desktop surveys and interviews with experts. Interviews with tour operators, who suggest destinations to their clients, usually show interesting results (international market prospects, major target groups, etc.). Desktop surveys are based on current information sources (specialized literature, journals, web sites and brochure review).

After the information has been collected, structuring and numbering are conducted to eventually adapt the information to individual research works and come up with practical data.

In the second stage, the data collection function is complemented with the interconnection function. As an information service provider, the observatory needs to gather data on a permanent basis. And to be effective, it needs to be fully automated. There is thus a need to establish networks with data suppliers as soon as possible. The idea is to smooth out operations today and pave the way for future work. Initial contacts with major organizations can be facilitated by organizing workshops and seminars where the observatory's public utility concept is advanced. A central activity in the second stage is field observation from an anthropological perspective.

The monitoring function will be complemented with some supplementary analyses, for example, local landscape and image analysis, structural analysis and inventory of tourist offers, and visitors' spatial behavior.

Field observation from an anthropological perspective is a basic instrument to generate data on the interaction between

tourism and culture. In some tourist destinations, there is a need to conduct primary surveys to determine cultural change parameters. Socio-anthropological studies should be conducted at world cultural-heritage sites and destinations that are advertised by other media (the Lonely Planet Travel Guide, for example). The idea of studying two different categories of places has to do with the fact that there are different tourist modalities depending on specific destinations.

Such a study will show the social change that is brought about by financial returns and the way local culture is affected by them. As the studies on Bali[12] have evidenced, no fundamental change in cultural values has to be necessarily seen. Anthropological studies deal with the amount of tourist-generated money that goes to the local population. This is not included in the tourist macroeconomic analysis because it is not significant from a macro perspective.

A report on the current situation should be prepared as a starting point to understand future changes. That is why, the idea behind this observatory is to promote long-term studies.

Regarding the methodology, this stage will be based on various instruments for anthropological field observation, especially active observation, individual interviews, expert meetings and group discussions. This fieldwork will make it possible to determine endogenous parameters for cultural change, better understand local perspectives and develop sustainable tourist strategies taking into account local traditions.[13]

After UNESCO recognized intangible cultural values, the protection of these values has often been highlighted. It is much more difficult to protect these values than the tangible heritage. There are many competent and highly trained experts preserving and renewing our ancestors' creations. Who can help ethnic minorities get rid of the influence of modern tourism?

Who is actually concerned about traditional techniques being sacrificed at a time when the souvenirs industry is booming? How can a new tourist infrastructure that will not meet the needs of the local population be put in place? Are we speaking of city planning? If we are, who will benefit from it?

The questions that have just been asked clearly show how wide-ranging tourist industry related problems are. It will thus be fitting to go over the following issues:

1.City planning.

2.Traditional handicraft and

souvenir industry.

3.Intercultural contact.

4.Economic dependence on an industry sector.

5.Target and cost of development projects.

6.Artistic development through intercultural exchange.

7.Public participation in decision making and world cultural and natural heritage declaration.

8.Local, national and international institutions in the field of tourism (active at a scientific, economic, political or legal level).

9.Curricular design seeking to promote interest in other cultures and curb consumerism.

The third stage of the project mainly aims to obtain actual results from research works and information for a database. In other words, the database will take up its final configuration to be application-oriented (interpretation function). It will provide organizations and individuals with indications as to how to deal with practical, daily life issues (market development, target groups, etc.). From this perspective, the observatory will become a public-utility platform to discuss tourism- and culture-related issues. It will make it possible to obtain actual information on the impact of tourism and cultural change on a country. It will also help identify and deal with problems such as traditional handicrafts, establishment of new units, decline of traditional occupations and sudden changes in certain value systems.

The knowledge that will be gained from a pilot project in a couple of countries can be disseminated in this stage through a web site, for example. The site can contain information on the concept and aims of the observatory. Another essential task will be to secure the project continuity and the start up of the observatory in the long term. It is desirable for the project to have a follow up by actual participants, and involve as many local institutions as possible. This way, they can benefit from such knowledge.

Association and Organization

The implementation of a project as comprehensive as the multinational tourist observatory requires intensive mobilization of personnel and know-how so that complex tasks can be successfully undertaken. Considering that growing globalization and specialization in specific areas have posed new challenges to multidisciplinary cooperation projects, there is an imperative

need for the tourist observatory to conduct research works from different perspectives and later standardize results.

For this purpose, specialized knowledge in anthropology, geography, law and economics is of the essence. It is also indispensable to acquire knowledge about local specificities, traditions and legal provisions. Along with interdisciplinary cooperation among scientists, institutional collaboration entails a critical importance in this project. What is still to be known is who will be the first to volunteer for this undertaking.

Endnotes

[1] Alf H. Walle, 1998, Cultural Tourism. A Strategic Focus, Boulder: Westview Press.

[2] Erve Chambers, 1997, Tourism and Culture. An Applied Perspective, New York: State University of New York Press; Melanie Smith, 2002, «A Critical Evaluation of the Global Accolade. The Significance of World Heritage Site Status for Maritime Greenwich», International Journal of Heritage Studies, 8(2):137-151.

[3] See Georges Cazes, 1992, Tourisme et Thiers-Monde un bilan controversé. Les nouvelles colonies de vacances, Paris: Ediciones L'Harmattan; Didier Masurier, 1998, Hôtes et touristes au Sénégal, Imaginaires et relations touristiques de l'exotisme, Paris: Ediciones L'Harmattan.

[4] Paris Tsartas, 1998, La Grèce; du tourisme de masse au tourisme alternatif, Paris: Ediciones L'Harmattan; Valene Smith y William Eadington, Tourism Alternatives. Potentials and Problems in the Development of Tourisme, Filadelfia: The International Academy for the Study of Tourism-University of Pennsylvania Press.

[5] Cultural, just as ecological tourism are, according to Pham Tuy, Vice President of the Vietnam National Administration Tourism, the preferred forms of Vietnamese tourism. More than 3,000 Vietnamese hotels host today international visitors. The 300 travel agencies working in Vietnam keep contact with more than 1,000 agencies throughout the world (Interview, April 2001). According to the data in the Census by the Vietnam National Administration Tourism, 250,000 foreign tourists visited the country in 1990. Seven years later, 1.7 million foreign visitors arrived in Vietnam, 270,000 were Vietnamese living abroad. In that period, the number of national tourists rose from 1 million to

8.5 million Toward the end of 2001, the number of international visitors had already surpass 2.3 billions. [6] Other subjects such as culture, drug consumption and distribution have been dealt with. [7] According to the Comisary General Tourism in the Walloon region (Interview, April 2001). [8] See Alberto Hacer y Norman Long, 2002, Anthropology, Development and Modernities, Exploring

Discourses, Counter-tendencies and Violence, London-New York: Routledge.

[9] See, among others, James Ferguson, 1994, The Anti-Politics Machine. «Development», Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; Arturo Escobar, 1995, Encountering Development the Making and the Unmaking of the Third World, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [10] The Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity was adopted in the 31st session of UNESCO General Conference on November 2, 2001 (Johannesburg, August 26-September 4, 2002). [11] Ibidem.

[12] Frederick Barth has carried out a very

detailed ethnography on the mechanisms of reproduction of the Balinese tradition. See Balinese Worlds, University of Chicago Press, 1003.

13See Paul Sillitoe, Alan Bicker y Johan Pottier, 2002, «Participation in Development Approaches to Indigenous Knowledge», ASA Monograph, no. 39, London-New York: Routledge.

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Souvenirs:

Intangible and Tangible Authenticity

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A souvenir is a memento of a place or occasion, literally something that brings back memories. There has emerged a literature questioning the authenticity of consumables such as souvenirs, foodstuffs, and performing arts that are encountered in the context of tourism with some commentators taking as a starting point a paper by Dean MacCannell, which was published in 1973. The article was later developed into an oft quoted book, The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class(1989). MacCannal's publications may partly be understood as a reaction to

Boorstin's (1964) cautionary perspective that just as the mass media create and maintain celebrities for mass consumption, tourism provides pseudo events and inauthentic attractions and destinations for credulous consumers. MacCannell concurs with Boorstin concerning the pervasive inauthenticity of contemporary life and attendant alienation, but disagrees with regard to the motives of the tourist in this context. Instead MacCannell argues that the tourist is in search of the authentic, but is forced to seek it in other times and places, in a manner that resembles the pre-modern quest for the sacred. Thus the tourist may be characterized as a kind of pilgrim paying his or her respects to the numerous attractions of the secular world.

Some authors (Littrel, Anderson and Brown 1993: 205) have argued that it is the tourist and not the expert

who decides what is or is not authentic and that emphasis is often placed on that which is hand-made, particularly with regard to quality and the time invested in its manufacture. These purchases not only evoke memories of the special people encountered on a holiday, but may also be considered to be objects that stand as generalized symbols of the developing world. For one of Littrel's respondents the souvenir was not so much valued for its authenticity, but because of its strong empathetic response to the artisan as a representative of the poorer people of the world (1990, 238). This paper looks at some of commonest problems associated with the production and sale of souvenirs, and in particular the close links to a country's image in the international marketplace. Attention is paid to the complex issues connected with authenticating products such as souvenirs and the difficult subject of intellectual property rights. Special reference is made to the Scottish experience of developing and managing quality souvenir products, especially tartan, and the role played by the Scottish Tourist Board in fostering the creation of high quality tangible and intangible visitor experiences. It is hoped that this mixture of perspectives drawn from both developed and lesser-developed countries, as well as from practitioners and academics, particularly applied anthropologists, will provide some potential solutions to some of the problems relating to souvenirs that have been identified in the literature.

Copying and Counterfeiting

The resuscitation of ancient crafts, particularly around important heritage sites, is a common feature of souvenir production. The artisans may have little historical connection with the ancient culture, which produced the prototypes that they copy. The goods that they learn to produce are often sold as antiques and, indeed, «antiquing» has become a style of manufacture (Cohen 1993: 3). Buyers often associate genuineness of the artifact towhat they perceive to be the authenticity of the experience. Thepurchase of the souvenir often represents the only interaction between the tourist and the host community beyond the confines of the hotel or resort. Indeed, the appeal of many tourist arts is partly dependent on a definable ethnicity, an expression of the perceived cultural difference between the tourist and the person living in the tourist destination (Graburn 1987: 396). Moreover, the person with whom the visitor interacts in the marketplace is often assumed by the tourist to have a close cultural link to the items being sold, but this is not necessarily the case.

Souvenirs like other commodities are transported

along the hub and spoke distribution systems of market economies and may involve quite different producers and retailers. Kuta Beach in Bali is a case in point since it acts as a kind of bazaar for goods drawn from the length and breadth of the vast Indonesian archipelago and further a field. Goods made in Bali itself may also be produced to order and shipped as far away as the Caribbean. Much of the trade in Sumba textiles in Indonesia has little to do with the island of that name and originates in factories in east Java where cheap copies are mass-produced. The Sumba islanders not only loose control over the designs but are also undercut in the marketplace. Sometimes ethnic groups become so closely associated with particular kinds of goods and services that others cash in on their reputation. Goods that are supposedly associated with the upland minorities of Southeast Asia are often knocked out in urban sweatshops with little concern for the intellectual property rights of the originators. Sometimes it is the group that is linked to a particular item or genre that takes the initiative to boost output by delegating production to a client group as can be seen among the Zapotec/Mixtec of the American south-west who work in the style of the Dineh (Navaho).

All developed countries have laws that ensure that the goods or services purchased by consumers are genuine, trustworthy and of undisputed origin. Such laws may also exist in lesser-developed countries, but in practice may be hard to enforce. In Vietnam, for example, successful styles of handicrafts are widely copied with scant regard for the creativity and financial investment of the originator, even though legislation does exist to curb this kind of piracy. Intellectual property rights may be enshrined in national law, but these regulations are often influenced by numerous multilateral and bilateral agreements dealing with intellectual property. In the international context, intellectual property rights are underpinned by the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) and the World Trade Organization Agreement on Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). Indigenous intellectual property, however, is often not recognized under international law despite being an important part of cultural identity. The issue has, however, received some attention, notably through the United Nations Draft Declaration of the Rights of the World's Indigenous Peoples and the UNESCO-WIPO Model Provisions for National Laws on the Protection of Folklore against Illicit Exploitation and

Other Prejudicial Actions (Morrow 2000: 11). Indigenous intellectual property may have many components such as dances, music, rituals, signs and symbols, and particular handicraft techniques and these are often regarded as «cultural property» since they belong to the group or ethnicity associated with them. In practice the term cultural property is problematic since it raises questions about ownership and whether or not such rights are proprietary in character.

Quality Control

Deirdre Evans-Pritchard has argued that tourists often use museum collections as the yardstick by which souvenirs are evaluated (1989). It is not only the tourists who use museum collections as a benchmark, but also many producers. The Ainu of Japan, for example, use museum objects as a point of reference and doubtless other indigenous peoples elsewhere do the same (Wilkinson 2000). But often the pressure to capitalize on markets leads to the production of shoddy goods that are often made with simplified and semi-industrial processes, in styles that the vendors think will attract the attention of tourists. Around the world we have seen the emergence of so-called airport art genres that have little connection with the places that they purport to represent. Cooper, for example, has noted that the Hmong crossbow made for tourists in Doi Phui (Thailand) are of questionable quality since they will never be fired. Productivity may be high and the investment modest, but because so many shops sell the same product then the return for the producer is limited (Cooper 1984: 119). The presence of numerous goods of similar appearance and quality can also be disappointing for the tourist who wants something special and distinctive to take home. The concept of the ‘unique selling point’ is as important for souvenirs as any other service or product.

Similar quality issues arise with regard to the use of intangible heritage in souvenir production since the audiences generated by tourism may not be familiar with what counts as quality within a particular culture’s arts. These kinds of concerns are not restricted to traditional art forms alone and may be applied to a variety of cultural outputs. London’s theatre critics often complain about the «dumbing down» of performances to please tourists and the Globe Theatre in particular, which is a reconstruction of the original venue used by Shakespeare, is regarded by some critics as a tourist attraction and not a serious playhouse.

Lack of Interpretation

A common problem with both tangible and intangible souvenirs is product recognition. The purchaser may not be able to understand the significance of certain kinds of goods and often requires some help with comprehension. For example, the carvings of turtles, dragons and tigers that are snapped up by Chinese visitors to Vietnam, are almost totally ignored by European tourists who do not share the same Asian mythological traditions. Recordings of the Beijing opera or the Javanese gamelan may also mystify Europeans who are simply unable to recognize their musical significance. Some highly meaningful goods may be either simply too plain to attract the attention of visitors or be made in accordance with aesthetic registers that the foreigner does not understand.

To counter such problems producers often add surface decoration to make their goods more appealing and to provide a sense of where they come from. Producers who live remote from the markets where their goods end up may not comprehend why these embellishments are needed and sometimes special «finishers» are employed, often in urban areas, who have little direct connection with the cultures of the original makers. It may be these finishers who add painted scenes of beaches, palm trees and domestic animals that may have no place in traditional culture but are now well established as an international tourist cliché. Souvenirs based on traditional art forms are often miniaturized to enhance their appeal and to make them more readily portable, an important consideration for airborne travelers. There is also a counter trend, which Cohen refers to as gigantism, in which ordinary-sized functional items (e.g. combs, spoons, and knives) are enlarged (Bascom 1976:314; Cohen 1993:5). These goods may be insufficiently attractive in their original condition to draw the attention of potential customers and thus need to be modified to sell.

Traditional music is also subjected to various kinds of adjustment so that it appeals to the visitor. Such kinds of manipulation are commonplace and often involve mixing traditional melodies with popular rhythms. For example, both the Chinese Taiwanese and foreign tourists who visit the open-air villages dedicated to the livelihoods of the country's non-Chinese indigenous people are usually unfamiliar with aboriginal music. The tapes purchased by both domestic and overseas tourists during or after a «traditional» dance performance usually contained jazzed up versions of traditional music.

Declining Expertise

If some of the adaptations mentioned above are introduced, then an attendant concern is the decline in traditional expertise. A high level of skill is often required to play traditional musical instruments, and if these are supplanted by electronic synthesizers to produce more popular versions of traditional music then there is a risk that certain skills will be lost. Similar observations can be made with regard to handicrafts were production lines and simplified processes often replace real hand skills in the manufacture of souvenirs. Not only are skills lost, but so is knowledge about the properties of certain dyes and different kinds of timber. As economies grow, peoples skilled in traditional arts are often attracted by new employment opportunities, and if they leave their old occupations then once again expertise may be lost. Sometimes the exponents of traditional skills become frustrated by what they see as the lack of appreciation on behalf of the tourist or the tourism industry and become resigned to the production of souvenirs using inferior skills. This kind of cynicism is hard to detect when researching souvenirs since vendors are keen to re-assure potential buyers that there has been no decline in quality, but it is a recurring concern in diverse tourism destinations.

The Scottish Example

In comparison to many destinations in the world, Scotland has a very distinctive image, even if this image is to a great extent artificial and stereotypical (Butler 2000: 324). This image owes much to the poet Sir Walter Scott, who was known as the «Wizard of the North», and transformed the image of the highlands from one of despair and violence to one of beauty, triumph and nobility, and above all romance (ibid.: 329). Scott's books were bestsellers and certain scholars argue that his work had a major impact on the image of Scotland. His greatest achievement was to stage manage the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822, which involved clothing the king and his court in newly created tartan and pseudo-Highland clothing. Tartan cloth, which had been associated with the unsuccessful uprising of Scots loyal to the Catholic Stewart royal family, was prohibited until 1782, but gradually came back into favor. The image of the Scot became that of the highlander in tartan, even though such people represent an atypical minority in Scotland. Walter Scott's efforts were reinforced by other writers and artists who also drew attention to the distinctive dress and way of life of the highlanders and thus helped to stimulate interest in Scotland and the highlands in particular.

The arrival of tourism may be dated to 1800 with the first commercially organized shooting, but real growth occurred under Thomas Cook, who in 1846 used rail as far north as possible, and steamer and stagecoach thereafter. Another noteworthy event was the visit by Queen Victoria to the highlands in 1842, which culminated in the purchase of the Balmoral estate and the subsequent construction of a castle in 1855. The Queen's fondness for things Scottish and tartan in particular, helped popularize this cloth and other elements of highland identity. By the 1850s Scotland had become firmly established as a respectable holiday destination, particularly among the highest echelons of society, and the wearing of tartan in that setting and on ceremonial occasions had become decidedly fashionable (Butler 2000: 331).

Tartan's popularity increased throughout the 19th and 20th centuries and it became a form of decoration for many items including luggage, linen, food and beverage. Tartan came to symbolize Scotland, particularly in association with tourism, and so powerful is its association with the country that it has been used both with and without the name «Scotland». This use of tartan has its supporters, who see the woven designs as an integral part of the country's heritage, a symbol of the spirit of the families, clans and regions, and more recently corporate bodies. There are, however, detractors who despair at the recreation of tartan and attendant myths and would like to be rid of the collection of images associated with bagpipes, whisky and haggis. These critics are concerned that tartan has never represented Scotland as a whole and that it represents a kind of standard kitsch symbol of Scottish cultural identity. Given the reservations about tartan and its associated symbols, one might ask why it has not only endured, but appears to have become and even more vibrant signifier of Scottish-ness.

Butler has argued that although tartan is associated with the minority highland population, it helps to make Scotland distinctive, an important consideration given the fact that, to many non-Scots, the lowland population is indistinguishable from other European populations (Butler 2000: 333). What distinguishes Scotland and the Scots are these symbols associated with tartan, contrived, recreated and only partly representative though they might be. The simple fact that they never represented Scotland as a whole is immaterial to most potential tourists and possibly too many people of Scottish descent living outside Scotland. Tartan has become firmly established with

many Scottish cultural activities such as the Highland Games, golfing at St Andrews and Burns Night. The latter occasion is celebrated around the world by members of the Scottish Diaspora, especially in North America and Australia, and serves as an important annual event among Scottish expatriates working in places such as Malaysia and Singapore. Ironically, Robert Burns, whose literary achievements are celebrated on these occasions, was a lowlander who shared the traditional lowlands Scots apathy to the highlands and its inhabitants. Whether or not the people who participate in these activities are fully aware of the contradictions surrounding these symbols of Scottish-ness remains unknown, but it is clear that Scottish academics, opinion leaders and custodians of heritage are. There have been attempts in recent museum exhibitions to make these debates more accessible to the general public and there has been research into how Scotland is perceived abroad (Griggs 2000: 235-238).

Celebrations of Scottish heritage have a life of their own and cannot be linked entirely to the activities of the Scottish Tourist Board, but none the less the board has an important contribution to make. The Scottish Tourist Board operates in partnership with the public and private sectors and by the use of careful branding, equity audits and highly developed interpretation, the Scots have managed to market high quality souvenirs that are authentically Scottish. There are also a number of multi-media initiatives, such as the Scottish Cultural Resources Access Network (SCRAN), that have helped for a fee to widen access to the resources of cultural institutions such as museums. SCRAN is the award-winning history and culture website (www.scran.ac.uk), which has been voted by The Guardian as one of the world's top six museum websites. It provides instant access to images, sounds, movies and learning resources and contains over one million records from museums, galleries and archives. Visitors experience the related tangible and intangible aspects of the Scottish experience, and the country has a high level of visitor satisfaction and return visits. Tourism-related employment is generated and the Scots themselves have a stake in how their culture is presented.

Like the producers of traditionally based products anywhere in the world, the Scots have to contend with competition from cheaper producers who are not necessarily based in Scotland or elsewhere in the UK. The traditional clan tartans are not protected by copyright and there were concerns recently

that inexpensive copies would be imported from Pakistan undercutting local manufacturers, though the threat has yet to materialize. Traditional tartans appear in heraldry as a setting to clan crests, but this does not afford any protection. Clan tartans are not registered, but there has been discussion about lobbying the Scottish Parliament to introduce some kind of protective registration. Newly designed tartans are protected by copyright provided the producer is able to show that he or she designed and made it. House of Edgar, for example, produce a cloth known as «Flower of Scotland», which is popular with Scottish rugby supporters, many of whom have no obvious clan affiliation. Patents are not really an option since they cost £300 to register, which is too expensive for most producers and only last five years for a maximum of fifteen years. The tourism industry is important for tartan producers who are able to provide a number of services, including shipping products home by Fed-ex. With the use of interactive websites (e.g. www.house-of-tartan.scotland.net/index.htm) tourists and anybody interested in Scottish heritage can design their own tartans. Standards are maintained and market knowledge developed through the trade association known as the Scottish Tartan Society, which brings together retailers and manufacturers. There is a great deal of interpretation associated with Scottish heritage and tartan in particular and in addition to museum exhibitions there are informative websites, which have been provided by the manufacturers.

Conclusion

This author concurs with Gold and Gold's (1995) observation that conventional promotion of Scotland propagates a conservative and incomplete picture of Scotland, but argues that Scots are increasingly aware of the contradictions and debates surrounding the use of a highland identity to represent all Scotland. The Scots in general and the tourism authorities in particular show no sign of wanting to be rid of it at least as a kind of shorthand for things Scottish, though skepticism is widespread. Obviously it would be unwise to promote Scotland in terms of tartan and highland identity alone since that would doubtless restrict Scotland's appeal, but to dispense with the tartan signifier altogether would be a risky strategy. A combination of more contemporary features and attributes with the more established images would appear to be a realistic option for marketing Scotland in the 21st century. Perhaps more attention should be paid to tartan as a signifier of quality since it appears to be particularly useful when helping to define the

authenticity of souvenirs. Tartan is, after all, despite its multiple re-inventions, based on a distinctive textile handicraft that is associated with Scotland, albeit only one atypical region. Tartan is also popular with people of Scottish descent and it seems likely that they will over time become aware of the debates concerning its suitability as a national signifier, but whether or not this will encourage them to drop this symbol remains to be seen. In international terms Scotland is managing some high quality souvenir products, which are associated with the country's identity as a tourism destination and a well-interpreted national heritage, and there are doubtless lessons to be learned from this experience for souvenir producers in both developed and developing countries

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Making Cultural Diversity Serve Tourism Development: Some Policy Issues and Options

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This paper discusses the proposition that culturally diverse groups and value systems (ethical, aesthetic) are a useful resource for tourism and not a liability. The proposition underscores the thematic nature of tourism activities, mainly trips related to ethnic or cultural holidays (de .
Villiers, 1995). This means that traditional cultural patterns (language, dress, traditions, festivals, etc.) of a society now comprise an important type of attraction for tourists. It is evident (Jenkins, 1995: 248) that these manifestations of culture contrast greatly with many parts of a host society or a country or even groups within a country and also with life styles in many of the tourists' countries of origin. These are important factors in the development of tourism. Exposure to local lifestyles may even be a very important positive part of the tourism experience. The significance of variety and differentiation lies also in the fact that they may be able to attract visits when tourists are in a country.

In this paper, I would argue that the concept of cultural diversity is now emerging as a new form of tourism—cultural diversity tourism (CDT). With tourism representing both an opportunity and a threat to culture, it is essential to ensure harmonious interaction among people and groups with plural,

varied and dynamic cultural identities, as well as whit a willingness to live together and complement each other in what is usually described as the «global village». Policy directions are necessary to actualize these ideals because policy provides the guidelines and the reference point against which any development in the CDT sector should be evaluated.

First, the paper considers the role of cultural diversity (CD) or multiculturalism in tourism. Such examinations will include a brief review of the concepts «culture», «diversity» and «cultural diversity» and how they are linked to tourism development. Secondly, a number of case study «snap shots» are presented to exemplify, in context of tourism, the application of aspects of multiculturalism to different regional countries and settings. Thirdly, the paper identifies and analyses some of the policy considerations arising from the background analysis. Finally, a policy framework setting out options to harness cultural diversity for the tourism sector is suggested. As used here, issues refer to the challenges and opportunities associated with the process of developing cultural diversity tourism (CDT). Policy options are defined as a reasoned consideration of tourism development alternatives resulting in a prioritization to formulate a CDT policy.

Multiculturalism and Tourism

Culture, loosely defined, is the manifestation of human existence, a people's way of life and worldview transmitted from one generation to the next which, over the centuries, has given them some identity, and afforded them viability within a delineated area. In other words, culture is a combination of a people's identity, beliefs, values and behavior, including «the ways people have learned to respond to life's problems» (Diller 1999: 48). In tourism culture has been delineated into «hard» and «soft» categories (Jenkins 1995). «Hard» cultural assets refer to built, man-made or natural features. «Soft» culture is focused on the life-style of a people: their traditions, customs, dress, language, and many more aspects of their everyday existence (food, tools, laws, art, myths, festivals, ceremonies). Culture in this «soft» or living form focuses on societal groups rather than on nations. Studies (Harrison, Wooddarski and Thyer 1992; Diller 1999; Devore and Schlesinger 1996) suggest that culture is often used to distinguish between human groups. In tourism this is particularly important because tourism is an activity based on inter-personal contacts.

«Cultural diversity» (CD) has been variously defined. Diller (1999) simply sees the term as the array of differences that exist

among groups of people with definable and unique cultural backgrounds. It is, in essence, the degree of difference between the components of a culture. This implies the viable existence of discreet indigenous cultural identities, values and systems (i.e., beliefs, structures, roles, customs and practices, etc). CD takes several forms across time and space, embodied in the plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind. Furthermore, it is a reflection of the changing ethnic composition of a society through, for example, immigration, and it also is used to describe the enduring cultural groups that live in definable ethnic communities. Given that diversity is a differentiating factor in tourism development, as used here, CD involves the mass production and distribution of (tourist) products which convey ideas, messages, symbols, opinions, information and moral and aesthetic values.

For reasons that will become obvious later on, cultural diversity is used here to include the opportunities for people's representation and participation in the tourism decision making processes, not as isolated individuals, but as members of cultural tourism communities. It may be that greater involvement of communities in the tourism development process will provide useful pointers to what problems may require policy intervention. Cultural diversity also has an impact on people's attitude towards cultural heritage. If people are to be involved, getting a sense of the way people consider cultural heritage in their region is essential. Education campaigns and raising awareness of such diversities are essential. In essence, cultural diversity is not a liability but a veritable asset and attraction for tourists with enormous dividends to the overall tourism economy.

In many developed and developing countries, multiculturalism is a topic of current debate. The emergence of globalization has meant fast communication and greater knowledge about different societies, cultures and ecosystems in the world, contributing to the mushrooming of the interest in CD. In addition, the market economy globalization of material needs has resulted in an increased homogeneity in cultures and values, a process that not only offers brand new possibilities for expression and innovation but also exposes the most vulnerable cultures to the risk of marginalization.

The growth of tourism as an important factor in the economy of many countries and in the management of many cultural sites and natural areas is well

recognized. Yet, by its very nature, tourism is ambivalent, because of the significant risks associated with it. These risks can be seen, for example, when foreign tourists' behavior does not mesh easily with the host's culture and norms. These trends, combined with the increasing loss of significant historic resources and neighborhoods associated with various cultural groups, have prompted the United Nations and its agencies to give more attention to cultural diversity within the tourism sector. Principles of CD were emphasized more recently, in 2001, when the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity was adopted by the UNESCO as lead agency for the United Nations Year for Cultural Heritage (2002).

De Villiers (1995: 2) has pointed out the need to encourage cultural diversity to develop and thrive, arguing:

> Diversity gives cultural life the viability that forms the essence of life itself [...] — cultural diversity provides the source of inspiration for song and dance; for art and literature; for beliefs and values and all those things that constitute the spirit of the human race [...] all those—characteristics that distinguish mankind from all other forms of life. Diversity provides the joy of being different and at the same time fosters the sense of belonging. Diversity is life and cultural diversity is life at a higher level.

There is the need to reinforce cultural identity. This is because when residents see tourists being interested in their culture and showing respect for it, they realize that their culture has unique special characteristics to offer, and therefore develop a greater sense of identity and pride in their culture.

Capra (1996) in his book The Web of Life draws a parallel between diversity in economic systems and in cultures. A diverse community is flexible and can adapt more easily to changing circumstances. He emphasizes that this requires awareness of and respect for different functions and perspectives, based on communication. Isolation of groups and individuals in a society leads to fragmentation and can be a source of conflict. This situation is relevant in tourism particularly in the area of cultural exchange (WTO 1997). Much of the debate is that many tourists are traveling in part to experience different cultures. The growth of long-haul tourism from Europe to other regional destinations is an example of this trend. Cultural exchange can benefit both parties and, of course, generate economic and

financial advantages for the host community. In the same way we see the revival of traditional crafts and ceremonies. In this sense, tourism has in many host countries been the main catalyst for reviving crafts and sometimes festivals which were moribund. There are many examples where tourist interest has been the main motivation for the revival and development of traditions which were in danger of being lost.

Given that cultural diversity is, in essence, the mass production and distribution of products which convey ideas, messages, opinions, information and moral aesthetic values (OAU 1992), these products, when used deliberately, can serve as effective tools for education, information and awareness-building, mobilization and development; they can then help «develop those who develop», just as they can enhance knowledge and mutual understanding between hosts and guests. A cultural product cannot be as ideologically or morally neutral as utilitarian equipment. Like a «radioactive» material, it reflects, conveys and disseminates ideas, opinions, and values peculiar to its own environment.

The liberalization of political systems, the widespread adoption of multiparty democracy with the attendant freedom of the press, assertion and respect of human and people's rights, the formation of major economic groupings and, more importantly, the break of the ideological barriers, will make the flow of ideas, opinions, information and movement of cultural goods smoother between the erstwhile antagonistic and impervious blocks.

CDT provides a unique and exciting opportunity for each country to develop interesting and appealing cultural themes.

What is important, however, is to recognize that despite the positive social impacts which are usually associated with cultural diversity in tourism there are also negative aspects. They can, however, also pose serious threats to cultural identities, moral values, political opinion as well as influence the exercise of fundamental options by people who are not fully conversant with all the implications involved.

Some Challenges

It is possible to identify a number of ways in which and the reasons why cultural diversity may generate negative connotations in tourism development as some studies have suggested (see Lickorish and Jenkins 1997; WTO 1997). Distinctions are made between those factors in combination which are demand-driven (or guest-induced) and others which

are supply-led (or host-related).

Broadly speaking, it is becoming increasingly clear (UNESCO 1987) that what constitutes the very basis of the cultural life of peoples is threatened. The worldwide influence of a certain number of cultural models, the effects of advertising and the media, the standardization of tastes and life-styles induced by standardized production methods, the erosion of certain traditional values and the difficulty of identifying new ones, all these phenomena help to explain the concern of very many societies: to preserve, defend and promote their cultural identities.

Firstly, cultural differences: Tourism is essentially dependent on the mobility of people. Each trip represents the movement of persons who carry themselves with their his personality characteristics, needs and wants. Cross-cultural contact contacts are a potential cause of social discontent—particularly where language barriers frustrate close contacts and cultural exploration. Where host communities are faced with large numbers of visitors, these problems will be intensified especially where local culture is fragile and consequently vulnerable to external influence.

Secondly, there is a world-wide phenomenon of many first time visitors to a country who lack basic knowledge of local culture. This situation stems partly from the fact that, in preparing for their trip, this category of tourism tends not to give much time to studying the host culture, its traditions and values. It is also possible that tour operators usually do not provide this type of pre-tour information although it may be available from a tour guide or company representative. Given these circumstances, it is perhaps not surprising that social conflicts do arise from the host-visitor interaction. Tourists, often without malice or intent, will cause offense to local communities because of a lack of knowledge of local customs and behavioral norms.

Thirdly, the two factors noted above are intensified by the usual short-term nature of the holiday. The description that tourism is a transient experience is apt. Most holidaymakers who travel to a destination would not expect to change their usual behavioral patterns for a two-week trip to a foreign country. However, as a consequence of the away-from-home syndrome, they may behave atypically.

Fourthly, there are also inputs on the supply side. Many host communities have little understanding of their visitors' culture. In other cases, destination images have developed which attract a certain type of tourist. Often

local law enforcement is lax and the undesirable aspects of tourism are tolerated or ignored.

In sum, cross-cultural misunderstandings may arise between the residents and tourists because of different customs and value systems, even though each may be doing the «right thing» within their own cultural context. These misunderstandings may result in lack of mutual respect, resentment and sometimes conflict.

For the communities concerned, it is obviously not a question of putting up artificial barriers to outside influences and to fall back on the assets of a culture they have inherited from the past. On the contrary, the objective is to enable all peoples to master the knowledge and know-how of the modern world, to strengthen their own potential for innovation, while at the same time enriching their cultural exchanges with others. For the process of modernization takes on its real meaning only if it establishes a new balancebetween the factors of change and the demands for continuity on the basis of the principle of the equal dignity of all cultures.

Some Case Examples

A few country cases of this kind of development in tourism would be appropriate.

As noted earlier, culture can be viewed from two perspectives: «hard» culture and «soft» culture. Some country examples of «hard» cultural assets include the Borubudor temple in Java, Indonesia; the Pyramids in Egypt; the Taj Mahal in India; and the Great Wall in China. We can see the «soft» category in Indonesia, for example, by the difference between Balinese and Javanese cultures; in India, between Kashmiris and Goans. Also one can still observe variations in ethnic names and use of local biodiversity every 100 kilometers or so throughout the length and breadth of India and African countries. Public awareness is also growing on issues relating to cultural diversity. For example, the magazine, National Geographic, in its August 1999 issue on «Global Culture», showed the vanishing cultures of Kenya, Malaysia and Bolivia and cross-cultural exchanges.

