The Political Nature of Cultural Heritage and Tourism

Critical Essays, Volume Three

Edited by
Dallen J. Timothy

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Dallen J. Timothy

Department of Geography, Brigham Young University, USA

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2007 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
The political nature of cultural heritage and tourism. –
(Critical essays ; v. 3)
1. Heritage tourism
I. Timothy, Dallen J.
338.4'791

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
The political nature of cultural heritage and tourism / edited by Dallen J. Timothy.
p. cm. – (Critical essays ; v. 3) (The interantional library of essays in tourism, heritage, and culture)
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 978–0–7546–2700–5 (alk. paper)
1. Heritage tourism–Political aspects. I. Timothy, Dallen J.

G156.5.H47P65 2007
338.4'791–dc22

2006039294

ISBN 9780754627005 (hbk)

Contents

Acknowledgements

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Blackwell Publishing for the essays: Miguel De Oliver (1996), 'Historical Preservation and Identity: The Alamo and the Production of a Consumer Landscape', *Antipode*, **28**, pp. 1–23. Copyright © 1996 Editorial Board of Antipode; T.C. Chang (1999), 'Local Uniqueness in the Global Village: Heritage Tourism in Singapore', *Professional Geographer*, **51**, pp. 91–103. Copyright © 1999 Association of American Geographers.

Elsevier Limited for the essays: Alexandros Apostolakis (2003), 'The Convergence Process in Heritage Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, **30**, pp. 795–812. Copyright © 2003 Elsevier Limited; Athinodoros Chronis (2005), 'Coconstructing Heritage at the Gettysburg Storyscape', *Annals of Tourism Research*, **32**, pp. 386–406. Copyright © 2005 Elsevier Limited; Erik Cohen (1988), 'Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, **15**, pp. 371–86. Copyright © 1998 Pergamon Press plc; Clare Fawcett and Patricia Cormack (2001), 'Guarding Authenticity at Literary Tourism Sites', *Annals of Tourism Research*, **28**, pp. 686–704. Copyright © Elsevier Science Limited; Alison J. McIntosh and Richard C. Prentice (1999), 'Affirming Authenticity: Consuming Cultural Heritage', *Annals of Tourism Research*, **26**, pp. 589–612. Copyright © 1999 Elsevier Science Limited; Tom Mordue (2005), 'Tourism, Performance and Social Exclusion in "Olde York"', *Annals of Tourism Research*, **32**, pp. 179–98. Copyright © 2005 Elsevier Limited; Gianna M. Moscardo and Philip L. Pearce (1986), 'Historic Theme Parks: An Australian Experience in Authenticity', *Annals of Tourism Research*, **13**, pp. 467–79. Copyright © 1986 J. Jafari and Pergamon Journals Limited; Annette Pritchard and Nigel J. Morgan (2001) 'Culture, Identity and Tourism Representation: Marketing Cymru or Wales?', *Tourism Management*, **22**, pp. 167–79. Copyright © 2001 Elsevier Science Limited; Michael S. Simons (2000), 'Aboriginal Heritage Art and Moral Rights', *Annals of Tourism Research*, **27**, pp. 412–31. Copyright © 2000 Elsevier Limited; Peggy Teo and Brenda S.A. Yeoh (1997), 'Remaking Local Heritage for Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, **24**, pp. 192–213. Copyright 1997 Elsevier Science Limited; Ning Wang (1999), 'Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, **26**, pp. 349–70. Copyright © 1999 Elsevier Science Limited.

Mike Meadows for the essay: S.C.Goudie, F. Khan and D. Kilian (1999), 'Transforming Tourism: Black Empowerment, Heritage and Identity Beyond Apartheid', *South African Geographical Journal*, **81**, pp. 22–31.

Multilingual Matters Limited for the essay: Debra Buchholtz (2005), 'Cultural Politics or Critical Public History?: Battling on the Little Bighorn', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, **3**, pp. 18–35. Copyright © 2005 D. Buchholtz.

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University of Chicago Press for the essay: Dean MacCannell (1973), 'Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings', *American Journal of Sociology*, **79**, pp. 589–603.

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Introduction

Cultural heritage is extremely political, imbued with power struggles and contested layers of meaning. Living cultures and relics of the past often have different values to different people. Observers now recognize that meanings and experiences come largely from visitors' own connections to place, the social baggage they bring with them and their perceptions of what is important, rather than anything intrinsic in the objects on display (Poria *et al.*, 2006). This is even the case at places that claim to represent objective reality. In fact, no heritage locations can claim true objectivity, because reality is unknown and biased.

Likewise, because heritage and its artefacts are widely used as resources for tourism, there is a natural gravitation towards utilizing remnants of the past for persuasive, political and ideological purposes. Given these conditions and diverging interpretations of the past, it is little wonder that heritage is a highly politicized and contested social phenomenon (see Allen and Brennan, 2004; Ashworth, 2003; Charlesworth, Chapter 5, this volume; De Oliver, Chapter 8; Hall, 1997, 2003; Harrison, 2004; Norkunas, 1993; Timothy and Boyd, 2003).

Third only after management issues and the particulars of supply and demand, the political nature of cultural heritage and its various manifestations form a critical area of interest to tourism social scientists. These power relations are the focus of this volume, and this introduction highlights the political uses of, and power structures associated with, cultural heritage and tourism. The introduction focuses, first, on authenticity, which has caught the attention of tourism scholars since the 1960s and 1970s, then examines heritage in conflict and, finally, discusses the political manipulation of heritage and its resources.

Authenticity

One of the weightiest debates today in the context of cultural heritage tourism is the issue of authenticity and its political undertones. It has been the object of much scholarly attention since the 1970s, and, as highlighted by Alexandros Apostolakis (Chapter 1) and Alison McIntosh and Richard Prentice (Chapter 17), many organizations, businesses and tourism agencies have adopted it as a promotional catchphrase in their marketing campaigns and product development efforts. Dean MacCannell (Chapter 16 and 1976) was among the earliest observers to note authenticity's importance in tourism and suggested that, as people travel, they are in a constant quest for authentic experiences and places, often seeking them in heritage settings. This position has been critically appraised since the 1970s as being too simplistic in that tourists often do not care whether or not their cultural experience is genuine or authentic. Instead, many critics argue, tourists seek enjoyable experiences that are entertaining and memorable, and are able to differentiate between artificiality and authenticity (see Cohen, Chapter 7; Halewood and Hannam, 2001; Moscardo, 2000; Schouten, 1995; Urry, 1995). Others involved in this discussion go so far as to suggest that tourists today (so-called post-tourists) go out of their way to seek inauthentic experiences (see Jansson, 2002; Urry,

1994). Yet, regardless of the outcomes of the academic debate, some travellers quite clearly do seek authentic encounters with the 'other' as a way of gaining more satisfaction from their experiences (Chhabra *et al.*, 2003; Moscardo and Pearce, Chapter 20), even if they are barraged with 'fairy tales as facts and replicas as reality' (Timothy and Boyd, 2003, p. 239).

One obvious point to emerge from this discussion is that, although the objects and places being viewed might not be considered authentic in terms of their inherent characteristics, they can be 'authenticated' by salespeople and shopkeepers, consumers' own knowledge and expectations, social traditions and craftspeople's techniques (Hitchcock, 2000; Onderwater *et al.*, 2000; Timothy, 2005). Thus, from a theoretical perspective, authenticity is an elusive and subjective concept that can be manipulated according to variables that are typically not intrinsic in the object or place itself. From a more practical viewpoint, however, researchers have made some attempts to measure authenticity from tourists' perspective.

Much contemporary research on authenticity in the cultural heritage context concentrates on handicraft–souvenir production as an expression of heritage through material culture, although some efforts are being made to acknowledge the same conditions in terms of buildings, places and events (Chhabra *et al.*, 2003; Martens and Timothy, 2006; Wang, Chapter 27). The work of Mary Ann Littrell and her colleagues (Anderson and Littrell, 1995; Kim and Littrell, 2001; Littrell, 1996; Littrell *et al.*, 1993) and other authors (for example, Asplet and Cooper, 2000; Markwick, 2001; Onderwater *et al.*, 2000) has been instrumental in assessing the variables that define authenticity from the tourist's perspective (Timothy, 2005). The study carried out by Littrell *et al.* (1993) identified the following eight criteria that tourists use to make a subjective judgement about the level of authenticity of handicrafts:

- Product uniqueness is important. Tourists want products that are not commonly available and not mass-produced. One-of-a-kind items possess a scarcity value that contributes to the feeling of authenticity.
- The cultural accuracy associated with an item also renders it authentic. From this perspective, goods should relate to a destination's history and, where possible, be made by destination craftspeople and belong to the destination.
- Aesthetic appeal is the third indicator of authenticity. Artistic quality and alluring designs and colours are important elements of authentic souvenirs.
- Workmanship plays an important role as well. Product quality and attention to detail are important elements of workmanship. According to Littrell *et al.* (1993), quality is often more important than historical accuracy, although authenticity value increases when traditional materials and processes are used.
- In relation to workmanship, genuineness is more assured when the craftwork is hand-made. This adds personal meaning to the artefact and creates a bond between the buyer and seller.
- Another important factor is the shopping experience: meeting the crafter in person and watching the item being produced adds a degree of genuineness to the product.
- There is also a functional element to the authenticity of material culture. When an item is used by the indigenous people of the destination and is something they themselves would have in their homes, it is deemed more authentic than items prepared only for visitors.

- Finally, a guarantee of authenticity by way of a certificate or stamp satisfies many people's need for authentic items. Artisans' signatures, registration certificates and photographs are all ways of confirming the legitimacy of a cultural product.

Authenticity can be further extended in relation to places and events if tourists can watch actors and re-enactments look at architecture and products for sale, listen to stories, are shown the exact locations of events and have an opportunity to be involved with destination residents (Martens and Timothy, 2006). These characteristics of 'authenticity' have obvious implications for the planning and management of heritage tourism.

Timothy and Boyd (2003) have identified several different types of inauthentic heritage that are prevalent today. These include sanitized, or idealized, pasts, relative authenticity; invented pasts and places, and ethnic intruders. All of these convey an element of what Dean MacCannell in Chapter 16 refers to as 'staged authenticity', wherein cultures and heritage in general are performed for tourist consumption. He notes that in most cultural tourism destinations there is a front stage where tourists come into contact with local cultures, which are decorated, embellished and superficially portrayed to bear a resemblance to the 'backstage', which tourists typically do not see. MacCannell's back stage, then, represents real life, perhaps authentic place and people, while the front stage is what the tourists see and experience. Many examples of this exist throughout the world, particularly in the context of indigenous people and their celebrations and rituals.