This theme is of particular significance to South Africa and Indonesia, both of which are characterized by great cultural diversity and complexity. The cultural diversity of Indonesia reflects thousands of years of cultural and trade links with the great Hindu and Buddhist civilizations of South Asia. Today Indonesia encompasses many different ethnic, language and religious groupings —a rich

cultural diversity.

In relation to South Africa, this narration is taken from de Villiers (1995) who has argued that South Africa embraces a similar kaleidoscope of diversity shaped by many historic and other influences. We are aware of the return of South Africa to the international community in 1994. With 11 official languages, the country has a rich and bountiful diversity of customs, traditions, myths, beliefs, religions, values, art, music, dress, folklore. All this has encouraged Archbishop Tutu to coin the phrase, «rainbow nation», to describe the country. Its rich diversity has been shaped by many historic and other influences. The fact that the most important trade route between Europe and Asia was via South Africa for more than two centuries, exerted a particular influence on the development and diversity of the country. As thousands and thousands of ships made their way on these long and dangerous journeys between Europe and destinations in the East such as Java and Batavia (Jakarta) around South Africa and the Cape of Storms, people traveled—both ways—and their influences penetrated into Africa to enrich its heritage and diversity.

It has been noted that tourism in general is becoming increasingly attracted by thematic activities—trips linked to ethnic or cultural holidays, ecological interests, sporting events and other specialized topics related to food (cuisine); music, lifestyles, etc.—topics which all fall into the category of cultural tourism. Again, three examples, all from de Villiers (1995), in respect of South Africa illustrate this point.

The first concerns a shipwreck story to highlight the unique position which, as seen, South Africa occupied in history, being situated approximately half-way between the trade centers of Western Europe and markets in the East. It has been suggested that there are some 2000 shipwrecks littered along the rugged and extensive coastline of South Africa of which an approximate 450 are to be found in Table Bay near Cape Town. This particular aspect of South Africa's heritage affords the tourist (who would follow this route) a fascinating glimpse into a bygone era, a window to the past. It is hoped that the development of a «Shipwreck Route» will increase awareness of this cultural resource and promote tourism.

A second example concerns steam locomotives, those huge monsters that provided the power to haul passengers and cargo alike over millions of kilometers of railway tracks. India, China and South Africa were the last countries in the

world which used steam power for rail transport. However, that era is gone forever. To provide for the need of enthusiasts worldwide, Spoornet —the South African railway company— has retained examples of a range of some of the most famous, historically significant and powerful steam engines. These engines are kept in prime condition and are often used to haul steam safaris across South Africa and into neighboring countries. These safaris afford the steam enthusiasts the opportunity to relive the memories of the era when these magnificent and powerful engines roamed across the plains of Africa and their thunder could be heard miles away as they stamped their authority on the landscape. This is no more, but tourists and those pilgrims from afar can still relive it all as they experience, observe, feel and photograph those magnificent machines of yearsteryear.

A last and very recent example of cultural—almost political—tourism is related to the major changes that took place in South Africa over the last few years. After a long and bitter history of racial division and conflict—due to the policies of apartheid—the peoples of South Africa made their peace with one another. Since 1994 two free and fair elections were held in terms of the country's first and second non-racial democratic constitutions. Two new governments of National Unity were sworn in, first with President Mandela as Head of State and now President Mbeki. In these ways the country has made the dramatic but peaceful transition to a new era. There is a spirit of reconciliation in the country and resolve among the whole population to work together to make democracy, freedom, peace and prosperity permanent characteristics of South Africa.

One of the fascinating consequences of the political transformation of South Africa is the boom in tourism. The scenic beauty and excellent game parks of the country remain the main tourism attraction. In addition to all this, the feeling is that the second most important reason for visiting South Africa is «the political attraction» of this new democracy. The political changes and the non-racial, democratic, free society have become a magnet drawing tourists to South Africa.

This aspect is further endorsed by the great interest that the concept of a tour theme such as «in the footsteps of Mandela» has generated. Such a tour would take the visitor to the Transkei where Mr. Mandela spent his youth. It would include Johannesburg, Soweto and many other places of significance in his life. It would

then conclude with a visit to Robben Island next to Cape Town and the cell where he spent most of his 27 years in prison.

On a wider policy plane, unlike biodiversity, where there is powerful international pressure to sign international conventions and produce action plans, policy on cultural diversity is very much left to the whim of particular ideological systems. Historically, in many South and Central America countries, indigenous peoples have been oppressed by policies motivated by resource exploitation, and often supported by the military. Similarly, insensitive policies such as transmigration in SE Asia have been influenced by combinations of economic and political motives, and dispersal of the Marsh Arabs in Iraq largely by political motives. In contrast, the last few years have seen some surprising turnarounds in government attitudes. Morocco, from a situation where its Berber populations were heavily repressed, has now begun to support Berber cultural renovation. Laos and Viet Nam have recently published ethnic minority inventories accompanied by positive glosses (Chazée 1999; Van, Son and Hung 2000). Colombia also has extremely forward-looking policies in relation to self-determination of its Amerindian peoples (AILV 1994; Arango and Sánchez 1997) while the World Bank has initiated projects with indigenous communities in Peru and Bolivia.

This is not to say that minority cultures can or should be kept in a museum or under glass; they need the tools to adapt to the external world on equal terms. Support to national governments to both maintain the habit of such communities and reinforce cultural values through promotion of educational materials in minority languages, together with controls on exploitative tourism can promote the effective adaptation of such communities to the external world. New communications technologies are assisting fragmented communities to reunite in the developed world. Their extension to more remote areas can play an important role in conserving cultural systems. Similar initiatives should be encouraged in tourism development.

Some Policy Considerations and Issues

When incorporating cultural diversity in tourism development, considerations need to be given to a number of policy issues; some of the important issues are discussed below.

The first is acknowledging the cultural dimension in

development. Inseparable from culture, tourism is a development strategy for improving opportunity and quality of the social and economic life of people. If people do not take part in the process, perceiving it as irrelevant to their own identity and to the specificity of their culture, they feel excluded. It is therefore almost inconceivable that development programmes might be formulated without taking account of the diversity of cultures and of cultural interaction among peoples of different countries and regions of the world.

Second, the vectors through which cultural values can be incorporated into development will have to be identified. In this context, the role of the family, education systems, means of information, cultural actions, and more generally the organizational structures of public life in the transmission of values could be examined in depth. The training of educators and of economic, social and administrative personnel should also be reconsidered from this angle.

The third point relates to the availability of cultural diversity assets. The assets would need identifying and classifying into primary and minor categories. The objective of the exercise is three-fold: delineating them in «hard» and «soft» aspects; developing them into geographical circuits; and assessing their marketability.

Fourth, the attitude of the local communities and government is equally important. Communities with an interest in, and a concern for, tourism are today expected to participate in decisions affecting them. This is a current concern in development projects for community participation and empowerment local benefits. In relation to tourism, the concern is now expressed about the need to «involve» and «empower» local communities in tourism (as well as other forms) of development. Communities should be incorporated in the planning process wherever and whenever possible. As the host community, they should be allowed to comment on development proposals and perhaps be involved in the implementation of the proposals. Government is expected to play a key role in decision about the direction of tourism, in defining acceptable parameters for tourism development, including consideration of cultural values or even an evaluation of cultural inputs to the tourism product.

Fifth, cultural diversity tourism should be sustainable, in terms of economic, cultural and environmental sustainability measurement criteria. Economic sustainability is a reflection of the need to generate benefits to

communities. Cultural sustainability means that planners should consider the need for protection of certain communities and sites and to meet their acceptable cultural standards. Environmental sustainability highlights the need to consider capacity limitations and how best to manage cultural tourism in the wider development context.

Sixth, fundamental to the preceding analysis, it should be recorded that cultural diversity tourism (CDT) must be well planned and carefully packaged. A number of visitors could cause enormous damage to sensitive and fragile cultural environments. CDT, if successful, can destroy through excessive use or the mere pressure of numbers, not only the site, but also the quality of the cultural experience that brought the visitor there in the first place. It needs stressing though that we are all guardians of the past and the future. We are in a position to destroy or to preserve the cultural remains of those who went before us. It is therefore mandatory that this kind of tourism —like eco-tourism—is carefully planned so that the facilities will not destroy the character and charm of the very places which the tourist has traveled from afar to admire.

And seventh, similar to any type of development, CDT should be monitored. This requires the meeting of market parameters; concern for the authenticity of the cultural experience; whether the need to meet market parameters will eventually lead to a weakening of the cultural base, in order to advance, as noted, the cause of future sustainability of the sector.

Some Policy Options

It has been noted diversity is a differentiating factor in tourism. Thus, in making cultural diversity serve the development of tourism there may be three broad policy options to consider —Capacity Development Option; Consultation and Participation Option; and Implementation and Management Option.

The key objectives of these measures are to widen the stakeholder base of the industry to include rural communities, encourage more employment and entrepreneurial opportunities, diversify rural economy, empower communities and create a sense of ownership within the local communities. These objectives require an understanding of the need to incorporate communities in the planning process, to allow the opportunity to comment on development proposals and perhaps to be involved in implementation of proposals. The above options are explored below.

Capacity Development Option

The UNDP (1997) defines capacity development as the process by which organizations, institutions, and societies develop abilities (individually and collectively) to perform functions, solve problems and set and achieve objectives. This approach centers attention on indigenous control, local knowledge and participation, and the dynamics and interrelationship among the various actors and levels of national programmes, groups and organizations. The approach is most sustainable when programmes are responsive to the needs of people and stakeholders, participatory, transparent, equitable, accountable, consensus-oriented and effective and efficient.

Linked to capacity development arising from a participatory stance are two other considerations (see Wall 1995). The first is the presence or absence of local intermediary organizations. In many cases, participatory approaches rely on intermediary and local organizations. Local organizations are essential to support communities' efforts in a structured way, to create the institutional basis for discussion and decision-making among members of a community, and to organize implementation efforts. Intermediary organizations, with the necessary skills, experience and flexibility, are also crucial to support local communities. Such organizations, local and intermediary, are better known as NGOs. Very few NGOs work in the tourism sector in sub-Saharan Africa. This creates an institutional gap in implementing participatory activities. NGOs rarely consider the tourism industry as part of their mandate.

Using the participatory approach has implications for governmental structures related to tourism. Governmental structures have to adapt if they want to be participatory. This approach generally involves decentralization and increased field level presence, specific training for staff to support local organization development, more flexible funding mechanisms and strengthened monitoring mechanisms, a less bureaucratic approach and generally a revised legal framework. All this is difficult to achieve when services are already weak and chronically under-funded. However, in the long run such a reorganization can prove to be more cost-effective than the conventional approach.

The second consideration is the particular weakness of governmen-tal institutions in this area, mainly related to participation in benefits sharing.

Many tourism projects involving participation are centered on sharing the economic benefits generated by the project (this might be more appropriately considered as involvement rather than real participation). Benefit-sharing can be realized by creating employment opportunities for the people of the area or by providing part of the benefits derived from tourism for development programmes addressing community needs. When people share the economic benefits arising from tourism development, it has to be made clear that the opportunities open to them in employment and funding are linked to the quality of the development initiatives. It is on these prospects that the local population can be committed to maintaining the required support.

Many tourism-related projects can use local material and simple techniques allowing the maximum impact on local employment. Labor-intensive public works to protect a site can provide local unskilled jobs. Small enterprises based in the communities can undertake some of the works and be given priority in the bidding process for local public works. This requires organization to ensure that such works are not carried out at times when the demand for labor is high; otherwise, this could have a negative impact on local production and local wages. Equal access to benefits should be given to men and women. Women often bear the costs of raising children and typically have little access to monetary revenue (Dieke 2001). Some pubic works can be effectively carried out by women.

Although it may be argued that women have been exploited and abused by tourism, WTO (1997) has counter argued that tourism has also provided many opportunities for their productive participation in the sector. Much of the debate here is that women have been entrepreneurially very active and have created for themselves new economic and social opportunities. WTO (1997) further points out that every effort should be made to encourage this trend through affirmative action programs, training and education, and appropriate support measures. Much has been achieved in this area in many other African regional countries over the last decade but more has to be done. Similarly there is already in existence a wide range of organizations at national and international level which pursue specific agendas for women. Stakeholders in the tourism sector should recognize the contribution that women have made to tourism and can continue to do in the future.

Employment opportunities as guards, wardens, guides and

maintenance workers can also be provided to local communities. Once again it is important that the members of the community be aware that the jobs are related to a viable economic development through tourism and that it is in their interest to help to maintain a continued support of the sector.

If it is accepted that tourism development is a viable development strategy, then the promotion of local handicrafts and local products can be a source of revenue for the local population. In this case specific components of the project to support local artisans through micro-credit, advice and training can broaden the opportunities for sustainable employment around the relevant areas where tourism activity takes place. Employment in service industries offers important benefit to local communities.

Consultation and Active Participation in Policy Formulation and Development Options

To give some context, Jenkins (2000) argues that the conventional approach to tourism policy formulation in developing countries has been for government to state what the policy is and to direct or expect others (e.g. the private sector) with an interest in tourism to support it or even acquiesce with the stated policy and plan. In some African countries with a generally strong tradition of central planning and state investment (e.g., Tanzania and others), this tendency was particularly pronounced. Jenkins also notes that there was limited co-operation between the public and private sectors in tourism development, and in some countries a situation of mutual suspicion of each other's intentions prevailed. All this is now history, particularly given a changing geo-political climate following the cataclysmic collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Prevalent words in the literature, such as «ownership», «empowerment» and «participation», reflect this change of emphasis and also the balance of power between government and the people power in the process. The masses are saying «give us a hearing», as a consequence, today both the public and private sectors as partners now sit around the discussion table to consider policy formulation for the tourism sector.

Assessing the perceptions and the views of beneficiaries or communities in tourism development could be used for cultural heritage conservation projects. In this sense consultation with local communities or individuals can use local knowledge to understand the value of a site, a

building or objects of cultural interest or to articulate the views of the local population on ways the conservation of the cultural heritage will affect their lives. Full consultation can also ensure that the views of the people are taken into account in the design of the project and that they see the conservation work as in their own interest. As noted above, too often in the past the local population was not consulted on works carried out in the area. In some cases laws have been enacted without the population's understanding of their purpose. It is now becoming more usual to discuss these initiatives with representatives of the local community early in the planning stage so as to understand how they perceive the project.

Consultation can focus on the way the community perceives tourism and its positive or negative impacts. The positive effect might be tourism's value on the livelihood of its members vis-à-vis the priority needs of the community. The negative could be how intrusive tourism is on the practice of the religious or traditional activities of the community. Such consultation might take place through an advisory committee made up of representatives from the local community such as elders, etc.

Who to consult is an important question. Communities are generally far from being homogeneous, and the interests of the elders, for example, might not be the same as those of women or youth. In cultural terms, elders might best understand the spiritual or traditional values of a site; women will probably have a better understanding of the domestic implications of a project; while youth will be sensitive to new job opportunities. Beneficiary assess-ment is one way to ensure that these various views are considered.

Another aspect of participation specific to CDT is promoting and broadening participation in international cultural life: Without the effective exercise of cultural rights there can be no true cultural democracy and, even perhaps in the long run, no genuine political democracy. But though technological progress and changes in life styles have to a certain extent broadened access to works of art and cultural values, much remains to be done to enable a wider range of people to participate effectively in cultural life. In the field of education, for example, to broaden participation in cultural life, priority must be given to combating illiteracy, and more generally to adopting measures designed to promote the democratization of education.

Where communication is concerned, special attention should be paid to decentralized

measures in favor of interpersonal and intercommunity dialogue, together with innovations destined to diversify communication networks. Generally speaking, legislative, economic or financial measures to promote a veritable democratization of cultural action are to be encouraged. Finally, it would also be advisable to develop methods and programmes of training for agents possessing all-around skills so as to favor interactions between education, communication, cultural action and community development.

Implementation and Management Options

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. If the community can directly derive some benefit from the activity, it might be well to have the community itself manage it.

If tourism is linked to other projects concerned with environmental preservation, infrastructure rehabilitation or rural development, the chances of developing participatory approaches are stronger because the costs of local capacity building, consultation and monitoring can be shared with other activities. Once a community is organized, the structure for decision-making is in place, and the trust between the people and the organization responsible for tourism is established, integrating new activities involving the participation of beneficiaries will be easier to achieve.

Participation is above all a process by which a community can progressively internalize the goal of the project. The initiators of the project, government officials, donors and NGOs became facilitators in this process rather than implementers. This means in many cases a very different approach and different attitude towards development.

Conclusions

The theme of this Seminar—Cultural Diversity and Tourism—is very broad. This paper has tried to highlight some of the major issues which are of interest to various stakeholders in the tourism sector: national governments, the tourism industry and the international community. On the above perspectives, this paper has tried to identify issues which are

not only of concern to these audiences but which also might, through the discussion, provoke comments that would enrich our understanding of the new tourism area of study—cultural diversity tourism (CDT)—to help constitute an action agenda for UNESCO in this important area of development.

In this paper it was stressed that the aim of CDT is a «bottom to top» approach, that is, from the grass-roots upwards, in contrast to the «top to bottom» approach that, as seen, has characterized previous tourism development programmes. The issue, then, from the point of view of the policy-makers is not whether but how to apply the dynamic elements of the cultural heritage of a destination to the economic and social growth of society.

Thus, greater emphasis on the cultural dimension in the development process — and the stimulation of creative skills and cultural life in general—reflect an awareness of the need to respond to the major world challenges which shape the horizon of the 21st century. Aims of such an ambitious nature clearly imply a programme of measures for major achievements.

Once the notion of development is firmly situated within the context of cultural life, it takes on its full significance, by affirming the need to take account not only of a population's working capacities but also of its cultural identity, in which any vision of the world is rooted. The active participation of people in development projects which concern them is therefore no longer considered as merely desirable, but as a sine qua non of the successful implementation of such projects.

Policies for the inclusion and participation of all citizens in tourism development are guarantees of social cohesion, the vitality of civil society and peace. Such policies must create conditions conducive to the production and dissemination of diversified cultural goods and services through cultural industries that have the means to assert themselves at the local and global level. There is therefore a need to build partnerships between the public sector, the private sector and civil society.Thus, market forces alone cannot guarantee the preservation and promotion of cultural diversity, which is, as will be argued in this paper, the key to sustainable tourism development. In this sense, the conclusion must be that the preeminence of public policy, in partnership with the private sector and civil society, must be reaffirmed.

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Food for Tourists: Second Menus, Special Menus and Specific Menus

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Anthropological research in earlier studies on food and cuisine centered largely upon questions of taboo, totems, sacrifice and communion, shedding light on the approach of cultural symbolism and reflecting our understanding of humans and their relations with the outside world; .

furthermore, recent food and eating research contributes to the issues including cultural identity, gender, ethnicity, social change, globalization, cultural nationalism, etc. (Mintz and Du Bois 2002). Food has been viewed as one of the most important cultural markers of identity in many globalizing Asian societies, and the changing meanings reflected from their varieties and on-going dynamic interactions with different kinds of social development would be considered significant tools for the understanding of relevant socio-cultural issues (Watson 1997; Wu and Cheung 2002; Wu and Tan 2001).

Likewise, talking about how Chinese food was localized in Japan and how it became popular among Japanese tourists coming to visit Chinatown in Yokohama and Kobe, Cheung (2002b) and Tsu (1999) have demonstrated the changing images occurred in Yokohama and Kobe because of domestic tourism development. They explained the search of «authentic» Chinese cuisine among Japanese tourists in order to shed light on the changing

cultural relationship between China and Japan during the past few decades. Therefore, apart from studying regular daily food to which many scholars have contributed their efforts, I suggest that food promoted to and eaten by tourists as well as other travelers should not be overlooked. In tourism development, food is important because it is originated from the host society while at the same time it represents the local cultural traditions to the tourists during their short stay. Most importantly, tourists' dinning experiences can be a long-lasting impression of the society they visited; therefore, policy makers should not less evaluate the impacts brought by «bad» food tasted and received by their guests.

Practically speaking, misunderstandings happened quite often because of different expectations, for example, in many cases, «touristic» food might be exotic, expensive and exclusive food specially prepared for tourists, even though tourists are increasingly interested in finding authentic, inexpensive and local food nowadays. Similar contradictions like these and miscommunications between host (food providers) and guest (food consumers), sometimes might lead to hostilities. Regarding different expectations, I can easily recall from my experiences when dinning with friends from overseas. I have experiences from friends coming to Hong Kong looking for «good» restaurants that have not been discovered by any tourist. Not only they think the food should be «better» but also something unique and local; however, there is not much «purely local» under the tourists' flashlight. In this paper, I would like to investigate how different kinds of food are prepared and supplied by the host societies from a tourism perspective. Regarding the importance of food in tourism development, we are able to deepen our understanding of local representation, meanings of authenticity and policy making from a socio-cultural perspective. In the following sessions, I use three categories of menus provided for the tourists in Hong Kong society for consideration.

Given the local menu is defined as the «first»; I would like to draw the attention to three other types of menus from a tourist perspective. «Second» menus are those menus provided for tourists who don't read the local language; for example, they can simply be English and Japanese menus in Hong Kong or Thailand. Some misunderstandings occurred when tourists suspected that the prices on the second menus were different from those on the local menu; again, second menus can help tourists with positive images or might ruin the host-guest relations if handled badly. «Special» menus are those which offer some invented or re-invented cuisine that host societies use to represent their local traditions as well as cultural uniqueness. They often get advertised in guidebooks, web-sites

for tourists, travel magazines etc.; yet, in many cases, they may attract domestic tourists more than international ones. «Specific» menus implie some required in-house services including food prepared for tourists with health, religious and other personal concerns. Examining these three categories of food for tourists can help one understand host-guest relations in terms of hospitality, tourism policy and formation of cultural identities.

Tourist Rate: Second Menus in Hong Kong's Restaurants

On 11th October 1997, a Japanese-language daily—Mainichi Evening—published an article about the Japanese rate in Hong Kong's hotels mentioning how Japanese tourists were required to pay more than other tourists staying in Hong Kong.[1] On the one hand, it made Japanese people question why Japanese tourists had to pay more comparing to tourists from other countries and how they could avoid such situations. On the other hand, some Japanese wrote and responded that it is not correct to compare the price of the hotel rooms because they were rated according to the floor, view and, most importantly, the contract between hotel and travel agents, therefore, it would be unfair to conclude that Japanese tourists were asked to pay more without explaining the «real» situations.

This issue brought my attention to a similar problem based on the food ordered by tourists visiting Hong Kong. Sometimes, it can be explained as the difference between locals' and tourists' expectations, yet more importantly, the misunderstanding can create a negative image on how visitors have been badly treated in Hong Kong. Is there any tourist rate or tourist menu in Hong Kong's restaurants? I will not say all Hong Kong's restaurants are honest because it is not the point I want to clarify in this workshop. Indeed, I want to say that most restaurants do have more than one menu and it is easy for our visitors to think that the one they have might have a different rate.

Talking about Hong Kong's restaurants I know, I usually found more than one menu on the table, including today's special, chef's special, promotion items, new items, dinner set with special prices, regular dishes, etc. However, there might be only one menu with most expensive regular items such as abalone, shark fin, fresh seafood etc., which is printed with Chinese, English and Japanese explanations. In fact, it is easy for tourists to think that they are not eating as well as the local people even though they paid more for their food.

•Hospitality: We should not limit our visitors' chance if they want to have a taste of local cuisine; we cannot assume that all visitors have enough knowledge about the society. In fact, we don't want them to pay/order something they cannot even stand the smell or taste.

•Locality: How can we explain the multi-menus characteristics in Hong Kong's eateries in order to make our visitors understand the dynamism in those local eateries instead of having standardized fast food during their travel?

•Transparency: How can we make it more transparent? In other words, it does need more communication and transmission of information.

Puhn Choi: Special Menus with Local Taste

Special menus are those with re-invented cuisine representing local cultural traditions. They often get advertised in guidebooks, web-sites for tourists, travel magazines etc.; yet, in many cases, they attract domestic tourists in the search of local identity. For this search of local taste among tourists, I would like to introduce a traditional cuisine called puhn choi for our discussion. On the traditional side, puhn choi is a festive food, usually prepared in the kitchen of the ancestral hall, and commonly seen in ancestor worship rites and wedding banquets among the indigenous inhabitants living in Hong Kong's New Territories. It is the main dish served in the meal, and all ingredients are contained in one basin, or puhn, which everyone at the table eats from together. Sometimes the banquet may come with several side dishes, but the basin dish is always the core part. In one village that I have been visiting, the dish is usually called sihk puhn (meaning eat the basin) and boasts a history longer than colonial Hong Kong in the New Territories (Cheung 2002a). To boost tourism, puhn choi has been promoted with different stories of its origin through media, guidebooks, web-sites, travel magazines, etc. Yet the tradition of eating puhn choi seems to have attracted more domestic tourists than foreign tourists since the 1990s.

With its legendary origins, puhn choi is considered a «re-invented» home-style food used to represent cultural traditions and the regional uniqueness of lineage-oriented social structure in the New Territories of Hong Kong. There are many different versions regarding its origin and some of them reflect the historical consciousness from a local perspective. For example, it was mentioned that puhn choi began as leftovers (from a village banquet) eaten by Qing Ch'ien Lung Emperor when he was visiting Kwangtung (Watson 1987: 394). Another popular version says that puhn choi was originally food given to Song Emperor Bing and his entourage when they moved down to the south during the invasion of the Mongolians in the late Song period; it was later named «puhn

choi» because there were not enough food containers to hold food for everyone, so washing basins used by villagers became the containers for the army's feast (Tang 2002: 4). Although puhn choi is a local food, it is exotic for most Hong Kong people who are not familiar with cultural traditions in the New Territories. With its double identity as both local and exotic, it has been promoted widely in domestic tourism for its «taste of tradition». This search for Hong Kong tradition is actually a reflection of the emergence of identity awareness among Hong Kong people on the path to the handover in 1997. Therefore, the popularity of domestic Hong Kong tourism with an emphasis upon the local, rural and pre-colonial characteristics is significant. As I observed from various domestic tours, popular packaged tours generally involved a schedule including local food (usually puhn choi, seafood or vegetarian meal), rural scenery and a visit to the historic pre-colonial villages or temples. Going into the inner rural part of the New Territories is, for urban Hong Kong residents, a journey into their inner selves.

Noguchi (1994) has told us about the popularity of ekiben (station lunch box) in Japan: «Ekiben are powerful symbols in Japan because they mediate the new age of speed in travel and the venerated past» (1994: 328). Convenient transportationpromotes voyages of discovery of rural traditions; similarly, infrastructure development in the New Territories and nostalgia-inspired village traditions are probably two main reasons explaining the drastic increase in demand for puhn choi in Hong Kong society. Nevertheless, the change from traditional sihk puhn to modern puhn choi should not be overlooked. Historically speaking, sihk puhn has been served as a banquet food in many local single-surname villages marking corresponding ethnic boundaries and is ceremonially used to signify one whole lineage joined by the way they eat together (Watson 1987). Sihk puhn not only reinforces the punti (meaning local) single-surname lineage system, but also seems to exclude Hakka groups from punti Chinese groups within the New Territories' political context. In other words, sihk puhnis metaphorically considered the real food of the New Territories, dating back to its very earliest inhabitants. For instance, Watson (1987) told us in his study of the banquet food that the practice of sihk puhn is an indicator of equality and commonness; as he has described about the banquet:

Each guest collected his own

chopsticks from a tray and picked up an individual bowl of steamed rice. The basin was carried to an unoccupied corner of the hall. Earlier arrivals were already eating at the few makeshift tables that had been assembled near the kitchen. I could not help but notice that one of the wealthiest men in rural Hong Kong (an emigrate millionaire) was sitting between a retired farmer and a factory worker. [...] No ceremonies of any kind were performed; no complicated codes of etiquette were observed. No one acted as host for our small group and there was no ranking of diners, nor was there a head table reserved for important guests. People were fed on a first come, first served basis. No speeches were delivered and no toasts proposed. Everyone ate at their own place and left when they pleased (1987: 391-392).

Starting from the early 1990s, there was an obvious identity crisis among Hong Kong urbanites that enjoyed the participation on «discovery voyages» of local tradition with expected exoticism in domestic touring in the New Territories (Cheung 1999). On the one hand, puhn choi, with an emphasis upon local tradition, represents a kind of exotic element in the promotion of domestic tourism. On the other hand, it was developed as a metaphor of Hong Kong people's search for a sense of cultural belonging towards the end of British rule in Hong Kong in the 1990s. In other words, with a political message, puhn choi moved from its original function for lineage gathering in the New Territories to a symbol of Hong Kong heritage that anyone can share. Apart from the traditional eating style, take away puhn choi served in a large bowl for ten to twelve people is another popular way, therefore, one can enjoy it with friends and relatives at home instead of at the village hall or graveyard where the dish would traditionally be served. Most interestingly, during the Lunar New Year in 2003, it was reported in the media that puhn choi was one of the best sellers despite the economic depression; in particular, many take away puhn choi meals were sold on the second day of the Chinese New Year serving as the first family meal with all members attending. With its image of eating with family members and symbol of Hongkongness, puhn choi has eventually come into our daily life. For example, miniature puhn choi (using a small pumpkin as the basin, it contains a few pieces of chicken, mushrooms, and vegetables,) was promoted by some local fast food chain stores and was served in one-person portions as well as a

single dinner set. Finally, we know that this local specialty has been widely welcomed by domestic tourists, but if it has to be marketed for international tourists visiting Hong Kong we might have to consider some issues such as:

•Authenticity: Its authenticity will be questioned once it is not prepared in the village for local events, but we might still be able to educate our tourists so that they can tell the differences between village puhn choi and fast food puhn choi sold in a small well-cooked pumpkin basin.

•Standardization: Is it necessary to standardize the ingredients and culinary technique in order to maintain a consistent taste of puhn choi? Or, should we at least show our tourists how the original as well as traditional one look like?

•Modification: Do we allow modification? Vegetarian puhn choi, seafood puhn choi, gourmet puhn choi, etc.

Eating with no Menu: Specific Menus in Private Kitchen

The specific menu I will look at is si fohng choi, which is also called private kitchen, being defined as the place in which home-made food is prepared, their dishes being promoted as home-style cooking with personal characters but no menu provided. For example, there are Chinese eateries such as Mum Chau's Sichuan Kitchen, Da Ping Huo, Yellow Door, Shanghai Delight, and western eateries such as Plats, Gio's, La Bouteille, Chez Copains, all having a strong emphasis upon non-Cantonese Chinese or European home-style cooking. It was reported in Hong Kong's major English-language daily—South China Morning Post—that private kitchens represent a new form of eateries and in fact:

World Food Hong Kong describes private kitchen as «speakeasies», a term from the 1920s Prohibition era in the US when alcohol sales were banned and drinkers met in illegal clubs [...], owner of a successful operation called Shanghai Delight, says private kitchens are more of an art than a business. «We are selling our identity — it's in the decoration, the menu, and the cooking. We are sharing our own experience of our Chinese food culture openly with others» (Chan 2003a). (Also see Sterling, Chong and Qin 2001: 148)

In Hong Kong, private kitchens are not just unlicensed restaurants, but underground eateries identified as exclusive eating places among middle class people. They are defined

as places with no registered company name and usually located in residential buildings; there are no walk-in customers and sometimes reservations need to be made more than one month in advance; there are no menus to choose items from because the food to be served is determined by the owners; and there is no service charge and no credit cards allowed. Some of the private kitchens have their price, menu and location advertised through their own homepage such as www.yellowdoorkitchen.com, www.8pockets.com, www.gios.com.hk, www.palacekitchen.net. Their prices for a meal range from HK$200 to $400 (around US$30 to $50), which is actually not considered cheap when compared to other restaurants serving similar food. In terms of location, other than a few of them which actually serve food in their home, most of the venues are located in residential buildings in old neighborhoods where rental fees are relatively lower. Most of them only serve dinner and some of them open only a few times in a week. The interior decoration is usually simple but artistic, partly because some of the owners and promoters of the private kitchens are artists. Some of these places were set up with a domestic atmosphere, sometimes with dim lighting and stylish furniture.

With an underground and exclusive operation, food offered in private kitchens carries an image of hominess and their culinary techniques are always promoted as home-style cooking. The majority of their customers are middle class people, sometimes celebrities and artists, who were attracted by both the home-made food offered and the personalities of the hosts/owners shown in the eateries. In 2003, it was estimated that there are more than one hundred eateries of this kind, although some of them have converted from underground as well as illegal operation to formal licensed restaurants while still trying to maintain that particular underground image in terms of services and the character of home-made food. Thus the making of non-Cantonese dishes into home-style food, the explanation of unlicensed as «private», the image of being underground yet user-friendly, and even tourist-friendly, show how home-style cooking could be packaged, marketed and accepted by local and other Asian visitors. As it was reported that Japanese and Southeast Asian visitors have found their way to private kitchen after certain promotions; in addition one of the owners mentioned that, «many tourists dined at his French private kitchen, La

Bouteille, after it was featured in a Japanese airline in-flight magazine and a Japanese TV documentary programme» (Chan 2003b).

Recently, I visited one of the earliest private kitchens to be established, which is famous for its home-style Sichuan food. It began with a Sichuan couple, where the husband is a painter and the wife is a singer as well as the chef. Today, even though it serves dinner every night instead of three times a week as in the beginning, it still has no sign outside and places no advertisements, so it has gained its reputation solely by word of mouth. In order to make sure their customers do not cancel their bookings at the last minute, they require a 50% deposit at least 3 days in advance. The place was decorated with the owner's paintings which all combine western and Chinese artistic techniques. There are altogether 6 tables for 2 to 10 persons, and there are two rounds of meals per night, starting at 6:30 p.m. and 9:15 p.m. respectively. After the meal, the chef would sing a song to the customers in order to express the hosts' gratitude. They like to emphasize the fact that they serve no fancy dishes since all the dishes they serve are traditional and home-style Sichuan food. Thus, this is a commercial setup with a warm atmosphere; family management with home-made food, residential environmental and private location gave a promising illusion of «home» which customers were willing to pay for.

Compared to other restaurants having more tables and staff in uniforms, private kitchens are recognized by their small size and warm feelings. Also, the meaning of being «home» in a private kitchen is important since that provides the comfort and sense of belonging that most Hong Kong people are looking for. The popularity of Hong Kong's private kitchen indeed reflects the combination of not only the image of being exclusive and underground, but also the most important component—traditional home-style cooking which keeps reinforcing the idea of being at «home» instead of in an ordinary eatery or restaurant open to any customers (Also see Duruz 1999, 2001; Sutton 2001).

•Publicity: Is it appropriate to have more advertisements so that more people will know these places? Will a larger flow of customers ruin its domestic atmosphere as well as the private character?

•Legal status: We know there are tourists who are interested in these eateries. But, should we promote underground activities in tourism?

•Sustainability: Is sustainability important for these private and

underground eateries? Is it a fashion or should it be considered a long-term development in tourism industry?