Timothy and Boyd's (2003) idealized and sanitized heritage is commonplace and refers to a focus on elements of the past that portray only the positive events, people and places in history. These 'disinfected' pasts exclude the displeasing or embarrassing components of history, thereby creating a biased and illusory view of history (Lowenthal, 1996). Destination communities may deliberately keep some aspects of the past from the gaze of the tourists in an effort to avoid embarrassment and criticism. Most of the time, however, the sanitized past simply reflects the needs of a modern society attempting to conserve and understand former times. For many people, a truly authentic experience would be repulsive, annoying and uncomfortable. For instance, an actual medieval castle would have no toilets or air-conditioning. A small town in ancient times would probably have had muddy streets, unpleasant smells, evidence of poverty and disease and no running water, not the well-groomed streets, cleanly dressed children and sweet smells normally associated with contemporary outdoor living village museums (Barthel, 1990).

Relative authenticity is a reflection of differences in world-views and the notion that understandings of authenticity are mitigated by social norms and conditioning, personal identity and government control. As noted earlier, heritage value and meaning do not typically originate from places and objects themselves; rather, these are subjective and conditioned by the viewer's own background (see Burnett, 2001; DeLyser, Chapter 9; Jamal and Hill, Chapter 12; Timothy and Boyd, 2006; Wall and Xie, Chapter 26). Thus, as Erik Cohen notes in Chapter 7, one person can have an authentic experience, while another person at the same location may not. It is important to note, too, that authenticity is also context- and place-specific; a structure in one place may be more authentic, depending on how this is defined, than a similar structure elsewhere.

Invented or contrived pasts revolve around places, people and events that never actually occurred, but which have become a part of the heritage landscape. Even where places and

characters are imaginary, people will travel in search of the original. A few different places in Kansas (USA) claim to be the actual home of the Wizard of Oz and they compete for tourist visits and expenditures. Tourists visit all of them in an effort to discern which is the real Land of Oz, notwithstanding the fact that Oz never existed. As the Kansas example demonstrates, destinations associated with movies and literature are especially prone to this type of distinction (see Fawcett and Cormack, Chapter 10). Farmer McGregor's garden in Beatrix Potter's tale of Peter Rabbit is a must-see in England, as are the 'real' hobbit homes of Frodo and Bilbo Baggins in New Zealand. In the words of Dann (1998, pp. 29–30), tourists can visit 'the burial site of Alice in Wonderland, the House that Jack Built...and the precise spot where George slew the dragon'. Similarly, some places reinvent their heritage in an effort to capitalize on tourism, as in the case of Leavenworth, Washington (USA) – a successful and 'authentic-looking' Bavarian village that was never settled by Bavarians (Price, 1996; Timothy and Boyd, 2003).

Similarly, ethnic intruders might be considered part of the invented past. This happens when people of one culture take on the identity of people of another culture and attempt to pass themselves off to tourists as genuine ethnics. The Leavenworth example above hints at this, but a commonly cited example can be found at the Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawaii. There, Samoans are sometimes employed to interpret Fijian culture or Tahitians perform Maori dances, thereby falsifying the experience in the process, in the opinion of Douglas and Douglas (1991).

Finally, the fact that the past cannot possibly be understood from the perspective of today does not allow for authentic interpretations of history (see Bruner, Chapter 2; Timothy and Boyd, 2003). This line of thinking suggests that historians, conservationists, museologists and interpreters do not know enough about details of the past to be able to represent it accurately (Barthel, 1996; Burnett, 2001; Lowenthal, 1985). Thus, there will always be missing details and vague uncertainties.

Contested Heritage

Because there is no single view of history, heritage is often at the root of many conflicts; it is inherently a contested issue. Each perception of the past and each way of presenting it are subject to discordance and lack of agreement (Mordue, Chapter 19; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996), for historical 'truth' varies between interest groups and individuals.

In Chapter 21 Daniel Olsen and Dallen Timothy identify three types of heritage contestation. The first type exists when multiple groups with differing goals and perceptions claim the same heritage places, events and artefacts. Each faction asserts its 'truth' about history, while often downplaying the views of others. Conflicting interpretations of Native American and European battles and efforts by whites to settle the unclaimed western frontier of the United States, for instance, are a good example (see Buchholtz, Chapter 3). Native Americans tell of the widespread mass murder and bloodshed of innocents at the hands of the Europeans who were trying to steal their lands. The Anglo narrative portrays more peaceful negotiations with untamed savages and the settlers' right to subjugate the natives and their land by virtue of the myth of Manifest Destiny (Buchholtz, Chapter 3; Hubbard, 1984; Weinberg, 1963).

Jerusalem is probably one of the best global examples of this complex issue. This city, which is considered holy by Jews, Muslims and Christians alike, has been a passionately

contested location for many years (Clarke, 2000; Emmett, 2001). Today, Jerusalem is a hotbed of contention and lies at the centre of failed negotiations between the Israelis and Palestinians on the development of the Palestinian state. The inability to overcome the differences between desired sovereignty and the use of this shared heritage location is one of the most contentious dilemmas facing the Palestinian peace process. These overlapping interests in different heritages attached to a single place have significant implications for tourism, particularly in terms of what version of history will be told, the development of resources and services, and the provision of conflict-free experiences.

The second category of dissonant heritage is divisions within a single group, such as a national population. Sometimes various parties within a group will interpret their common heritage differently. This is typical in countries where more than one ethnicity dominates. The Anglo and Franco communities in Canada are a good example, as are the Chinese, Indian and Malay communities of Singapore (see Chang, Chapter 4; Leong, Chapter 13; Teo and Yeoh, Chapter 25; Tunbridge, 1998). Each of these groups approaches Canadian and Singaporean history from different perspectives.

Finally, parallel pasts – two or more histories occurring at the same time and place – create dissonance that differs from those noted above. Here, it is typically the heritage of the group(s) in positions of power that are emphasized in national identity exercises, educational curricula and tourism. This is particularly the case in colonial relationships, where the colonizers often censor the heritage of the colonized, the plight of Native Americans and African slaves being good examples. Often, when it comes to making decisions and creating policies regarding heritage conservation and interpretation, difficult questions tend to arise. Whose heritage should be interpreted? Which historical truths should be represented? This dilemma caused Bruner (1996, pp. 293–94) to note in the context of slave heritage in West Africa:

> Which story should be told? Vested interests and strong feelings are involved. Dutch tourists are interested in the two centuries of Dutch rule ... British tourists want to hear about colonial rule in the Gold Coast. Many Ashanti people have a special interest in the rooms where ... their king was imprisoned in ... 1896, after the defeat of the Ashanti forces by the British army.

Political Use of the Past

It is widely recognized that tourism is frequently used as a tool for achieving political ends (Kim *et al.*, in press). This is especially the case with cultural tourism, for cultural heritage can be easily controlled to advance the agenda of people in power.

A common manipulation of heritage is societal amnesia – that is, the intentional forgetting, or selective remembering, of events or situations from history that harm or assist a cause. Collective amnesia excludes and suppresses certain elements of history because they are unnerving or because powerful elites will gain control and additional power by concealing them. Such a forgetting may be blatantly intentional or it might be simply a result of history having been misinterpreted by record-keepers, reflecting the social mores, prejudices, political practices and ruling powers of the time. Unfortunately and predictably, most victims of societal amnesia have been ethnic and racial minorities, women and other 'marginal' peoples, and this has resulted in their lives and struggles being hidden from public view, including

that of tourists (Graham, 1996; Grainge, 1999; Leong, Chapter 13; McLean, 2006; Robinson, 1999).

Many examples of excluded pasts exist throughout the world, including Germany's treatment of its Nazi period and many Eastern European countries' attempts to minimize, and even eliminate, their communist patrimony (Ashworth, 1991; Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005; Charlesworth, Chapter5; Light, Chapters 14 and 15). Among the most stirring examples are the omissions from history of indigenous Australians, Asians, Americans and Africans at the hands of white European colonizers and traders. For the most part, colonizers saw the new lands as empty spaces full of natural resources that could be exploited for their financial gain. Nearly always, indigenous populations were killed, rounded up into reservations or enslaved in one form or another. The most commonly cited examples of perpetrators of these atrocities include South Africa, the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia, although many other nations are equally guilty of oppressing, enslaving and pilfering from native peoples everywhere. In all instances there were clear patterns of the systematic writing of indigenous people out of official history (Blancke and Slow Turtle, 1990; Gawe and Meli, 1990; Goudie *et al.*, Chapter 11; MacKenzie and Stone, 1990; Worden, Chapter 28).

In more recent years, however, the tides have turned, and enslaved people and, as noted by Michael Simons in Chapter 23 and by Ngaroma Tahana and Martin Oppermann in Chapter 24, ethnic minorities around the globe have begun to gain a voice in the reinterpretation and presentation of their heritage. Although there is still a great deal to be done in making amends and in recounting accurate histories, there is evidence to suggest that heritage managers, legislators, tourism industry leaders and community members at large are beginning to recognize the need to include all aspects of known history in their heritage interpretations. There is considerable evidence of this shift in the United States, Western Europe, Australia and South Africa (Allen and Brennan, 2004; Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005; Bartlett, 2001; Goudie *et al.*, Chapter 11; Smith, 2000).

A second use of heritage is to promote devotion to leaders and patriotism, or nationalism, within a nation-state. This may also occur in an effort to build emotional attachments to homelands among diasporic peoples (Carter, 2004; Pritchard and Morgan, Chapter 22). Heritage places are commemorated, or in some cases newly designed, to emphasize the virtues of certain political ideologies and national ideals (Henderson, 2003; McLean, Chapter 18; Timothy and Boyd, 2006). As discussed by T.C. Chang (Chapter 4), Athinodoros Chronis (Chapter 6) and Wai-Teng Leong (Chapter 13), battlefields, national cemeteries, monuments to national heroes and other sites important in the national psyche are central to this particular use of heritage. In the United States, for example, tours to Independence Hall in Philadelphia, Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia and Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania, are rich in nationalist nuances, and many people who visit these places are stirred emotionally by feelings of patriotism and spirituality (Gross, 2006; Timothy, 1997).