Further Discussions

Starting from the early 1990s, there was an obvious identity crisis among Hong Kong urbanites that enjoyed the participation in «discovery voyages» of local tradition with expected exoticism in domestic touring in the New Territories. Furthermore, it was developed as an icon or representation of Hong Kong's cultural uniqueness towards the end of British rule in Hong Kong in the 1990s. As I have suggested, puhn choi became popular largely because of the «boom» in domestic tourism in which puhn choi was promoted as an important part of local cultural heritage; yet, it has not fully been accepted by international tourists. In contrast, the food provided in private kitchens is actually quite different from most Cantonese home-made dishes; nonetheless, the search for a commercialized home atmosphere can indeed reflect the kind of discrepancy in Hong Kong as well as Asian modern consumerism lifestyles.

Furthermore, I would like to make some suggestions regarding the production of food in tourism industry. For example, we might want to offer specific menus for different kinds of tourists with:

- Religious backgrounds such as Muslim, Jewish, Hindus, Buddhist, Catholic on the fasting day, etc.

- Health concerns requiring food with low fat, less salt, sugarless, or without particular allergic causing ingredients, etc.

- Personal interests including organic food, natural food, slow food, vegetarian, vegan, traditional food having healing effects such as herbal drinks (famous one is tortoise jelly), etc.

- Specific needs of food for babies and kids.

Endnotes

[1] More information can be found at:http://www.come.or.jp/hshyhttp://www.come.or.jp/hshy/j97/10b.htmlhttp://www.mmbc.jp/mmbc/ittou/asia/1112no-8.htmlhttp://www.jri.co.jp/JRR/1998/199801/JRR199801mr-asia.htmlhttp://plaza29.mbn.or.jp/^prkko/tamaru/back/b9901.htm

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Maintaining Cultural Dignity in Tourism Development: a Different Approach

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The growth and success of tourism experienced by developed countries over the past two decades have necessitated developing countries' venturing into the tourism industry. Based on the World Tourism Organization figures (WTO 1998) over the ten-year period 1988-1997, global tourist receipts increased between 5.4 and 9.8% per annum. Growth rates, however, displayed a general decline in the last three years of the period as the industry matured. Similarly, the growth in arrivals declined from 8.0 to 3.7% per annum. Although the growth in global tourism appears to continue at rates that are respectable for most industries, maturing growth rates have, and will, cause many destinations increasingly to covet the success of other destinations in securing a share of the market, which is expanding more slowly. It is also evident that new markets, such as China, Russia and South Africa, to name but a few, are starting to attract an ever-increasing market share. South Africa for example has shown a significant growth rate in 2002 and preliminary results for 2003 indicate a continuation of this trend. According to Du Plessis (2002), the tourist demand cycle shows that new and emerging destinations grow over time in their appeal to tourists. Initially, a new destination goes through an exploration phase, which attracts few tourists, and as the appeal for

the destination grows, more tourists visit it. This creates a greater demand, and new developments and products soon follow. Certain markets globally are starting to show a decline (mostly in developed countries) while others (mostly in developing countries) are becoming more popular. It is generally accepted that the tourism industry is the fastest growing and largest industry globally and that it employs the most people (Visser 2003). The reason for this is because of the following advantages and benefits:

- Tourism creates job opportunities.
- Tourism develops infrastructure.
- Tourism contributes to the conservation of the natural environment.
- Tourism builds cross-cultural relationships.
- Tourism builds national pride.
- Tourism generates foreign currency.
- Tourism has a multiplier effect.
- Tourism stimulates other trades.
- Tourism is a final product.
- Tourism broadens education.
- Tourism promotes international peace.
- Tourism breaks down racial and cultural barriers.
- Tourism reinforces preservation of heritage and traditions.
- Tourism enhances an appreciation of cultural traditions (Saayman 2000).

These benefits in most cases are very important for developing countries, especially from an economic point of view, for they are the drivers of tourism decision-making in developing countries (SATOUR 1995, WTTC 1995 and O'Sullivan 2000:1). The reason for this is that the tourism industry consists of various sub-sectors, which are usually not solely dependent on income derived from spending by tourists (Leiper 1979). These sub-sectors exhibit strong forward and backward linkages, with most other industries. Through its linkage effects, tourism leads to external economies through the provision of and improvements to local and regional infrastructure (Niedermeier and Smith 1995).

It is therefore not surprising that tourism is regarded as a growth catalyst, able to contribute towards the upliftment of poorer regions, and that it is also envisaged that tourism should and can play a more important role in the economies of Africa, and specifically the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries (Saayman et al. 2001).

The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) predicts that tourism will account for over 11% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in sub-Saharan African countries and that it will have a growth rate of more than 5% in real terms in the decade that follows (Christie and Crompton 2001). Based on these estimates, tourism will play a significant role in assisting sub-Saharan African countries to attain their economic growth targets. Of the sub-Saharan countries, only South Africa is listed in the top 40 tourism destinations worldwide.

Developing countries in Africa, South America and the East boast about an abundance of natural resources. To rival this, South Africa for example boasts a greater variety

of flora in the Western Cape Province alone than the whole of the United Kingdom (Saayman and Myburgh 2001). With a shift in global travel trends from an intra to an inter-continental movement of people, tourists from developed countries are traveling to developing countries and other new destinations in order to experience new cultures and new tourism products (Keller 1996). With an increase in competition between the various developing countries to attract tourists from developed countries, new products are developed, of which cultural tourism is but one (Satour 1995). The eagerness to attract both tourists and investment creates a situation where the cost implication of tourism development and its socio-economic impact are not always calculated in developing countries (Saayman and Saayman 2001). For example:

- Who really benefits from tourism development?
- What are the leakages and where does the money flow to?
- Who pays for the social cost of tourism development?
- Who pays for the environmental degradation and damage?

These and many other questions need to be answered and clarified. The latter requirement leads to the purpose of this paper, which is to argue that cultural dignity can be achieved by the implementation of an integrated approach. The latter implies that culture (communities) and conservation of the natural environment can be developed and promoted to benefit all. If the necessary respect, appreciation, cooperation and a shared vision are maintained, conservation can conserve the biodiversity of an area, and the communities on whose land these developments take place, can benefit socially as well as economically from tourism.

The paper will show that this can be done without compromising cultural dignity. In the context of this paper, dignity is defined as the quality of being worthy or honorable (www.oed.com 2003). In other words, a community or group of people must retain their cultural values and dignity in the process of developing tourism products. Their quality of life should be enhanced, hence they should not be forced in any way whatsoever to exchange or sell their values and dignity in order to satisfy the development or tourists' needs and curiosities. Therefore communities need to be seen and treated as primary stakeholders in tourism development in order to sustain it.
If the above can be achieved, sustainable tourism can become a reality designed to:

- Improve the quality of life of the host community.
- Provide a high quality of experience for the visitor.
- Maintain the quality of the environment on which both the host community and the tourist depend (McNeely et al. 1994:11).

Organization of Paper

To achieve the goal of this paper, it is organized in the following manner. Firstly, the role of culture and natural environment within the context of a developing country's perspective will be discussed. Secondly, the Madikwe model will be explained. Thirdly, criteria for sustainable development in this context will be highlighted. Lastly, conclusions and recommendations will be made.

It is important to note that in order to achieve a sustainable tourism product or development, one should look at their environmental, economic and social impacts. This paper is aimed at proving that conservation can be used as a tool for development, without destroying community values and the environment, and also contributes to economic upliftment.

The starting point of this discussion is based on the fact that human beings are part of the natural environment, as well as of its development. Hence, one cannot exclude or separate humans, and therefore culture, from the natural environment. For the purpose of this paper, culture is defined as a way of life of a particular group of people and their patterns of behavior, values and perceptions of themselves and the world (Saayman 2000).

From a developing country's point of view, and specifically South Africa's, cultural tourism is packaged together with an experience of nature, referred to as ecotourism. If one isolates certain cultural aspects, such an action can easily lead to undignified behavior. This occurs because of the poverty that is experienced in most developing countries. Communities would do almost anything to attract tourists to spend money in order to make a living, for example «selling» of what can be referred to as private or sacred cultural products, like an initiation ceremony. It also leads to various problems that one experiences all over the world, for example prostitution, sex with children and over-commercialization and exploitation of culture. This creates certain gaps and conflicts between what tourists want and what a community can offer.

However, the following gaps or problems are experienced in terms of cultural tourism:

1.Authenticity. Tourists want to experience the «real thing». Often tourists get what they want or expect to see, which is not necessarily authentic. The reason for this is that in most cases the tour operator or product developer does not understand that particular culture.
2.Tourists' knowledge and understanding of a particular culture are in most cases limited.
3.Globalization. Changing trends, increased mobility and more advanced technology are also having various impacts on cultural tourism.
4.Changes within communities are taking place, and they impact on the structure within the community, as well as on its relevance, for example the role of traditional leaders.
5.Acculturization and Western influence impact on cultural tourism and on communities. Communities do not want to remain behind in a world that is changing rapidly. They want to be seen as progressive. Competition between countries and communities, as well as individual needs, is changing.
6.Ignorance in terms of the understanding of the role of tourism vis-à-vis community development. This exists because of a lack of guidelines and awareness.
7.Negative attitudes and perceptions of communities towards the «old» versus the «new». There does not seem to be a need, especially among the younger generation, to retain the old.
8.The lack of implementation of ethics in the tourism industry. The World Tourism Organization (WTO) is developing ethical guidelines but it cannot enforce them.

Tourism as a cultural phenomenon involves contact between the different cultural background of tourists and host communities, and the tourism industry and residents. This is also referred to as «a panhuman touristic process» that originates with the generation of tourists in society, continues as these tourists travel to other places where they encounter hosts, and ends as the give and take of this encounter affects the tourist, their hosts and their home culture.
Swanepoel (1997:66) explains that there is a cultural environment in all communities and among all people. Culture determines that norms and values of people are adapted or changed by them as the need arises. Culture creates or contains taboos and provides a framework according to which people act and react to daily life. It is not necessarily true that culture creates stumbling blocks for development. In fact, in some situations cultural practices may be beneficial to the success of development.
Contact or interaction between tourists and host communities typically takes place in the following three contexts (de Kadt 1979):

- Social: The interaction takes place while tourists and hosts share resources and facilities available to both tourists and host communities. Tourists and hosts therefore find themselves side by side.
- Economic: Tourists and hosts engage in the buying and selling of goods and services. Tourists purchase goods and services from the host.
- Cultural/Educational: Many destinations feature organized displays and performances of indigenous culture, or offer opportunities for cultural exchange. Two parties come face to face, with the object of exchanging information and ideas.

Community participation is considered a basic principle of sustainable tourism development but, besides the question of equity, it is the least successfully put into practice. In communities that have hitherto had minimal education and little previous experience with tourism, it is unlikely that the goals of community planning and control of tourism can be fulfilled. Communities need education, beginning at the basic level of understanding the hosting function, a vital function in tourism, as pointed out by Van Harssel (1994). Beyond the needs of awareness, education and training, communities need to feel involved, as an initial positive experience of tourism will give the communities the confidence and desire to plan and control tourism fruitfully in the future. Community participation is heralded as one of the great principles of sustainable tourism, as outlined by Murphy (1985). Many writers have suggested the importance of community control and involvement at the planning stage.

Impacts can result from three kinds of interaction. The first kind results from any form of development, even when the residents and tourists are of the same cultural background and on the same socio-economic level, as is often the case with domestic tourism. Other impacts result from socio-economic differences between residents and tourists of either the same or a different cultural background. The third type of impact can result from substantial cultural differences between residents and tourists.

One can therefore state that from a social and cultural perspective, the

rapid expansion of tourism is important, because development of tourism as a vehicle for economic modernization and diversification almost invariably leads to change and developments in the structure of society. These may be positive or negative. In the positive sense, there may be society-wide improvements in income, employment opportunities, education, local infrastructure and services. On the negative side, there may be a threat posed to traditional social values, the creation of a faction of society that may take advantage of others, and the adaptation or weakening of cultural values.

According to Mathieson and Wall (1982), culture is the «conditioning elements of behavior and the products of that behavior» consisting of twelve elements that could be seen as attractive to tourists: handicrafts, languages, gastronomy, art and music: concerts, paintings, sculpture, history of the region, including its visual reminders, types of work engaged in by the residents and the technology they use, architecture, religion, educational systems, dress and leisure activities.
The level of cultural clash or social conflict that may or may not occur depends on:

- The similarities of living standards between host and guest.
- The number of tourists staying at any one time.
- The extent to which the visitors can adapt to social norms.
- The strength of the local norms against the strength of acculturation processes (exchange of ideas).

Culture has become a tourism product. If tourists-residents impacts are ignored, there may be major economic and political repercussions: The community backlash may include:

- A loss of support for those bodies promoting tourism.
- An unwillingness to work in the industry.
- A lack of enthusiasm to promote the product by word of mouth.
- Hostility towards tourists through overcharging, rudeness and indifference.
- Delays in the construction of tourism development because of community protests.

One must remember that on occasion tourism can act to conserve or revive culture. Tourist demand in the late 1950s saw a revival of Hawaiian handicraft, when the art of grass skirt and mat weaving was on the verge of dying out. When a local craftsperson comes to value his/her work in terms of whether it will sell to tourists, then ancient formulae lose their meaning and vitality. In Africa, tourism development has led to the revival of indigenous food and drink, dance, music, arts and crafts and traditional games, to name but a few. Artifacts made only for tourists are meaningless in terms of traditional ritual and symbol. Half-hour segments of ceremonies that may take days to perform in traditional circumstances may help preserve local culture (for example, traditional ceremonies and dances). Cultural influences from even a small number of tourists are inevitable and may be insidious; thus the control of most harmful effects, emphasis on the responsible behavior of the visitor, and the prevention of distortion of local culture might be assumed to be essential elements of sustainable tourism.

If one looks at conservation, it becomes clear that the opportunity costs of the creation of national parks and subsequent reduced access to natural and cultural resources were often borne by local disadvantaged communities in the past. Such communities did not perceive or receive any significant direct benefits from the change in land use from conservation and tourism. Communities must be empowered to take part in the management of areas so they can have a say in the distribution of the benefits and the sustainable use of their environment. Not enough efforts are being made to enable local communities to experience wildlife in the parks that are on their doorstep. Communities need to be involved in the planning, decision-making and development of tourism, as well as in all operational aspects of the industry as employees and entrepreneurs.

Training at all levels is essential to the development of a more inclusive industry, able to demonstrate its social responsibility and to develop new products which meet the cultural and the «meet the people» interests of tourists. The development and delivery of new, quality products for the changing market place are of central importance to enable communities to become part of mainstream tourism. Also required are social justice and the avoidance of exploitation of local cultures and community groups. The value of the culture of local communities needs to be recognized and new tourism products developed.

Therefore the role of the hosts must be put as central to the sustainable tourism development process. To give them this central role is important so as to have a clear understanding of their culture. Tourism as a social phenomenon involves social interaction between tourists and residents, and between tourists and the tourism industry.

Both the ecotourist and community representatives will therefore influence the interactive dimension of ecotourism, that is, relations between the ecotourist, the environment and the host community. On a similar note, analysis of the purchasing behavior of tourists in Israel also draws attention to the negotiation of the relevant object's authentic «Israeliness» between the buyer and the seller (Meethan 2001:109).

To address the various issues previously mentioned, an integrated approach is recommended. This approach entails a win-win situation in the sense that communities have to benefit from tourism in various ways, other than just cultural products, including integration with surrounding developments, including game reserves and parks. The following benefits can be achieved (Saayman and Myburgh 2001):

- Paying a percentage of entrance revenues to local communities.
- Communities may harvest resources within the conservation area—for example fish, grass and wood.
- Establishing community reserves or a fund.
- Introducing various eco-development projects and attractions.
- Allowing local pastoralists to remain in conservation areas under a «contract» system.
- Forming joint management committees among local communities, conservation authorities and private operators.

- Channeling funds generated by tourism into social development programmes.
- Empowering communities as tourist guides and managers.
- Empowering communities to make and sell their own arts and craft.
- Helping with Small and Medium Enterprise (SME) development where the community can provide maintenanceand cleaning services for accommodation units, for example.

The case study that this paper will highlight is the one of the Madikwe Game Reserve in the North West Province of the Republic of South Africa.

The Madikwe Model

The Madikwe model is in essence about retaining cultural dignity through a community's benefiting from tourism development in a protected area. Madikwe Game Reserve is one of South Africa's most successful community-based tourism developments in this sense.
The 75 000 ha Madikwe Game Reserve is located in the North West Province of South Africa. Prior to its establishment in 1991, most of the land consisted of degraded cattle farms. However, following a land feasibility study, it was found that wildlife-based tourism would be the most economically efficient and environmentally appropriate form of land-use. An intensive development process was subsequently initiated that would turn what was degraded cattle lands into one of the premier game reserves in Africa. In addition to its conservation and tourism objectives, however, the reserve had to deliver economic opportunities to the people resident in the area for whom, until that time, very few employment and business opportunities had existed.

Since 1991, the reserve has undergone an intensive period of development as a premier game reserve, including an extensive restocking programme of species that historically occurred in the region. Madikwe is managed by the North West Parks and Tourism Board (formerly Bophuthatswana Parks), a conservation organization that is world-renowned for its pioneering approach to people-based wildlife conservation, which it has practiced since that late 1970s.
Unlike almost all state-owned game reserves in Africa, the approach towards conservation that has been adopted at Madikwe puts the needs of people before those of wildlife and conservation. It is believed by the Board that if conservation is to succeed in developing countries such as South Africa, local communities and individuals must benefit significantly from wildlife conservation and related activities. If local communities and the region as a whole can benefit through jobs and business opportunities that are created or generated, then firm support for protected areas will be achieved and important conservation objectives will be met almost as a secondary or spin-off benefit.

The Madikwe model is run as a three-way partnership among the State (represented by the North West Parks and Tourism Board), local communities and the private sector. Without doubt, it is the private sector on which the entire project ultimately depended. The private sector initiated and managed a variety of tourism developments and activities in the reserve.
Currently a portion of the revenue generated is paid to the Parks and Tourism Board as concession fees. These concession fees are used

partly to maintain the conservation infrastructure and game stocks in the reserve on which the private sector has based its own investment and operations. A portion of the concession fees is also paid to local communities to help finance a variety of community-based development projects. In addition to community projects, communities also benefit from jobs and business opportunities that are created both within and outside the reserve. This in turn further stimulates the local and regional economy.

Table 1 shows the number of lodges that have been developed (27) as well as the number of jobs (368) that were created and the capital injection (R155.1 million) that took place because of this development. This project was initiated by an initial R38 million injection by government in order to grow the economy of the region. In 10 years time, the park has succeeded admirably in achieving this goal. It was all made possible by the building of a partnership. This partnership benefits all parties involved—conservation objectives are met, the private sector generates profits, jobs and businesses are created, communities are developed and valuable foreign exchange is brought into the region.

Madikwe, therefore, should not be looked at as solely a protected area or tourism destination—in truth, the reserve acts as a major socio-cultural and economic core and engine around which the development of the entire region is based.

The approach being practiced at Madikwe has significant beneficial impacts on local and regional economies, and contributes greatly towards the overall improvement of the quality of life of largely disadvantaged rural communities and individuals. In this respect, it is believed that people-based conservation offers the only long-term successful approach to wildlife conservation in southern Africa and the continent of Africa as a whole.

The Community

The communities living around Madikwe have carried some of the indirect costs associated with the establishment of the reserve, such as:

- Restricted access to the land.
- Loss of cattle-ranching opportunities.
- Possible dangers posed by wild animals.

It was therefore very important that many concerns which these communities had were addressed through formal mechanisms within the reserve's structure. To secure the communities' full participation in and «ownership» of the project, Madikwe needed to be truly integrated into the local communities and economy. There are two main reasons why this had to be so:

1. The continued existence of Madikwe was dependent on the communities living around the reserve; and
2. The communities living around Madikwe would stand to benefit most from the opportunities that were to be created by the reserve if it were to be managed properly.

To obtain full participation and involvement of communities and to help realize the opportunities and benefits that could accrue to them, it was critical for some mechanism and structures to be established which would facilitate the process. The main form of mechanism and

structure that has been established is that of a community liaison forum. At this forum, which meets regularly and consists of representatives of all stakeholders, communities can be properly informed of any future developments or activities in the reserve that are planned by the North West Parks and Tourism Board or private sector developers and concessionaires.

The forum also provides an opportunity to raise any problems or concerns relating to the development and operations of the reserve that have been encountered by any of the parties. In this way, problems are identified early on and dealt with before they can have the chance to develop into larger perhaps less resolvable problems. The question that can be raised at this stage is how cultural dignity can be maintained practically.

Maintaining Dignity

As was indicated earlier in this paper, cultural dignity can be upheld and maintained only if communities participate and benefit significantly. The following benefits are achieved in the Madikwe model:

- Communities are allowed to collect wood for household purposes, but also to sell some (Work for Water Project).
- Communities are allowed to collect grass for thatch roofs if and when necessary.
- Communities may collect plants for medicinal use.
- Indigenous knowledge systems are kept alive.
- Tourism awareness programmes have been launched in these communities.
- Communities are allowed to visit graves and cultural sites in the park.
- Jobs have been created by means of employment in the park.
- A lodge has been developed that is managed and owned by the community.
- Social upliftment programmes for women and children have been established.
- Music, drama and dancing groups have been established to provide cultural entertainment.
- Infrastructure development has taken place in communities, for example roads, schools and clinics, to name but a few.
- Outsourcing of contracts to the community and creation of SMEs, for example, the fence patrol, laundry services and building of roads and other infrastructure.
- Training and development programmes.
- Bursaries for furthering education in the community.

This not only generates income for the community but also raises its living standard. It is important too that the money generated should as far as possible remain in the community.

Criteria for Sustainability and an Integrated Tourism Approach

The greatest challenge, however, is to develop the commitment to sustainable tourism on the part of all stakeholders and, most importantly, to implement it. From the literature as well as from the Madikwe model the following criteria (aspects) for sustainable tourism are proposed:

- Is the supply of attractions and accommodation adequate to meet the needs of visitors without sacrificing the character of the place?
- Is there a body that maintains standards and involves all

stakeholders to ensure quality service and experience?

- Is there networking between communities out of which civic-mindedness, community pride, responsibility for one another and the community and a shared vision for the present and future should emerge?
- Do business profits and employment opportunities accrue to the residents of the region?
- Is professionalism the watchword of the tourism industry?
- Is hospitality the prevalent attitude of the residents?
- Are market-driven visitor experiences organized, promoted and made easily accessible and do they provide the opportunity for both small and large locations to be competitive in the tourism marketplace, and help curtail over-visitation?
- Are visitor safety and convenience paramount concerns?
- Is the regional economy diverse and stable, and is the contribution of tourism recognized and valued?
- Is a unique sense of locality characterized by tradition (social, religious, civic and cultural) and cherished by all? Is it considered by residents, businesses and public officials to be the (economic and human) lifeblood of the place?
- Are ethical principles followed that respect the culture and environment of the host area, the economy and traditional way of life, the indigenous behavior and the local leadership and political patterns?
- Are tour guides and tour operators innovative with respect to the itineraries offered?
- Is the local community involved in the planning and development of the product?
- It should be taken with equity in mind, with the idea of a fair distribution of benefits and costs among tourism promoters and host people and areas—now and in the future (Burr 1995:16; Saayman and Myburgh 2001).

Tourism is dependent upon the social, cultural and natural environment within which it occurs, and its success is dependent upon the environment within which it operates. Good relationships with neighbors and with the communities make good business sense. These relationships need to be based on trust, empowerment, cooperation and partnerships. Too few of the benefits from tourism currently accrue to local communities whose environment is visited. This will also ensure a smaller leakage of income from the area.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In conclusion: this paper addressed issues pertaining to cultural dignity, the natural environment and how conservation can contribute to community upliftment. The paper also touched upon an integrated approach to tourism development from a developing country's perspective. This approach entails co-operation between the various stakeholders based on a shared vision. Developing countries are in dire need of foreign exchange, investments and development in order to alleviate poverty. Natural resources that are in abundance, namely wildlife, nature and culture, are used to attract tourists in order to spend money. To limit leakages, greater participation from locals is essential. Greater participation will also lead to communities getting measurable benefits from these developments. This will also help ensure a sustainable tourism industry.

The Madikwe model shows that by means of conservation one can address poverty and the countries most affected by tourism development can benefit from these developments. By doing this, tourism planners and marketers can contribute to the maintenance of cultural dignity. The latter is an issue that needs to be debated more often in the tourism industry, for it borders on ethical behavior and principles. The benefits from this approach over and above what has already been mentioned are:

- Low levels of poaching.
- Friendly people who welcome tourists.
- A greater understanding of tourism.
- A greater willingness and participation in tourism-related issues.
- Better land use and management.
- More land is made available for conservation.

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The Golden Goose:
Race, Gender and Global Tourism in Jamaica

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A review of the literature suggests When you travel to Jamaica via Air Jamaica, the first person to greet you as you enter the aircraft is the flight attendant, a Jamaican woman. If you travel via another airline, you hear welcoming voices of women as they echo throughout the arrival terminal of Sangster's International Airport in Montego Bay. A woman receptionist extends a warm welcome as you check into your hotel. And, while walking to your room, cheery female voices call out to you saying again and again, «welcome to Jamaica». As evidenced by this and other research, Caribbean tourism is a female dominated industry, primarily because personal service is a major component of the business. Without a doubt, Jamaican women tourist workers are essential actors in the visitor's adventure into that Caribbean1 paradise. Hence, the responsibility of Jamaica's success in the industry2 literally rests in the hands of women.

Nonetheless, rarely are the dynamics of gender, class and race analyzed in most of the tourist academic literature, or that of the promotional literature coming from the industry itself.[3] Certain questions need to be asked: What do these women think about their relationship between themselves and tourists? How do they equate their hard work with someone else's pleasure and adventure?

Besides the set of disciplines that help to generate other understandings of tourism, such as environmental and geographical studies, there is a growing body of literature from anthropology and sociology.Postmodern postcolonial theorists have done groundbreaking work concerning «the tourist gaze»

(Urry 1990),«staging tourism» (Desmond 1999), «objects of travel» (Lury 1997) and other ways of interpreting modern history, colonization, imperialism and social inequality vis-à-vis analyses of travel logs, travel narratives and media images. An example of that kind of work is Mimi Scheller's recent book Consuming the Caribbean (2003).

Scheller explores the myriad of ways that Western European and North American publics have «unceasingly consumed the natural environment, commodities, human bodies, and cultures of the Caribbean over the past five hundred years». The author's objective is to broaden the concept of travel to include many kinds of mobility, such as migration, transportation, and reoccurring thematic images that represent material objects or their symbolic value. However, despite acts of resistance noted during slavery and acts of identity reclamations during post emancipation and post independence eras, the agency of the peoples of the region are not the main ingredient in Scheller's volume. The attention still rests on «the Caribbean» as viewed from those outside who consume and commoditize Caribbean culture, objects and subjects (Sheller 2003:150-155).

In contrast, the discussion here focuses on Jamaican women tourist workers who are real actors of all sorts. These acts take place at work in terms of pride of a job well done as well as in modes of resistance and accommodation to those same sites of employment. These are the interactions between women tourist workers and those who are guests in their country and community. Although an individual tourist presence is a temporary one, the industry is ever present, particularly given the significance of the industry to the health of the economy. Of interest here are how a group of women workers, who occupy a range of jobs found in tourism fight being «consumed» and «stand up for their rights» as Bob Marley urged Jamaicans to do twenty-five years ago.

This exploration of tourism with Jamaican women at the center begins with an overview of the industry in that country. Examined next are key concepts that help interpret the women's points of view and actions that are culturally based. The first looks at women's work and how that is viewed in tourism and the economy at large. The second is the concept of emotional labor—the managed heart—that is a way of understanding the layers of expressions of personal service and how it is used in a variety of ways by workers as they bridge the gap between themselves and tourists. Following that discussion is a look at the site of action— Negril, Jamaica. In this section, three women tourist worker's experiences capture a «flavor» of the industry. Finally, there is the role of tourism as a

representative of the global economy and how women, from across the range of job categories, fit into this scheme of things. These are the elements to point at the «golden goose».

Tourism in Jamaica

Tourism, that broadly defined service-producing sector, has for the past 10 years been the largest earner of foreign exchange (US 1.3 billion in 2001) for Jamaica. Further, the country as one of the «mature» Caribbean destinations, leads the way with the tourist sector being the Caribbean's biggest employer (Ferguson 1999:328). Looking at Jamaica, the industry employs countless numbers of workers teased out of broad employment data because tourism cuts across sectors, such as transportation, management, service and so forth. For the most part, the majority of workers in Jamaica's tourist sector are women, whose occupations cut across spans of a broad spectrum of economic activities from those that are unskilled to the highly technical ones e.g. accountants, bank clerks, managers, and domestic workers. Women fill the jobs on the basis of their educational attainment, technical expertise and their class position.

Tourism, like the other sectors of the economy, features sex-segregated occupations (housekeeping, bar maids, craft vendors) as well as those that are considered non-traditional ones (hotel managers, dive shop owners, and head cooks). All of these jobs are subject to the variances of hurricanes, seasonal business cycles, and overall international economic conditions that allow or discourage individuals from taking a vacation far away from home. In addition, tourism is embedded in the society in which it is located. Places like Jamaica are highly stratified on the basis of race, class, ethnicity, gender and other marked and unmarked differences. The culture, with its legacy of slavery, indenture, 350 years of colonialism, and neo-colonialism frames a society that is also secured by a social system that allows upward mobility to be a real possibility. However, the possibility of social climbing can be meted out in small, but important increments for the majority of the population. For example, women's greater access to education than before is a proven factor in their upward social mobility in the post Independence era (Gordon 1989: 78).

As a service sector, tourist work fits neatly into Jamaica's gender segmented labor market due to the majority of work being performed by women, who hold service jobs, and then, there is the image of the chamber maid which solidifies the situation. Low skill jobs are the backbone of the business. However, coexisting side by side are avenues for upward occupational and social mobility (see Gordon 1987). According to GOJ data, 1 out of 4 jobs in the country is now related in some fashion with the tourist

industry.

Service with Love and Heart and Skin-teeth

Although Thomas Cook tours promoted Jamaica as a place to «take in medicinal waters» for unhealthy Europeans in 1860, the country really entered the tourism industry in 1891 via the banana export business. Lorenzo Dow Baker of the United Fruit Company (Chiquita Banana) often brought passengers with him on his weekly sailing to Jamaica from Boston, Philadelphia, New York or Baltimore. While he loaded up his ship with bananas, his guests took in the sites of this lush, tropical island. Within six years, Captain Baker acquired land and built Hotel Tichfield, an impressive 150room edifice with elaborate dining facilities, and inaugurated the tourist business on the island. Advertisements from 1910 proclaimed Jamaica as «The most beautiful situation in the West Indies» and indeed it was a beautiful situation as Jamaica offered a paradise for health seekers, winter tourists and a new location for foreign capital investment (Taylor 1993:45).

What this first tourist hotel produced was a new site for interpersonal service between peoples of different social classes and, in this particular case, different skin color. Just sixty years out of slavery, but still very much colonized not only by Britain, but by its hierarchically arranged social system based on color, class and gender, Jamaicans reluctantly accepted tourism as another sector of the economy. The early hotel industry served to resuscitate the dying master-servant culture of the Great House era in Jamaica. The deportment of the Black servants in the early 20th century hotel was «in a way unmistakably denoting that there were revenging themselves for the indignity of having to accept such service» (Taylor 1993:90). In fact, early tourism in Jamaica did in fact resemble slavery, particularly when Jamaican hotels were reserved for white-only Americans while Black Jamaicans were left with the menial tasks (Pattullo 1996:64) and were certainly not guests.

The history of Jamaica's tourism rested on available and lavish service for vacationers who did not have this kind of attendance at home. By the 1960s, the regular long-haul air services from Europe and the US ushered in a new era in the tourist industry, and a new kind of tourist. Frequent airline travel opened up the island to mass tourism whereby the middle class traveler from the US could and did demand service for his or her hard earned dollar. Of course, the class and skin color differences made the already inequitable face-to-face encounter even more off balance. In 1980, when a conservative Jamaican government was elected, the Jamaican Tourist Board slogan said it all—«Return to how Things Used to Be». The emphasis again rested with the heightened degree

of service and seemingly greater degrees of servitude on the part of tourist workers. By the 1990s, even after the election of the Peoples National Party (the party that brought Democratic Socialism to Jamaica in the 1970s) you still come to Jamaica «to feel good all over». The suggestion again was service is a part of the package, with inequality embedded in the layers of the functioning of tourism (Bolles 1992)

Chambers (1999:3-4) characterizes tourism as a personal mediated activity that is subject to a variety of interventions and/or widely diverse arrays of interpretations. Face-to-face encounters can form the basis of a tourist enterprise, specifically on tropical islands designated as vacation spots. This type of tourism centers on those seeking personal service and those who perform it. In the case of Jamaica, and documented by fieldwork in Negril, a small village located on the western point of the island, workers employed in the wide range of businesses within tourism to provide all sorts of personal services for the tourist. Some of the obvious service workers are: travel agents, bank tellers, hotel owners, and managers, tour guides, straw market vendors, housekeeping staff and sex-workers. Based on the quality and quantity of service, a tourist will be a repeat customer because she or he «is made to feel good all over», with «One Love and One Heart» as the Jamaican Tourist Board and the appropriated Bob Marley lyrics proclaim.

Tourists come back to Jamaica because they enjoy seeing the natural beauty of the country, using the often lavish facilities of hotels, being a part of an exotic scene, and luxuriating in the heart felt personal service by the staff, or people they encounter during their stay. In Jamaica, women are the dominant tourist workers. Consequently, the well-taken-care-of aspect of the vacation rests in hands of women. Jamaica, the 4th largest tourist destination in the Caribbean in 2001, counts the repeat visitors, who «Come back to Jamaica, Again, and Again» and «Feel All Right» as the JTB advertises in the 1990s as a measures of its success.

Engagement with the tourist encounter is an aspect of culture that fortifies women tourist workers throughout their day, especially when the highest caliber of personal service is a part of the package deal. This factor of Jamaican culture is showing skin-teeth. Skin-teeth, or «kin teeth» is a mannerism of resistance and a cultural mechanism that deals with social inequality most pronounced in the tourist encounter.

One of the cultural behaviors that help individuals deal with inequitable situations they find themselves in is to show «skin teeth». This behavior comes from the days of enslavement when any act outside of complacency was a form of resistance. Enslaved women did not take their station in life lightly. As Mathurin (1974) was first to argue

and document, women used whatever «weapons» were available to them to challenge the slave system. A wide variety of acts of defiance including insolence occurred on a daily basis. As Bush (1990: 61) explains, «unlike outright revolt, these unspectacular routine acts were resistance» to enslavement. Further, of all slaves, domestics probably exhibited the greatest degree of duality of behavior. Outwardly they conformed and adopted white culture to a greater degree than the more autonomous field slave, while covertly the rejected the system (Ibid.). Masked emotions became a part of the cultural baggage. In one of her classic works on Jamaica folklore, Martha Beckwith (1925:88) notes the following sayings: «No everybody wha' kin teet' wid you a you frien», and «no kin teet' a kin teet». These sayings mean not everyone who you show a smile is a friend, and not every laugh is an honest laugh (Cassidy and LePage 1980:261). Showing skin-teeth is a cultural practice that hides the true value of the behavior from the receptor, especially when that person is not a social equal.