Under communist rule, heritage is often exploited to increase devotion to great leaders and their state socialist causes. This is particularly common with 'new heritage monuments', typically erected to commemorate recent revolutions and revolutionaries, which are symbols of national pride. This was a common practice in China and Eastern Europe prior to 1990, as well as in North Korea today (Hall, 1991; Kim *et al.*, in press). Likewise, in the former communist bloc of Central and Eastern Europe, citizens were encouraged to take holidays to government-sponsored resorts, many of which were closely tied to heritage resources of

national acclaim, where they could learn about great socialist leaders, the important role of the working class and the pre-eminence of the state (Hall, 1991; Kerpel, 1990). These activities are seen to reaffirm national identity and legitimize administrations in power.

Another perspective on this is the use, in some places, of cultural heritage as a medium to spread propaganda to foreign visitors. In this case, the past is manipulated – sometimes even reinvented – and retold in an effort to convince outsiders of the idyllic lifestyle of the country they are visiting (Clarke, 2000; Cohen-Hattab, 2004; Kim *et al.*, in press). Tours and tour guides play an important role in this endeavour. For example, in state-socialist countries, tours usually include visits to memorials dedicated to famous patriots, community centres, factories, schools and purpose-built villages where residents live in a consummate community that epitomizes the nation's cultural and political ideals (Timothy and Boyd, 2006).

Summary and Conclusion

This introduction has attempted to highlight the power relations and political exploitations that are inherent in the concept of heritage and heritage tourism. Cultural heritage tourism is among the most widespread and popular forms of tourism today and is dependent on resources that are highly contested and power-laden.

Many tourists, although not all, seek authentic experiences, or at least encounters with genuine places and artefacts. However, the concept of authenticity is an elusive one and may be manifested differently for different people, depending on their sociocultural backgrounds, the ways in which heritage is interpreted and preserved, and the conditions under which the heritage product is produced. Several forms of inauthenticity can be identified in the realm of heritage tourism, including unknown pasts, idealized history, societal amnesia, relative authenticity and invented traditions. Heritage is also used for political ends to exclude undesirable histories or peoples, to spread propaganda to outsiders, and to boost nationalist pride by extolling the heritage virtues of a country. Cultural heritage is highly contested within groups, between groups and among the inheritors of parallel pasts. Tourism itself contributes to the contested character of heritage, and as long as tourism continues to rely on elements of the cultural past, heritage will remain a resource in conflict.

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THE CONVERGENCE PROCESS IN HERITAGE TOURISM

Alexandros Apostolakis
University of Portsmouth, UK

Abstract: The theoretical background behind heritage tourism is conventionally categorized in terms of two stages: the demand and supply side approaches. This has resulted in a fragmented and usually conflicting framework. The purpose of this paper is to devise a model, which will substantiate the existence of both a continuum and a lateral relationship between the contrasting theoretical approaches to heritage tourism. The value added proffered here stems from the incorporation of authenticity as a linking device in each of the two approaches, unifying them into a single theoretical paradigm. The role of authenticity as a contemporary marketing tool, on tourism motivation and the image of the attraction is shown to be pivotal. **Keywords:** marketing, authenticity, definitions, motivation.

Résumé: Le processus de convergence dans le tourisme patrimonial. Le contexte théorique du tourisme patrimonial est normalement divisé en deux catégories : celle de l'offre et celle de la demande. Cette division a produit un cadre fragmenté et souvent contradictoire. L'objet de cet article est de concevoir un modèle qui prouve l'existence d'un continuum et d'une relation latérale entre les différentes approches théoriques au tourisme patrimonial. La valeur ajoutée que l'on offre ici provient de l'incorporation de l'authenticité comme un lien qui unit les deux approches en un seul paradigme théorique. On montre que le rôle de l'authenticité comme outil du marketing contemporain est essentiel pour la motivation du tourisme et l'image de l'attraction. **Mots-clés:** marketing, authenticité, définitions, motivation.

INTRODUCTION

Heritage tourism is currently experiencing a transformation in its operations. According to Meethan (1998), these changes are part of a shift from Fordist to Post Fordist forms of production (Fayos-Sola 1996; Ioannides and Debbage 1997; Uriely 1997). Such particularities refer primarily to the market operations underpinning today's society, as these are identified in the form of production and consumption processes. In a tourism context, Fordism encapsulates the mass produced, standardized tourism packages that appealed primarily to the mainstream market of the 1960s and the 1970s, whose motivation did not extend much further from the typical sun, sea, and sand holiday product.

Alexandros Apostolakis is with the University of Portsmouth, Department of Economics-Milton (Portsmouth PO4 8JF, UK. Email <alex.apostolakis@port.ac.uk>). His main research areas are heritage tourism in Greece, tourists' preference patterns, and sociology of tourism. Currently he is working on the examination of tourists' choices for heritage resources in Crete.

On the other hand, Post-Fordism was the outcome of the rapid technological innovations that occurred in society, out of the need to capture the "increasingly complex and diverse needs of demand" (Fayos-Sola 1996:406). This new paradigm has resulted in profound changes in both the production and consumption patterns underpinning heritage tourism. Urry (1990, 1996) has paid tribute to the emergence of the paradigm and the influence it exerted on heritage. His analysis suggested that this transformation in production (supply) and consumption (demand) patterns has resulted in a convergence between tourism and heritage activities.

The Convergence between Heritage and Tourism

Referring particularly to the process of convergence between heritage and tourism, the multiplicity of human motives and the subsequent supersegmentation of demand, all evident of the changing patterns of Post-Fordist operations, meant that the typical tourist moved away from the sun and sea holiday type of vacation, towards more sophisticated types of vacations where exclusivity, differentiation, and unique personal experiences are the norms of the day. Apart from the obvious similarities between heritage activity and tourism (Harrison 1997:23; Jolliffee and Smith 2001:162) that certainly played a role in the convergence process, the shift of focus experienced in the tourism industry from product driven to consumer driven, created the need for a unique experience. In order to accommodate this differentiation in human preferences, attention was turned to heritage attractions. The unique and at the same time collective nature of heritage resources meant that such attractions have developed into a "special" niche in the industry.

Nevertheless, Urry (1990) was not the first scholar to point at the convergence of tourism and heritage operations. Hewison (1987, 1989) also elaborated upon this phenomenon from a critical point of view (other scholars to comment on this phenomenon include Foley and McPherson 2000; Jolliffee and Smith 2001; Nuryanti 1996; Prentice 2001; Silberberg 1995; Taylor 2001). In essence, Post-Fordist heritage attractions have managed to combine the power to control knowledge with the power to disseminate it to the tourist (McLean 1995). The convergence process has meant that now heritage tourist manifestations are "an essential ingredient of the consumption growth poles, or cultural capital driven development complexes" (Richards 1996b:262). Therefore, nowadays "heritage is a contemporary commodity purposefully created to satisfy contemporary consumption" (Ashworth and Larkham 1994:16).

While it is fair to admit that such an argument bears Marxist connotations undermining the need of many attractions to meet the requirements for survival, it is a distinctive feature of the behavior of the majority of heritage officials. Thus, the argument by Ashworth and Larkham fully captures the perceptions of the majority of managers, who perceive their assets as completely differentiated, perfectly distinguishable one from the other, and unaffected by market operations

(Kirchberg 1996:241; McLean 1995:603; Schouten 1995:259; Tufts and Milne 1999:620).

In a similar fashion, the convergence process *within* heritage tourism relates to its parallel *between* heritage and tourism. According to the above brief examination, tourism and patrimonial activities have been brought together by the capitalistic operations, which characterize the Post-Fordist paradigm. Adopting a Marxist stance, Taylor (2001:13) argues that as capitalism is driven by the greed for money, so is tourism in the case of heritage. Hence, the two have been brought together under the paradigm by the operations of capitalism. The issue that will be analyzed in this paper revolves around the two contrasting approaches in the heritage tourism context, namely supply and demand paradigms. More specifically, this paper will attempt to substantiate the existence of a logical continuum combining the theoretical framework underpinning heritage tourism. Eventually this continuum will use the concept of authenticity as the linking device to combine both the supply and demand side approaches.

Having these objectives in mind, the paper will follow a simple structure. The analysis is divided into three stages: definitions of heritage tourism, tourist motivation and authenticity. Each stage of the analysis will be further divided into two distinct parts, which will describe the contrasting demand and supply frameworks within each stage in the heritage tourism context. Thus, for example, the investigation of tourist motivation will be divided into two paradigms. The same rule will apply for the other two stages as well. By the time the paper has covered the analysis of the theoretical framework behind heritage tourism, a two-chain model will be developed, creating a sequential flow among the three stages that comprise the heritage tourism background.

At this point, two observations must to be made. First, the "heritage tourism" and "heritage attractions" terms are used interchangeably in the text. Second, the presentation and justification for the two-chain model (described below) does not in any way mean to suggest that the definition of those concepts incorporated in the model can be simplified into a two case model. That would be an unfortunate generalization. In any case, such an arcane discussion would bring to mind the medieval debate about how many angels one could fit on the head of a pin. Instead, the purpose of the exercise is to summarize in the best possible way the multiplicity of definitions related to these concepts. These two chains will represent contrasting theorems behind heritage tourism. The contribution of the paper to the existing body of literature will include the transformation of the two-chain model into a *lateral* relationship model, where demand and supply side approaches converge through the operations of authenticity. The latter concept assumes a pivotal role in the model, incorporating both theoretical approaches through the operations of marketing.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROPOSED MODEL

Substantial research attention in the area of heritage tourism has been undertaken around the issues of definition (Dahles 1998; Garrod

and Fyall 2001; Poria, Butler and Airey 2001; Richards 1996a,b), motivation (Gnoth 1997; Kaufman 1999; Kim and Lee 2002), and authenticity (Moscardo 2001; Prentice 2001; Taylor 2001). All of these researchers have approached the concept of heritage tourism using a classical demand-supply paradigm to delineate the boundaries and the theoretical framework underpinning heritage tourism. Aside from Richards (1996a,b) this work understandably features some limitations with respect to fulfilling precisely their set of objectives. These limitations pertain to two matters.

First, they are not completely successful in establishing a linkage among definitions, tourist motivation, and authenticity. Second, the end result of their endeavors typically neglects (Garrod and Fyall 2001; Poria et al 2001), or often fails to acknowledge the existence of either the demand, or the supply side paradigm (Harrison 1997; Tufts and Milne 1999). Even in the case of Richards a direct linkage between the demand and supply side approaches is made, but with a very narrow focus on the demand aspects (consumption) of heritage tourism. Hence, Richards examines the convergence process of heritage tourism through concentrating on the consumer and the demand side (1996b:21). However, he neglects to administer the various degrees of motivation to account for the involvement of people in heritage consumption in the first place.