By the turn of the century, as the building of Hotel Titchfield showed, domestic service in hotels and in private homes had become one of the predominant employers of women. The lack of alternative occupations for working class and poor women meant that this kind of work would be come a mainstay for earning a living. For the next 100 years, this would be the case with the continued degradation of work, inequality between employer and employee, and low pay. There are numerous occupations grouped under the term service, including those that are high paid and highly technical ones. However, within the modern-day tourist industry the sense of the term implies work that is labor-intensive, deals with customers, and produces intangible products based on the subordinate status of a direct-server.

It is easy then to see how skin-teeth are used as a cultural coping mechanism in the tourist industry across job categories. Skin-teeth are used against the social inequality, racism and sexism exhibited in any kind of face-to-face-encounters of tourism. Grinning and bearing it has an edge to it here. It is not just going with the flow, but acting out of resentment, disdain and agency in situations where a person does not exercise control. The Guyanese poet Grace Nichols's poem «Skin Teeth» (Nichols 1992:797) expresses this sentiment most eloquently.

Not every skin-teeth
is a smile «Massa»
if you see me smiling when you pass
if you see me bending
when you ask
Know that I smile
know that I bend
only the better
to rise and strike
again.

In different kinds of tourist jobs, Jamaican women's self-worth and ways of surviving with dignity, is truly tested. To maintain that sense of self, skin-teeth becomes a mode of resistance.

Personal service workers engage other tactics in their line of work besides skin-teeth too. This has to do with how service work is perceived as labor that is seemingly effortless, and something that comes naturally. Above all, doing for others is just part of a worker's life, and not a category of way labor—the means of their livelihoods (Hochschild 1983). This kind of «managed heart» work is where smiling is a part of the job, also disguises fatigue and irritability. Without the attributes of the managed heart, the product—a satisfied vacationer—would be damaged. Ways of banishing irritation call for emotional labor in addition to skin-teeth. Hochschild (1983: 35-55) describes different kinds of emotional labor in terms of acting, and the amount and degree of acting necessary to bridge the face-to-face encounter. Surface acting requires that the person only act as if they had a personal stake in the outcome of some activity or event. For example, saying with appropriate body gestures «let me help you with that». Deep acting requires a person to exhort feeling or to make use of the indirect ways of the imagination to convey emotion. Visionalize such action in this statement, «Isn't that awful? Now let's see what we can do to make this better». Then, there is institutional emotion management whereby the institutions set the stage, the rules and modes of appropriate behavior in which the worker must use institutionally approved emotions or reactions to certain sets of activities such as «Welcome to McDonalds, can I take your order?» with a smile.

Needless to say, in the customer is always right world of tourism, service workers do all of the acting necessary to satisfy a guest, so they will return to Jamaica, again and again. Using both culturally appropriate skin-teeth, honed during the forced enslavement, and managed heart techniques of differing acting methods, Jamaican tourist workers are indeed succeeding. When the cues and deep acting are not applied, the surely, arrogant worker becomes a part of the tourist lore, now readily available on internet chat rooms for perspective clients to read and thereby take their business elsewhere. A popular tourist guide to Jamaica states it this way;

Jamaicans are an intriguing contrast. Most of the population comprises the most gracious people you'll ever want to meet. The majority of Jamaicans are poor, and they are lovely people. However, a significant minority is composed of the most sullen, cantankerous, and confrontational people you would ever wish not to meet. Foreign visitors are often shocked at the surliness they so often encounter.

(Baker 2000:66).

Clearly, skin-teeth and managed hearts are necessarily applied with a liberal hand in Negril.

Negril: The Practice of One Love, Skin-teeth and Globalization

Negril was late in coming into the world of tourism, slowly transforming from a peasant coconut processing area and fishing village, to a place where middle class Jamaicans got away from it all, and rented cottages and rooms from local people. In the 70s, US, Canadian and European hippies and young professionals came to this relatively secluded western part of the island. Subsequently, what many middle class Jamaicans had known for years was now open to all who wanted something different for their vacation plans. Because of this late entry as a major destination, Negril still has a wide range of accommodations—cottages, villas, and hotels of various sizes. Although it now has new-age health and sports tourism, including a half dozen large «all-inclusives», the community still maintains a low-pace atmosphere indicative of its fishing village origins. However as the numbers of all-inclusives are developed in Negril, this presence challenges the «laid-back ambience» of the place. AI's also threaten the viability of the small family owned cottages and small hotels that dot the beach.

The so-called «all-inclusive», or AI, is an arrangement modeled after the profitable French Club Med formula. All-inclusive vacationing means that all travel, food, drink, lodging, entertainment, gratuities, and the like are paid in advance to agents located in the US, UK and Germany. The «All-inclusive» resort is a prime example of globalization of tourism. Further, Jamaican-born captains of industry made Jamaica one of the leaders
in this kind of tourism.

Two Jamaicans, Butch Stewart (Sandals and Beaches) and John Issa (Super Clubs and Breezes) broke into the American and European lock on all-inclusive holidays. Tourist researchers called this business endeavor «the most important innovation in the Caribbean hotel sector during the last decade». Both Sandals and Super Clubs are homegrown successes and are copied all over the region. Stewart claims that the success is based on value for money.«We have the biggest water sports business and fitness centers, brand-new restaurants, great entertainment. You have quality choices and with all that you end up with value for money you can't get anywhere else in the world»[4].

Originally an owner of a car parts and appliance dealership, Stewart started Sandals in 1981 by turning a remodeled old hotel into an all-inclusive couples-only resort. Three decades later, the Sandals chain owns and operates eleven hotels located in Jamaica, St. Lucia, Antigua and the Bahamas. The

corporation also includes four properties called «Beaches». In 1992 Stewart personally diverted a Jamaican national foreign exchange crisis when he deposited US $1 million into Jamaica's commercial banks four dollars less than the exchange rate. This effort kept the banks and the foreign exchange rate from collapsing and encouraged others to follow his lead. Following this action, there was another business coup. Butch Stewart relieved the government of its controlling percentage of the national airline, Air Jamaica. Needless to say, Air Jamaican flies to almost all of the countries where a Sandals resort or business interests are located. In Negril, there is one Sandals Resort and one locally owned hotel was bought and turned into a Beaches.

Regardless of who owns the property, when one comes to Jamaica, and to Negril, they want to feel good all over. And there are women tourist workers there whose job description is to make sure that the tourist is well taken care of during their stay. Tourist workers must use all of their skills to perform these duties, even under duress.

One of the benefits of ethnographic research is that it allows for people to speak for themselves. Of course this only happens when the ethnographer uses democratic methods as a principle research tool. The following conversations reveal the concepts under consideration in action. Here, women describe what they do to make the tourist experience in Jamaica a welcome one in three different settings—a hotel, a crafts market and a cottage. Each of these situations illustrates not only what these representative women do on their jobs, what is important to them about their employment as workers and citizens and their view of the industry. Of particular importance is «Sybil» the young manager of a family-owned business. Her story sums up the price that is being paid for this «golden goose» in Jamaica.

The Front Desk of a Hotel

«Margaret Bristol» has just come on duty as the clerk at the front desk of «Big Pink», a large family oriented hotel. Margaret is working nights because she went out of rotation with the other clerks when on maternity leave. Actually, Margaret notes that she likes night duty because it's very quiet, and luckily nothing catastrophic has happened on her watch. As her day begins at nine o'clock in the evening, Margaret joins other workers whose hours on the job reverse night into day —the night shift. No matter the hour, the clerk at the front desk is critical to a well-run tourist establishment.

Being on the front desk is a low middle-management job. Margaret Bristol is well prepared for almost anything to happen. She left high school with good grades and high scores on the Cambridge Exams, but not enough for entry into the university. Margaret did not take

commercial courses, but was able to easily pick up the routine of posting entries in lodge books, and being an overall «gopher» in the accounts office at Big Pink. What she enjoys about working in a resort is meeting and having conversations with guests. As she proved her merit in the hotel business, Margaret was given more responsibilities, changes in job status and increases in wages. It took 4 years before Margaret became the night clerk. In that job, she posts late entries, usually from bar tabs or late dinners on guests' bills, answers questions, and checks in late arrivals.

At about midnight one uneventful evening, Margaret became comfortable enough to talk about the pluses and minuses of her job. On the positive side, Margaret was pleased with her job situation, and saw a bright future for herself and Big Pink in Negril's tourist industry. Big Pink had a great reputation with many repeat visitors. During the height of the tourist season, January through March, things really get hectic because there were «so many guests on property» she says.

«The sheer numbers of people sometimes wears a person down when you are trying to help one person, one couple or one family at a time, and everybody is demanding something from you at the same time», Margaret states. How do you handle the pressure? Tell me about handling people.

«Well» she said, «I hate arrivals, especially large groups, usually late with nothing to do with Jamaica. But something already set off the group, like a delayed take off because of weather, or worse, something wrong with the plane. So, by the time they arrive in Montego Bay, everyone is annoyed. People working ground crew is fit to be tied. They have to wait until the last plane comes in. The time they (group of travelers) reach here, some have calmed down, at least they arrive safe and are on holiday. Others are just waiting for something else to go wrong. You know what I mean? They are arguing with their husband or wife, or friend, everyone around them. Its usually a man, makes himself like a spokesperson for the group and starts with the demands, even when everything is in order. One time, one guy was sheer rudeness, calling bad words, carrying on and cursing. There was just one bellman, and even though I asked a security guard to help handle the baggage, nothing was to please this man. He pushed in front of the line and demanded to see the manager cause of "inefficient staff" and "don't you people move under a crisis?" I told him that I was the night clerk and that he had to claim himself, and just relax he would spoil his vacation. Real nice like. Well, that started off a whole heap of bad words and carrying on. I just kept on, took deep breaths, put on my best smile and got everyone registered, and assigned keys».

What kind of smile?

«You know, show skin-teeth and kept doing my work cause the man started to really annoy me to no

end. You can let these people trouble you».

The Craft Market Vendor

Penny Lewis sells T-shirts, straw crafts, and beads at one of the two craft markets in Negril. She has been doing this work for ten years, enjoys it immensely, and takes her turn being the president of the craft market association. Penny finished eight years of school but recently took advantage of management courses offered by the Chamber of Commerce. The classes were run by a Peace Corps volunteer who was interested in small businesses. Tall, slim, dark-brown-skinned with a flashing smile, Penny, at age thirty-four, is a single mother of three children aged sixteen, twelve, and five.

«I started the day off early as usual, about 5 a.m. In the old days, my mother, she didn't have no clock, just the sun come up and she start about her business—she would work the land. This morning, after I got my daughters up and the boy, to go to school, we had a little breakfast, made sure there was lunch money for them, and then they went off. Tidy up the lace and then I look at my list gain and go over my money. I decided last night that I need to get a new style T-shirt and more colors for he straw (raffia). What I've do is go to Mo Bay to the factory for the T-shirts… go look for the goods at the shop.

«So, here it is morning time and I nyah go tot he shop to make money, I go to town and spend money! That takes all morning and way after noon till what is it; almost time to close up shop? But I need those new things to keep up, so the trip was OK. Tourists like new styles, especially them that are repeaters. See this shirt? It costs me more than this one here, but it feels nice—nice and soft. Now, I could not make this trip in high season, unless somebody I trust run the shop, they don know how the price go. We keep the same price here (referring to the craft market association members), but sometime we do our own thing for a special customer. You know what I mean? But now, what is it, November? I can take the time.

«When I leave here, it's late now. I take the van home to Orange Bay. My daughter starts the dinner when she gets in from school. It's a help. The boy does (washes) his own uniform now, too. I finish the supper. We eat. The kids do their homework. After tidying up the house, I set on the verandah and work on the straw. You know, put things on the basket like «Jamaica», «Negril», «One Love», things like that and flowers. More details cost more to make and make a high price, too. I work a bit, listen to a program on the radio, then lock up for the night. Sometimes somebody comes to call, but tonight, I too tired».

Family Owned Cottages on the Beach

O' Malley's is a group of on-the-beach cottages/cabins that includes a restaurant. Across the road, Uncle Oscar owns the best «jerk» carry out in Negril. The O'Malley's are a native Negrillian family. The natal home faces the road and the cottages/cabins were built one by one starting from the beach moving back towards the house. Those 14 cottages/cabins were initially tent sites, where hippies camped out, serviced only by a pit latrine, standpipe like showers and no electricity. Now, most have electricity and all of the cottages have bathrooms. Over the course of 30 years of business, the O'Malley's—father and mother—held the business together, but have finally relinquished daily operations to their children. However, all of the children had already left Negril and live in Kingston or emigrated to the US. Now the management of O'Malley's is in the hands of Sybil, a granddaughter who grew up in Kingston, but spent her holidays in Negril on the beach with her grandparents learning the business. Sent to the US to study business administration and to learn all of the advanced technological tools of the tourist industry, Sybil was given the task to «turn the business around!» She must make O'Malley's competitive with other small establishments and maybe take on the new «all-inclusive» RIU.

RIU, owned by a European hotel conglomerate, is a massive hotel built at the far end of Negril. It is one of the new, all-inclusive properties boasting 400 rooms that skirted the building code by erecting a hotel taller than a coconut tree. Not only that, RIU's daily all-inclusive room rate of $US 60.OO is the same as O'Malley's and other small hotels charge. Given a choice, a new to Jamaica international visitor books a trip to Negril with agents in Europe or the US and notices this cheap rate for RIU. More than likely, the client will stop there. Can O'Malley's compete again this global giant?

Sybil realized that RIU's «pre-fabricated» rooms (really just a concrete box) had little Caribbean charm, so she targeted certain areas for improvement. These areas were: 1) secure the basics—reliable electricity, hot water and available water during draught situations and be consistent with room amenities; 2) Get Cable TV in all rooms; and 3) join forces with other small cottage and hotel owners and develop their own web-site. The web site features «real Jamaican-style» not global «glitter» tourism. In addition, Sybil worked with the Chamber of Commerce in a similar venture for maximum exposure. O'Malley's hippy clientele are now middle aged and return with their children and grandchildren. Their «word of mouth» promotional campaigns cannot support O'Malley's survival as a domestic operation. However, the web site and the one organized by the director of the Chamber of Commerce, also a woman, with its

focus on local and small business, should make a difference. It is a fight to keep Negril from being swallowed up by the «all-inclusive» resorts owned by the Jamaican global giants —Sandals and Super Clubs, RIU or the next foreign investor.

What this case illustrates is the «mixed blessing» of international trade and investment. Part of Negril's beach became «Margaritaville» and the domain of all-inclusive resorts but at the core in contrast are businesses that are family owned and woman managed.

Conclusion

Feminist Anthropology has useful merits in understanding tourism, especially in terms of the interplay of the gendered nature of work, cultural mechanisms that make that work possible, such as «skin-teeth», and pride in country and culture. In Negril, tourism provides a myriad of ways to make a living, but it also contains what is valuable to be a Jamaican whose livelihood depends on this industry that rests on the merits of good weather, warm smiles and efficient silent personal service.

Women have numerous roles to play in tourism. Not only do they represent the«natural» service worker as women, but also because they are non-white, another set of criterion for «consuming the Caribbean». What the ethnographic examples also show is that skin-teeth, understanding your clientele and «standing up for your rights» as a tiny hotelier are appropriate methods of resistance and self-preservation that are alive and well. Tourism, as Margaret, Penny and Sybil tell us, requires not only being an expert in one's own job, but also being an accomplished actress. A heavy dose of mediated behavior to satisfy the tourist no matter where they come from with hopes that they will return to Jamaica, again and again.

Globalization has unleashed the power of flow of capital and cultural and information systems across our world. In comparison to its predecessor, this can be called «turbo capitalism» in the alarming speed it enters economies, fetters out weaknesses and deems what it considers deficiencies that impede its own agenda. Tourism is one of those global industries that feed off of economic weaknesses—historically based— legacies of colonialism, greedy regimes and dictators, «special periods» as in the case of Cuba or disempowered by Structural Adjustment Programs as in the Jamaican situation. Tourism, the golden goose, or its equivalent, the hen, can provide for you, become your image and can also bite you in social and economic ways.

Endnotes

[1] Fieldwork in Negril, Jamaica, began ten years ago and continues (1992-2002). The women tourist workers who took time to engage in conversation with me and let me observe and participate in

their daily lives are thanked for their kindness and generosity.

[2] George Gmelch (2003), Behind the Smile is a study of tourist workers in Barbados. He also concludes that Caribbean tourism created jobs for women.

[3] Understandably, the major contributor to tourist literature comes from the industry itself, management and recreation research and government bodies that use a variety of variables for investigative purposes and to predict trends.

[4] Polly Pattullo interview with Butch Stewart appears in Last Resorts (1996, 21).

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Harmonising the Paradox: the «Tree Analogy»in Cultural Tourism in Bali

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Culture is at the heart of contemporary debates about identity, social cohesion, and the development of a knowledge-based economy.

UNESCO´s Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity.

Tourism development in Bali can be traced back to the early 1920's, and nowadays tourism has become one of the main economic activities. For many decades, tourism has become the generator for economic development and the motor for socio-cultural change (Hassall et al., 1992; Pitana 2002). Wood (1979) and McTaggart (1980) stated that today tourism has been an integral part of Balinese culture (cf. Picard, 1990). Talking about Bali today, one cannot separate it from tourism, because tourism has been an inherent part of Balinese's life (Pitana 1993). The very basic concept in the development of Bali's tourism is that of cultural tourism. Cultural tourism in the context of Bali means that Balinese culture is the main capital in the development of tourism, and at the same time Balinese culture must be protected from tourism influence. In other words, the development of tourism should accommodate the two opposite sides at the same time; i.e. using culture as the main attraction in inviting tourists, and at the same time protecting the culture from bad influence brought about by tourists. This is the paradox.

The decision to make cultural tourism as the type of tourism developed in Bali is based on the supply and demand analysis of Bali. A research in the early 1970's (Unud 1974) showed that most tourists (61,78%) visited Bali because they were interested in culture; tourists who were interested

in nature, flora and fauna accounted 32,8%; and the rest (5,37%) were interested in others. This finding became a focal point in the seminar on Cultural Tourism in Bali, 15 September, 1971. This seminar succeeded in formulating a cultural tourism concept for Bali, and after a long process, this concept is adopted as a provincial act (Provincial acts No. 3/1974 and 3/1991).

In those acts, cultural tourism is defined as a kind of tourism which uses Balinese culture; itself is based on Hinduism, as the most dominant basic potential. It implies the ideal of mutual relationship between tourism and culture. The relationship is symmetrical, supporting each other, so tourism and culture will grow in balance and harmony or, as mentioned by Geriya (1993:32), an «interactive-dynamic-progressive relationship». This is the paradox that must be organized in balance. How the Balinese work is harmonizing the balance will be discussed in this paper. To start with, a glimpse of Balinese culture will be discussed, followed by a discussion on tourism development and tourism-culture relationship.

An Overview of Balinese Culture

Balinese culture is very complex and dynamic, so an American anthropologist, James Boon (1977:7) said that «Balinese culture [...] is a romance of ideas and actions». Even though Bali is only a small island with a relatively homogenous population from the perspective of religion, that is Hindu, it is still difficult to describe briefly what represents the Balinese culture, because there are so many local customs and cultures. These variations and diversifications are closely associated with the concept of desakala-patra (time, space, and circumstances), dictating that men must adjust themselves to time, space, and objective situation in every action. Desa-kala-patra concept is a human ecology concept, in which man and society always try to adjust to the environment that influences their lives (Rappaport 1973; Rambo 1983). As a consequence of the wide variety, elements of culture found in a certain village cannot be used to describe Bali. As stated by Barth (1993:29), in the context of Bali, «any single village, will be entirely inadequate as a specimen for understanding other communities».

Historically, Balinese culture is a hybrid of many cultural elements that have been in contact for thousand of years. Ardika (1992) found that an intensive contact between Bali and the world already took place a thousand years ago. Mantra (1993:11) said that «almost all waves of external influence of culture had colored the history of Balinese culture», such as that of China, Egypt, Japan, India, and Europe. But in taking these external cultural elements, history showed that Balinese society did not take them whole sale. The outside

cultural elements are filtered in such a way, modified in order to be fitted to Bali's environment, and then integrated into Balinese culture, so all absorbed elements become «original Bali' elements». Mantra (1993) and Geriya (1993; 1995) concluded that Balinese culture has a flexible and adaptive character. It can absorb and then manage all alien elements to enrich its own, without jeopardizing its own characteristics. In the context of flexibility and adaptive character of Balinese culture, Udayana University and Francilon (1975:732) wrote:

> From one crisis to the next it has been able to keep its balance; more, it has been capable of making the best of most crisis. The history of Balinese culture is that of syncretism; it has shown great power of resistance and adaptation to change. Indeed, the first contacts on record show that imported items were not taken-up wholesale, but were nevertheless assimilated.

The ability of Balinese culture to absorb other cultures without losing its identity, as mentioned above, is associated with the fact that the Balinese are so flexible in their interaction with the outside world. De Zoete and Spies (1973:2) wrote that the Balinese «with suppleness in mind—had enabled them to take what they want of the alien civilizations which have been reaching them for centuries and leave the rest».

This character had already been noted by Covarrubias from his research in Bali in 1933. He said that Balinese culture «creates new styles constantly, to inject new life steadily into their culture, which at the same time never loses its Balinese characteristics» (1936:255).

Balinese culture emphasizes the need of balance and harmony. This balance can be seen from tri hita karana concept. This concept dictates that the real happiness can only be achieved if humans live in balance and harmony: the balance relationship between men and supernatural beings; between men and the environment; and among humans themselves. There must be a balanced relationship between men as an individual with society (relationship among men), the balance between material and spiritual aspects (relationship between man and God), and the balance between the short term needs and the sustainable development (the balance with nature). The balance between men and their environment has already been noted by Covarrubias (1936:13), who said that the Balinese is the only tribe who has a perfect harmony with nature, and «no other race gives the impression of living on such close touch with nature, creating such a feeling of harmony between the people and their surrounding». He continued that the Balinese «regulate every act of their lives so that it shall be in harmony with the natural forces» (1936:260). De Zoete and Walter

Spies (1973:2) who stayed in Bali since 1927 and became impresarios of the revival of Balinese art added that, «the Balinese is so perfectly in harmony with his surroundings».

On the other hand, Balinese culture also recognizes the importance of the opposition or contradiction, as stated in the concept of rwa bhineda (two opposite things). However this contradiction is united in a process, so they end up in a harmony, for example an individual in society, material and spiritual, the real world and the unseen world (skala and niskala), black and white, purity and polluted, and so on.

Tourism Development in Bali

The development of Bali's tourism since the 1970s has been quite good. The development of tourism in Bali, however, as everywhere else, has undergone several ups and downs. This is clearly indicated by the development of direct arrivals to the island—direct arrival being one of the most commonly used indicators to measure tourism development. In 1970, the island received only 24,340 direct arrivals, and in 2000 this figure reached 1,412,839 Bali Tourism Management Project and Comprehensive Tourism Development Plan for Bali (1992, cf. Pitana 2002) concluded that tourism has already become the generator in the economic development of Bali, at least in the last two decades. Furthermore, Erawan (1999) said that tourism sector will still be the leading sector in economic development of Bali in the future.

The role of tourism in Bali's economy can be predicted from GRDP components. But it should be kept in mind that in statistics, data about GRDP (and the labor absorption) do not explicitly state the «tourism sector». This happens because the tourism sector is multi-sectoral, crosscutting many development sectors. It means that the related activities were statistically included in many activities of other development sectors. For example, hotels are included in the «trade, hotel and restaurant sector»; rent-a-car businesses and travel bureaus, which provide facilities for tourists, are combined in the «transportation sector»; guiding in «service sectors»; the production of souvenirs for tourists in the «industry sector»; money changers in the «banking and other financial institutions»; and so forth. Because of this, counting the contribution of tourism industry toward GRDP can only be done by academic judgment. For the case of Bali, it is obvious that the growth of those sectors is directly related to the growth of tourism.

Tourism has been the locomotive of the development of the island for decades. A study shows that 38% of job opportunities and 51% of people's income in Bali are directly associated with tourists' expenditure and tourism investment (Erawan 1999; Pitana 2002). If the

indirect impacts are included, these figures would definitely be much higher. The sector called «Hotel, restaurant, and trade» alone contributes 33% of the island's GDP in 2001. From the government side, the taxes earned from tourism, particularly «hotel and restaurant taxes» are the biggest contribution to the regional budget. In 2001, this tax achieved more than 400 billion rupiahs (app. US $ 450 million), distributed to the province's nine regencies and municipality.

The «Tree Analogy»: Harmonising the Paradox

In discussing the impact of tourism on local culture, the most common train of thought is that of opposition or dichotomy. Literatures say that tourism has a great impact in destroying local culture. This implies the assumption of a linear and one-way influence is the sense that tourism brings about a negative impact on local culture, while local culture has no impact on tourism. Furthermore, this also implies the assumption that local culture and community are passive objects that have no ability to redirect the influence (cf. Pitana 2002).

The above way of thinking was also very salient of the early stage of tourism development in Bali, as can be seen when people talk about tourism impact.

Theoretically, Cohen (1984) grouped socio-cultural impacts of tourism into: (1) impacts on the relationship and involvement of local community with community in general, including the level of autonomy or the level of dependency; (2) impacts on interpersonal relationship among members of the community; (3) impacts on the foundation of social organizations; (4) impacts on migration from and to the tourism destinations; (5) impacts on the rhythm of socio-cultural life of the community; (6) impacts on the job distribution patterns; (7) impacts on social stratification and mobility; (8) impacts on distribution of influence and power; (9) impacts onsocial deviance; and (10) impacts on arts and customs.

Impact of tourism on art, customs, and religions may be the most interesting aspects to be discussed, because tourism developed in Bali is «Cultural Tourism». Ngurah Bagus (1975) already predicted that tourism would bring a social disorganization process, either in community or family life. This would change the core of Balinese culture.

Ngurah Bagus (1989) was also afraid that the development of tourism would cause the enshallowment of Balinese cultural quality, and the lost of social forms which have already been proven as the main key of. Bali's societal integrity.

> Dalton (1990, in Picard 1990:26) supported Ngurah Bagus, by stating that:
>
> because the commercialization symptoms as one impact of tourism have already entered all

aspects of Balinese life, it is obvious now that the social and religious network of the Balinese, which is so complex, tied, and neat, finally decomposed under the impact of tourism.

Naya Sujana (1989) even wrote that today the cultural elements of Balinese are eroding slowly and then drifting to the ocean of world cultures under the traffic of tourism. In brief, it was said that Balinese culture has eroded, seen from (1) the emergence of demonstration effect, that the local community tends to imitate the life style of tourists, without considering their own culture; (2) commercialization of culture; (3) the decreasing of crafts quality; (4) profanization of sacred art, ritual ceremony and holy places; and (5) the decrease of Balinese willingness to maintain their cultural identity (Picard, 1990; Wood, 1979).

As a matter of fact, the Balinese do not put tourism and culture in a linear and one way cause-and-effect relationship. It has long been a discourse to view tourism and culture not to be in a dichotomy, but they are considered in a mutual supporting relationship, in a dynamic circular mutual influencing. Instead of dichotomy, a «tree analogy» is subscribed for this (Hassal et al. 1992). In the «tree analogy», as an expansion of the concept of cultural tourism, the root of the free, as the part that defines the life of the tree, is Hinduism. The trunk is Balinese culture in general, both tangible and intangible cultural elements. The greeny leaves that look beautiful and motivating are Balinese arts. Tourism is the flowers and fruit, which can be harvested to increase the welfare of the people. The produces (flower and fruit) are marketable, but the income earned must be reinvested back to maintain the tree as a whole. In the words of a Balinese prominent figure, «the income gained from selling flower or fruit must be reinvested to buy fertilizer, to fertilize the root. Because only if the root is healthy, the trunk of the tree can stand rigorously, and only when the trunk is erect can leaves grow well, and so forth». (Wayan Geriya, interview 1991).

By applying the tree analogy, the Balinese delicately manage balancing the paradox. No wonder, then, quite a number of sociologists and anthropologists are optimistic. McKean (1978:94) stated: «Even though the changes of social-economy are going on in Bali [...] all of them happened hand in hand with the conservation efforts for traditional culture [...] In fact tourism has strengthened the conservation, reformation, and creation process of many traditions».

McKean judged that tourism selectively strengthened local traditions through a process known as «cultural involution». Stephen Lansing (1974) said that Balinese traditional institutions have a high vitality and ability to adapt to the new conditions. It is said that tourism impact in Bali is «additive», and not «substitutive» in nature. It

means that the impacts do not cause transformation structurally, but are integrated in the life of the traditional community.

Unud and Francilon (1975) also mentioned that even though there has been substantial change in Balinese cultural configurations, the change only happened in the external layer, meanwhile the core is still intact. History has already proven that Balinese culture has always been able to undergo many crises and it was also able to maintain its harmony, and then produce the best result from every crisis. The history of Balinese culture is a syncretism history, and it has already shown high endurance and high ability to adapt to many changes.

Bagus, admits his worries for many negative impacts, also admits the fact that tourism has already given the consciousness about the value of art and culture which, in turn, pushes Balinese to preserve their culture. Tourism even has already pushed creativity in many fields (1989:17).

Selo Soemardjan said that in the 1960s, he was so worried about the future of Balinese culture because of the Western culture and modernization brought by tourism. But, in 1987 (p. 322) he found that his worries did not become a reality. Even though there is observation that the value of togetherness might decrease, it does not mean that this value is gone. Established social organizations such as desa adat (costumary village), banjar (hamlet), subak (irrigation organization), Warga (maxima clan group) and pamaksan (religious organization), are still strong with their Balinese characteristics. In many tourism areas, traditional social organizations are even stronger and more dynamic, because of the better economy brought by tourism, and the growth of self-realization (Pitana 1991, 1995, 2002). This conclusion revives Noronha's thesis, that: «the income gained from a tourist performance and sale of crafts is channeled back to strengthen the religious and temporal bonds that are the source of strength for the Balinese; the banjar and the village temples» (1979: 201).

The life of desa adat does not change in principle. If there were some changes, the change is limited in the process of efficiency. For example, the banjar activities in preparing ritual ceremony is conducted in the early morning, before the members of the banjar go to their respective working places, while in the past this was carried out at day time. From his research in Ubud, Sudiarmawan (1994) reported that desa adat and banjar adat in Ubud are getting stronger associated with tourism activities. Kawidana (1994) also found that even though agriculture is not considered as an economically promising activity, the religious activities which strengthened the existence of subak still run well. From Ubud, Mantra (1990) also saw that the change only happened at

the outside layer, meanwhile the core of desa adat system is still there. The duka activities (related to sadness, such as death and sickness) still run as well as before. Social sanction in Balinese community is still strong. From his research in Desa Adat Sangeh, Geriya (1993) concludes that desa adat is getting stronger along with the development of tourism, because the money from tourism could be used to develop desa adat. Furthermore, Geriya concludes that Desa Adat Sangeh earned economic, socio-cultural, and physical benefits from tourism. As to the socio-cultural area, tourism had made society more open, more dynamic, and the network among them widened.

With these findings from the field, there is a strong ground to say that so far Balinese culture are still strong, tying up on Balinese identity, and the worry that the knots of culture are already loosen is not true at all. Data from the field have already changed the view of people who at the begining were pessimistic about the preservation of Balinese culture. Naya Sujana, who in 1989 was so worried about Balinese identity, in 1994 concluded that his worry was untrue:

> In the process of cultural transformation today, will Balinese rock to root of their culture, customs, and religion? The answer is «no». There are social, cultural, politic, economic, and security shocks, but these shocks do not jeopardize the axes of culture, customs, and religion. The social structure of Balinese society still has dynamic endurance, so that it has flexibility to adapt to the changing environment. Social and cultural crises can still be controlled by the Balinese to return to their balance (1994:69).

Internationalization and Indigenization

Along with the increase of economic values domination, commoditization of culture can be seen clearly in all tourism destinations (Greenwood 1978), and cultural heritages have already changed their functions into tourism assets (Picard 1990). Greenwood (1978:136-137) said that «culture has been packaged, priced, and sold as other commodities [...] Eventually, this commercialization of culture has robbed human beings their meanings and values, on which they actually organized their life».

In the case of Bali, it is undeniable that art has changed a lot, and the orientation of artists is not merely religious, but more economic. Art becomes a commodity, or there is a commercialization process, in which the value of art is measured by monetary terms (the market value), the same as other commodities.

The worry about the decrease of Balinese art itself is not something new. In the 1930s, Covarrubias had already stated this worry. But around a half century later, Noronha

states differently:

> The market is flooded with woodcarvings and masks. Many of these products may offend the purists [...] but this does not mean that excellent art is unavailable or dying out or that the tourist market has affected the quality of arts and crafts manufactured for religious purposes. These flourish, as careful observers note (1979:192).

Internationalization and globalization of culture always attract questions on culture and local people's identities, because, as stated by Giddens, «transformation of self identity and globalization [...] are two poles of the dialectic of the local and global in conditions of high modernity» (Giddens 1991:32). There is a general assumption that in the process of internationalization, «the most firmly anchored identities are weakened, torn from their moorings and broken up, [...] tradition and memory are misplaced» (Lanfant 1995:8).

Tourism forces society and local culture (including Bali) to go international, and through this internationalization process, the Balinese are forced to become world citizens of a multi culture and become a touristy society. Cultural tourism makes the local community enter an area between two power poles. On one side, they have an obligation to preserve their traditions and customs, which are the commodities to be «sold»; meanwhile, on other side, the process of internationalization through tourism networks means to face that culture to the modern world (Williams 1995; Crick 1989; Francillon 1977; Picard 1990).

The internationalization process, which mainly happens through tourism activities, changes Bali as a world society with multicultural nature. At the same time, there is a simultaneous process in a reverse direction, an inward process, the process to search identity in the past, commonly called a traditionalization process. This process, among others, is indicated by the stronger movement to «back to the past», to the bond with the core of ancestral worshipping. This movement occurs in line with the increase of religiosity of the Balinese.

From several indicators, it can be said that the level of Balinese religiosity does not decrease because of the economic development and transformation of Bali toward a multicultural society. Field research in many tourist resorts show that traditional social organizations (especially banjar and desa adat) are even getting stronger, more dynamic, because of the prosperity brought by tourism. The consciousness toward self-identity also increases a process that might be called «indigenization» (Pitana 1991, 1995, 2002).

From the above phenomena, it is conclusive to say that the Balinese, consciously or unconsciously, already put into the dialogue the internationalization and

traditionalization processes to undergo a metamorphose. Seen in a long period of time, it is so obvious that the Balinese and their culture are constantly in change, but the Balinese essence is still strong. The socio-cultural change, which happens through dialogue between the power of internationalization and traditionalization, causes Balinese to undergo something like a conversion, a process which is called by Clifford Geertz internal conversion. The pressure from outside makes the search inward stronger, that is the search of self-identity. This is in line with the theory proposed by Friedman, that «Cultural identity only emerges under condition of contrast, most often conditions of opposition» (Jonathan Friedman 1993:740).