Given the recent emergence of heritage tourism as a form of contemporary competitive strategy, and despite curatorial perceptions that often run counter to such thinking (Carnagie and Wolnizer 1996:87; D'Ieteren 1998:5; Hewison 1987; Lowenthal 1985 and Zan 2001), its role is under policy scrutiny from many different perspectives. Discussion has moved on from how to merely attract a larger volume of individuals to a destination, towards a consideration of penetration ratios (Light and Prentice 1994; Richards 1996b:13). These studies (along with Dahles 1998; Foley and McPherson 2000; Prentice 2001) have implicitly argued that a situation has now been reached where the supply of heritage attractions far outstrips the current demand. In that way, and despite the fact that the number of heritage tourists has increased, demand for each resource (such as museum or heritage center) has actually declined. These early signs of market saturation suggest that existing heritage resources are competing for a slice of a relatively static pie. Therefore, attention nowadays has been concentrated not on the total number of receipts, but instead on visitation in relation to the broader area under consideration.

For the commercial development of a heritage destination this means that the focus of the destination should be to move many attractions from a stage of "being willing to take tourists to a stage of being able to accept tourists" (Silberberg 1995:62). At the same time, it is necessary to pursue basic research concerning tourists' initial motivation for undertaking their trip to a particular destination. Such an approach involves the need for a theoretical and empirical reflection of the demand and supply aspects of heritage tourism. First, to establish the nature of the continuum in the defining concepts of heritage tourism activity, support is developed to indicate that the different

theoretical approaches can be usefully brought together. Second, reasoning is advanced to explain why, in the face of increased competition among heritage destinations, tourism authorities cannot afford to dismiss either the demand or supply side approach. An attempt is made in the paper to establish a *lateral* relationship between the two approaches to policy development.

The Component Parts of the Model

According to the bulk of the literature in the area, there are two contrasting approaches regarding the early stage of the theoretical framework. The first definitional researchers (Ashworth and Larkham 1994; Garrod and Fyall 2001; Jamieson 1993; Law 1992; Millar 1989; Nuryanti 1996) can be described as the descriptive group. This group concentrates its efforts on defining the material components of culture and heritage such as attractions, objects of art, artifacts, relics, as well as more intangible forms of culture and heritage such as traditions, languages, and folklore. Another distinctive feature of this group is the recognition given to the difference between primary and secondary elements of heritage tourism activity. "Primary elements are those which attract people...whereas secondary elements enhance these attractions" (Law 1992:601). Hence, following this descriptive definitional group, heritage tourism can be distinguished into primary and secondary attractions.

The second definitional group (Dahles 1998; Moscardo 2001; Poria et al 2001; Prideaux and Kininmont 1999; Richards 1996a,b; Silberberg 1995) is based on experiences derived from the consumption of heritage resources and thus this definitional approach is described as experientially based. Centered on tourists' patterns regarding decisions to visit a particular destination, scholars belonging to this group focus on the significance of the individual's experiences, and perceptions of the destination site. Moscardo perceives heritage tourism to be "an experience which is produced by the interaction of the visitor with the resource" (2001:5). Similarly, Poria et al (2001:1048) identified heritage tourism as a phenomenon actually created by perceptions of the specific site. As one can see, the central issue in this approach pertains to motivations, expectations and cognitive perceptions formed in relation to the site. The experiential definition of heritage tourism thus embodies an interpersonal element. The linkages between the site, the potential tourists' motives, and their perceptions can be conceived as an interactive process.

Clearly, there appears to be a correlation between Richards' analysis and the two definitional approaches analyzed above. Richards (1996a,b) has argued that heritage tourism can be defined either as a process, or as a product. He suggests that the particular activity has a "sites and museums approach that clearly relates to the product based approach of tourism". On the other hand, he also formally defines the experiential approach as being more conceptually based, as it "attempts to describe the motive and the meaning attached to cultural types of heritage tourism activity" (1996b:9). Even though the oper-

ations of these two approaches are not directly related, people embark on heritage tourism motivated by their intrinsic feelings of nostalgia (Hewison 1987:45; Pretes 1995:13), social distinction (Bourdieu 1986:12; Moscardo 2001:10; Thorne 1999) and the need for an "authentic" experience (Cohen 1988:374). The drive to satisfy their original motivation triggers the demand for heritage displays. Such manifestations, capable of satisfying tourists' desires, transform heritage into a product.

In order to make an association between motivation and heritage tourism, one has to understand how motivation forms. Chon (1990) and Kim and Lee (2002) distinguish between push factors associated with cognitive (personal) evaluation and pull factors with the site's attributes. Several needs or desires create and constitute push factors, which describe the personal reasons for undertaking the trip (such as interest in archaeology). Inspired by Dann's (1981) analysis of tourism motivation, Bywater (1993) and Silberberg (1995) have devised two similar paradigms based on people's preferences. In particular, Bywater's motivational spectrum spanned across the culturally motivated, inspired, and attracted tourists. Silberberg (1995) incorporated two additional categories of tourists, the accidental and the non-user.

On the other hand, pull factors describe the generic characteristics of the destination (for example, pristine natural attractions). In particular, Laws argues that heritage sites are important as attractions (1998:545). In addition, McKercher contends that "the more powerful the attraction, the greater its ability to pull visitors from greater distances" (2001:30). Palmer also claims that "the heritage label has become an important means of attracting visitors to a variety of places" (1999:315). Thus, the more appealing and attractive heritage resources in a specific destination are, the stronger their pulling power will be.

The general meaning derived from the above observations is that heritage tourism relies on the strength of both the push and pull factors of the resources located in an area in order to appeal to potential tourists. Hence, positive marketing harnesses such attractiveness, whether it is present, or constructed by default, in a given destination. As far as push factors are concerned, the emergence of Post-Fordist operations in the tourism industry along with the multi-attribute nature of motivation, depending on personal-contingent situation, creates a highly heterogeneous heritage tourism niche. Simply put, different people are looking for different things in heritage tourism. Curators and managers have to find a way to accommodate this multiplicity of motivation associated with heritage tourism. On the other hand, the convergence in the operations of heritage and tourism signifies the emergence of heritage resources as attractions. This has direct implications for their management, manifested in terms of financial viability and resource preservation. As more succinctly put by Nuryanti, the scale and the significance of the attraction is an influencing factor in tourists' preferences (1996:254).

Therefore, it is possible to advance a typological model bonded with purely descriptive and purely experiential characteristics of heritage tourism activity. Descriptive (product specific) definitions can be

directly linked to pull factors and similarly, experiential (process specific) definitions can be related to push factors. Arguably, the relationship between the descriptive definitions of heritage tourism and pull factors will originate from the supply side, since both are based on the physical availability of heritage resources in a specific resort. On the other hand, the relationship between conceptual definitions of heritage tourism and push motivating factors will originate from the demand side theorizing, since both revolve around personal experiences and perceptions of the site.

The concept of authenticity is of pivotal significance in heritage tourism settings. This is so because authenticity is the attribute that brings the two component parts (tourist and attraction) together, under a unified model. Wang commented on that, arguing that the concept can be differentiated into two separate issues, that of "tourist *experiences*" (or authentic *experiences*) and that of "*toured objects*" (emphasis in original) (1999:351). The majority of scholars have grasped authenticity's significance in framing heritage tourism activity *per se* (MacCannell 1973:589; McIntosh and Prentice 1999:590; Waitt 2000:839), by considering this particular concept as a fundamental cornerstone of operations. Hughes is totally justified in noting that "the issue of authenticity runs as an obligato through tourism studies" (1995:781). The concept is unanimously recognized as the theoretical starting point of any endeavor in a heritage tourism context. In compliance with the above studies, authenticity will resume a central role in this discussion as well.

In a similar fashion as in the previous two stages of the theoretical framework, the concept of authenticity has both demand and supply side connotations. As to its demand side, scholars agree that authenticity cannot be objectively defined. For that matter, and given the multiplicity of motivations, Cohen (1988:374), Moscardo (2001:9), and Taylor (2001) have unanimously agreed that authenticity is a negotiable concept. Given the inability of either the tourist, or the host community, to accommodate some universal standards for what is considered to be authentic, each party can create a subjective framework of it. In that way, authenticity's nature evolves from a static into a flow concept, which can be formulated according to demand (tourists' motivation) patterns capable of dealing with any potential problems bound to arise (staged authenticity and commoditization).

This has resulted in the concept of authenticity being described as either a motivating factor behind heritage tourism consumption, as an experience, or even as the individual's perceptions of an attribute of a specific attraction, or destination. In this vein, Richards argues that "culture and heritage as a process will appeal to tourists seeking authenticity and meaning through their tourist experiences" (1996b:21). Dahles also considers the linkage between authenticity and conceptual definitions of heritage tourism, arguing that the successful promotion of heritage tourism involves the revelation "of the exact motives and meanings attached to cultural/ heritage activity" (Dahles 1998:66). Therefore, the author implicitly in her analysis allows for a broadening of the meaning of authenticity, without jeopardizing its intrinsic values.

As far as the supply side is concerned, several other researchers associate authenticity with the intrinsic values (or uniqueness) and characteristics of the site (or the resource). Thus, they value authenticity as a pulling factor. According to Teo and Yeoh, "As more and more tourists are attracted to a place, its authenticity will be put at stake. Tourists will select a destination not according to its intrinsic values of authenticity, but based on their expectations of the destination" (1997:193). According to the authors, this development will result in the shift of the attention away from the site's attributes (authenticity) and towards the tourist. Similarly, Tufts and Milne perceive authenticity as a particularly vulnerable site attribute endangered by the ever greater reliance of the industry on open market forces 1999:620).

Understandably, the concept of authenticity can be perceived as a generic and uncontestable attribute of any primary heritage manifestation. This approach appears more appealing to the conservation community, which accommodates a much more canonical and rigid approach towards heritage resource management (McLean 1995; Shafernich 1996). Correspondingly, the arguments in favor of approaching the concept of authenticity from a supply side paradigm support the view that not all heritage attractions share the same ability to attract people and thus do not share the same pulling power (Nuryanti 1997:254). Nevertheless, curators and tourism managers can use authenticity in order to attract customers and promote the site, taking advantage of the resource's attractiveness.