In this case, identity is not the one pictured by romantics or primordialists (Eickleman and Piscatory 1990), who define identity as something fixed: «Bali must look like Bali» or «may Bali stay true to herself». On the contrary, identity is defined as something «fluid», open to the process of reflexivity, reevaluation, reinterpretation, or reconstruction. In brief, following Lanfant et al. (1990:X), «identity is always in formulation, a constant site of struggle for those involved».

In seeing many changes in Balinese society, we should realize that change is inevitable, it is even something expected by the people. As said by Warren J. Samuel (1991:23), «the elements of culture are subject to continuous social reconstruction».

Balinese people, of course, do not want to be preserved in a static form, in a timeless society, or worse, to be a human zoo. As written by Louis Turner (1973), «it is doubtful that the Balinese will appreciate being “preserved” to salve the consciences of the World’s sentimentalists». The Balinese realize that they should adapt themselves with the changing world, and at the same time they also realize that they should maintain the continuity of their culture and identity. By following this way, Balinese continually carve and carve again their identity, and the red thread of the past is not broken. In discussing the orientation to outside (internationalization) and the orientation to inside (traditionalization), Balinese even create new traditions, or revitalize and reinterpretation the extinct one to become an invented tradition. So, besides manufacturing tradition for tourism (Wai-Tang Leong 1989:355), Balinese also do a reinvention of culture for local consumption. The same phenomena were also found in many small countries in the Pacific as reported by Toon Van Meijel and Paul Van Der Grijp (1993:36): «indigenous traditions have acquired new meanings and values. They are often revalued, reconstituted, if not “reinvented” in the search for a distinct ethnic or national identity against a background of continuously increasing global influences».

Findingds in Bali are in line with what is found by Jonathan Friedman (1993:739) that «the fourth world (indigenous society) seeks identity in its own past or cultural specificity». In this context, new traditions emerged as transformation and adaptation to new conditions of existence. And this transformation is no other than recontextualization of tradition. The local people have their own ways in this process. For the Balinese, this is done by the use of the tree analogy in adapting their culture to international tourism, so that they are able to balance the paradox, and put them in harmony.

Concluding Remarks

Tourism has been the primary industry for Bali, and for the last three decades, it has been the prime-mover of the development of the island. Tourism contributes as high as 51% of the people's income, and 38% of employment opportunities in the island is directly associated with tourists' expenditure. The role of tourism as a prime mover in socio-cultural development is also unquestioned.

Tourism developed in Bali is the so-called «cultural tourism». Then comes the paradox. Interestingly, the Balinese do not consider culture and tourism as two opposing powers. Instead, an agrarian cultural metaphor is at discourse, i.e. the «tree analogy».

By applying the tree analogy in reality, tourism is functioning more as a vehicle for cultural conservation rather than as a destroyer.

However, the existence of culture is in question, when tourism is associated with agriculture, the basis of Balinese culture. Rice farming, as the main feature of Balinese agrarian culture, is now in threat, at least from the two phenomena below.

1.Massive transformation of labor force from agriculture to tertiary sectors, particularly related to tourism activities. The willingness of the younger generation to become farmers has been drastically turned down. Becoming a farmer is the last choice — when other sectors are already locked, because of the lack of skill and knowledge.

2.Massive land conversion, from agriculture to non-agricultural uses, mainly for modern activities—hotel, restaurant, offices, and housing. Ironically, this land conversion occurred in the agriculturally fertile regions.

The other threat is the development of religious facilities which are not in line with the concept of conserving Balinese culture. The construction of non-Hindu religious facilities is very noticeable, on which the Balinese Hindu are in no position to refuse. By Indonesian rules, any religion can construct its religious facilities provided that it has at least 40 families as supporters.

In anticipating the above threats, the initiative of UNESCO, to list some parts of Bali as natural and cultural heritage is a great hope to strengthen the Balinese in conserving their culture, nature, and in turn, development of tourism sustainability. Better still, Bali as a whole can be proclaimed as a world cultural and natural heritage.

References that tourism has been constantly changing. Four major transformational phases can be suggested, each as a platform of thinking depicting an era of shifting/maturing process in this field. The first platform took force and gained voice after World War II, when many countries in Europe and elsewhere (re)discovered tourism and used it toward economic (re)construction. As several countries worldwide gained their independence in the 60s, they too quickly subscribed to it as a tool to improve their poor economic situation. Through this decade, all such beliefs about and positions on behalf of tourism—whether coming from the developed or developing countries, as well as from such institutions as the World Bank—supported and even advocated tourism as an important tool for economic development. Thus, because of this tendency, in my earlier writings I have named this period in tourism history the Advocacy Platform, for almost unconditionally promoting growth and development. Then the Cautionary Platform, voiced by those challenging the advocacy position of the 70s, argued that tourism cannot or does not necessarily lead to the economic prosperities and benefits expected of it. Citing both facts and conjectures, they further argued that tourism could even lead to many economic disbenefits and sociocultural costs. In general, this platform opposed tourism and its development. In its mildest form, it cautioned countries and destinations that tourism comes with many unwanted consequences. After the arguments of the two advocacy and cautionary platforms were heard, including some cross firing between them, a conciliatory position took shape in the 80s. The Adaptancy Platform—the general 80s pattern of thinking and action—believed that after the goods and the bads had been told, the time had come to benefit from these insights by adapting tourism to minimize its costs and maximize its benefits. During this decade, various «appropriate» forms of tourism development were introduced and advanced, including nature tourism, rural tourism, agrotourism, small-scale tourism, ecotourism, culture tourism, and many more.

The three advocacy, cautionary, and adaptancy stands led to the formation of the Knowledge-based Platform. Populated mostly by researchers/academicians, this scientification process and voice—loudest throughout the 90s—took shape and gained strength. Some of the most important advances and recognitions in tourism as a field of

study emerged during this decade, as unprecedented development lent, among other things, more strength and legitimacy to tourism study.

Granted these are four generalized snapshots of tourism's recent past (Jafari 2002), then what may be the fifth phase, if any? The new decade (actually the beginning of a new century) is only a few years old. Still, several colleagues familiar with my work have asked if I have already detected a pattern of thinking/development that might characterize the 00s, and what I might be naming its platform. In many ways, the question of what might come next relates to the theme of this forum in Havana.

Tourism Going Public

In everyone's mind, so far the biggest event of the 21st century is that of September 11th, 2001, which sent an immediate shock worldwide, with consequences still unfolding. This was also a big shock for tourism. Immediately after the incident, the industry suffered almost everywhere, at near and far destinations. The situation was so grave that even President George W. Bush loaned his face and voice to tourism's support, encouraging Americans to travel and enjoy the beauty, vastness, and richness of their country from coast to coast. Never before had tourism been shocked and weakened in this way, and never before had it witnessed this level of public sponsorship, at the highest level of the government, in this country and elsewhere. True, the real intent of President Bush was not to promote tourism as such, but instead to encourage an east-to-west and north-to-south traffic in the United States in order to signal that things after September 11th had quickly become normal. But still his presumed intent would not matter; the fact that tourism was considered so powerful a tool counts, clearly suggesting its still-hidden public importance.

As if tourism had not suffered enough worldwide, in early 2003 came another surprise: SARS. The volume of the industry was immediately reduced to less-than-bare minimum in all affected areas/destinations and their nearby regions. Soon after the SARS incident, once more high-level public faces and voices (both government and big names/popular figures)ofaffected areas—as a review of their public media would clearly show—did not sit back. Instead, they took initiatives to support/rescue their respective tourism industries. This included reacting to and even questioning WHO's alerts against travel to their countries.

Soon after the normalization of the situation, the media exuberantly reported «Vietnam, Toronto, Hong Kong, Guangdong, and Singapore all had heir turn in celebrating the much-coveted WHO-travel advisory lifting». Significantly, the voice came from peoples and groups typically outsiders to tourism systems of operation, taking «ownership» of and supporting «their» own tourism

industry, thus bringing together government and people as forces in the name of the public. This clearly signifies that people outside tourism's domain had recognized the importance of this industry to their economies and had taken firm and calculated steps on its behalf.

In addition to these developments, which brought out unusual public support for tourism, other «outsiders» such as UNESCO, UNDP, and the World Bank, though not new to tourism, appear to have increased their presence in it. Still in a different realm, the transformation of the World Tourism Organization to a specialized agency of the United Nations is quite significant. In December 2003, at its 58th session, the UN General Assembly unanimously made the World Tourism Organization a fully-fledged specialized agency of the United Nations, thus being entitled to participate as full member in the UN System Chief Executives Board for Coordination, which elaborates system-wide strategies in response to overall intergovernmental directives on economic cooperation and development. Significantly, this heightened WTO position enables it to work with the UN General Assembly, Economic and Social Council, and the Security Council, as well as giving WTO a status within the system equal to such institutions as UNIDO (UN Industrial Development Organization), UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization), ILO (International Labor Organization), FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization), and WHO (World Health Organization). This all will provide WTO and—through the UN systems of organizations—tourism with an additional public platform or international podium from which the voice or influence of tourism can reach a field, both positively and negatively. For example, one of its ill effects, sex tourism, actually made it to the speech of the President of the United States addressed to the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 23, 2003: the very global platform to which WTO and tourism now cling.

Together such intergovernmental moves as well as the concrete September 11th scar and the SARS scare suggest a public platform of diverse external agents and voices siding with or finding themselves in tourism: on behalf of peoples they represent and on behalf of the industry itself. Because of these fortunate and unfortunate developments, tourism is increasingly finding itself on outbound turfs, going public, gaining a more authoritative voice than it has enjoyed before. Perhaps this is the right time —the momentum—for tourism to literally step aside and make room for these and other influential agents to occupy the podium: to represent tourism, to voice it, to speak on its behalf, to heighten its position, to advance it in

the very arenas from which it has traditionally been absent.

With the four Advocacy, Cautionary, Adaptancy, and Knowledge-based Platforms of the past decades (each still alive and doing its respective parts), a fifth is potentially emerging: a Public Platform. Granted, the decade is too young to name a thematic pattern for it, but at least one could argue that this would be a favorable development for and in tourism. This is desirable professionally: a public platform/voice on behalf of tourism, to help it assume its legitimate/strong position—side by side with other industries—in local, national, and international circles.

The first workshop of this seminar here in Havana intends «to create an interface between public power and groups targeted by tourism». As such, the forum is calling for an interface and collaboration between relevant public agencies and business sectors. The recent incidents, as already noted, have prompted government and nongovernmental agencies, and especially citizens of destinations, to participate in voicing tourism and claiming «ownership» of it. It is important that this shift is taken advantage of so that the industry derives new homegrown roots and gains new «formal» mouthpieces. Those leading tourism as an industry and those advancing it as a field of study should be guided with the foresight of turning this brief transformational momentum into a trend (or a thrust for this decade), into a well-founded Public Platform. The deliberation of this UNESCO seminar in Havana, as this volume of conference proceedings would suggest, can shed some light on the whys and hows of this process— of building on the past achievements, but also opening the door to what tourism has evolved.

As is known to all, change and crisis are norms—not exceptions—in tourism. Despite this, the industry still waits for things to occur and then it reacts or responds to them, to deal with the problems thrown its way. The September 11th and SARS cases—both dramatic in magnitude and nature, with ripple effects worldwide—are excellent, though exceptional, examples. The typical wait-and-see practice must change. Like other well-established industries, tourism too must have an audible public voice and must function proactively: to foresee developments (positive and negative alike), to formulate options, to have in place alternatives, etc., in order to be able to influence and even shape its course ahead of time. This tourism cannot do by itself; the general absence of public voice/force/stand must be remedied.

In other words, the prevalent technique of simply react to or follow changes/deal with crises has no place in the future we have begun to sample. Even the language of the past—«crisis management» or «crisis committee»—suggests that

no contemplations or actions will take place until a destination or tourism company faces an undesirable situation. With the new Public Platform now in the air (but not landed yet), prompted by the unprecedented developments, different ways of conceiving and engineering the future of the industry must be opted for.

Tourism Observatory Commission

The yesterday's mindset, which saw the formation of as-needed (national) crisis committees / treatments only when the occasion so demanded, should be changed for a new mindset with its own «landscape» and «language». In the wake of the new platform, this calls for the formation of a Tourism Observatory Commission (TOCOM): in all countries with ongoing and forthcoming commitments to tourism to author a national scheme of their own. Such institutions as the World Tourism Organization can take the lead in developing and proposing the structure and function of this body.

The proposed commission does not react, as a crisis committee does. Instead, among other things, a TOCOM is a proactive body. Its broad-based membership must know and understand all relevant geopolitical, socioeconomic, and natural forms (as well as the traditional market-driven forces), and foresee what is to come, including what is expectable and thus planned for, and what is less probable and many «what ifs» that might occur.

To be successful, membership of a TOCOM must be made up of both public and private representations, drawn from appropriate government agencies, academic institutions, and citizen/interest groups. As already seen, many of those speaking on behalf of tourism during and since the two big incidents are not tourism's traditional spokespersons or stakeholders. As never before, governmental and nongovernmental agencies and high-profile individuals have become new tourism brokers or partners: inviting people to travel, despite the situation of the time, whether to the threatened grounds and skies of September 11th or to the SARS-affected destinations in Asia and North America. By drawing into its membership diverse representations, a TOCOM fortifies the position of tourism: shifting, repositioning, and transforming it to an industry envisioned beyond its mundane operational realms. When in 2001 and 2003 the communities/governments challenged the position of WHO in relation to SARS' travel alerts, then tourism had indeed evolved: for it was occupying a different position from that in the past, and it is in these new grounds and settings that the TOCOM program should be nested.

With the new serendipity-formed Public Platform, to which we all

must purposefully contribute, the time for the formation of the proposed Tourism Observatory Commission is upon us, with a visionary mission and an orchestrated action that can influence the future with change and crisis no longer atypical. Of course each country needs to design and operate its own TOCOM brand: one which represents and reflects its unique geopolitical position in the region/world, and one which reflects its present/ desired stage of development in tourism. And this is exactly where WTO UNDP, UNEP, and UNESCO can offer blueprints to their member countries.

The Public TOCOM Program

•Today all countries are involved in tourism: either as receiving destinations, asgenerating markets, or both. Every nation is involved, as the host and/or the guest. Tourism is universal in the real sense of the term.

•As an anthropologist once put it, tourism has become «the largest peacetime movement of peoples in the history of mankind». It is no longer a sporadic event in nature and scope.

•Despite its volatility, tourism is a very resilient industry, and it is here to stay — despite economic fluctuation, natural disaster, war, 9/11, SARS, and what have you.

•Tourism is no longer a luxury item: it is a necessity of life almost everywhere. Without tourism, bodies are drained and minds laxed. Economies—all powered by people— cannot retain the edge if their workers' batteries are drained but not recharged. Tourism has become the means of restoring equilibriums, benefiting lives both at homes and at workplaces.

•Thus, tourism is more than an industry—the limited way in which many continue to view and treat it—and the present administration of it by typical political appointees and technocrats to whom tourism means only marketing and promotion will not do.

•This industry represents more than what economics can quantify. The phenomenon called tourism has to be treated and understood beyond its present economic and operational constitutions.

•In its economics realm alone, governments have used tourism as carrot and stick, to promote tourism to friendly countries and to limit or forbid travel to "enemies". In its sociocultural realm, for example, tourism is even used to repair relationships between reconciling countries.

•The literature shows that tourism must become a locally-rooted and-driven industry in order to succeed. Destinations that have gone native are among the successful ones. And those which have succeeded have had public support, and «ownership».

•The sustainability of tourism depends more on external factors than international resources and knowledge. While past accomplishments of the industry have brought this industry to the forefront, its appeal, success, and sustenance will continue to depend on resources that belong to the host system, be they natural or sociocultural. These are the very substances continuously nurturing tourism, yet the industry does not

own or control them.

•Further, there are other external factors—way beyond tourism's reach—that control it: be it the weather, natural disorder or disaster, political maneuver and turmoil, war, economic fluctuation, and even as specific as the foreign exchange rate; and all do so whether close to its base or thousands of miles away from its operation.

•As such, tourism is a multi-dimensionaly/-faceted industry, internally developed yet externally influenced or controlled.

•It takes more than the industry—it requires a public means—to bring all layers affecting tourism into interplay. Institutions or systems larger than tourism can and must contribute to its constitution and operation

•Further, tourism, more so in the light of recent developments, has no choice but to think, plan, and operate proactively. The industry-driven forces have done all they could to build it up to flourish at this height: the takeoff time has arrived.

•Tourism being inherently inter-regional, intercultural, and externally sourced must be strategized with multidisciplinary means and repositioned for private/public collaborative options. Tourism is more than an art: the tactics of attracting, transporting, receiving, accommodating, entertaining, and serving the tourist. Significantly, tourism has

•Become a science: the dialectics of studying, understanding, and relating tourism to all that structures it and are structured by it.

•Beside the public know-whys and operational know-hows, it takes an engineered vision to bring both its hidden and manifest dimensions into interactional terrains, suggesting the domains from which necessary bodies such as TOCOM are constituted and membership for it are drawn.

> Tourism must be placed at a podium and on a platform appropriate for its global structures and penetrating functions. This is not a call for government bureaucracy, but a repositioning attempt to place tourism on higher grounds guided with informed holistic treatments (Jafari 1987).

In a nutshell, today tourism has become the epitome of the global community. It has become a gauge of national and international affairs, with its slowdowns or growths as telling indicators of the state of broader socioeconomic performances. Tourism's patterns and volumes signal the coming of both good and bad times. When it slows down, this visibly suggests that economies are weak, conflicts are breaking out, and order is being lost. And when tourism resumes its height, this also signals something else: that the weakness has turned to strength and the disorder to resolution.

Should a country leave the making of this phenomenon and the reading of it as a barometer to the tourism industry? Informed participation of the public in tourism is not a choice; it has actually become a must. The proposed

Public Platform and the Tourism Observatory Commission as its executing agency can show and pave the road ahead for what tourism is all about.

Tourism should be proud of its past accomplishments. In a short time span, as its history clearly demonstrates, tourism first elevated itself to the rank below that of oil, then at par with it, suddenly above it, and it is now positioned as the largest industry in the world. But research also suggests that sustaining this position is clearly beyond its own ways and means.

Obviously each country needs to determine the level and participation of its many institutions in the making and functioning of its tourism industry and what should constitute its TOCOM body: all placed in foresightful parameters. This way, the visionary mission of the tourism commission operates—in a grounded and contributing fashion—within the national framework, fully understands its sociocultural raison d'etre, works within its limits, protects the host natural and cultural heritage, respects wants and needs of its community, works in respect to its unique geopolitical position, pursues well-informed goals, opts for tourism forms compatible with its whole, develops operational scenarios for both foreseeable and unforeseeable turns, and—significantly— treats tourism not just as an industry, but also as an important activity benefiting the community, yet connecting and contextualizing all: into the global village in which different nations of the world have taken membership.

There is no other way to say this: sustainability of tourism lies outside its traditional parameters, and so do its predictable and unpredictable futures. Tourism—as a sociocultural phenomenon, as an economic tool, as a geopolitical force, as an institutionalized practice at and away from home—is too important to be left to itself, unguided in the hand of the industry alone. The public platform has a job to do, and all that ahead of it.

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Tourism and New Forms of Cultural Interactions in Moroccan Medinas

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For at least two decades, we have been frequent witnesses to ever increasing social and economic transformations, which change the concept, the organization and distribution of labor, at least in developed countries. These changes unavoidably evolve toward a better rearrangement of professional activities and a reduction of the time devoted to working. Indeed, the main beneficiary is leisure and its corollary, tourism, which shows a growing vitality. However, although it is true that men and women have more time to travel and have fun, with the help of the competition, their expectations and demands in this sense are even more specific. Competition as to tariffs and transportation regarding the provision of attractive destinations—perfectly capable of providing evasions—has become a trump card of cardinal importance for tourism in countries for which the standard of living is a substantial financial incentive. Nevertheless, the most substantial aspect is indeed the emergence of an attentive tourist demanding an exceptional holiday and, why not, an authentic immersion in the host country's culture. In addition, holidays in mountain shelters or in Moroccan «ryads»[1] are becoming exceptionally attractive internationally. In the past, Moroccan medinas (ancient quarters) always resisted foreign intrusion. Although they offered their hospitality to transient visitors, until a very recent past, they remained the privileged territory of the nationals. However, for the last 10 to 15 years, they have been the object of a

growing tourist demand. Nowadays, the medina of Marrakech, a city of strong tourist influx, will have to undergo a learning process regarding cultural interference—in terms of habitat—since the ryads have become lodging places. By doing so, the tourist wants to have a direct and natural immersion in a traditional—not to say archaic—universe, if only to have the impression of traveling in time and space. Also, in those spaces through and through Moroccans prefer, an intra-cultural space now offers (?) /opens up (?) / exposes (?) /confronts (?) the presence of the Other not without changing, captivating and even modifying certain essences of a way of life, a memory and an imagery which in daily life relive an intrinsic ancestral atmosphere.

It is important to study such phenomenon to analyze cultural diversity's way of operation as disseminated by the tourist and/or cultivated by the native. A situation that is receptive to dialogue can turn into disruption and deaf cohabitation, insidious and unspeakable intolerance. Our purpose is to bear witness based on a survey «Tourism, Development and Cultural Environment» carried out by our students from the DESS that concluded with reflections on the far-reaching interactions between tourism and culture.

Despite a natural and perfectly spontaneous cohabitation and although the tourist flow treads the narrow alleys daily, disturbing the secrets of an art of living both enigmatic and strange for the tourist, until very recently, Marrakech's medina preserved itself from the de-culturation that spreads in its flanks the virus of modernity that is now totally natural in most of the large cities.

Transforming ryads into pensions has become a fashion with an unprecedented international success from the very beginning. It is also the jet set's latest discovery and, the dream of every tourist seeking a custom made plan. The ryads—a traditional type of house—were inhabited, until that moment, by the last of the Moroccan families, proud of their attachment and fidelity to a genuinely Moroccan way of life and zealous defenders of their ancestral tradition. Now, these ryads attract an absolutely delighted and enthralled tourist clientele as much for their architecture as for the myths that such a dwelling has been able to generate in their imagery.[2]

This type of house, exciting and seductive, is also, and amazingly, paradoxical. There is an evident contrast between the austerity of the exterior and the refinement of the interior and architectural decoration that we discover once we cross a winding and, as a rule, not very amiable corridor. On the other hand, this is the principle of these typically traditional dwellings, an intimate, discreet and even secretive character, if we are to consider the way of life in a medina in the light of the principles of continence and of not displaying the signs of economic

affluence. On the contrary, the more sober and understated the exterior, the more surprising and impressive the interior.

Which are the elements that make the ryads nowadays a favorite dwelling for tourists? To understand that seduction, it is important first to remember certain specificities of this type of dwelling. The term ryad,[3] literally meaning «garden», is a house built around a central open enclosure or patio, made up by four small and symmetrical flowerbeds around a small fountain. At least such is the classic outline that prevails even when each ryad is as unique as it is exceptional. The rectangular rooms, with thick walls, and a double central portal turned toward the water fountain, provide coolness in contrast with the warm arid climate. The handcrafted decoration doesn't lack ingenuity. Roofs are in colored or etched wood. Stucco friezes are worked with an infinite finesse. Zellijs are set in complicated and harmonious patterns. Multicolored and warm stained-glass windows... Even the less distinguished ryads with more modest decorations show an unquestionable refinement. This architectural milieu, at once closed and open, set in the rigor of the concept and the elegance of the decor, invites immediately to seclusion while offering a singular retreat generating serenity and quiet.

The Ryad seduces tourists because they are buying, above all, an art of living. Here one takes the time to live to the rhythm at which the water flows; we allow ourselves to be gently rocked by a refreshing breeze when the sun descends and the house becomes a true oasis of light. That is the time of the day in which the flowers of the orange tree invade the atmosphere with their spring perfume, competing with the aroma of spices flowing from the kitchen, caressing our taste buds with the scent of blended spices mixed with meats and vegetables that are lightly sautéed over some embers to the mellow cadence of the female owner of such an inner space.

The whole ambience is what attracts tourists in ever increasing amounts. The medina has also generated a rush of foreign investors, increasing the feverish proliferation of the ryads turned into lodges (RL)[4] with all the repercussions that the phenomenon unchains or implies at the level of permeability and cultural resistance.

The first question we are entitled to ask is how a medina like Marrakech, fountain of an ancestral way of life and cradle of the old civilization of the Maghreb, perceives the intercultural situations stemming from the existence of the RL? How does the ancient quarter adapt or, on the contrary, resist this type of cultural interaction?

To answer this question, we prefer to draw from a questionnaire filled in by Moroccan families, owners or lessees of houses located near the RL, in a radius of not more

400 sq. km.[5] Apart from the elements identifying the diverse components of the situation of the survey, the questions asked had the following objectives:

- To make an inventory of the places where the olds ways of life are preserved, vis-àvis the exchanges and the very specific good neighborly duties of the native population in the medinas;

- To identify the nature of the exogenous components that are grafted into the original situation, due to the emergence of the RL and the interference of a population that has another culture, radically divergent or at least partially unaware of the autochthonous culture;

- To analyze the impact and the reactions brought about by tourism on at least two generations (parents/children) at the level of the elementary behaviors and regarding their mentality and outlook;

- To identify the nature of the relationships between the native residents and their new foreign neighbors in order to evaluate and to study the phenomena of cultural interaction between the tourist and the habitat, and possibly their repercussions as to the future of the medinas.

Our questions and verifications stem from the idea that a harmonious and well established cultural interaction cannot be built but from the principle of coexistence and a joint consensus between fibers that, although different in nature, are prepared, however, to be knitted into a common work, through a respectful and reciprocal dialogue.

In the case of the RL, there are as many elements capable of securing the complicity between the intermediate milieu and the new lodging places of the tourists in a medina— in terms of gregarious cultural interactions—as potential spots of conflict and of precarious sensitivities.

The quantified results of the survey[6] and the reflections it may raise are multiple, far-reaching since they are food for thought, and may lead us to undertake actions in order to check the problem in its phase of expansion.

Indeed, traditional practices still active in a medina are governed by common habits and are the basic rules to build any sustainable cultural interaction and reciprocal exchanges. Now then, these standards are not always perceived by the tourists, nor are they scrupulously respected by the proprietors of the RL´s.

Hence, a certain number of pretexts and reasons emerge to break the dialogue. According to Faiçal Cherradi, delegate of the Ministry of Cultural Matters, architect, inspector of Marrakech's Historical Monuments and Sites and in charge of the conservation of our heritage, the amount of ryads that have increasingly become lodging places may modify the residential structures of the quarter and may also generate inconveniences for the native dwellers. Also, since the

investors are in a rush to acquire these houses within the old walls, real estate speculation has soared, prompting the native owners to sell their ancient houses all the more because they don't have the necessary means to renovate them.

All objective observers agree on recognizing that the new way of life in a medina can becomed barrier to cultural interactions whose prognosis as a whole is as difficult as the evaluation of all the repercussions on the future of such heritage. The disagreements between the RL and the traditional urban structures of the medinas begin with the apparent demarcations regarding the functional relationship between both systems. As an example, we could mention the issue of the sewerage network of a medina, which was not conceived for such a big number of bathrooms[7] added to the renovated ryads. The amounts of private pools that have been built to turn these houses into small hotels are much less probable to have a functional symbiosis. These pools are not only incongruent with the limited sewerage capacity, but they also worsen the lack of water, a frequent problem in the medinas. As if this were not enough, when they are built on terraces, the pools sometimes have leakage problems with a negative impact on the most fragile ancient dwellings.

To make matters worse, as the terraces communicate with each other, they present a problem since the visitors infringe on the privacy of the neighbors who are not always receptive to that type of life. The terraces of the RL are typically used as a high place where to have a cup of tea or an appetizer, to make a meal, simply to take the sun or to admire the roofs and landscapes of the ancient city.[8]

Also, it is contemptuous to believe that these elements are not direct components of cultural interactions. It is important to underline that, at least, in the case of the ancient quarters of Marrakech, the ingredients of a peaceful cultural interaction are present at the level of the daily life of those two cultural universes which adjoin and bring about insidious resistance whose effects are not immediately quantifiable.[9]

A certain plot of silence had been contrived for what we may describe as «corruption» in the guise of a neighbor, either to assure his complicity or to coax or even to acquire the average house offering a seductive price and allowing, by doing so, to carry out the most eccentric dreams, to recall Medina.[10] The power of money, the pressure of the demand, the urge to sell feed both cultural asthenia and an excessive bidding. If this trend continues unimpaired in such an anarchic manner and with the apathy of the different stakeholders, the ancient quarters run the risk of losing their souls there. In the next 20, 30 or 40 years they could turn into the ghost/museums of a medina, besieged by the dusty relic

of its ancient history, and become mere hotel appendages. Where is the respect for cultures? What is going to happen with a cultural interaction, which sows but only harvests the antithesis?

How to make a prospective analysis when the native population in question suffers the pressures and seductions of a conquering West whose reach and power of fascination are still powerful? Better still, how to appreciate the true value of the impact of such phenomenon on the population in terms of cultural interaction when the stakeholders, both men and women, are not qualified for making their economic contribution and that of cultural prejudices?

The feeling of annoyance, although not always directly manifest, is not absent at all. The native, discreet and resigned by nature and temperament, has a tendency to keep silent. When we ask about it, he feels uncomfortable to express aloud his strong critical opinion. Frequently he will only make insinuations. However, their concern is expressed more easily when speaking of cultural antagonisms, the essential element of their imaginary representations.

On the other hand, the tourist—a foreigner by definition—not knowing the essence of customs or the most elementary rituals, not even the autochthonous sensitivity, unintentionally, is bent to behave in a certain way that attracts attention, to doing things that shock and at times disturb and irritate the Other. Unwittingly, they tend to exhibit a luxury that is in sharp contrast with the modest standard of living of the native population. Those are some of the many elements that favor the silent stress in a conservative population that furthermore tends to react to the modernity of the new city, all the more rightly because such modernity totally disrupts their traditional behavior, rituals, myths and imaginary representations.

In fact, foreigners do nothing else than surrender to all the perfectly banal and ordinary practices in a conventional hotel structure, without suspecting that they may be bothering and hurting their neighborhood's sensitivity. Not to mention those cases in which ordinary attitudes are perceived as lack of courtesy by one or the other. Likewise, the lack of rigor as to modesty frequently creates true cultural abysses between the discreet inhabitant that has many reservations and was educated in a culture of propriety, decency and restraint. To this, we must add that the tourist, rightfully, lives in a world that is his own. How to act, then, in such context to encourage cultural interactions knowing that the Western culture—which the tourist innocently distills in his travels—encourages the liberalization of the customs, invites to the emancipation from rigid or conventional traditions, encourages the eradication of taboos, admits the exhibition of the female nudity, plays down the importance of the body and promotes its liberation?

On the other hand, rumors are circulating. Certain newspapers report there is a certain RL that feeds pedophilia networks, and that others are centers of male or female prostitution, clubs in which to exchange couples or where pornographic movies are filmed.[11] These practices crop out a little in any place in the world; but what makes them even more intolerable in these places, if their existence were to be demonstrated, is that they infiltrate in the hearts of populations up to then safe from the perversions of modernity (although they may have known others) which could lead to contagion or moral degradation, or in contrast, could bring about reactions of resistance or aggressiveness towards the tourist. In any case, potential deterrents for healthy cultural interactions are not uncommon, far from it.

Furthermore, the economic incentives and the renovation of a wasted heritage should not make us forget the relentless impact on people and on memory. When coldly analyzing imported cultural manifestations and taking into account the tangible and intangible heritage of a medina, what conclusion could be derived from these positive and negative events attributable to the action of tourism within the walls of the ancient quarters vis-à-vis the potential for self-restraint or receptiveness, of tolerance or rupture, blocking or exchange, resistance or reciprocal intercultural coexistence? How can the processes of interaction function in the midst of such cultural diversity? Which are the challenges to be confronted by the native inhabitant? How important and relevant are cultural identities in a situation of factual cultural interaction, for those who essentially live off their authenticity capital which tourism controls and curtails? The results of the survey in such a situation is that the presence of the Other involves diverse complex factual elements:

- As a backdrop, memory is never radically disconnected from certain historical data, which tend to be updated by means of interposed images. Therefore, the complex of the ex-colonial surfaces when certain elements lead the stakeholder to reconsider his stand vis a vis the Other and to reconsider inequality and the permanent questioning of himself from a negative angle.

- Cultural components can play a double game according to the circumstances. Taking into account their fragility, they can be exacerbated and condensed into a capital of terrible affliction if they center on the difference and exacerbate a negative identity. But as the foreigner also stirs up a certain excesses, the intercultural factor may also favor an extraordinary quest for proximity.

- Economic hegemony with all the imbalances and pressures it generates multiplies the complexity of the relationships between men bringing to light certain manifest contrasts which are frequently intolerable.

In spite of all those reservations and reticence that it is important to take into consideration and to negotiate in terms of specific, prospective and programmatic actions, the RL can sow some germs of cultural coexistence between both parties concerned. Indeed, both the people who were surveyed and sensitive observers recognize that the attraction of the RL has certain advantages which could be used in order to build more or less durable exchange relationships between the authentically Moroccan population and the tourists. It is not the case of launching a crusade in favor of promoting tourist inflow, but we cannot underestimate its contribution in a city where tourism represents a first-rate economic activity. Marrakech comes out proud of the luster and the indirect publicity that the RLs generate internationally. This type of lodge is a plus as to the diversity of the tourist offer and its adaptation to the demands of custom-made holidays. Also, and according to the owners of the RLs, this type of lodging tends to have a loyal clientele. Without forgetting that the RLs have become an encouragement for investments, and a true persuasive instrument for the renovation of a heritage to which many stakeholders attach little importance. Therefore, it is important to analyze and to evaluate the means of turning the RLs at least into modest cultural bridges.

Certain owners have carried out true renovation work and, at times, even true restorations, contributing to the safeguarding of this fragile heritage and improving the environment. On the other hand, the tourist, very sensitive as to the exotic quality and the appearance of an ancestral and authentic culture, feels privileged to be surrounded by a genuinely Moroccan architecture and human ambience.

How to transcend the economic apportionment to promote better cultural interactions of coexistence and turn tourism into a driving force of cultures and turn our backs to noxious hierarchies?

Tourism, just as cultural interaction, could have in common a quest for symbolic references. However, although the former has a tendency to be nurtured—essentially but not exclusively—by estrangement and exoticism, on the other hand, the latter generally rejects such an exchange centered in bringing out the differences. It concentrates, above all, in cultivating intrinsic values. Tourism in general, as it is practiced today, looks at us from a superior or distant level while intercultural exchange requires a vision free from all hierarchical ideas or principles. There is ample evidence that the representations of common tourism essentially stem from a body of literature, which tends to overvalue the North and discredit the South. The mass media feeds and reinforces such perceptions, which become an obstacle for social and cultural balance, and they even inculcate the idea of a discriminatory

structure of relationships. There are certain identities that prevail under the counter,[12] which hinder healthy intercultural dynamic leading to peaceful tourism.