Therefore, this paper establishes a two-chain model linking in a coherent way the contrasting demand and supply approaches that underpin the three concepts making up the theoretical base upon which heritage tourism has been developed. Hence, a continuum exists among these three different aspects of heritage tourism activity based on the demand (consumption) and the supply (providers) side of heritage tourism activity (Figure 1). Nevertheless, increased competition among heritage tourism destinations, coupled with the need to further broaden the market for heritage resources, suggests that both of these different approaches that comprise the model must be considered.

Empirical Justification of the Model

Previously it was argued that Richards (1996b) has managed to establish a relationship between heritage tourism as a product and as a process using the concept of authenticity. Despite the orthodoxy surrounding the rationale of his suggestions, Richards has nevertheless neglected to incorporate the varying degrees of motivation and destination attractiveness in his model. Ignoring analyses of Bywater (1993), Dann (1981), Harrison (1997), and Silberberg (1995), Richards fails to accommodate the varying significance of authenticity on either the individual's decision to consume heritage (as a push factor), or the destination's attractiveness (as a pull factor). In essence, the value added coming out of this paper concentrates on the examination of

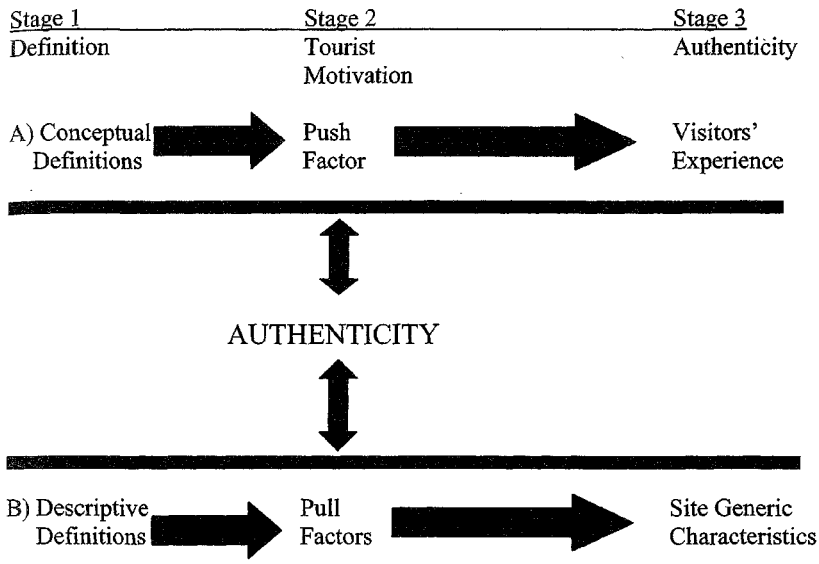

Figure 1. The Two Chain Model of Heritage Tourism

the ways through which authenticity will cater for these different degrees of motivation and attractiveness.

In doing so, the concept of authenticity permits heritage tourism operations to catch up with Post-Fordist market operations. This is achieved in two levels. Authenticity can act as a contemporary marketing device promoting the diverse nature of heritage resources allowing managers to diversify their "product" on offer to match market demand requirements (Halewood and Hannam 2001:567; Teo and Yeoh 1997:193; Waitt 2000:836). At the same time, it can cater for the multiplicity of market niches, meaning the multiplicity of tourist motivation segments (McIntosh and Prentice 1999:607; Prentice 2001:12; Wang 1999:355), in the same way as Post-Fordism has divided the diverse range of tourism demand segments. On a similar note, the fulfillment of this task will also provide sufficient evidence to substantiate the convergence process of heritage tourism activity.

Advocates of Lancaster's Characteristics Approach (LCA) suggest that people consume products, or services as in the case of heritage tourism, not for the products themselves, but for the satisfaction derived from the consumption of the attributes associated with these products. Hence, the satisfactions which consumers desire are provided by the attributes, or characteristics of goods, and not by themselves. "A product, in short, is a bundle of satisfactions, or characteristics, and not merely a good, or service, *qua* good, or service" (Reekie and Crook 1995:167). Lancaster summarized the theoretical underpinning of his stand arguing that "the good per se does not give utility to the consumer, it possesses characteristics, and these characteristics give rise to utility" (1966:134). It is useful to note that LCA might

sound tautological in nature. For it is considered natural that people consume goods for the satisfaction derived from their attributes. What else could people consume goods for?

It is however this "tautology" in LCA that identified the flaws of traditional microeconomic theory regarding the incorporation of personal tastes which gave rise to the alternative theory of consumer demand. That is because one does not pay any attention to physical entities such as a museum or a heritage park, but instead recognizes only a bundle of services, or characteristics (such as authenticity) that each attraction provides to each individual.

For an illustration of LCA applied in a heritage tourism context, one can assume that people are presented with a situation where they have to make a choice between consuming heritage tourism attraction A over B. Their choice depends solely on two characteristics, authenticity and re-enactment. The individual, faced with a choice between these two distinct resources with different proportions of re-enactment and authenticity will eventually choose to consume the attraction where his utility (satisfaction) from consuming heritage manifestations meets the preferred combination of the two product attributes. In this example, authenticity and re-enactment were the chosen product attributes since they generally represent opposite connotations (authenticity something real, whereas re-enactment something made up).

Thus, authenticity is an attribute that characterizes heritage tourism activity. The most important derivation of this model lies on the fact that the consumer alone ascribes its significance as an attribute of heritage tourism consumption each time. Hence, the potential tourist will determine his/her consumption according to the levels of authenticity that maximize satisfaction. The derived satisfaction (utility) from consumption of any of the two characteristics will depend on either the effective time or budget constraints the consumer is faced with. In addition to that, LCA also allows for the possibility that different market segments as well as attractions will each accommodate varying degrees of authenticity. Therefore, authenticity is subjectively constructed, depending on the significance that the individual ascribes to it and the market requirements the supplier of heritage attractions is faced with. Being a subjective, or conceptual attribute, it is very difficult to precisely define. Hence, authenticity can be considered a negotiable concept, which can accommodate varying degrees of interpretation and motivation.

The assertion made at the very beginning of the analysis involving the Post-Fordist paradigm and the changing significance of heritage tourism is equally applicable in this point as well. The dawn of this mass period in the early 80s has changed the discourse of heritage tourism (Prentice 2001; Wang 1999). Post-Fordist heritage tourism will be distinctively different from the polemic, authoritarian, and homogeneous product during the Fordist era (Uriely 1997:983). Putting authenticity into perspective, tourists can use their intellect to interpret authenticity as they want, closer to their standards and understandings. In that way, authenticity (and consequently heritage) will imply diverse things to diverse people (Ashworth and Larkham 1994; Dahles 1998;

Metin 2001; Nuryanti 1997; Poria et al 2001). Since contemporary (Post-Fordist) tourists can accommodate a different perception of what authenticity is, its interpretation, or rather staged authenticity, becomes unimportant. Different segments of the market (suppliers and/or consumers) can assimilate their own personal constructs of authenticity, adjusted to cater for their cognitive motives, expectations, and degree of attractiveness derived from the act of heritage consumption.

Imagine a situation characterized by a multiplicity of heritage attractions and market segments. On the one hand there are the primary attractions, emphasizing authenticity and on the other hand are the secondary attractions, which proffer higher levels of re-enactment. At the same time, however, these two distinct heritage attractions will appeal to different market segments. Logically, primary heritage resources will appeal to heritage enthusiasts, interested in the authenticity proffered by the exhibit, while secondary heritage attractions will appeal to the rest of the market, who are interested to put the meaning exerted by the attraction into a general context.

Secondary heritage attractions in that way exhibit an element of constructed authenticity. In order to cater for this somewhat constructed experience, museums and heritage centers belonging to this category have started to devote much more energy and attention into analyzing consumer requirements. Hence, by emphasizing the demand side of the heritage market, they can create a multiplicity of attractions based on the varying degrees of authenticity that each market segment can adhere to. Authenticity in that way adopts a paramount role in marketing and customizing heritage attractions according to peoples' motivation patterns.

Combining the ability of authenticity to cater for the multiple heritage segments by constructing analogous heritage attractions, with Dann's assertion that "push factors precede pull factors" (1981:207), a process is formed, through which tourism officials and curators can accommodate the two contrasting approaches underpinning heritage operations and frame the two chains of the model discussed above.

Even though the model developed can be criticized as based on highly theoretical assumptions, some empirical evidence is provided to accredit the validity of the arguments. The case studies to be considered below draw heavily from the UK paradigm. However, this does not reduce the theoretical, not to mention empirical, validity of the arguments expressed. Pritchard and Morgan (1996, 1998 and 2001) have researched extensively the marketing of the Celtic periphery. In their last study, they utilize the unique and universal attributes of heritage tourism discussed earlier in conjunction with the fact that no two markets are the same.

The authors devote much energy to establish that in both international and national destinations, managers have to "differentiate their product by stressing attributes they claim will match their target markets" (Pritchard and Morgan 1998:216). This way, managers work towards matching the correct pull motivating attributes with the correct push segments. The predominance of push motivating features

over pull features is quite evident. In addition to that, Pritchard and Morgan (2001), make extensive references to the uniqueness and universality of tourism. In particular, the authors manage to distinguish the unique characteristics that will impact on the core heritage tourists aiming at high levels of authenticity and the corresponding universal (generic) characteristics of the attraction that will appeal to the mainstream tourist aiming at re-enactment.

Another current example where authenticity has managed to converge the supply and demand paradigms of heritage tourism is presented through the operations of the Jorvic heritage center, at York. Its opening heralded a new era in heritage tourism manifestations. According to Shafernich (1996:39), the center started to substantiate only after extensive market research to elicit potential heritage tourists' preference patterns. The arrangement and the experiences proffered by the center had been done in such a way as to best match demand's requirements. Further, the recent flood of demand-oriented studies supplies additional evidence for the applicability of the proposed model regarding attendance patterns in heritage tourism attractions. To a large extent, the reason for the recent emergence of such studies in the literature (Kirchberg 1996; Prentice 1994; Prentice, Davies and Beeho 1997 to name just a few) is that heritage attractions have to comply with the market driven developments (Prentice 1994:264) introduced by Post-Fordism. The indirect purpose of these studies was to identify market segments and participants'/non-participants' characteristics and motivation patterns in order to adjust the provision of heritage attractions to their levels.