Nobody doubts that it is unnecessary to encourage utopian illusions. Tourism does not bring about miraculous solutions. Neither is it an irreproachable instrument as to its capacity to damage cultures. Nevertheless, it can also unchain mechanisms for the common use of cultures. Luckily, it is a delicate proximity addendum to complex components that otherwise operates between categorically different human groups. In addition, this generates better possibilities of turning cultural interaction—with all the counteractions implied—into a well-founded and durable relationship. The bond called to support cultural exchange is stated in terms of disparity, imbalance, and even under cultural and economic pressures. Resistance is certainly preponderant and tenacious in a traditional context, proud of its ancestry and zealous of safeguarding its intangible heritage. Moreover, this resistance is not by any means an expression of xenophobia or disheartened reception. On the contrary, it is a strong message since it attests to the awareness of a symbolic heritage and of a cultural authenticity that deserve to be preserved. This resistance, it should be stressed, is furthermore both intra-cultural and intercultural.

Unquestionably, when tourists are sent off into a foreign context without an objective preparation,[13] although in truth they will receive a dose or an overdose of estrangement and exoticism, this does not mean that they will benefit from the cultural exchange leading to a harmonious and reciprocal coexistence.[14] The establishment ofmechanisms and of deep cultural dynamics does not operate at all just by request, far from it. Tangible and intangible spaces are two entities that are not governed by the same rules, and much less by social and cultural representations easily accessible to the Other. Although it is true that there are populations residing and living inside the ancient quarters of Marrakech maintaining an ancestral memory that continues to be alert and alive, it is also true that their cultural environment inclines them to be hospitable and kind encouraged by the spirit of coexistence, although, on the other hand, their cultural tradition inclines them to a certain imperviousness in their relation with the Other, an attitude driven by the instinct of safeguarding memories.

On the other hand, young people, more or less destabilized by generation conflicts, disappointed by the frustration of many of their dreams and ideals, besieged by unemployment, excited by the West's seduction/repulsion, are vulnerable in another sense. Among the fascinations brought by a Westerner to the threshold of their modest situation and/or the rejection

they may inspire due to the inequalities and the sensitivity that various pressures exacerbate, their reactions are as varied as potentially passionate. What to make of that West that is so near, so distant when it adopts the physiognomy of a tourist-neighbor? A neighbor that certainly is not as the other ones, if only because of the cultural disruptions and probably also some ingredients of potential provocation?

As tourism, and more specifically ecological tourism, absorbs successful opportunities to make men meet and become involved in an exchange favorable to harmony, the anarchical and massive exploitation of the ryads turned into lodging places creates a world of balanced cohabitation with a tolerance that drags with it feelings of distance, of reservation, even of cultural enclaves.

In real or fictitious encounters that have taken place in identifiable or imaginary spaces of interaction, do memories store representations and thoughts in their intimate labyrinths in order to urge and encourage spontaneous and even innate behaviors?

Keeping in mind all these wily cultural interactions, and considering the distance from one way of life to the other, would it be necessary to regard tourism as a transmission/ transmutation factor that builds bridges between cultures or is it rather a transaction where the native has to put up with the other? Which public actions could hold this phenomenon in check in order to go off in the opportune moment for the sake of cultural exchange? What strategies and cultural mediators are there to turn tourism into a complement to inter-cultural coexistence among the peoples?

To rid ourselves from dependence or at least from the sensation that there is a submission of some to others, through the relations of force and/or cultural pressures, it is important to analyze and to invent supports and communication mediators between the tourist and the native inhabitant with dynamics based on respect and reciprocity. The harmonious conjunction of two worlds is obviously one of the cornerstones, even a leverage of balance that we must build or consolidate so that men from the North and the South may find a certain vital serenity to their futures beyond passionate and active confrontations. The other, the West that comforts/ upsets, excites/jeers, excites/deceives the vicinity of the RL, keeping in mind the historical inheritance and the geopolitical situation, is part of and makes up the vision of ourselves.[15] The imposing impact of such an active West, a set of archetypes of itself and of the Other, arise among a steady weakness and feelings of supremacy and frustration that emerge in the opacity of the unspeakable in a medina. The anguish of an alter ego to be endured is contiguous or adjacent with the enjoyment or the

appraisement of oneself through the average Other that is overestimated on the cultural interactions, which are virtually omnipresent in the representational schemes.

We could ask ourselves the following question: What images of themselves do natives generate as a result of this close contact? How do they perceive themselves through the images that the tourist, as a passer-by, transmits? How do they see themselves and in what way are they reflected in the Other's mirror?

Challenges as well as identity references do not come out unharmed from this exchange. Above all, when the autochthonous identity, as is the case in the neighborhood of the RL, is more or less lived in passivity, while, in general, the Other is acclaimed more or less as an exemplary archetype.[16] Furthermore, globalization corroborates the prescribed model. Contrariwise, even within the most privileged it generates the wish to search for what is different and the desire of preserving not only identity but also intellectual sensitivity. Obviously, a culture that feels exploited, used, deeply criticized and neglected reacts by barricading itself behind its bulwarks. Could this happen in the long term in the medinas if the RL continue making headway, with no concern on the part of those responsible for the evolution of cultural sensitivities and the set of transformations whose scope we can't evaluate nowadays?

If the image of oneself induces a certain behavior, it also stigmatizes a type of relationship of man with his identity and intangible heritage. Therefore, we wonder, regarding this complex situation, on the harmonious forms of cultural interaction which could be generated by such a situation and re-think tourist investment starting from the reciprocity of respect again and the taking in consideration of values and beliefs.

The matter is to know if, ultimately, the issue of lodging tourists in a space that it not naturally their own may function as means of interaction among men in favor of an intercultural dialogue and not as a simple precarious cohabitation and tolerance in the long run. In other words, it is important to take into account that the environment involved in the long run may, not only integrate the legitimacy and the usefulness of potential exchange for the present and the future, but also its conviction of an absence of prejudice and threat of any kind as to the survival of the tangible and intangible heritage. Controlling the tourist influx is as important as the complicity of all sensitive stakeholders, concerned at the same time for their development and for their safeguard.

It would be equally timely to think or to re-think about that modality of lodging as a form of dialogue, not only to establish bridges of reciprocal knowledge, but also to better appreciate the cultures

and civilizations in the perspective of making prevail cultural interactions which promote an opening-up, instead of being centered exclusively in certain specificities that cause disruptions and/or confrontations. A well-reasoned exploitation of the RL would, in certain cases, represent a bridge for dialogue among modern and traditional cultures and in that direction, the medinas would be a stirring example.

Endnotes

[1] Traditional houses, within the walls of the ancient quarters, more specifically in the so called imperial cities of Fez, Meknes and Marrakech.

[2] The paradise promised to good Muslim believers is—and it is good to keep this in mind—a garden full of lush greenery in which a generous water spring flows in the shade of a flowerbed from which a marvellous odour stems. If the celestial garden is the synonym of the last glorification of a true Muslim, it is above all the counterbalance of the prohibited terrestrial pleasures and a symbolic complement of a sublime reward for the abstinence and serenity of a good practitioner. The structure of a ryad tends to be centered on a mythical garden. In every case it surrenders easily to virtual transference of the promised paradise. But the orientalist and phantasmagoric transposition of this symbol for the Western imagery is all the more easier when the search for things foreign and exotic strangle the terrestrial and cosmological representations. The closed/open garden, zealously guarded by its architecture, spurs fantasy and therefore, inner evasion to heaven is the support of contemplation here and there. Are ryads with their secret gardens a context for meditation and pleasure, a place to link both the sacred and the profane? Probably all of this, the art of being and of living in touch with the imagery is what attracts and seduces.

[3] Evidently, it is difficult to define precisely the origins of the Moroccan ryad. For Quentin Wilbaux («Marrakech, le secret des maisons jardins», ACR, 1999), the archaeology of the gardens is still to be demonstrated. «We have then to be contented for the moment being with analyzing old texts and with the results of “classic” archaeology to get to know private gardens of the oriental tradition. The Persian origin of the closed garden has never been doubted [...] therefore, can they be considered archetypes of the Muslim ryad? The axial four part distribution is an essential peculiarity that here is not apparent» (p. 66). Furthermore, we tend to consider «the house with an inner patio as the heritage of Greek and Roman traditions that the Islam adopted, developed and disseminated in the Mediterranean. However, research conducted in the Near East have uncovered the ground plans of houses with inner patios that for some belong to the 4th century, in which the rigorously symmetric composition and axial distribution of the rooms surrounding a central space seem to prefigure the Muslim model [...] Well adapted to a warm temperate climate, the house with a patio developed throughout the Mediterranean, and was adopted and adapted by its diverse civilizations, it conjugated in innumerable ways and it would be imprudent to pretend to dismember the web of influences that are observed from one model to the other» (p. 60). André Bazzana who has written works about the medieval habitat of Spain, arrives at the following conclusion: «in the world of Islam and perhaps in a Mediterranean world whose sources are in the ancient Near East, the central space of the house is the sociological and cultural

core around which the rooms are organized opening towards a spring that in El Wast eddar or wast al-hus is in fact the heart of the house, the main element around which the life of the family is organized» (Maisons de Al Andalous, Q. Wilbaux, op. cit., p. 62). And then Quentin Wilbaux make the following question: «Was the traditional habitation model in Morocco imported belatedly from Muslim Spain or the evolution of Maghrebian and Andalusian models was a parallel and supplementary one? The problem is not settled» (p. 62). «A closed garden from the 10th century was brought out in recent excavations in Belyounech, near Ceuta. This garden, surrounded by small irrigation channels does not have, however, the classic division of four flowerbeds as in the classic ryad, but bears witness to the existence of a traditional private garden in Morocco before the Almoravid creations of Marrakech where the Andalousian influence is evident» (p. 68).

[4] Since the early ´90s, foreigners have been buying ryads with the purpose of refurbishing them and turn them into second homes. It is a growing trend even when at the beginning it is an eclectic process. In the spirit of pioneers, it is a way of living «inside» in an Arab-Berber and Muslim ambience, to soak up the culture and elude the role of the classic—not to say silly—tourist. However, the owners that did not use their ryads full time, started to rent them to a restricted circle of persons, who nonetheless made themselves be felt. After 1995, the tourist vocation of ryads becomes evident, with an increasing demand. We have seen the arrival of Moroccan and foreign promoters and the proliferation of ryads turned into lodges. The rate of remodelling is high after the ´90s. At present, the RL have become valuable objectives for investors and tourists, above all, the wealthy, artists, and people seeking personal service. They became an incentive for tourism.

[5] Survey carried out in March 2003 by the students of the DESS: «Tourism, Development and Cultural Environment» from the Cadi Ayyad University of Marrakech (Morocco).

[6] In press.

[7] The use of the communal hamman, highly appreciated by the population, reduces the frequency of private bathrooms while offering a better quality to the user.

[8] Remember that the terrace in a medina is a mythical female space, a place for retreat that is loosing its cultural function. The RLs impel and accelerate this process. In the old days, all the discreet life of women, their full personality, the release of their phantoms, their silent rebellion were carried out in the roofs which represented a true drive belt between women who were supportive allies. In truth, the past is only but a myth that the RLs are attempting to erase definitively.

[9] In general, although certain owners make efforts to respect the rules as to the transformation of the old dwellings, most of them do not feel under the obligation to adhere to the elements of traditional architecture. Once the media brought out the problems, the possible present and future damages are no longer hidden. They specially denounce payments that are frequently made abroad, in foreign currency, claiming that there are no guarantees for the repatriation of the foreign currency. For Abou Réda this opens the door to all type of abuse and favouritism for foreign promoters. («Les maisons d´hôtes: nécessité absolue de séparer le grain de l´ivraie», Friday, L'Opinion, June 28th, 2002, p. 5).

[10] The building of swimming pools or the erection of huge tents in the Caid style on the terraces, luxurious pavilions. [11] «Survey: 6500 dinars a «hot» night in a ryad in Marrakech», L´Economiste, Monday, April 22nd, 2002, p. 3. [12] A

summary report by Nouredine Affaya during the International Colloquium on «Intercultural, Bilan et Perspectives» (Barcelona, November 2001) and with the objective of «rejecting wars between civilizations» and to overcome «civilization conflicts» asserts that to reach the objective «presupposes understanding the diverse factors which hinder or deform intercultural processes, such as the implementation of identity policies, xenophobia, racism, etc and eluding any type of dissociation or injustice on behalf on the supremacy of identity or an hegemonic difference. In: «Intercultural, bilan et perspectives» Colloquium, organized by the CICOB Foundation, published by UNESCO, Paris,
2002, p. 65.

[13] Imaginary representations are frequently more or less saturated by the media's opinion.

[14] The tourist guides that most of the tourists consult are not efficient to generate a rapprochement
between men, not even are they neutral. Very frequently with the best of intentions, the authors will do anything to keep their clients (tourists) and fill them with warnings and advice which only keep them within their own cultural sphere. Likewise, their outlook on a foreign culture is superimposed by elements of the tourist's own culture. Better still, the choice of certain preferred topics (women, Islam, Ramadam, ritual bargaining) turning them into folksy caricatures in order to have a high yield of exoticism brings forth the most extraordinary parody and also probably the more damaging for healthy and serene cultural interactions. The absence of balanced representations is the first factor that suggests a mistaken view of the native culture and to institute links that go from distrust to phantasmagorical considerations.

[15] Let us be precise in saying that the West is multiple, and that it is also a centre of contradictions and paradoxes which have an impact in the Magreh.

[16] We can also think of the need to demystify imposing and rigid models.

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Locating Tourism in Sustainable Heritage Development Darjeeling Himalayan Railway (DHR)

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A review of the literature suggests Darjeeling is an old hill station in India and has attracted visitors and writers from all over the world. It is famous for Darjeeling Tea. Located midway between Calcutta and Lhasa, it is right on one of Asia's great cultural fault lines. To the south is the predominance of Hinduism and to the north is Buddhism. While travelling on DHR, a transition can be experienced in ethnography, cultural landscapes and architecture. The population profile changes from mainly Bengali to a mixture of Sikkimese, Tibetan, Bhutanese and Plains Indian. There is also a geographical change from the heat of the densely populated fertile plains to the sub-zero conditions of the spectacular Himalayas.

Darjeeling in the past was part of Sikkim, which is sandwiched between Nepal, Tibet and Bhutan. It lost the eastern lands to the Bhutanese in 1706. The Gorkhas occupied the rest in 1780 after establishing their sovereignty over Nepal. The Tibetans held back the Gorkha advance northward into Tibet. Their southward advance brought them into conflict with the British colonial rulers in 1813 that led to a series of wars. The Chogyal King of Sikkim in 1835 handed over the mountain spur, on which Darjeeling is located, to the British. The dominant ethnic group is Nepali. The rest are Bhutias (Sikkimese, Sherpas, Dhrukpa and Tibetan-Bhutias), Lepchas (Kamba and Rongpa), Tibetans, Mechis (from Bhutan and Dooars area and inhabiting the Terai area), Rajbansis (inhabitants in the Terai) and other groups, such as Santhals, Chota-Nagpuris, Peshwaris, Afghans, Kashmiris, Jews, Christians, Chetties. The Bhutias live in a locality called Bhutia-Busty, popular for dragon mask dances. They derive their descent from the

Tibetans and Sikkimese who came to this area and the aborigines i.e. Lepchas.

Darjeeling is in the state of West Bengal but Bengali is not necessarily spoken or understood in this area. The dominant belief system is Buddhism. Different people here are often known by their social groupings as Limboo (home between Mechi and Arun river), Jimdar or Karati (inhabitants of trans-Arun region), Newars (clerks), Mangars (soldier group), Gurungs (shepherds), Khambas, Murmirs, Limbus, Yakhas, Jimdars, Sunwars (goldsmiths), Kamis (blacksmiths), Damae (tailors), Sarki (workers with leather), Jharti (erstwhile «slaves»), Tamangs (descent of Nepalese and Bhutias), Mochi (cobblers), Dhobi (washer men). The barber may also be the village doctor.

Forests play a crucial role in the livelihood of the local communities, influencing food, agriculture, settlement and lifestyle patterns. Population growth has increased pressure on forest resources and soil productivity. According to a study in 1997, a typical village has about 50 households (5-6 persons each) arranged in hamlets. It is not electrified and is connected to the nearest sealed road by an all weather steep dirt road. The villagers walk about 5 kilometres to the nearest market and about 18 kilometres to the weekly market. Children are more literate. The village community centre has a primary school and the middle school is about two hours walk from here. Water is supplied from nearby springs and streams for domestic needs and irrigation. Women fetch water in pots and collect wood for fuel. A tap may be available to a cluster of households.

Primary health centres are on average fifteen kilometres away from the hamlets. Night soil from public and private toilets is collected in drums. Darjeeling has a sewage system connected to a few septic tanks, some of which are defunct. This covers a very limited number of households. Others have to install private septic tanks, which either have soak pits or are directly connected to nearby Jhoras (waterfalls). Garbage disposal is done in a similar manner. The rural poor have little or no access to information and hardly participate in public policy and planning.

DHR World Heritage Development

It is within this context that UNESCO had inscribed the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway (DHR) as a World Heritage Area in December 1999. Until the commencement of this project in January 2002 the local people, including the DHR workers, were not aware of the World Heritage inscription. The National Rail Museum made a presentation on the inscription at the South Asia Seminar of the Asia Pacific Executive Board of the International Council of Museums in Bhopal, January 2000. The focus of the Seminar was on heritage tourism and sustainable development, modelled on a similar event in post-apartheid South Africa.[1] One of the recommendations of the Seminar was to hold a project at Darjeeling to consider its significance as a World Heritage Area and the possibilities for bringing the neighbouring communities together for the sustainable development of the area without compromising its conservation values.

Discussions were held with

UNESCO office in India and the Indian National Commission for UNESCO. It was proposed that the project could be organized as a follow-up to the workshop entitled «Darjeeling—Past, Present and Future» held from the 17th to the 19th December 1997. This paper is based on a development of the project, which is on-going. This project is an on-going strategic partnership jointly with the DHR Stakeholder Groups by the Sustainable Heritage Development Programs, and the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the Australian National University (rspas.anu.edu.au/heritage). Apart from providing international facilitation for research and capacity building, the Australian National University is establishing a field intensive accredited as a Heritage Action Field School.

One of the starting points for the project is that the conservation of the DHR World Heritage Area is non-negotiable and all sustainable development approaches must ensure that the following outstanding heritage values of DHR are protected and professionally interpreted.

UNESCO's World Heritage Committee inscribed DHR as a World Heritage Site on 2nd December 1999 with the proclamation that:

1.The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway is an outstanding example of the influence of an innovative transportation system on the social and economic development of a multicultural region, which was to serve as a model for similar developments in many parts of the world.

2.The development of railways in the 19th century had a profound influence on social and economic developments in many parts of the world. The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway illustrates this process in an exceptional and seminal fashion.

UNESCO's inscription described the DHR as follows: The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway is the first, and still the most outstanding, example of a hill passenger railway. Opened in 1881, it applied bold and ingenious engineering solutions to the problem of establishing an effective rail link across a mountainous terrain of great beauty. It is still fully operational and retains most of its original features intact.

Immediate Concerns

At the time of the inscription of DHR on the World Heritage List, the World Heritage Committee made the following recommendations:

- The establishment of a designated heritage conservation unit.

- The establishment of a buffer zone along the length of the Railway line and the stations.

- The drafting and adoption of a management plan.

The establishment of a heritage management unit responsible for the conservation of DHR's world heritage values is required with a designated team that is adequately resourced and appropriately trained to ensure the professional conservation of the World Heritage values of DHR.

There is a range of local developments that have negative

impacts on the values embedded in the World Heritage Area of DHR. The delineation of an effective buffer zonealong the heritage line that would ensure conservation of these values is critical for the long-term viability of the DHR. A buffer zone would also enable the responsible authorities to regulate developments so as to minimize all negative impacts on the World Heritage Area.

An integrated and holistic heritage management and conservation plan is required to guide the professional management of the World Heritage Area. Such a plan needs to be specific to the designated area and its surrounding buffer zone and include processes for the conservation, interpretation and use of the World Heritage Area.

Participants in the project agreed to consider ideas and actions that would assist the Indian Railways in its response to the World Heritage Committee recommendations. These are located within the framework of bringing the neighbouring communities and their DHR heritage together into a participatory framework in the common interest of conservation and sustainable development of the DHR World Heritage Area.

Project Framework

The principal aim of the project is to bring the neighbouring communities of DHR and the other relevant stakeholder agencies into a participatory framework for the conservation and sustainable development of the World Heritage Area.

The project also focuses on skills development for the promotion of conservation values among stakeholder communities, capacity building for maximizing on the potential of heritage tourism and community mobilization for the sustainable management of World Heritage Areas in non-western contexts.

In addition to the response to the requirements from the World Heritage Committee the following outcomes are envisaged from the project:

- Working Framework: A practical framework for the stakeholders to participate in the conservation and sustainable development of the DHR World Heritage Area through a stakeholder committee.

- Empowerment: Promotion of participatory opportunities and partnerships for the neighbouring communities so that they become the primary beneficiaries of the sustainable development of DHR World Heritage Area including heritage tourism.

- Capacity Building: Professional development and training for the stakeholder groups in participatory heritage conservation and development including heritage tourism.

- Project Development: Initiation of a conservation in development demonstration projects for the World Heritage Area through a conservation management plan.

Some of the following broad themes are considered during the project establishment phase:

1.Management Plan—Heritage, Conservation, Administration, Operation, Economics, Education, Culture, Tourism and Environment.

2.Case Studies—Industrial Heritage, Heritage Railways, Community Involvement, Tourist Guides, Arts and Crafts development and so on.

3.Community—Heritage Awareness, Women'sParticipation, Volunteers, Youth Workers, Employment, Involvement, Poverty Alleviation, Environment, Transport, Urban Degradation and so on.

4.Museum and Heritage—Heritage Mapping and Planning, Heritage Tourism, Oral History, Intangible Heritage Resources, Collections and Site Development and Operational Development of DHR as a Neighbourhood Living Museum or Ecomuseum.

5.Resources and sponsors—Restoration, Conservation, Operation, Economic Development and Cultural Assets.

Project Foundation Workshop

This project was launched, after six months of intensive research and consultations, through a Project Foundation Workshop of one-week duration as follows:

- Inauguration session by the Secretary for Railways on Monday 14th January, 2002.

- Opening addresses and formation of working groups on the morning of Monday 14th January.

- Three half day study visits followed by half day workshops focussing on each of the study visits.

- A session on wider environmental concerns and draft recommendations

- Final plenary and closing session.

The above-mentioned framework was addressed across the diversity of heritage resources of DHR and their conservation in development. The project facilitators worked with the participants in four groups based on their background and experience. The distribution across the focus groups of the local stakeholders and DHR workers was ensured.

The planning session then considered clarification on objectives and terminology of the Workshop. This was critical for a shared understanding of the language of the workshop and the long-term project. Postgraduate students from the National Museum Institute were distributed across the four workshops as volunteers to assist the facilitators.

The conveners and facilitators were leading Indian professionals. All of them are members of the International Council of Museums and other professional bodies such as the International Council for Monuments and Sites and the International Union for Conservation of Nature. Some of the facilitators have had extensive training and leadership experience with the International Centre for Conservation and Restoration in Rome.

1.Immovable Heritage Group: dealing with all architectural and cultural landscapes associated with the World Heritage Area. Group Leader: Dr. O. P. Agrawal, Director

2.General, INTACH Indian Council of Conservation Institutes. Group Facilitator: Anupam Sah. Centre Coordinator, INTACH ICI Orissa Art

Conservation Centre.

3.Movable Heritage Group: dealing with all portable material culture including rolling stock and objects of significance. Group Leader: Professor I. K. Bhatnagar, Dean, Academic Affairs, National Museum Institute, New Delhi. Group Facilitator: Dr. C. B. Gupta, Indian Association for the Study of Conservation of Cultural Property (IASC).

4.Intangible Heritage Group: dealing with all living heritage resources such as folklife, arts, crafts and voice heritage through oral and community history project development. Group Leader: Dr. Sujit Som, Acting Director, Indira Gandhi Rashtriya Manav Sanghralaya, Bhopal. Group Facilitator: Usha Agrawal, Indian National Trust for Arts and Cultural Heritage (INTACH).

5.Environment and Tourism Group: dealing with all elements that have a direct relationship to the above and also concerns about developmental impacts and mitigation of such impacts. Group Leader: Dr S. K. Saraswat, Director, National Museum of Natural History,New Delhi. Group Facilitator: S. N. Singh, Director, Conservation Department, National Museum Institute.

The study visits constituted the core activity of the workshop to ensure hands on interactive professional development for participants and to benefit from their collective expertise for the sustainable development of the DHR World Heritage Area. The following learning outcomes were achieved from the visits:

An appreciation of DHR as a World Heritage Area.

- How the DHR is an outstanding example of a hill passenger railway and the bold and ingenious engineering solutions that have been applied in overcoming the problem of establishing an effective and pioneering rail link across a mountainous terrain of great beauty.

- Influence of an innovative transportation system on the social and economic development of a multicultural region and how this is illustrated in the DHR.

- Present state of conservation, difficulties, and steps being taken and proposed solutions.

- Stakeholder community participation in conservation and responsible economic development.

- Heritage tourism, economic development and responsible environmental management.

Situational Analysis of the DHR World Heritage Area

The working groups conducted site audits during field visits focussing on Siliguri, Sukna, Darjeeling, Ghum, Sonada, Kurseong and Tindharia. The following summary is based on the audits and the subsequent group discussions.

Strengths:

1.Different heritage resources, both tangible and intangible as well as local creative and social capital that could provide for significant community development that will assist the conservation of DHR.

2.Staff of DHR and stakeholder

community delegates have demonstrated a high level of commitment to conservation and promotion of associated heritage development projects.

3.DHR could provide a regional catalyst for economic development with considerable opportunities for regional and locally relevant sustainable development initiatives that in turn could make DHR management self-sufficient or viable.

4.Indian Railways, Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council and the West Bengal Government have demonstrated a strong commitment for cooperation and coordination for DHR and the neighbouring community heritage and tourism development.

5.Participants brought together to the workshop a range of professional networks which is significant in its own right and provided for the workshop to be an interdisciplinary and cross-industry enterprise: the agencies included, such as the International Council of Museums, the International Council for Monuments and Sites, the International Union for Conservation of Nature, INTACH, along with architects, planners and tourism authorities.

Weaknesses:

1.Inadequate planning and lack of appropriate legislative tools and policies that foster heritage and responsible tourism services.

2.Strong commitment from personnel but inadequate capacity building for effective development and sustainability of the DHR and associated neighbouring heritage resources.

3.Inadequate regional funding/grants with adequate resources for DHR World Heritage Area development.

4.Lack of local skills base and professional resource hubs catering to regional professional needs.

5.Inadequate communication and lack of understanding among professional and decision making agencies about the importance of holistic heritage conservation that is critical for the promotion of responsible tourism.

Opportunities:

1.World Heritage Area resources with a high national and international profile provide outstanding opportunities for facilitating highly empowering and locally significant heritage in sustainable development.

2.Mapping and use of heritage resources, both tangible and intangible, and their interpretation could provide authentic visitor experiences maximising on the tourism potential of the area.

3.Diversity of arts, cultural and heritage resources in the surrounding region could provide for cultural and heritage tourism, which will diversify the resource base for sustainable development of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council Area.

4.Local, state and central government commitment that could provide for investment and capital injection into project development in the region.

5.Location in a unique geographical area that provides for rich nature based tourism opportunities together with cultural experiences.

Threats:

1.Poor condition and conservation of DHR heritage resources resulting in rapid deterioration of World Heritage Area resources.

2.Lack of a professionally designed inventory of movable or portable cultural property with proper condition reports with the threat of souvenir collectors, both local and foreign, pillaging the heritage resources.

3.Rubbish accumulation and unsanitary conditions around the World Heritage Area posing a threat to visitor experiences as well as the survival of World Heritage Area.

4.Poor or no understanding of the concept of buffer zone and lack of a spatial plan for dealing with encroachments within the total context of regional development.

5.Deforestation, reduced rainfall, erosion of soils and water quality with serious negative impacts on not only the World Heritage Area but the entire population of the region.

The lack of a direction in local cultural and heritage education and awareness means that the there is no understanding of the constituent community's sense of place and identify and the use of the invaluable resources of the World Heritage Area. According to the late Bendapudi Subba Rao's argument in his book The Personality of India, there is very little understanding of the personality of one of the heritage rich and multicultural regions of India.

The Darjeeling area has a rich culture based upon its historical significance and long-standing traditions. The capacity of the agencies managing local heritage resources, and therefore the tourist potential of the area, is reaching capacity. The bulk of tourism is made up of single-visit short stay visitors placing a maximum demand on resources but making a minimum economic contribution. This is very similar to other World Heritage Areas such as Ha Long Bay, which was used as a comparative case study for Culture in Development methodology throughout the project.[2] The present traditional approach to the management of the DHR World Heritage Area needs to be systematically developed for both heritage and local economic development. At present the industrial, commercial, urban, historical, ecological and cultural components of the World Heritage Area are managed and treated as separate units requiring a holistic approach through a systematic conservation plan for promoting cooperation and coordination.

DHR World Heritage Area and its hinterland is a region which is experiencing significant conflicts between conservation and development. Particular issues arising from this situation are:

- Environmental degradation from activities that are eroding environmental resources, but also waste and garbage accumulation.

- Discharge of industrial waste, sewage and storm water run-off from urban areas into the gullies

and World Heritage Area sections with serious consequences for both cultural and natural environments.

- Pollution and sedimentation from rural storm water run-off.

- Urban infrastructure that is inadequate to cope with development pressures.

- Deforestation and poor landscape planning resulting in deterioration of the aesthetic vistas and values that contribute to the experiences of both visitors and local residents.

- Lack of institutional capacity to address development conflicts.

- Lack of an appropriate regulatory regime.

- Lack of an appropriate spatial plan that can resolve the tension between competing uses.

This situation is similar to that of many other World Heritage Area properties in Asia where the inscription on the World Heritage List has led to a rapid increase in tourism resulting in negative impacts through lack of developmental planning and infrastructure development.

In view of the conflicting and competing scenarios, innovative approaches are needed to address conservation of heritage resources of DHR and the surrounding hinterland. For the sustainable development of the region, deliberate interventions are needed to raise heritage and conservation consciousness. However, such an approach will only result in measurable outcomes if the interventions are informed by appropriate professional capacity building and attitudinal modification strategies that are locally developed.

The Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council and the West Bengal Government could become the leaders in the world of conservation by making World Heritage education mandatory in schools and colleges through official regulation. Such examples exist at World Heritage Areas such as the Ha Long Bay World Heritage Area in Viet Nam where education has become a critical mechanism for developing appropriate and outcome- based learning strategies.

In such an approach, attitudinal change and appropriate capacity building are pursued through stakeholder participation frameworks so that the primary participants own the strategies in sustainable development. This is an integral part of the holistic heritage management process. The perceptions, skills and capacity of stakeholders, as well as technical and financial issues, factor significantly in such a process.

In the proposed conservation planning study all the stakeholders, their roles and characteristics need to be mapped out. An early audit of the situation of DHR revealed that the conservation of the World Heritage Area is almost perceived to be in a vacuum with a focus on the tangible railway heritage only. This was largely influenced by values and institutional arrangements that were put in place as a result of the inscription of the DHR on the World Heritage List. The challenge now is to locate it once again in the patterns of the surrounding environmental use and

management.

Relationships and inter-relationships that stakeholders bring with them need to be established as a critical means to conservation through sustainable development.

DHR management by itself could not overcome the conflicts between conservation and development. A change focussing on responsible management of resources and their development with conservation as a non-negotiable principles requires a multi-stakeholder processes, especially through the participation of businesses and community groups that must have the capacity and confidence to drive the change.

This can only occur in an environment where collaborative partnerships are possible and this requires a holistic approach to investment and change. A sound information and knowledge base should underlie these processes. Underpinning these requirements are considerations of equity, access and ethics, which also require inclusiveness, tolerance, respect, and fair access to resources and government programs. Ways to achieve such an environment are central to policy-based approaches to conservation in sustainable development.

The DHR project initiation has already demonstrated that there is valuable social capital in the neighbouring communities, which is central to achieving growth. Social capital is not only an important means for bringing about required change but it is also the product of such change. Building on social capital of the neighbouring communities of DHR will generate positive participatory changes, which will integrate economic, environmental and social issues that are required for sustainable development.

The Project Foundation Workshop concluded that building on the social capital of the stakeholder communities is required to bring about productive changes that ensure a climate of participation necessary for the conservation agenda to succeed. It further reduces transactions costs associated with conservation activity ensuring economies of scale. It will attract new investment and create partnerships with the private sector. Establishing inclusive stakeholder participatory processes at all levels of interaction between the World Heritage Area and its neighbouring communities will minimise conflicts between conservation and development through community agreement and build local capacity for innovation and sustainability.

The DHR area will increasingly become market-oriented in its current rapid socioeconomic development process. In this context and the integration of the World Heritage Area in the globalisation processes, cultural preservation and local innovation are challenging concerns. The Indian Railways, the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council and the West Bengal Government have expressed an increased concern for measures to protect DHR heritage resources.

The two key elements to attain a meaningful approach to the plan are the:

- Delineation and recognition of the common ground for neighbouring communities and DHR World

Heritage Area management for community building.

•Subsequent heritage protection and interpretation efforts informed by action planning. Integrated approaches to DHR World Heritage Area management are critical.

The preservation of heritage resources is essential as the backbone for the identity of the DHR community, and it is also a premise for its human and social development. By strengthening the bonds between the young and older generations the knowledge and understanding of the heritage is enforced and more readily transferred. This is of particular concern in an area that is passing through rapid economic growth, entailed by social and cultural transformation, increasing urbanisation and a widening gap between the rich and poor.

Some of the suggestions from the Project Foundation Workshop are to:

•Raise awareness, interest and participation of the local community in the preservation and management of their local heritage resources.

•Involve the local communities in the planning and implementation of heritage preservation and interpretation activities.

•Assist local communities in the development of a comprehensive strategy for cultural heritage protection that is inclusive in both of community participation and in the scope of the preservation measures. These could include: protecting the natural and cultural environments, preserving the historic buildings and other features that contribute to heritage landscapes and their values; facilitating traditional heritage systems of the community; improving and encouraging sustainable land use practices; and safeguarding diverse habitats.

•Facilitate cooperation and coordination and support for projects with the similar objectives.

•Strengthen the capacity of the community to identify, protect, preserve, promote, and administer their heritage resources.

•To produce information material to support the objective of the conservation of DHR World Heritage Area.

Sustainable Heritage Development is also the management of the potential and realised impacts of people on the cultural and natural environment with the purpose of promoting a culture of sustainable development. It is a culture of using, conserving and enhancing the community's resources so that cultural and ecological processes, on which life and community wellbeing depends, are maintained, and the total quality of life, now and in the future, can be enhanced.

The location of conservation in sustainable development at DHR World Heritage Area and its hinterland will enhance community wellbeing through appropriate economic development that ensures the welfare of future generations and conserves the cultural and environmental resources and processes that are essential for the very survival of local communities.

This commitment requires a Conservation Plan for DHR World

Heritage Area that addresses:

- Decision-making processes which effectively integrate both long and short-term economic, cultural, environmentaland social considerations.

- Environmental degradation with irreversible damage to both cultural and natural heritage of the World Heritage Area and its hinterland.

- Regional dimensions of environmental impacts of actions and policies and the implications for DHR World Heritage Area.

- Development of a diversified and robust economy, which can enhance the capacity for conservation of the World Heritage Area.

- Promotion of cost effective and flexible policy instruments.

- Community involvement that enables the local stakeholder groups to take on a more proactive responsibility for conservation and sustainable development of the World Heritage Area.

In addressing these concerns and framework of sustainability the participants in the DHR Workshop came up with some of the following suggestions:

- Promotion of community initiated responses are more effective than official initiated responses.

- Indian Railways and the partner official agencies have a major role in building empowering structures and providing access to associated motivational instruments.

- Community planning and implementationprocesses are needed for local stakeholder representation and involvement.

- Building on existing structures is more effective than creating new ones.

- Resourcing of community approaches is important.

- Communities and industries must be given incentives to initiate their own programs.

- Other incentive-based mechanisms should be administered by the government.

- The efficiency benefits of stakeholder participation should be understood by all agencies.

Despite the need for a suite of measures and the tendency for divergence between private and public interests where DHR World Heritage Area use is concerned, community processes could become critical in addressing conservation and local economic development. Demonstration projects that provide motivational measures and catalectic impacts are seen to be important. They can be evaluated against criteria such as: economic efficiency, dynamic and continuing incentive, equity, dependability/ certainty, precaution, administrative feasibility and cost, community and political acceptability.

In addressing the concerns of the World Heritage Committee at the time of the inscription of DHR on the World Heritage List, the Project Foundation Workshop resulted in process-driven recommendations that are being followed through by

the Indian Railways. These are that the Indian Railways immediately establish a DHR Conservation and Management Unit with a full time CEO responsible for the World Heritage Area and through the DHR Conservation and Management Unit facilitate the:

•Drafting and implementation of a comprehensive Conservation Management Plan in the next year through professional facilitation.

•Establishment of a partnership with the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council, Government of West Bengal and other relevant agencies identified in the Conservation Management Plan to convene a multi-agency process that leads to the delineation of a World Heritage Area Buffer Zone with appropriate legal frameworks so that awareness raising, responsible planning and notification are possible for the protection of the World Heritage Area.

•Signing of a Memorandum of Understanding with the proposed DHR Stakeholder Committee that will be auspiced and supported with a secretariat through the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council to bring relevant (to the DHR World Heritage Area) local stakeholders, NGOs and neighbouring communities into a participatory culture in development process.

Conclusion. Heritage Tourism

Travel and tourism have emerged as the largest industry worldwide involving transport, hospitality, cultural/environment experiences and site management; employing about 11% of the global work force and it is estimated that tourism accounts for 12% of the world GDP. India gets less than 0.4% of this from international tourists.

Tourism promotion is important for both the DHR and its neighbouring communities for sustainable development and economic opportunities. The DHR World Heritage Area can be considered a tourism hub as a gateway to the Northeastern states of India. Darjeeling and the hill areas around are attractive for tourists seeking adventure, beauty, mountaineering, flora, fauna, water rafting, trekking, culture, heritage, monasteries in addition to the world heritage steam hauled DHR. Social innovation is needed based on the relationship between the railway, the people living along it and commuters for beneficial productive interdependency. The West Bengal Tourism policy expresses that «The State Government will also take up with the Railway Ministry for modernisation and preservation of the toy-train operating between Siliguri and Darjeeling as an item of tourist attraction».

Presently, 7% of the tourists visiting the DHR area are overseas tourists, 66% are in the age group of 25-50 years, average stay is only 4 days, holiday travellers are 75% and average per capita expenditure per tourist is only about US $ 50. Over 5,000 passengers travel each day between Siliguri and Darjeeling. Buses move about 60%, jeeps 25% and though 75% of the tourists travel by train to New Jalpaiguri/Siliguri but from there, only 7% use the DHR. About 0.5 million tons of freight are moved in the area with rice 12%, cement 10%, sand 10%, fruits/vegetables 8% and tea 3%. The DHR share in this is nil. At present foreign Direct Investment is nil. However, the

Indian Railways has committed the resources to protect the core infrastructure of the DHR on the understanding that heritage tourism will make the operations self-sufficient in the near future.

DHR is world famous for sounds, smells and romance of a by-gone era, in a 100 year old toy train hauled by tiny 4-wheel locomotives labouring uphill at 13 kilometres per hour crisscrossing the roads, past rural settlements and bazaars in curves, loops,«Z's» and steep gradients for its 88 kilometer journey; over the spectacular Himalayan landscape. For most of its length, it is a roadside tramway and its stations and buildings are easily accessible to the general public. DHR's evolution is significant both economically and in engineering terms. DHR is a work of genius created in 1881, has social and cultural importance and outstanding universal appeal. Numerous heritage steam railways are operating successfully in other countries and benefit their neighbouring communities. DHR has been inscribed as a world heritage site in 1999 as the «first» and» still the most outstanding» example of a hill passenger railway. The challenges are numerous. But there are opportunities depending on the process and strategic nature of the development of DHR.

Endnotes

1Galla, Amareswar, «The Tshwane Declaration: setting standards for heritage tourism in South Africa», Museum International, (UNESCO, Paris), no. 200 (vol. 50, no. 4, 1998), pp. 38-42.
Related papers on Culture in Development (UN Vietnam) and Culture and Heritage in Development prepared by Amareswar Galla can be downloaded free from the Director's Message of the web page: http://rspas.anu.edu.au/heritage

www.UNESCO.org.cu/RevistaC&DMagazine

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Community-based Tourism in Ecuador: a New Development Alternative

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First of all, I would like to thank UNESCO and the organizers of this important event on cultural diversity and tourism for having invited the Ecuadorian Plurinational Federation of Community-Based Tourism (FEPTCE) to attend. I am representing it here as its president. It is a pleasure for us to participate and exchange our experiences with you, especially in this area of cultural diversity and tourism. There are 13 nationalities and 23 indigenous peoples in Ecuador, a country with a rich cultural diversity, welcoming around 200,000 tourists a year. We hope that community-based tourist modalities will help the sector grow in our country. In the last few years, most tourist flows have been managed by big companies, and indigenous communities have been relegated and derived no benefit from them. Community-based tourism started to be developed in the 1990s, but government agencies related to this sector have provided no decisive support to it. This seminar has addressed public policies. In our case, as we did not have political support, we were forced to set up our own organization and devise alternatives to have a say in public policy making. In September 2002, we established the guild of community-based tourism workers, which is recognized by Ecuadorian law, just as FEPTCE is. Local communities began to approach tourist development from a different perspective. FEPTCE's aim is to present community-based tourism as a complementary economic and social alternative in income and job creation for our local communities.

Promote community-based tourism initiatives, recognize the local identity in the national tourist sector, and devise transparent technical and financial mechanisms for this purpose. Community-based tourism will in the next five years become a sustainable activity, generate economic benefits for all communities involved, help preserve their natural heritage, and consolidate their ethnic and cultural diversity.

Before FEPTCE was established, each group used to work independently and went as far as their means and possibilities permitted. Although there were interesting programs and projects, there were no communication technologies available, especially for promotion and marketing. After we set up the organization, we have been able to devise new development alternatives aimed at preserving our natural and cultural heritage.

Communities have discussed tourism-related issues, not only approaching the sector from an economic perspective but also considering it as a means to preserve the people's traditions, culture and experiences, as well as nature. In the past, we did not have any representation in government, so there was no way of advancing the views of indigenous peoples in connection with tourism.

Under these circumstances, it became imperative to establish the Ecuadorian Plurinational Federation of Community-Based Tourism (FEPTCE), which now represents 57 groups working throughout the country. When we speak of community-based tourism, we mean the various ways of managing tourist activities at a community level.

The Federation aims to promote community-based tourism initiatives, assure their quality and sustainability, improve the quality of life of local populations, and manage our natural and cultural resources in an appropriate way.

Tourism can help us preserve our heritage. We have had both positive and negative experiences in these endeavors. We often thought that tourism would help solve our economic problems immediately. Such an approach has affected us in a tremendous way, because cultural heritage has in some cases been considered mere folklore.

At many national workshops and seminars, community-based tourism has been seen as an integral part of socio-economic development and approached from an environmental preservation perspective.

We have been affected, however, by huge problems that have had a negative impact on nature. This is the case of oil companies in the Amazon, for example. We have had to wage many battles and face the state sector because oil projects have devastated the region. We strongly believe that community-based tourism development can bring benefits to our peoples, minimize

negative social and environmental impacts, distribute tourist-generated revenues in a fair way, and promote the participation of local populations.

We have defined community-based tourism as an economic activity encouraging friendly relations between local people and foreign visitors from an intercultural perspective. This makes it possible to appropriately manage natural resources and assess cultural heritage on the basis of a principle of equality in income redistribution. Marketing has been one of the major weaknesses in our community programs.

Although we have in many cases put together interesting tourist programs that have been supported with a good infrastructure, we have not been able to sell them effectively. Our idea now is to boost promotion, marketing, training and technical-assistance activities so that our community-based tourist offers can reach both the national and international market. With regard to training, we are thinking about service providers and community members in general.

We plan to establish a Latin American Network of Community-Based Tourism Groups. We have already made some arrangements with the Ministry of Tourism, ILO and other organizations to develop the rules and regulations for this tourist modality. We also plan to work on quality standards for community-based tourism in the mid term.

National tourism plays a key role in this connection. We will seek to promote community-based tourism both at a national and international level. As far as promotion is concerned, we are working with ILO on a portal (www.redturs.org) for Latin America. It will include projects meeting certain quality standards, ready to be marketed and/or promoted at fairs and exhibitions.

In an effort to strengthen the Federation, we are establishing partnerships with decentralized, local government agencies working in the tourist sector. This makes it possible for players to be actually involved in decision making. We would like to boost a well-organized, environmentally friendly, economically feasible and socially equitable tourist development process.

Why economically feasible? Because our programs have in the past been successfully implemented for two or three years thanks to the support of NGOs and/or foundations, but when this support comes to an end, they are no longer successful. We are therefore interested in self-sustaining projects. We should think not only about obtaining immediate benefits for our communities but also re-investing on the venture, so that it becomes truly self-sustainable. We now favor a business management with a social vision. Although the Federation was established not a long time ago (September 2002), we are already involved in public policy

making, we are included in the new Tourist Law, and we are even members of an Advisory Council at the Ministry of Tourism.

The RUNA TUPARI project in the district of Cotacachi, province of Imbabura, is a community-based experience that can be taken as an example for similar initiatives elsewhere. Runa Tupari is a community-based tour operator applying a business management and a social vision. It is a Quichwa term that means meeting indigenous people. The Association of Farmer and Indigenous Organizations in Cotacachi represents 43 rural, indigenous, mestizo and Afro-Ecuadorian communities. The Association seeks to improve its members' living conditions through development programs and projects on environmentally friendly agriculture; agriculture and biodiversity management; reforestation; environmental preservation; legal advisory services; indigenous health care; bilingual and intercultural education; cultural revitalization and rural tourism. All these elements are related to tourism, for example: traditional medicine, the environment, etc.

Our district used to have many potential natural and cultural attractions. But, what happened? There were very few places to visit, like the urban area and the ecological reserve at Cotacachi Cayapas, with the Cuicocha Lake as the highlight. Visitors only went to these areas, so other communities around them never benefited, although most tourists used to pass by on their way. We started to see how tourism could become a new development alternative for our communities. Under this premise, we put together a tourist development plan for the district, considering its potential and the feasibility of projects and programs to be implemented.

The idea was to:

- Involve local communities in an active and direct way, considering them key players in the development process.

- Promote a well-organized, environmentally friendly, economically feasible and socially equitable tourist development process, because it is community-based.

- Generate new tourist-related jobs and complementary revenues.

The latter is extremely important because we do not see tourism as a main activity, but as something complementary, helping us preserve our identity and natural resources. For commercial and promotional purposes, we set up a tourist company (Runa Tupari) that plays the role of an intermediary between visitors and service providers (tour guides, accommodation facilities, etc.).

We also worked on building rural lodges that are community- or family-based. Training is an important component. Families providing tourist services should be

appropriately trained, just as general communities should. This helps minimize the negative impact of tourism on them. In an effort to diversify our product, we have prepared tourist packages that are promoted at a national and international level. We do not only want our visitors to stay with our families; we want them to have other offers as well. We have signed partnership agreements with international organizations related to ecotourism, like the Dutch Farmers' Association.

Another interesting point to make is that a percentage of our revenues go to the community in the form of contributions to implement basic projects or set up emergency funds. How many tourists have we received? A total of 861. We have reviewed general trends, and favorite tours and excursions (nature or cultural tourism). We have concluded that the primary interest involves indigenous communities, their culture and heritage, followed by nature tourism. A total of 677 tourists stayed at rural lodges in the first 15 months of our project, totaling around 1,500 nights and averaging 2.5 nights. This is quite an interesting figure if we consider that our area had been welcoming mainly tourists on transit, who stayed one or two nights only. We are now trying to make their stays longer. Data show that most of our tourists come from the United States and the Netherlands.

We have managed to attract national tourists who live in urban areas and have not visited the countryside. We provide them with the opportunity to live a few days in the country, become familiar with our agricultural practices and participate in rural family activities. This is an interesting educational process. We are trying to sign a cooperation agreement with the Ministry of Education. For quality assurance purposes, we are conducting evaluations. Tourists are asked to evaluate services like available information, accommodation (cleanliness, quality, hot water supply, and food), rates and, in the case of tours, guide service.

We have also been working on a code of conduct for local communities, tourists and service companies. We usually tell visitors: «Do not give money or candy to children. We do not want them to become beggars. If you want to help, please give the money to the community council so that they can buy school materials or use your money for other public purposes.»

We were not very sure about this at the beginning. We found it OK for tourists to give 20 dollars to children, but we were not aware then of the impact that such actions could have, especially on children and young people. We have decided that tourists should not give such presents to children, because they adopt bad habits very quickly. We do not want our children to become beggars. If a tourist gives

20 dollars to a child today, the child will be very happy, but perhaps tomorrow he/she will want more and go begging. We do not want to develop such an attitude or conduct. This does not mean, however, that we oppose donations. If tourists want to give anything, we ask them to give it to parents. A tourist may give a notebook to a child in the house he/she is staying, but that is a different conception altogether.

We are developing a national code of ethics for tourists, communities, tour operators and all those related to this cultural exchange. Standards will be discussed and agreed upon all over Latin America, so that they can be used for reference purposes in other parts of the world.

What else could I comment on? There is a poster that says: «Do not soil.» We are working on an environmental preservation program seeking to achieve two goals. Why? Because most foreign visitors do not soil, they do not throw garbage anywhere, because they are environmentally conscious. Sometimes, however, national tourists do not take such a responsible attitude. If a foreign tourist visits a farm with a native, sees a plastic container, picks it up and throw it in a garbage can, he/she will be educating the native. Our people will then realize that foreigners do not like to see plastic containers in the streets. In short, we are seeking to build a new development model for our communities, with special emphasis on environmental, cultural, social and economic awareness.

Now that we are implementing national programs and projects, we should be very clear as to the road we want to take and the services we want to provide, particularly in an atmosphere of mutual respect for foreign visitors and local community members

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Alternatives for a Viable Relationship between Cultural Heritage and Tourism in the Framework of the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity

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The Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity adopted by UNESCO stablishes a broad framework of recognition and respect for «diversity» as humanity's patrimonial value. However, in our opinion, while this Declaration establishes certain conditions as positive, under the cover of promoting the contribution of the private sector, cultural industries, the individual's right to copyright and the strategies of appraisement of cultural heritage, certain obstacles have risen regarding the culture of different peoples and communities. Likewise, when using Cultural Diversity as a «tool» to promote tourist development policies, it becomes necessary to exercise certain caution and perhaps have reservations. In fact, we can see it as an example of a generalized trend in the legal environment to reduce general principles to instrumental resources as direct referents, geared at the solution of specific matters, with which at times there is a risk of subordinating and reducing their paradigmatic profile to that of their applications. A universal Declaration is a framework, which allows confronting specific situations, but this does not mean that it has been conceived expressly for certain specific purposes. On the other hand, there are certain inescapable obstacles in the problematic character of the relationship between tourism and culture. Indeed, through the tourism, the peoples may assert a certain capacity to project their

creations to the rest of the world; even, partly, with the purpose of recovering their memory and regional identity. Nevertheless, they face certain challenges in the new forms of capitalist appropriation of intangible heritage, since they are linked to the change in the manufacturing of goods and also to their own culture of services, tourism's fundamental support.

Tourism Impact on Cultural Heritage

This era of frequent tourist visiting has brought about a change of perceptions and a demystification attitude regarding sites of symbolic and religious values, inducing a modification of the traditional practices and sequences of many regions; also, in the same sense, tourism is a highly representative expression of the global modernization trends in social and cultural relationships.

Tourist flows typically affect community contexts when practice has introduced changes in the space-time coordinates in which the vernacular social and cultural routine acquire a symbolic dimension. From such a basic parameter, an impact is perceived with repercussions in the organization of daily time and space and their notion, changed according to the sequences of an economic sector which responds to an external demand and the organization, segmentation and use of public spaces for variouspurposes (shows or sales).

Unfortunately, the degradation of culture could take place even before the arrival of tourism, then the negative impact of the damage is felt and the region loses sustainability. This implies the need to care for the cultural environment as a very specific field of action.

Cultural heritage is not only upset by the media's control over information codes but also over culture allowing for the expropriation of the reproductive matrix of cultural systems, asides from the changes stirred in the environment as a result of the incidence of phenomena of a distant origin. A fundamental cause of impact is the change of purpose of cultural productions, which are reoriented toward the market and the loss of context of the symbolic practices and rituals in terms of purpose, function and spatial organization.

Although certain cultural expressions are revealed through western consumer patterns and supposedly despite their penetration as a proof of their capacity to cushion and assimilate the impact of globalization, many traditional cultures tend to be «recovered» by the capitalist consumer culture when developing «multicultural» strategies of diversification, as a central aspect of the market's logic.

Diverse tourist developments of great impact have brought about the ecological destruction of entire regions (Cancun, Siat Kaán) and have negatively affected their communities as a result of land

speculation, as well as the limitless privatization of the natural resources and the reorientation of the regional economies, which has meant relinquishing the progress of their own productive developments to become dependent on the tourist sector.

With the beginning of the Puebla-Panama Plan and the coming into effect of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) this trend could become more acute,since it will be developed as a sui generis regional colonization strategy using tourism as a spearhead. In regions such as the southeast of Mexico, a tourist-entrepreneurial organization of the territory is intended with important financial and banking capital participation. Unfortunately, it would not take into account the specificity of the cultural region and the consensus of its inhabitants. Tourist development is being conceived exclusively as a strategy of territorial conditioning of the Puebla- Panama Plan itself, based on «thematic» diversification by means of circuits, routes and corridors which will offer «development» in regions toward which capital investments will flow.

We can briefly mention, by way of example, some cases of tourist impact on the intangible heritage of the communities, which show negative synergies also in this area, apart from the fact that they tend to represent a phenomenon which is more generalized than is frequently assumed.

One example is that of Chihuahua (studied by anthropologists Luis Sariego and Rosemary Blake).[1] It is the case of the «Barrancas del Cobre Masterplan» tourist megaproject in the Protected Natural Area of the Tarahumara mountain range with funds from the World Bank (WB) and the Inter American Development Bank (IADB) with an estimated flow of 46,913 visitors every year with the goal set at 270,000 covering an extension of 24,000 sq. km in 9 municipalities where approximately 60 000 indigenous people reside. The project includes highway, railroad stations, airports, hotels, supermarkets and others.

This mega project could, however—as pointed out by the above-mentioned authors—accelerate in ten years the erosion brought about by forest over-exploitation, because no environmental impact study was conducted, not even for the works designed to carry water to the hotel areas; nevertheless, they intend to use the indigenous community's reservations (as is the case of «Recoguata» in San Ignacio Arareco's common land, generating conflicts like those of Tejaban and the Luis de Majimachi's common land). Actually, they have deprived communities in a very precarious situation of their water resources. And, on the other hand, indigenous communities have suffered the interference of foreign tourist groups that have insisted on filming restricted ceremonies and rituals

without permission, prying in certain of them.

It is contradictory and amazing that despite all the above, the State government sponsored with UNESCO the Declaration of the town of Batopilas as a Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

Among the extenuating circumstances, a «debt for nature swap» has been proposed (consisting in the development of scientific projects to the benefit of the environment in exchange for debt). The problem, however, is that the dependence of poor countries could increase and become perfected under a new scientific and technological modality.

As pointed out by the authors, it would be important for the people concerned, as in the case of Barrancas del Cobre, to at least be represented in the Tourist Board of Trustees in charge of coordinating and funding the Plan and not to exclude them as is the case today. More so when taking into account that the State of Chihuahua has a recent cultural legislation that recognizes and protects «intangible cultural heritage».

Another example is that of Wiricuta, in the state of San Luis Potosi. Wiricuta is part of the sacred route of the Huichol people, on which an extensive and meticulous recommendation was made to the government of San Luis Potosi[2] by the National Commission of Human Rights with the support of the National Institute of Indigenous Affairs (INI) regarding the damages to sacred places —fundamentally by a kind of local tourism, promoted by their own municipal authorities and local guides—who have vandalized the site (graffiti, pillage of the offerings, etc.), althoug there is a «management plan» for the area with the purpose of regulating tourist activity.

Certainly, there are those who seek to elevate the site to a conspicuous position, but under the management of the sectors of international environmentalism (WWF), jointly with the representatives of the regional powers (state government of San Luis Potosi). In any case, the site and the sacred «route» are also part at the same time of a protected natural area; a biodiversity preserve representing a coveted resource.

A third case is the one studied by anthropologist Lucero Morales Cano in Huaquechula, Puebla, where on the occasion of «all Soul's Day» the sales of goods and regional tourism have increased awkwardly, originating a violation of community privacy (family and custom) and taking to the limit the capacity of the residents to fulfill the «offering» represented by the ritual offer of food to visitors.[3]

Excessive demand by local tourism has reached the extent of breaking the sustainability of symbolic-ritual logic—that is to say, the ritual capacity of the families to respond to an overwhelming demand. This celebration was proposed for recognition as intangible Heritage of Humanity.

This is an example of how in such cases, due to an external dynamic, the quest for authenticity ends up by jeopardizing the sustainability of a tradition.

A fourth example is the one described by archaeologist Alejandro Tovalin,[4] in charge of the Mayan archaeological site of Bonampak, in the Lacandona jungle. The construction of an highway in 1996 coincided with the brutal increase of tourism so that, from 1,500 to 3,000 visitors, the tourist flow grew in 1996 up to 8,500 visitors and in 1997 to 12,000 endangering the paintings of Bonampak and damaging the ecosystem, apart from introducing alcoholism, renting and broadening the scope of drug trafficking in the area (through certain tourist promoters) thus causing to a serious deterioration of the social fabric.

Finally, in the case of the archaeological area of Tajín in Papantla, Veracruz, a show («Tajín 2000») was held as part of a strategy of hotel and tourist commercial change, encouraging land speculation to the detriment of the heritage of the region's indigenous communities. In fact, in the Tajín 2000 show, interest and disposition (psychic and cognitive) toward culture were mistaken for the promotion of the entertainment and consumer industry. This show is presented as eminently cultural. The organizers (the state's government and private companies) while seeking to recover a number of cultural elements of the region, have mixed them eclectically with «New Age» and «Ethno-global» elements and with show business in an archaeological patrimonial area. This use of cultural resources for profit is the highway of the current mercantilist and privatization processes, as well as of «emptying» of cultural resources.

It is a representative case of the transformation of ritual tradition into a show, out of the context of community significance; the reversal of sense derives from the fact that such practices are translated as a means to an end alien to the original object.

However, it is not the point to adopt an out and out conservationist position since the development of tourism presents different facets, among which indeed, some are capable of generating revenues or profits which could be channelled to the benefit of social projects or works to benefit culture itself, apart from the fact that, from a cultural perspective, tourism may favor the development of ways which enrich social rapport.

It is worthwhile to notice that the impact of tourism on cultural heritage can be indirect. The action of other agents with no visible relationship with tourist projects, who prepare the field for their development (the building of highways, airports, expropriation and purchase of lands, etc.), may, from early stages, cause deep damages to heritage, later on attributed to tourism.

Two facts are notorious in the

new (regional) modalities and strategies of tourist development: the reorientation of economic interest areas (for example, toward local heritage) and the conformation of new links between financial capital groups, the tourist sector and elements from the institutional sector of culture.

One aspect of globalization is accentuated (as mentioned by scholars such as Marc Augé) in patrimonial areas (historical centers and archaeological sites) made available to tourists. Although these areas are, paradoxically, of great symbolic importance, they too receive the impact of global trends, one of which is an overflow of social exchange opportunities. However, «floating» tourist over-population turns social exchange into something unworkable. Such an area then, bears more resemblance to an airport or a mall than to a place for meeting, exchange or reinforce of history and identity.

Ironically, there is pretence that social and cultural spaces built as carbon-copy images of the markets dynamic, characterized by demographic accumulation and of a new «serial» kind, are to become the alternative and suitable space of a new intercultural social exchange. Allusions are made to the suitability of intercultural relationships taking tourism as an example, when the truth is that the contacts typical of this type of ephemeral and evanescent mobility are, by definition, incidental and sporadic or, just the opposite of what is expected from intercultural «diversity».

Its seems that, in the tourist industry's effort to re-adapt in order to solve the negative contradictions and consequences of the last decades, they have borrowed the timely and occasional term «cultural diversity promotion» adopting it as an intrinsic objective of tourism, when in fact, tourism is still in need of being reconstructed as an intercultural relationship.

We must not lose sight of the fact that cultural heritage expresses not only certain assets, but significant social relationships; symbolic social relations captured in supports and in physical and spatial references. The use of such assets is in many countries the bone of contention with the indigenous population claming the symbolic and affective appropriation of a part of it, as a form of resistance in times marked by strong centrifugal and globalizing trends.

The Challenges of Authenticity

Concern for the authenticity of cultural products—due to the accelerated deterioration of original assets, as a result of the «massification» of tourism at a global scale and its growing impact on certain sites—is facing two opposing trends: in the first place, those that promote the demand for authentic values, due to the high value of these assets in the market. Contrariwise, technological development allows the purchase of

copies and serial reproductions of accessible cultural assets in the tourist market. The importance and growing position of image production, such as the «multimedia», induces a change in the problem, because it even promotes the reproduction of the actual places of interest and, as a policy, there is pretence that tourism should accept this in exchange, giving up access to the originals. Faced with this, a type of tourism demanding «authenticity» has developed, fundamentally in connection with the environment and the experiences.

Ultimately, what really counts in the matter of authenticity depends on what is socially significant in a given social and cultural context. We should remember that what is valuable for a community is not necessarily valuable for the institutions and tourism. We have not arrived yet at a situation in which the peoples need tourism in order to value their cultural heritage and have others (tourism, cultural organizations, etc.) come to tell them what is valuable for them. It can even be said that from a historical viewpoint, tourism has played a role in the erosion of the authenticity of cultural assets, since it represents an external demand for cultural assets but for reasons different from the original ones. Tourism also represents a massive market which has sparked off the reorientation of vernacular production to suit certain reproductions—profane relics and mnemonic elements from trips made— that do not respond to an effective demand for authenticity, although this demand leads ultimately to the opposite, i.e. to mercantilism.

In a social context and its scenarios, the tourist spectator becomes an actor. His/her very presence in a different cultural atmosphere has an impact—even inadvertently (reminding us of Heisenberg's principle of uncertainty)[5] —in the context of a given practice in traditional contexts. There is no way to «measure» this directly or to foresee the possibility of avoiding the consequences of a potencialadulteration. Much less to pretend to keep the communities in isolation, something that would be rejected by the individuals from those cultures.

In this complex cultural interaction, tourism finds itself between the global thing and the local thing. Forms of community self-representation emerge, whose members occasionally assume as their own the exotic and romantic image the tourist has of them and they reproduce it (handicraft, dance, music, etc.) as representative in order to establish a profitable economic exchange. Out of it arises a subculture of the interrelationship, which is nevertheless distinguishable from those of origin. Consequently, there are numerous cases in which you can no longer speak of a vernacular culture totally separated from the intercultural space that has emerged as a result

of the new atmosphere of tourism. In fact, we should not lose sight that «cultural diversity» expressed in tourist spaces is framed generally by a highly standardized social and mercantile pattern.

Some Alternatives

Regarding the above, we find it convenient to outline the following alternatives:

It is possible to safeguard intangible heritage by strengthening social relations and traditional forms of transmitting knowledge and abilities, as practiced in the communities for generations, as well as to promote their creative agents, i.e., the pre-existing social support in which the elders, mothers and grandmothers play a fundamental role by appealing to what is in itself a cultural organization —of communication and transmission— to preserve and to revitalize culture, recognizing in the «habitus» (techniques; «know how», aptitudes, abilities and knowledge) the support and suitable environment to safeguard intangible heritage. The aim is not only to revitalize the teaching and the performance of arts and crafts, but also to rescue of oral traditions, culinary «knowledge», dance and music, myths and underlying conceptions of medicinal (ethno-botanic) uses, and to exercise the capacity of effective collective management to strengthen the social fabric and counteract its degradation.

It is a question of promoting community management starting from popular instances and organizational forms, for example, as was done in community museums. These efforts could be supplemented with specialists in order to guarantee competence (as to museology, historiography, ethnography, geography and biology and—in a given case—the cultural management of a geographic area. Actually, the existing networks of community museums could be promoted, following the example of those that are already promoting «community tourism».

Their role is fundamental for the recovery of memory and the strengthening of collective identity. They usually introduce innovative conceptions with active participation in the procurement of the most diverse valuable objects (at times belonging to the family). They define a universe of re-appropriation.

In such a way, a balance is found between the principle of community self-determination as regards cultural management and the state's institutional participation, as well as of other sectors, as civil associations and international foundations.

It would be suitable to evaluate and to take advantage of the experience of regions where «community tourism» has developed to use them as a point of departure for the development of an «alternative tourism». In fact, these efforts have been important in critical situations (the abandonment

of numerous towns as a consequence of migration). In countries like Mexico, for example, it is the case of the Mixteca region in the state of Oaxaca.

Actually, museums in general have received a breath of fresh air after the apparent exhaustion and relegation suffered due to the promotion of other «living» expressions of culture. Ironically, starting from this notion that there emerged a renovated interest, with the reorientation and disposition (of intangible character) of museum spaces, their disposition and new activities. The tour of a museum is now a syntactic or discursive form, but also semiotical and hermeneutical.

The challenge is how to direct the flow of tourism to the strengthening of social management of intangible heritage. An objective would be to start concerted actions in cultural, tourist and community sectors not only to establish regulations, measures and actions but also to preserve intangible heritage and its conditions, as a primordial objective and requirement of sustainability. According to these social priorities, projects of alternative tourist development can be encouraged in line with shared cultural interest.

It is important to avoid the migration and alienation of «creators» from their places of origin as a result of the promotion and incentives offered to them in the different cultural fields, taking into account the benefits they represent and the reinforcement of a tradition in their vernacular towns.

Emphasis should be placed on the importance of research geared at identifying the social and cultural dimension of intangible heritage, to have an exact knowledge of the relationship between tangible and intangible cultural heritage. In such a way, more comprehensive developmentprojects could be designed in the different regions and areas. This is a must in order to restore assets and practices that are generally only considered in isolation.

Research efforts should reveal the causes and bring forth solutions to attenuate, if not solve, the problems resulting from reiterated tourist displacements of an important and growing portion of the world's population and facing different contexts. Likewise, they should evaluate the impact resulting from the tourist developments in the various regions and the measures to avoid the deterioration of the ecology and of the social and cultural fabric, above all when those impacts are not the direct result of tourism, but of infrastructure development.

The term intangible heritage encompasses a diversity of elements: a set of interrelated practices in complex systems,comprising whole groups and regions (including the cultural landscape and the social atmosphere, musical and dance traditions, foodstuffs and collective memory). The «unit» of the element

to be preserved can not be separated from a region and from the network of social exchange, which, in itself, represents a patrimonial element. This fact requires special attention, since it is the same sensitive and vulnerable space in which tourism is developed and where the challenges of the intercultural elements become evident.

In Mexico, the commemoration of All Soul's Day, recently proposed as Heritage of Humanity, is the example of an asset of national scope made up by a diversity of community and family practices and religious elements and practices, special dishes, forms of social and symbolic exchanges, as well as conceptions, representations and beliefs translated into stories which concentrate social imagery.

Since modern computers make the manipulation of symbols and the reproduction of images and designs possible, overwhelming the legal and objective frameworks—on which the genuineness of the cultural product is defined—, it would be convenient to have an updated legal concept. A legal concept making specific reference to the inalienable character of intangible heritage, taking into account that it is generally immerse in the living forms of a community, including the need to safeguards in a new social framework of revaluation. Needless to say that a distinction should be made between the above-mentioned and phenomena such as imitation or cultural loans.

In an era of opposing processes, such as the erosion of traditions and the reaffirmation of identities, it would also be suitable to identify newly established spaces to which the revitalized cultural practices have been transferred as a result of international migrations and the distant bonds that are established at that level.

The preservation and dissemination of cultural heritage can be included in the same comprehensive concept, in order to mitigate the effects resulting from the centrifugal tendency caused by the global dynamics of the market. Such a provision would allow us to avoid the impact of the dissociation between production and destination of the cultural assets in the reproduction of culture, as a consequence of satisfying a demand that goes beyond the locality.

Tourist development should be avoided in intensively militarized regions which are, at the same time, rich in bio-diversity, as are some locations of the Mayan cultural area, when accompanied by militarization and the eviction of the people settled in these regions that have been declared strategic and the object of «national security», as a precondition for ecological tourism. This strategy, based on the surplus value of landscape and nature, not only infringes the territorial rights of the residents, for the sake of what would be a new form of colonization, but it even goes against one of the

conditions for the sustainability of cultural tourism.

Some communities are organized as follows: a) self-management of natural and cultural resources by community groups as a guarantee for the preservation of the ecological balance and the protection of cultural heritage, b) an alternative model of small scale service supply and low ecological impact; c) their capacity, vocation and willingness to promote, with an authentic vision, the approach and direct relationship with the visitors from other countries and cultures interested in learning about their way of life.

Of course, this is an alternative that is different from the logic presiding over financially strong tourist development, which advance to dominate a given territory with landscape and natural value.

In our efforts to protect intangible heritage we should take into account that the commodification and standardization processes facilitated by modern technology, and on the other hand, the «massification» of the demand for products, have generated the global «copying» of products, having no relation whatsoever with tradition, and the mass production of a type of devaluated merchandise from Peru to Mexico. A higher price for certain handycrafts in the market does not actually serve as a deterrent to this phenomenon, because it does not mean that they have recovered their symbolic character. A high demand can even give the impression that tourists don't really care about the quality of products.