An alternative approach of explaining how the concept of authenticity can cater for the different segments of personal motivation or resource attractiveness is through contemporary marketing operations and product repackaging. Marketing operations in a heritage tourism context are directed towards repackaging the initial product in order to make it more appealing and accessible to the mass market. Authenticity can be distinguished into both a demand and a supply side paradigm. Correspondingly, the former is associated with peoples' preferences (Waller and Lea 1998) and expectations (Wang 1999). Similarly, the supply side is associated with perceptions (Waller and Lea 1998) and toured objects (Wang 1999).

Therefore, it is the perceptions of the destination's image on the one hand and the individual preferences on the other, are the attributes of authenticity that will interact with contemporary marketing techniques in order to lure more individuals to heritage attractions. "The battle ground for market is now fought over as much by the evocation of emotions and the proffering of sensations through promotional material as by tangible product qualities" (Prentice 2001:5). In that way, however, authenticity generated by the supply side paradigm in the form of tourist images and degree of attractiveness will coincide with authenticity emerging from the demand side paradigm in the form of motivation and expectations to the extent that they are both being subjected to marketing practices.

Alternatively, LCA can be equally useful in accounting for different

tourists' patterns and destinations' attractiveness through the use of marketing techniques, because, according to Reekie and Crook, "it permits us to distinguish between the impact of advertising on *perceptions* of product attributes and *changes in taste* for different attributes" (1995:171, emphasis in original). Hence, they argue, whereas common practice economic theory suggests that marketing and advertising campaigns influence the demand for a specific product in general, LCA argues that marketing can affect peoples' perceptions of the attributes that characterize consumption and heritage tourism activity. Adopting therefore LCA, "the whole process is extraordinarily simple. A new product simply means addition of one or more activities to the consumption technology. More usually, we can expect a new good to possess characteristics in somewhat different proportions to an existing good" (Lancaster 1966:150). Hence, one can more easily identify the influences of marketing practices on authenticity levels and thus heritage consumption.

Figure 2, as an example describes a situation where the consumer alters choice and preference patterns as a result of marketing and product repackaging. Given three attractions (A, B, and C) each having two attributes (authenticity and re-enactment), individuals associate

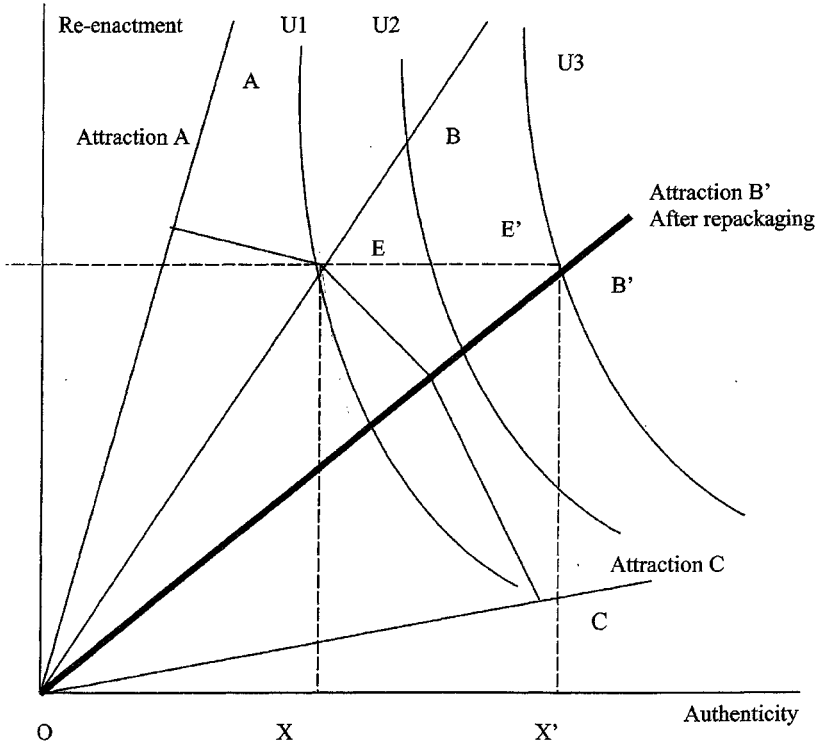

Figure 2. Product Repackaging in the Case of Authenticity

attraction A with higher levels of re-enactment than attraction C and thus choose to adjust their consumption along the U_1 utility curve at point E, subject to a budget constraint represented by line ABC. This line, called the efficiency frontier indicates a constraint above which consumption cannot keep increasing.

After a major product redevelopment campaign in attraction B, targeting specifically on authenticity levels takes place (and with any other variable, such as tourists' income or prices stable), this attraction is now consumed due to changes in people's perceptions regarding one of the attraction's attributes, namely authenticity. Realizing that the market for heritage attractions has started to change preferences, attraction B initiates a strategy which targets on the market segment and the preference patterns drawn to attraction C. Even though the tourist still associates attraction C with higher levels of authenticity, he/she switches to attraction B. It is important to note how the marketing campaign has changed the consumer's preferences (Figure 2), allowing for a move to a new *production ray* OB' gaining XX' extra amounts of authenticity and U_3–U_1 levels of satisfaction (Reekie and Crook 1995). Employing a given marketing strategy, attraction B has now managed to adjust the level of authenticity to meet the changing consumption patterns and preferences. Driven by the competitive nature of the market, attraction B has to find a way to tap into the expanding market for heritage attractions. According to the analysis, it did so by becoming more competitive in relation to attraction C.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper has been twofold. On the one hand to devise a model that would incorporate all three stages of the heritage tourism framework (definition, motivation, and authenticity) and link them in a coherent way. The other task has been to combine the two approaches encompassed by each stage of the model, in order to construct a lateral relationship between them. Combining the demand and supply paradigms of heritage tourism, a convergence in operations has been achieved. The analysis indicated the significant role of the concept of authenticity in the whole process. Acting as both a push and a pull factor, authenticity managed to combine the descriptively based (product defined) approach of heritage tourism with the conceptually based (motivation oriented) heritage tourism. In addition to that, authenticity's ability to operate as a contemporary marketing tool capable to impact on both motivation and the image of the heritage attraction has proved equally crucial in the whole exercise.

Based on the changing focus in heritage tourism manifestations from product centered to consumer oriented, the concept of authenticity manages to generate a procedure through which product characteristics stemming from the supply side of the model adjust accordingly to incorporate the multiplicity of market segments as these are presented through tourists' motivation patterns. The evidence gathered from empirical studies, suggests that tourism managers have to draw particular attention to market operations through user (non

user) studies. In addition to that, a change in curators' managerial ethos is required in order to incorporate the increasing significance of market operations and customer preference patterns.

The fact that personal preferences have gained a central role in the examination of market trends for heritage tourism manifestations in recent times sets the agenda for future research in the area. Focusing on what tourists really want to derive from a visit to a heritage attraction suggests that a detailed examination of individuals' preference patterns in respect of visitation to a heritage tourism resource should be the primary concern of practitioners active in the field. The assumptions of perfectly differentiated heritage attractions and that of a homogeneous customer base, even though they did work in the past, will certainly not guarantee future survival. The "tourist specific" orientation of future heritage manifestations, as opposed to the "subject specific" orientation of past heritage manifestation indicates that further research has to be done in the area surrounding heritage tourists' preference patterns. ■

Acknowledgements—The author would like to express his gratitude to Jeff Grainger and Alan Collins, both in the Department of Economics and Gary Akehurst, Department of Business and Management, University of Portsmouth, for their constructive criticism on earlier drafts of the paper.

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Submitted 19 May 2002. Resubmitted 11 October 2002. Accepted 31 January 2003. Final version 28 February 2003. Refereed anonymously. ***Coordinating Editor: Auvo Kostiainen***

[2]

Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism

EDWARD M. BRUNER
Department of Anthropology
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

POSTMODERN WRITERS SAY THAT IN HYPERREALITY the reproduction is better than the original; for example, a museum diorama is more vivid and effective than the scene represented (Eco 1986:8). Jean Baudrillard writes that Americans construct imitations of themselves and that the perfect definition of the simulacra is when the reproduction is "more real" than the original (1988:41; see also Eco 1986:18). Meaghan Morris writes that once we have a simulacra, "the true (like the real) begins to be reproduced in the image of the pseudo, which begins to become the true" (1988:5). Umberto Eco contends about America that "the past must be preserved and celebrated in full-scale authentic copy; a philosophy of immortality as duplication" (1986:6). Eco takes us on a "journey into Hyperreality in search of instances where the American imagination demands the real thing, and, to attain it, must fabricate the absolute fake" (1986:7).

Is this just postmodern gibberish, and are the writings of Baudrillard and Eco simply the babblings of a long series of Europeans who have "rediscovered" an America of the Continental imagination?

Baudrillard (1983) writes that in this postindustrial era, we have entered a new stage of history, an electronic one, marked by changes in information flow and patterns of reproduction. In the Renaissance we had originals and counterfeits; in the industrial period we had the serial repetition of the same object; but in this postmodern phase we have simulation, without origins, referential values, or beginnings, where the simulacrum becomes the true. For Baudrillard and for Eco, America is hyperreality. "America cultivates no origin or mythical authenticity; it has no past and founding truth . . . it lives in a perpetual present . . . it lives in perpetual simulation" (Baudrillard 1988:76).

My objectives in this essay are to examine critically the postmodern perspective of Baudrillard and Eco; to develop a view of historical reproduction based on a constructivist position that sees all culture as continually invented and reinvented (Bruner 1984); and to argue for transcending such dichotomies as original/copy and authentic/inauthentic. My interest is in a critique of postmodernism, but as the term is used so loosely, in such diverse ways—from architecture to the arts to scholarship to popular media—in the interest of clarity, I take postmodernism to refer specifically to the writings of Baudrillard and Eco, two of the more prominent practitioners, and even more narrowly to their work on copies and originals in America. Lest the focus seem too narrow, it should be noted that the theory of simulacra is an essential component of many different postmodern positions.

I argue also that in the work of Baudrillard and Eco about America, despite their theoretical arguments against origins, there is an implicit original, and it is Europe, for America is seen as essentially a satellite of Europe (Baudrillard 1988:76). I will show also that not only Baudrillard and Eco but scholars such as Dean MacCannell and Richard Handler, in their writings on authenticity, retain an essentialist vocabulary of origins and reproductions. Derrida (1974) has taught us that these either/or binaries are built into Western metaphysics, and that not only are such oppositions established but one term is privileged at the expense of the other.

In order to examine these issues, I turn to an ethnographic example, to Lincoln's New Salem, a historic site in central Illinois, and to the museum professionals in charge of producing New Salem. A historic site is a good place to gather data on issues of reproductions, originals, and authenticity[1] because museum professionals struggle with these issues daily. They are the working practitioners who take responsibility for the staging of the site. They continually construct and reconstruct New Salem as they change exhibits, develop new story lines, and train interpreters and guides. Among historic sites, New Salem is a particularly appropriate place to study as the literature at the site calls New Salem an "authentic reproduction," an intriguing oxymoron, as we are not sure if it is an original or a copy; we will want to explore the meaning of this term.

Baudrillard and Eco do not deal with the significance of historic reproductions to the tourists and visitors except by implication. As this essay rejects some of the postmodernist generalizations, in the concluding section I present an alternative reading of the significance of New Salem that contrasts with the views of Baudrillard and Eco. My alternative view is derived from preliminary fieldwork with the tourists themselves. While this segment of the essay is admittedly speculative, it contains the seeds of a revisionist position focused on the construction of meaning by visitors to sites. My hypotheses are that the tourists at New Salem are (1) learning about their past, (2) playing with time frames and enjoying the encounters, (3) consuming nostalgia for a simpler bygone era, and simultaneously (4) buying the idea of progress, of how far we have advanced. Finally, they are also (5) celebrating America, which at New Salem means the values and virtues of small-town America. These experiences go well beyond a search for authenticity. The New Salem experience provides visitors with a sense of identity, meaning, and attachment.

In the conclusions, we apply what we have learned about New Salem to postmodernism and to the literatures on the invention of tradition, authenticity, and historic sites in America. Rather than more grand theorizing about the postmodern condition, this essay offers an alternative perspective based on a specific case study utilizing the methods of ethnography and the concepts of performance and practice.

New Salem

New Salem Historic Site[2] is a reconstructed village and outdoor museum in Illinois where Abraham Lincoln lived in the 1830s (Thomas 1934). Most Americans know that Abraham Lincoln was U.S. president during the Civil War, that he freed the slaves, and that he was assassinated in 1865. Arguably the greatest American folk hero, Lincoln's life is an embodiment of the American success ideology. Abraham Lincoln came to New Salem at the age of 22, and he lived there between 1831 and 1837. In his own words, Lincoln arrived as "a piece of floating driftwood," "a friendless, uneducated penniless boy," and by hard work and strength of character this humble backwoodsman left New Salem to become a lawyer and politician in the state capital. An Illinois Historic Preservation Agency handout distributed at the park, entitled "Lincoln's New Salem" (n.d.), says,

> The six years Lincoln spent in New Salem formed a turning point in his career. From the gangling youngster who came to the village in 1831 with no definite objectives, he became a man of purpose as he embarked on a career of law and statesmanship.

The same theme appears in Sandburg's famous biography, where he calls New Salem "Lincoln's 'Alma Mater' " (1954:743) and refers to the site as Lincoln's "nourishing mother" (1954:55). Implicit in the story is the "frontier hypothesis" of Frederick Jackson Turner, which suggests that, just as the United States was formed by overcoming the obstacles of the wilderness, so too Lincoln was formed by overcoming the hardships of frontier life. Also implicit is the notion that America is an open society, that the American dream of success can be achieved by anyone willing to work hard by day and study by night. New Salem, then, is a national shrine, a site of America's civil religion, because it was the locality that gave birth to the adult Lincoln. New Salem was the site of transformation, and Lincoln's story is the story of America, the rags-to-riches, log-cabin-to-White-House American myth.

The premier tourist attraction in Illinois, drawing over a half million visitors a year, New Salem Village is located in a 640-acre park that also contains a campground and picnic areas. The site is a public facility owned by the state of Illinois. The village consists of 23 log houses, and in most of the houses there are interpreters in period dress who greet the tourists, discuss aspects of life in the 1830s, tell about the original residents of the house, and answer the tourists' questions. It is third-person interpretation, although in practice it sometimes slips into first person.[3] The site features craft demonstrations, including blacksmithing and cooking, carding, spinning and dying of wool, and the making of candles, soap, brooms, shoes, and spoons. New Salem is one of a number of reconstructed prairie villages in the Midwest, and indeed, Baudrillard and Eco are correct: there are many reconstructed historic sites in America (Anderson 1984).

Authenticity, Copies, and Originals

Ada Louise Huxtable (1992:24) writes that "It is hard to think of a more dangerous, anomalous, and shoddy perversion of language and meaning than the term 'authentic reproduction'." She is writing about Colonial Williamsburg, but the term is used at many other historic sites.[4] New Salem is one of the sites that describes itself in its own brochures as an "authentic reproduction." We ask, What does this mean? Rather than to give a general answer to the question, I turn first to the discourse produced by museum professionals, by the staff and the interpreters at New Salem, to learn how the term *authentic reproduction* is used. As anthropologists know, the meaning of any expression is not a property inherent in the wording or in the dictionary, but rather is dependent on the perceptions and practices of those who use the expression.

By *authentic reproduction*, the museum professionals acknowledge that New Salem is a reproduction, not an original; but they want that reproduction to be authentic in the sense of giving the appearance of being like the 1830s. Most aim for what Taylor and Johnson (1993) call "historical verisimilitude," to make the 1990s New Salem resemble the 1830s New Salem. *Authentic* in this sense means credible and convincing, and this is the objective of most museum professionals, to produce a historic site believable to the public, to achieve mimetic credibility. This is the first meaning of *authenticity*.

Some museum professionals go further, and speak as if the 1990s New Salem not only resembles the original but is a complete and immaculate simulation, one that is historically accurate and true to the 1830s. This is the second meaning of *authenticity*. In the first meaning, based on verisimilitude, a *1990s* person would walk into the village and say, "This looks like the 1830s," as it would conform to what he or she expected the village to be. In the second meaning, based on genuineness, an *1830s* person would say, "This looks like 1830s New Salem," as the village would appear true in substance, or real. I found that museum professionals use *authenticity* primarily in the first sense, but sometimes in the second. Handler and Saxton (1988:242) write that for all living-history practitioners, authenticity is an exact isomorphism, the second meaning; but I found at New Salem this was so only for some practitioners, some of the time. In order to achieve authenticity, museum professionals rely on historical scholarship, on such sources as

archeological research, deeds, court documents, diaries, letters, newspaper accounts, recorded statements and memories of older settlers, and comparative evidence of other 1830s villages in the Midwest, as these sources are interpreted by scholars and experts.

There are at least two other meanings of *authenticity*. In the third sense, it means original, as opposed to a copy; but in this sense, no reproduction could be authentic, by definition. New Salem Historic Site, however, claims to have some original objects and one original building,[5] so the aura of authenticity pervades the 1990s site, as if the luster of the few originals had rubbed off on the reproductions. In the fourth sense, *authenticity* means duly authorized, certified, or legally valid; in this sense New Salem is authentic, as it is the authoritative reproduction of New Salem, the one legitimized by the state of Illinois. There is only one officially reconstructed New Salem, the one approved by the state government. This is a fascinating meaning because, in this sense, the issue of authenticity merges into the notion of authority. The more fundamental question to ask here is not if an object or site is authentic, but rather who has the authority to authenticate, which is a matter of power—or, to put it another way, who has the right to tell the story of the site. This question emerged late in the 19th century when the term *authenticity* first appeared in New Salem discourse.

After William Randolph Hearst purchased the site in 1906 and donated the land to the local Chautauqua Association, the movement to reconstruct New Salem appeared poised to achieve its objective, for a reconstructed New Salem had become a real possibility. The question emerged, What did the 1830s New Salem look like? The village had been abandoned in 1839 and, by 1906, the site was simply a barren plot of ground on the top of a hill with no remaining buildings or markers. Local historians, journalists, politicians, entrepreneurs, businesspeople, the descendants of the original settlers, and residents in the surrounding Menard County who had an interest in the reconstruction all voiced their views and their interests. Authenticity committees were formed. This concern with authenticity began even before any museum professionals or scholars became involved in the reconstruction. Questions surfaced, such as: Where should the buildings be located? Should they be built with one story or two? What were the details of construction? Which material objects should be in which houses?[6]

From the late 19th century to the present, experts gave different answers to these questions, reflecting their own understandings and concerns. Even before it was given to Illinois in 1919, the reconstructed New Salem was a contested site. The layers of contestation—scholarly versus popular views of Abraham Lincoln, various descendants of the original settlers defending their family names, New Salem as a public park versus as a historic site, the Lincoln message versus craft activities, and historical versus business interests—have hovered over New Salem as the dark clouds of a thunderstorm engulf the Illinois prairie (Bruner 1993b).

Because of conflicting interests and the struggle over meaning at New Salem, the fourth sense of *authenticity*—who has the authority and the power to authenticate—is always present in the background, at least for museum professionals, insiders, locals, and scholars, and at times of open dissent becomes even more prominent. However, most tourists are not aware of authenticity in this fourth sense, unless a particular dispute over interpretation becomes a public issue. The museum staff rely on the authority of professional and local historians, but frequently the scholars do not agree. Because the state of Illinois owns the site and provides the funding, some (e.g., Wallace 1981) might expect the site to reflect the interests of the dominant classes and the elite; but the administrators at New Salem report that in practice state officials will rarely interfere, and then only when an issue has become openly politicized. The problem is not one of the establishment versus the people, but rather one of multiple competing voices, even within what may appear to be such homogeneous blocks as the scholars, the people, the locals, or the establishment. There are many different views, and the question is, Who has the authority to decide which version of history will be accepted as the correct or

authentic one (Bruner 1993a)? The issue of who constructs history is a familiar one in this age of multiculturalism.

In summary thus far, we have identified four meanings of *authenticity*[7] based on verisimilitude, genuineness, originality, and authority. Museum professionals at New Salem accept the first and strive for a New Salem that resembles the 1830s and is credible to the visitors; they occasionally lapse into the second and speak of an accurate simulation; they tend to ignore the third as New Salem is an acknowledged reproduction, except for a few originals; and they cannot avoid the fourth, the question of authority. The problem with the term *authenticity*, in the literature and in fieldwork, is that one never knows except by analysis of the context which meaning is salient in any given instance. My aim was to understand the different meanings of *authenticity* as employed in social practice rather than to accept at face value the usually unexamined dichotomy between what is and what is not authentic.

The staff at New Salem use the term *authenticity* consciously and frequently, and they want to work toward the approximation of a believable simulation, if not an accurate one, in part because their reputations and their professional identities depend on it. They are defined by others and define themselves as experts on the 1830s. We may then ask, Have the museum professionals achieved authenticity at New Salem in either the first or second senses? Is New Salem either a credible simulation or true to the 1830s original? How well do the museum professionals achieve their objectives? I begin with some trivial examples and then move to deeper levels, from the explicit to the implicit, as we penetrate the unexamined and the taken-for-granted.[8]

The Site

One day the superintendent saw a gasoline can exposed to public view in the cooper shop, and he requested that in the future it be hidden from the visitors. If the gasoline can was needed, he said, it could be retained, but it should not be visible. On another occasion, one of the interpreters constructed a flower bed outside the Sam Hill house, as after the construction of a new road there was a patch of ground that got muddy in the rain and the tourists tracked mud into the house. When the assistant superintendent saw the flowers she said they looked "ridiculous" and were not "authentic," as there were no flower beds in the 1830s, and she promptly replaced the flowers with less obtrusive wood shavings. Although one could raise questions about the shavings, in these two cases items considered inappropriate, a gasoline can and flowers, were simply replaced or removed from the tourist view. Authenticity in either the first sense of believable or the second as genuine cannot be taken for granted; there is backsliding, and the site needs constant monitoring and editing.

At New Salem there are many conscious compromises to authenticity. Some are necessary for the creation or longevity of the site, while others (most) are designed to make the visitors' experience more enjoyable. These compromises are the little white lies of historical reconstruction. They make the reconstructed New Salem better than the original, at least for contemporary tourists.

Here are examples. Gutters are constructed on the log cabins to channel rainwater. In the past the animals would roam free, but now they are fenced in so that animal waste is not scattered throughout the village and so that visitors are protected. There are fences, made to look as if they were original, that are designed to direct the flow of tourist traffic. Unobtrusive restrooms have been built with drinking fountains on the side, a convenience not found in the 1830s. Along the path, benches have been erected so that the visitors may sit and rest. The road is now paved so that when it rains the tourists do not have to walk in the mud. The schoolhouse in the 1830s was located 1.5 miles away from the village, but it has been reconstructed inside the compound for the convenience of the visitors. The carding mill is supposedly operated entirely by animal power, by oxen moving in a circle, but it has a hidden motor. The Rutledge Tavern and

the first Berry-Lincoln Store have electric heaters placed so that they cannot be seen by the tourists. The caulking between the logs on the sides of the cabins is now made of cement, but in the 1830s cement had not yet been invented. There is a disguised security gate around the entire village to protect against vandalism, as well as a security system and alarm boxes, which the tourists never see. At one time New Salem provided self-guided commentaries from recording devices, which have since been removed; but there are still small wires sticking out from some of the houses. As the houses are old, they periodically need renovation. In one case over 50 percent of a house was renovated, and the state building codes required that a ramp be built for persons who use wheelchairs. A flagstone ramp was constructed as required, but is kept covered up with leaves and dirt so that it will be less conspicuous. At New Salem the lawn is now mowed. I asked the superintendent if they mowed in the 1830s and he replied that they probably did not, adding that if you do not mow your lawn in central Illinois now you are not regarded as a good citizen. Many more such examples of conscious compromises to a believable or precise replication could be presented, but more subtle factors are at work, to which I now turn.

The houses at the 1990s New Salem represent the original 1830s houses, thus they are weathered to look old so that they will be more credible, as the original houses existed 160 years ago. The 1830s houses, however, actually looked much newer, as the village of New Salem was founded in 1829 and abandoned by 1839, a period of only ten years. The 1830s houses were not occupied long enough to look aged, hence the 1990s houses at New Salem appear older than the originals. This example shows that there is a tension between the first and second meanings of *authenticity*. To the degree that the houses look old and weathered, they are more credible to the visitors but are a less accurate reproduction of the 1830s. The houses also look more respectable than those of the original village, as all are substantial log houses and there are no cabins, shacks, or flimsy structures, which may well have existed in the 1830s village. Thus 1990s New Salem presents a more suburban version of history, and this is built into the construction of the houses and the site. Again, it makes the site more believable to 1990s tourists, but less true to the 1830s original.

In the 1830s, over the ten years of occupation, the surrounding trees were cut down to obtain lumber for building and for firewood; but in the reconstructed New Salem, the trees have been allowed to grow and hence the foliage is more dense and lush. In the 1990s the thick stand of trees at New Salem gives the village a much more rural and rustic appearance than in the 1830s.

The interpreters are in period dress, but they have a special problem with eyeglasses. The volunteers and the staff do wear their own eyeglasses, which they need, but some have bought small round "granny" glasses, as these are somehow thought to look more "old-fashioned." The costumes in general present a dilemma, as no one really knows about the dress of the original occupants of New Salem. There are no specific records about attire.

A June 19, 1936, newspaper account from the *Peoria Journal* reads as follows: "Four guides at the village wear jeans jackets and trousers, linsey-woolsey shirts and leather boots as part of their costumes, to portray the role of the original residents." Although jeans, wool shirts, and boots may have been an acceptable version of 1830s dress for the 1930s, this is no longer the case in the 1990s, as most students and many visitors themselves now wear jeans. There has to be some difference in attire to distinguish between the tourists and those who play the parts of the original residents. What was proper 1830s dress in 1930 is not proper in 1990; in terms of the concepts developed in this essay, what was considered authentic in the sense of credible in one historical era has changed in the course of 60 years. Standards change, and what any era considers authentic moves in and out of consciousness. The museum professionals at historic sites realize that they need to be aware of the public's sense of what is believable—a complex problem, because there are many publics; because some persons are more aware,

knowledgeable, or skeptical than others; and because the professional's and the public's view are not independent, for each shapes and is shaped by the other, in dialogic interplay.

When I initiated research at New Salem in 1988, there was little discussion of the interpreter's costumes; but this changed during the summer of 1990. At that time some of the staff made the criticism that too many interpreters dressed the same, that all the costumes seemed to be derived from the television series "Little House on the Prairie," that everyone wore work clothing, and that they all looked like farmers. As the accuracy of the costumes was called into question, an internal dialogue began among the staff about authenticity. As Lionel Trilling (1972) notes, authenticity becomes an issue only after a doubt arises.

The debate about clothing reminded me somewhat of Victor Turner's concept of social drama, and illustrates the constructivist process at work in showing how the culture at New Salem is continually reinvented. At first the style of clothing was simply accepted and was neither examined nor discussed. The critique of clothing practices emerged as an abrupt breach, as a rupture of accepted custom, leading to a period of doubt, wide discussion, and a mounting crisis. Alternative clothing styles were explored, and experts were consulted. New dress patterns were devised and the issue was at least temporarily resolved. The dispute was less about what genuinely existed in the 1830s New Salem, which no one knew, and more about the issue of credibility, about what was currently acceptable 1830s dress. In all probability, the issue will arise again in the future and the cycle will be repeated.

During the discussion about clothing, someone made the point that costumes should reflect class distinctions. It was argued that as the residents of the Sam Hill house were rich, as Hill was a successful merchant, and those of the Burner house were poor, they should have different costumes. Current views of class disparities were projected into the past. Thus the interpreters at the Hill house, for example, were to wear upper-class clothing, and those at the poorer Burner house were to wear working-class dress—except for Mrs. Hinsley.[9] She was a volunteer interpreter assigned to the Galiher house, known to be a poor 1830s family. In the new vision, Mrs. Hinsley was expected to wear poor work clothing; but she was interested in clothing, had nice outfits of her own design, wanted to dress well, and wore what was considered to be inappropriate "rich" clothing. Mrs. Hinsley was a point of resistance, and no one could change her. She expressed her own individuality in dress.

Authenticity is a struggle. From the point of view of the professional staff, who have the goal of making New Salem a believable or genuine reproduction, one constantly has to be aware of possible inauthenticities. But there are even more fundamental problems, as the inauthentic is built into the fabric of New Salem, into the details of construction, and into the social practices of production of the site.

Each log house is named for its most prominent resident, and when the visitors come, the interpreters tell the story of the occupants of that particular house. For example, there are the Rutledge Tavern, the Onstot house, the Hill house, and so forth. Many of the buildings in the 1830s, however, were occupied by a series of families, and the Onstots lived in three different residences, as did others. The first Berry-Lincoln store was only a store for a few months, but because of the importance of Abraham Lincoln and the widely known story that he was a shopkeeper, the Berry-Lincoln name has been given to the residence. The consequence is to fix history, to solidify and to simplify it.

Although the focus is on a single resident family for each dwelling, the story told about that particular family is one of transitoriness, of when the family arrived, what they did at New Salem, and when they departed. Although these narrative histories are not necessarily inaccurate, they would not appear to be the stories that 1830s residents would have told about themselves, at least not in their finality, for at the end of each story the family leaves the community, providing an absolute ending. Each narrative contains a complete cycle of transition, beginning with when the family came and ending when it

left. Clearly, such stories could not have been told until at least 1839, after the village had been abandoned. This retrospective perspective serves to reinforce the master narrative of New Salem, the transition of Abraham Lincoln from common laborer to educated lawyer and politician, in preparation for his life work of leading the nation in the Civil War and saving the Union. If New Salem is seen as a site of transformation for its hero Abraham Lincoln, then the individual stories of each family replicate the larger narrative structure.

Not only is each house given the name of only one former resident, but in each house there is only a single interpreter, a concession to a limited state budget. The visitors move from house to house, serially, and in each house the interpreter provides information about one or another aspect of life in the 1830s. There are no groups talking and visiting together, no scenes of surrounding farmers coming with their families to town to sell grain, to repair tools, to see a doctor, to buy supplies, or to pick up their mail at the post office. New Salem is thus presented as a village of autonomous homes and isolated individuals, without any sense of group or community activity, with the consequence that the 1990s representation provides a distorted view of 1830s life. There are special events at New Salem, like craft or quilt shows, but even then the visitors move serially through the display booths, visiting them in sequence. The result is that 1830s life is devoid of its group character and is presented much more like 1990s suburban life in America, where neighbors live in their individual homes and are socially isolated from one another.

Taylor and Johnson (1993) note that New Salem does not have any interpreters representing the frontier toughs, "Clary's Grove boys," and the carousing, gamboling, cockfighting, hard drinkers who were part of 1830s pioneer life in New Salem. The roughnecks have been left out of history. This concession to middle-class sensibilities is similar to Colonial Williamsburg ignoring blacks, the "other half