The most relevant question would be: Are the industries of cultural assets taking into account the needs of the market, specifically those of the tourist market? One of the challenges is to preserve the environment of culturally significant assets vis-à-vis the pressures exerted by a local market that has already become global because of the origin of its clientele and its scope.

One of the results could be the segmentation of the market (for example, crafts of various qualities). Cooperatives with institutional backing were established in Chiapas, Mexico, to manufacture high quality exclusive crafts, and to search for more independent alternatives through «fair trade». The question, nevertheless, is knowing whether cultural production in general is preserved in its vital spaces, since one of the less desirable consequences is for it to suffer a displacement toward market production as its dominant space and «survival context».

It is necessary to identify and to know the impact made by the tourism in the different regions and spaces, to evaluate impact and benefits, as well as to foresee the measures intended to avoid the deterioration of the ecosystems, considering the alternative or sustainable activities, linked to the rescue of culture and its economic ethos.

A tourist policy defining three

aspects is required: to confront the demographic impact; to standardize, regulate and issue guidelines for the economic activities of this sector and to promote development projects to the benefit of communities and regions.

It is necessary to reflect on the policies and mechanisms leading to regulations and social planning in order to channel and minimize the dimensions of the tourist flow, taking into account the conditions and possibilities of the towns and regions, knowing that tourism is a phenomenon of great mobility, intense demographic replacement and large scope. Tourist planning implies the geographical distribution of its flows so that it benefits least benefitted locations (municipalities and departments). Regional elements should be integrated (physical and living) making up and defining cultural heritage as an articulated whole. Thus, the conceptual unit of the heritage with its territorial scope would be made up by regional and local contexts (the basis for «territorial management»).

Special account should be taken of tourist alternatives, independent from the transnationals, mainly since it represents a strategic activity involving the fate of natural and cultural resources in diverse countries. No longer are we referring here to the dimension of certain tourist developments, but to who will be the beneficiaries of the programs and in charge of their management.

We must think of a low impact tourism (low density and a different qualitative character); but the requirements are not only to diversify attractions, but to change the conception and the general scheme of tourism (even in low density ecological developments, tourism is typically accompanied by privatization and discriminatory use of the territory). Cultural heritage development programs should contemplate the regulation of the «social burden» of visitors, in such a way that tourist dynamics do not modify the gravitational center starting to gravitate around tourist demand.

Actually communities are willing to promote forms of low impact tourist developments because of the social and cultural characteristics of the communities themselves. In this context, a more complete and more genuine inter-cultural experience may be implemented.

In this sense it is important to evaluate low-impact alternatives (which are also an important market) for the promotion of tourism (In Mexico, there are the cases of Cuetzalan, Puebla, and some locations near Palenque, Chiapas, like Misol-Ha, Agua Azul and Escudo Jaguar at the Corozal border) and not only in transnational capital projects, and to think of different alternatives that are possible and are making progress in countries such as Mexico.

Tourist reception places should not become replicas of restaurants, bars, etc., of the tourist's countries

of origin; on the contrary, the challenge is to become familiar with «another» culture and adapt to the new conditions, where comfort does not reign supreme, and to offer a different perspective of life.

The excessive pressure of tourist and commercial demand on some areas (as the case of Huaquechula, Puebla) have given rise to the adoption of a number of measures to attenuate, control and regulate the limitless flow of tourism, with the purpose of assuring respect for religious worship and symbolic exchange. We should remember that a great diversity of cultural expressions is precisely related to religion.

The preservation of «sacred places» at risk as a result of diverse factors (from the vandalism of a local tourism to the construction works of hydroelectric power plants, from the intervention of the armed forces to the attempts to include them into the management concept and context of «protected natural areas») is of great importance to the indigenous peoples from the point of view of their cultural rights. These sites are part of the vindication (in its symbols and identity) of the territory as a patrimonial value. Today, the location and amount of certain sacred places are classified information.

There is the need to promote a tourist ethic, a respectful attitude to extend to a social space different from one's own. This would have to stem from a principle and criteria of respect for the autonomy of «other» cultures. To accept that the right of universal access to the cultural heritage of other countries is not discretionary, but rather that it is conditioned, even when knowing, that it also responds to other forms of identification with the latter, without a doubt legitimate, but that do not have precedence nor are they exclusive. This ethic (inherent to what «cultural tourism» has meant to be) would have to prevail—like common sense—over the less scrupulous motivations toward the cultural and natural resources of the regions. This standard of reference should be guaranteed both inside and outside of the visited regions.

Moreover, measures would have to be taken, in the first place, to prevent cultural assets which are heritage of the peoples from becoming patents for private individuals, and secondly, to establish regulations guaranteeing tutelage and the usufruct of intangible heritage to their authentic repositories and creators.

In that context, the idea of having an inventory of intangible heritage assets for better protection could be counterproductive, because as has happened in the case of biological resources used by biotechnology, there are no guarantees against a list of patented assets becoming a monopoly for private purposes. And the fact is that ecotourism has already been an avenue for this, apart from the fact that due to their nature they represent an incentive to the trend

of marketing cultural assets.

Although the «decontextualization» of cultural goods seems unavoidable, it doesn't always have to be necessarily negative. A certain type of sensitivity should be encouraged in tourist circuits (where «souvenirs» are bought) by letting them know the cultural universe in which such assets have been produced. Also from abroad the preservation of the cultural identity of the groups whose values have raised the interest, sympathy or affinity of travelers could be encouraged.

It is imperative to undertake actions geared at protecting the natural and cultural wealth generating the appropriation of vital resources as the «green medicine», basic matter of the cultural complex (therapeutic and social-religious) of traditional medicine, since these resources are taken advantage of by chemical and pharmaceutical companies.

Adding to the above the prohibition of marketing certain medicinal plants found in popular markets, over and above the excessive exploitation of the resources caused by the procurement by external agents, as a result of the unusual demand of a market for this type of products. This alienation dislocates the social and cultural practices to which these resources are linked, since the inhabitants of the regions are deprived of their availability for inherent purposes to their context. In that respect, account must be taken of the active role played by social agents that intervene in the complex system of traditional medicine management.

This «natural» heritage of eminently cultural significance has already begun to be affected as a result of the issuing of foodstuff property patents (such as Chiapaneco's «pozol») or the purple snail («huaves» from Oaxaca). The problem has impacted the very social spaces of exchange, causing the disappearance of traditional markets (as was the case of La Victoria market in the city of Puebla or that of Tepeaca in the same state) which were replaced by modern commercial centers (megaplazas and «malls»).

The marked recognition of certain expressions (as the firecrackers from Papantla, the «marimba» or the commemoration of All Soul's Day), without detracting from their importance (apart from wondering whether or not this is not also the beginning of a new patrimonial significance of another nature) could be more effective and have a larger social importance when carried out from a felt necessity and the residents certainty of the necessity of maintaining alive these expressions by those who «live» them and to whom they are significant.

The concept of cultural heritage should not be limited to that of a simple input or profit factor. It should include a holistic and didactic purpose. It should even be the motive of social «reflection». Its

management has implications for sustainability, since in numerous cases it extends to the living conditions, even to the ecosystems.

A better coordination of institutional actions is needed in order to protect cultural resources in tourist contexts. Policies for the protection and conservation based on a sustainability criterion for reasons of common interest should be designed. An adequate area management plan will make possible for institutions such as the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) in Mexico, to better coordinate with the tourist sector the different aspects comprised by the plan, including the diversified activities which may be programmed in their organizational framework, such as the participation of the communities through the organization of cooperatives for the sale of local crafts in patrimonial areas (Bonampak and Palenque, in Chiapas).

A well-conceived management plan allows to channel and distribute the tourist flow in such a manner as to take full advantage of the various services offered, without overwhelming the area.

The diversification and multiplication of theme circuits as tourist alternatives according to the different interests partly represent minimum impact approaches. To this we must add the possibility of combining in their respective dimensions all the elements involved (without overestimating one or the other) identifying the potential areas of operation (proposing educational activities and programs for conservation, legal protection, research and training, promotion and dissemination, management and sustainable development, etc.). Mechanisms for the monitoring and evaluation of the general management strategy should be established in areas such as conservation, protection and research, as well as thematic, archaeological, environmental, scientific and aesthetic interpretation of the areas of cultural heritage.

At the inter-institutional level, training and up-dating courses could be developed in history, ethnology and general culture in coordination with the tourist sector (considering that the theme of heritage is also theirs). This would afford the students of this sector with the opportunity of becoming part of work teams to support the specialists, for example, in the field of anthropology, in their research efforts and learn how their profession contributes to the management of cultural resources and their use.

The dissemination of basic recommendationsfor excursionists and speleologists with the objective of protecting cultural heritage in caves and sacred places is highly convenient, as well as the organization of visits to diverse points of interest, in such a way as to balance the number of visitors and decrease their impact on archaeological places and communities and to urge the

regulation of the participation of the actors involved in the tourist activity, so as to avoid control and disloyal competition.

The work of those in charge of the protection, conservation and dissemination of cultural heritage could be linked to that of tourist research experts, who could cooperate in the definition and consideration of problems that are commontoboth sectors, such as sustainability vis à vis tourism regulation and protection measures to be adopted regarding assets, in the evaluation of the resilience of archaeological areas and other places of cultural interest and in the forecasting of high season and also long-term tourist flows.

In a context of multicultural rights and respect for diversity, protection and conservation policies should take into account an adequate synchronization of measures to regulate the access to archaeological patrimonial sites that tend to be considered as «ceremonial centers» and are frequented by the local inhabitants of the region. The social «uses» can be diversified to a certain extent without prejudice of the need to respect some restrictions in certain spaces.

Indeed, the status of «heritage of humanity» does not mean the indiscriminate interference of everyone in everything. There must be respect for the relative autonomy of the living social and cultural spaces, especially those with which the inhabitants keep a special and close affective relationship because of their specific historical situation. This implies not only a legal classification, but a certain ethical principle referred to the necessary respect both of values and assets, as the one due to the availability of physical and symbolic time and space of the different peoples and their cultures.

Conclusions

In brief, some alternatives that could counteract the most harmful effects on cultural heritage are:

- To avail these countries with legal frameworks for the protection and preservation of intangible cultural heritage to facilitate inter-institutional collaboration and the coordination of tourist and cultural actions in specific levels.
- To boost regional management (comprehensive) plans including intangible heritage and their living forms of expression. From that perspective, efforts can be promoted geared at regional and local development based on the territorial management, encompassing different activities besides tourism. In such a way, tourist development can become involved in projects of regional development and their design. In this strategy cultural heritage is not subordinated to the market logic and the synergies between tourism and culture become possible.
- To channel the participation of civil society and communities towards

the protection and preservation of cultural heritage, taking their initiatives into account.

▪ z To promote encounters between producers belonging to different branches and cultural regions with the participation of cultural promoters and tourist management so as to define strategies, propose organization forms, programs, development projects, the promotion and articulation of diverse activities and their potential projection at an international scale.

▪ z To support the efforts for a change in the conception and practice of tourism in an educational and cultural sense and to take into account parallel efforts to develop forms of tourist management from community initiatives.

▪ To struggle against a mercantile concept of culture and finding a middle ground. Considering that the development of culture represents a specific field and type of work that should not be confused with the development of tourism.

▪ To promote the adoption of a code of ethics, consisting of certain behavior norms and respect for the customs of the inhabitants of the towns that are visited.

▪ To establish «systemic» approaches allowing to evaluate the extent of the impact of cultural heritage when the habitat is affected. Also to establish review mechanisms and forms of appeal so that the communities may lodge legal suits in their defense.

▪ To struggle so that the revenues obtained as a result of the management of cultural heritage are channeled toward the protection, conservation, research and dissemination of the cultural heritage, as well as in benefit of the communities of the region. We ask ourselves if it would be possible to channel a percentage of tourist revenues for the preservation of ecological and cultural habitats to improve the living standards of the communities (only in the region of the Mayan World there are around 7 million people belonging to 25 different ethnic groups).

This era of frequent tourist visiting has brought about a change of perceptions and a demystification attitude regarding sites of symbolic and religious values, inducing a modification of the practices and traditional sequences of many regions. Cultural analysis considers this dimension, but also that of tourism as a phenomenon of cultural significance.

Regarding tourism, we should struggle to avoid two extreme situations: both the attitude of trivializing other cultural forms and values, and its opposite, consistent in a fetishist appreciation of attractive goods promoted by the tourist market in connection with certain places, objects or monuments, because as a massive phenomenon it leads to an excessive erosion, similar to the devotional «syndrome» in pilgrimage sites.

The tourist phenomenon is

strengthened through a combination of consumerism and a motivation of the imaginary pointing in the same direction, due both to the cultural interest, and to the law —added to the former—of supply and demand underlying in tourist promotion.

To avoid turning culture into a show or a curiosity depends to a great extent on the fact that people should not have to use their cultural goods to survive economically and that the original significance contexts remain alive, despite the process of globalization.

Certain cultural goods are being withdrawn from sight due to the risk they run and are being replaced with reproductions. Nothing like this has been done when there is an excessive demand on a living cultural heritage, and then the tourist kitsch emerges. However, before this situation, some of the social actors have developed on their own certain preservation strategies, by establishing a distinction between what the community keeps as something beloved and authentic, and the manufacturing of a version for the tourist market. Thus, they give the tourist what the tourist wants, while guaranteeing economic survival.

A fashionable postmodern idea claims that the «tourist» is the only one that matters, that there are no references of value between the authentic and the unauthentic item and that any way to travel is «worthwhile» in view of an undetermined horizon in which principles are reduced to subjectivity and each tourist appropriates the experience «differently», there is no «privileged way of seeing the diverse and simultaneous tourist attractions and narratives».[6] This is a call to unrestricted freedom discarding the need for a certain measure of accountability. An update of the dictum according to which «man is the measure of all things», only that in this case it is applied to the hedonist consumer, considering that the possible «value» of what is offered is only the measure of the options in which the indisputable desire of tourists materialize. We wonder if the tourism thus promoted shall be able to guarantee the preservation of cultural contexts.

Tourists cannot be forced to adopt the same attitude in the countries that they visit, but indeed the possibility exists for these visits to become enriching intercultural experiences, if they take place in different spatial and temporary spaces and are not made compulsively or induced from abroad by the demands of the global tempo of the «tour» and its profit imperatives. Tourists have to begin by transcending a logic of which they are hostages and that paradoxically feeds their illusion of freedom.

Allegedly, vernacular cultures are no longer what they seem to be, because they have assimilated and assumed as its own, the image tourism has of them. However, this is not completely true because some peoples have established a

distinction between the preservation of their own cultural environment and, what they offer to the tourist as an «image» of what supposedly they are to the «others».

What is lost when the possibilities for adventure are exhausted in a shrinking world that has already been discovered is won in depth with the opportunity of an intense relationship with intercultural communication. These are the underlying changes of tourism in the world. Hence, there is a group of tourists who are not satisfied with «sham folklore» who demand a deeper «experience», a cultural exchange not reduced to a purely intellectual approach, who try to establish a more empatic relationship, closer to daily life with the social atmosphere that implies a personal transformation. We are witnessing a mutation of tourism and its experiences and this is translated into a demand for authenticity as a reaction of dissatisfaction vis-à-vis the overwhelming invasion of media surrogates.

Endnotes

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[5] A reference to the uncertainly principle offered by Werner Heisenberg, according to which the mere observation of some order of phenomena creates a perturbation that prevents the knowledge of their true behavior.

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In the Hands of Culture

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As historians, we recall the testimonies of travelers from the 18th and 19th centuries, who were intensely interested in the image, the customs, the character and the life in the City of Havana as well as its people. I could mention, among them, father Abbot, Jacinto Salas y Quiroga, Countess María Mercedes Santa Cruz y Montalvo and Federica Bremmer. Perhaps not intentionally, but little more than 200 years ago, the most intense and pleasant news of Cuba was reported by Baron Alexander von Humboldt, the European who best understood and who became most deeply interested in the reality of America and presented a beautiful image of Havana. But he didn't stop at the surface. He proceeded to penetrate into its family life and became interested in its social life. He searched with such depth and love into the country's real life that he has been popularly acknowledged as Cuba's second discoverer, after Columbus. Throughout its colonial and republican years, waves of travelers have come to Cuba. The Spanish armies that were shipped to reduce the uprising of the Cuban population left something more than mere military reports in books and testimonies. They became interested in Havana, the people's temperament, the differences between the inhabitants of the various towns and locations where they were quartered. Some of them, with real literary ability, have left us beautiful pages to remember. During its republican years, with new world contacts, particularly with the United States, Cuba

became more frequently visited by what we nowadays call tourists. In the 1950s—predominantly throughout the area bounded by El Prado Avenue and the old city walls—Havana overflowed with travelers from the north and south of the United States. Following the victory of the Revolution, on account of events that do not need repeating again, this flow was stopped, and years passed before some travelers began to arrive again purely as tourists, this time from East European countries. I personally remember the arrival of a German ship to Havana, with a small multitude of visitors. At the time, as part of a group of novice tourist guides, some of whom are now professionals, I had the beautiful experience of showing them our capital. A car took us from a square to the old church of La Merced while I answered their questions. I always remember this dialogue as an enriching adventure. We learned about the world as the world moved closer to us.

The Diary of Christopher Columbus, published by UNESCO, is the first and most remarkable testimony of the meeting between the cultures of the New and the Old World. And it is precisely Columbus, with his manifold talents, who points out the abundance and importance of the vegetation as he so perfectly describes the Bariay region—where he landed—and declares, with a most striking overstatement, that it was the most beautiful land, ever. He was generous in his praise, and he was right. Many times I have asked myself what Guanabara Bay—in the present city of Río—looked like when Cabral and the Portuguese sailors saw it for the first time. In the same way, if Holguín is a beautiful city today, if what we call the balcony opening on the Atlantic is still today one of the most gorgeous scenes, I wonder how it must have looked like on that morning of 1492 when a young sailor, Rodrigo de Triana, announced that the Promised Land was near.

Following the virtual tourist guide that constitutes Columbus' first impressions on his Diary, I toured the geography of Holguín. There was the Peña de los Enamorados; there the Silla de Gibara; yonder was the bay, which he perfectly described. All of this was praised, described and compared by the Great Admiral, as tourists so quickly do on the basis of their past experience and their cultural level, carrying out a comparative exercise. That is the key of almost all existing tourism guides—cultured or simple—in the world.

But what has prompted this meeting of experts is not the

general subject of tourism, but rather its relation to culture. I must say that, as a contemporary massive phenomenon, what causes most distress in small countries in their dialogue with larger nations is to what extent the massiveness of tourism and the tourists's interest in marvelous and paradisiacal islands has caused irreparable damages in many places. I have met with architects and tour operators many times. They have advised me to «try to avoid what happened in a certain place, or the repetition of what occurred in another tourist resort, and make sure that the density of the constructions will not harm the natural environment». This is a preoccupation that has become more intense, and is today generally kept in mind in the world of tourism.

Once, while I was visiting Las Brujas key, I saw the work of a Cuban architect who had carefully and lovingly placed wooden platforms all over the key so that no one would step on a forest floor full of small lizards and birds that those interested the real beauty of that marvelous spot loved. I rode over the full length of the causeway on which work had been done day and night for seven years to extend it into the Gulf of Caibarién. It was one thousand million tons: nine hundred million tons of stones and one hundred million tons for the bridges which allow the free flow of the gulf's waters. It was a truly handsome project. On the Roman bridge of Alcantara, Spain, at the end of Extremadura, with its extreme and hard land, the old man who directed the project and his main collaborators were rewarded. I felt deeply identified with what they had done. A road over the sea had been built. Human beings could now walk on it. What may happen from now on will be our responsibility and not that of the bridge builder, that is, he who received the award for his work.

But in our specific case, receptive to the idea that we must accept with pleasure and enjoyment the challenge of tourism as a legitimate option for developing countries, we recognized that Cuba is something more than an island of palm trees and maracas and those beautiful human sculptures that dance in our evening shows. Our country has a culture, an architecture, music and exceptional human beings resulting from everything that came together on this spot of the world, also called the American Mediterranean, of which Cuba is the center.

But people wanted to see the Cubans. When the great tourism projects were designed, it was

thought that perhaps it was better to have them enjoy that multitude of islets that constitute the unknown archipelago that Cuba is. But the temptation of the large island is greater. Everyone wants to step on its land and, once on the main island, they want to come to Havana because it is the city that they want to see. Later, they wish to see other Cuban cities. Those who know about them want to tour through the locations that have been identified as World Heritage Sites, ecological sites, reserves of the biosphere, castles, splendid valleys, funerals. But the stronger temptation is, undoubtedly, Havana.

I accepted the challenge. I have always believed that we must prepare for an intense relationship with those who will come from anywhere the world, without the slightest fear. What's more, I would say that the tourism project would be automatically a failure if it doesn't accept as a real possibility, as the means to its success, a direct relationship that will permit us to know each other and abandon this kind of insular glass house in which insularity makes us live looking for what exists on the other side of the huge sea.

And within Cuba, fortunately—from west to east—our monumental cities appear staggered: from the marvelous valley of Viñales that emerged from the waters of remote times, with its small town, to the magnificent rock that supports the castle of Santiago de Cuba and presides over the city, or the large French coffee plantations, a wealthy emporium of yesteryears, a romantic vestige lost today in the region's forest.

We thus came to the conclusion that, in carrying out the restoration of Havana's historic center, we had to learn to save the resources generated by tourism in order to invest them in a development project, not only specifically cultural — related to museums and monuments—but a social development project that would float on this cultural mare magnum. Therefore, to begin with, we decided that any project that excluded culture would only generate decadence, consumerism, colored billboards, social exclusion and shutting off the community. An active participation was necessary which, in Cuba's socioeconomic situation, its legal conditions and its property framework, would need to be of a very specific nature and extraordinarily creative and different from what we had known in the past. This idea did not emerge from a laboratory: it was shared with the country's top authorities and specifically

with our Head of State. He was always very concerned about the fact that Old Havana, as the heritage of the country, could not be restored at the price of putting it up for sale. On the other hand, we had to be realistic.

UNESCO, whose sponsorship honors us, could not, as many believed, perpetually fund the restoration of this or any other city. Its great motivations, its profound teaching, born from a permanent dialogue with the world of culture, had to be, in our case, only a small part of what is required. We had to provide the strong and hard work. How to do it? With my signature, I personally authorized six girls who wanted, following a tradition in many other cities—Quebec, old Spanish and Latin-American cities—to get dressed, come out, greet and have their pictures taken. I approved it. If we criticize women for doing this or that, or men for the same reasons, why should we ban a decorous opportunity for employment? But only six of them! We could by no means yield to the temptation of creating a small Spanish town in Latin America, full of people in costumes until six o'clock in the afternoon. We had a large and populous city before us. Over seventy-four thousand souls live in the historical center. Turning our back to them, with a secret and perverse ulterior motive; getting them all out at any price could not be our option in a society presided over by different principles. Starting from this idea, not shared with all but only with a few persons, these institutions and thinking minds that I have described, the project conceived and concerted for historical Havana began to come to life. And, above all, an economic plan was designed for its restoration which permitted the immediate use of the resources emerging from the life of the historical center itself for its own regeneration and the restoration of communal life.

We divided our funds into three parts: the first, symbolically for the nation, since no Old Havana or anything else would be possible without a nation; a second part for social and communal development, still not proportional; and a third one for restoration itself. Suddenly, the offices of architects, art historians, sociologists, the master plan and our own office stopped being swamped only with artistic, cultural, archeological and methodological consultations. Unsuspected problems began to appear, such as the disabled persons living in the historical center, gender questions, the drama of pregnant young women living there, families in

the worst living conditions, how to create new schools, how to care for the older, how to determine—without paternalism—the creation of new jobs.

This year, on the tenth anniversary of this new work plan, we would have created more than ten thousand jobs. I understand that over 38% of them are for women. It was—and I love to share this Cuban saying with people from other parts of the world—like someone who goes to the fish market and, terrified, asks the clerk to please, for God´s sake, keep the fish head. We were buying both the succulent fish and its head: a fish head that was scary and had little substance. A head we had to watch closely, and that was the human side of our project. This was a question that stopped us again and again, forcing us to reconsider whether we were in the right direction.

After two specific censuses carried out in the historical center, I can now say that we know who these people are, not only from their replies to the questions in the form, but from our horizontal, permanent, perpetual and daily dialogue with the persons that come with questions, ask for or tell us something. That gave me a thorough personal knowledge of the human beings and the human problems that we were facing. For example, of the more than six hundred letters received this month, over four hundred fifty deal with housing, but this is housing in historical buildings. Houses built in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, registered as World Heritage Sites of recognized value. But for whom are these monuments, this historical material, if not for those who live there?

We believed that the density of population should be decrease—that was a reality—but how to select and how to establish the necessary dialogue (without the other part taking advantage of the situation) to assign new abodes so those houses and streets would be able to breathe and recover their habitability? In this task we are currently immerse. It is not yet finished but, suddenly, a miracle has happened. Those tourists that I have mentioned all want to come to Havana, to the mysterious, sinful, beautiful, attractive and dilapidated Havana. And once in Havana, they all want to go to Old Havana. Today, as yesterday and the day before yesterday, they are no longer small groups. They are now crowds marching down the streets, and we need to know how to conduct this project. We have placed, for example, our classroom-museums on the path of this crowd. The children have

learned to withdraw themselves mentally from their surroundings and, out of the about eighteen thousand seven hundred children in Old Havana, over six hundred and fifty are rotating every two months in classroom-museums, they are doing an exercise in cultural appropriation, learning about their heritage in order to explain it and defend it.

Years after this process began, many of those kids are now adolescents and youngsters who attend concerts and visit museums with their relatives. This year, with the creation of the interesting project called Rutas y Andares (Routes and Strolls)— requiring that complete families register for these tours—I had the satisfaction of seeing hundreds of families — grandmothers, parents, children—visiting what no one visits, what no tourist knows, since visits to painters' workshops, to artists in their homes, project laboratories, archeological excavations were included. And thus culture as a whole has become involved in the great challenge.

In 1992, when the project had acquired these characteristics, in the midst of an unprecedented economic crisis, all museums were open. Thirty-six palaces, museums, temples, castles and places where the olders in the community could sit with younger persons and enjoy a small breakfast together—not just a glass of milk, which would have been very easy but depressing from any point of view. Bread and spirit were needed. Restoration has contributed bread and spirit. Over three thousand men and women work today in restoration, and despite the current difficult economic juncture, sixty-two restoration works and over three hundred different kinds of interventions are being carried out which guarantee, to begin with, a solid economic platform within the triangle formed by the main squares.

In this «ring» we have fought one, two, ten, fifteen, twenty, thirty, thirty-four years. The result is obvious. The blossoming of culture is so powerful, there is such a demand that, right now, we would be unable to think in the Havana Biennial Exhibition without the historical center. Where does the Book Fair begin? Where are the streets through which the fair's visitors move or the artists show their work? Another important point: the manifest was not mutilated by a conservative idea presided over by the old-fashioned concept that everything was better in the past. It was a permanent dialogue between the past and the present, and a

fundamental affirmation: peoples that lose their culture, their identity, their traditions, their customs, will be mercilessly swept from the face of the earth and converted into mere commercial enclaves. That is not our case. Hundreds of tourists are watching a unique and interesting process. Those who come from North America, from the United States and Canada, have historical and beautiful cities themselves. They may wish to spend a few days enjoying sea paradises and palm trees without looking at old stones. But my perception tells me that, by the third or fourth day, they will peremptorily need what we call the city, mankind's most interesting and daring creation. And all the more so in a city like this one, in which one can constantly detect the taste and the pleasure for design in architecture. For example, we inaugurated the Art Deco Congress yesterday with the art deco institutions of the United States, and they are amazed to find that there was a passion for art deco in Cuba. It was a passion in the Luyanó and El Vedado districts of Havana. A general passion that has left marvels behind like the buildings America, Emilio Bacardí, López Serrano, Fausto theater as well as modest homes in the periphery of Havana.

The same could be said of everything else. The economic mechanism had to be well designed, and that is how the economic sector of the historical center was created, reaffirming the principle of authority of a cultural institution. A cultural institution is very important because, if we are going to deal with living matter, we cannot put this responsibility in the hands, with due respect to them, a tour operator or a hotel manager, because they both have to take mind their own business. This is like the farmer who, after many years, arrived in his town and set up a funeral home. When everyone went to him, surprised by his decision, he said: «I don't want anybody to die, but I want my business to prosper». Therefore, this has to be in the hands of culture.

That is why the process is in the hands of culture. A strong economic sector was created. We designed fifteen hotels, each one with its own style and personality. The state waived a central tax on all public or private activities. We organized self-employment activities. We backed up those who rent or trade decorously, but we charge them a tax and invest it in the historical center's public networks, its security, its lighting, promenades, gardens, fountains and sculptures. And there is a novelty: one of the most beautiful hotels faces the

Children's Maternal Home. And another, a gorgeous one, faces a group of private homes. One of the most prestigious real estate companies shares space with private homes on the Plaza Vieja. Each side has compromised something. Someone who rented space from the real estate company said: «I like Plaza Vieja so much that I accept not parking my car here, but five hundred meters away; I will take an umbrella if it rains, as they do in developed countries, in Florence or Venice». The others said: «Well, this Italian, Spanish or Frenchman must be a nice person. Let us talk to him».

And that has also been our political discourse. A permanent dialogue. Because if we do not do it now, what will happen to this country when the United States Senate or House of Representatives suddenly lifts the restrictions and, during the first year, a million tourists come to Cuba? Where shall we put them up? What will be our situation? We are ready. Languages are being taught—all languages. We have a room in which Japanese lessons are offered. In another, we offer five Italian courses. We explain the regions and habits of the Spaniards, the Arab and Moslem cultures, the various religions, and I have even conceived the historical center as a space for universal harmony, following the ideals of UNESCO. A Greek Orthodox cathedral was built and Constantinople's Patriarch came to inaugurate it. Four thousand tourists from Greece and the United States came with him to inaugurate the sacred temple. A little further away, my Baptist brothers are celebrating the centennial of their church; Jews see their Sephardic community reborn; Arabs have had, for some time, a hall for their prayers—turned towards Mecca—and their own space for prayer and meditation. The brothers of the black confraternities and brotherhoods open the way for me wherever I go because I am a son of Shango, and if that is so, I am prepared to live there, as the Church's Cardinal lives. Now the Russian ambassador is requesting space to build a Russian cathedral. I say, well, this is part of the World Heritage Site. We have the land. The only thing I ask for is that the constructions be no less beautiful than the Saint Basilius Cathedral; if not, I will not accept them. If this is so, it is because the possibility of uniting tourism and development, tourism and culture, tourism and economy has flourished. We define our project as a defense of utopia. We believe in utopia. But without an economic foundation our utopia would become a fantasy,

and we would roam through the congresses of World Heritage and tourism throughout the world crying because all the money we receive in our archeological center is taken away by the state, such as I saw a few days ago in a site of famous Latin-American excavations. They are marvelous, but everything they receive—I don't know how many millions—is taken and all they get is crumbs. I asked an archeologist there: «Why do you work here?» And he answered with the key word: «For the love of it». I would say that what is fundamental in our work is the fact that tourists are human beings, not just carriers of paper money, euros or dollars. Tourists are persons. I am a tourist myself when I am elsewhere, led by someone who cannot be a guide for the blind, as the Bible says.

This project must be done with culture or it would be simply a ridiculous masquerade, with pornography of reproductions at every corner. We asked for a loan of one million dollars in October, 1994. A year later, on the same date, we returned that million to someone who had generously told us: «Spend it». On the second year, our results were three million, then eleven and later twenty-three, thirty-one, forty-four, and this year we will invoice seventy-six million dollars, 21 million of which will be devoted to restorarion work. But it is not enough, because our policy is to keep the capitalized amount and then ask from the banks. Loans become more and more difficult every day, with stiffer terms. Then we asked for international cooperation, from UNESCO itself and from UNPD for small start-up projects. I have never seen this as a solution, but as a moral exercise.

I ask to receive. I am incapable of asking what I will not receive. This is like a love declaration. He who makes it thinking he will fail might as well not try. That is ridiculous. When I go to UNESCO and say: «I need ten thousand, or twenty thousand»—a modest request—, I am requesting it for something substantial, concrete, feasible and accomplishable. It means I don't have enough money. Twenty-one million is too little. Rubén del Valle, vice-minister of Culture, remembers quite well that in 1981, exactly on May 5, five groups of people had different opinions regarding the way to do what we had to do. The first step was to unify the opinions and agree on a minimum feasible project with eleven million seven hundred thousand pesos of hard currency at the time to cover the first five years. That is, for cement, lime, steel, etc. Today, that amount is

our budget for little less than a month. There was a moment, four years ago, in which our investments reached almost one-hundred million.

We have finished fifteen hotels, seventy-five restaurants and commercial establishments. We have over three thousand artisans and thirty-six families who rent their houses. We also have a book market and another one of cultural goods that run on a supply and demand basis. What seems to me beautiful may seem horrendous to someone else, let us never forget that. We must not allow someone to come and say: «This must be removed!». Just a moment! There is someone who would by no means carry home that highly awarded marvel because it simply doesn't interest him or her. This is our experience and this is what we do. No word will be enough.

Transcription of a lecture delivered by Eusebio Leal Spengler at the International Seminar on Cultural Diversity and Tourism, Havana, November 4-6, 2003.

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Recommendation of Havana on Cultural Diversity and Tourism

The participants at the International Seminar on Cultural Diversity and Tourism, coming from 18 countries of all the regions of the world, organized by UNESCO with the cooperation of the Cuban Ministries of Culture and Tourism, at Havana from 4 to 6 of November 2003:

Considering,

- That the cultural diversity must be preserved as a living treasure, conceived not as a static heritage, but as a process that guarantees the safeguard of humanity

- That the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity is a suitable instrument for the promotion and development of cultural tourism policies

- That tourism may constitute an efficient instrument for the preservation of cultural heritage, the dialogue among cultures and civilizations, of development and struggle against poverty.

Being aware that a deeper reflection and analysis on relations between tourism, culture and development, including the encounter between visitors and hosts, are necessary for the conception and realization of good practices, for decisions and strategies that guarantee equilibrated relations and a real partnership between culture and tourism, that preserve cultural diversity, respect societies and contribute to local development

Consequently,

Recommend that actors and decision —makers in tourism and culture— follow-up this Recommendation, taking into account and inspire themselves, in order to help them in the elaboration of policies on behalf of cultural tourism and as well in the decision making processes:

On one hand, by the decisions, recommendations, conventions adopted by UNESCO and particularly the 1972 Convention on the protection of cultural heritage, the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) and the Convention on the Protection of Intangible Heritage (2003).

On the other hand, by the analysis, studies, reflections, contributions and debates such as those developed during the Seminar.

And decide to apply this Recommendation by:

1Publishing the proceedings of the Seminar.

2Publishing a document that resumes the debates of the Seminar.

3Disseminating, as widely as possible, these documents among the Member States of UNESCO, the public and private actors of cultural tourism.

4Studying the creation of an Observatory of Cultural Tourism that will have as aims, the dissemination of studies and analysis on the relations between culture and tourism and the support of decision-makers in the elaboration of quality policies on cultural tourism according to Article 12 of the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity.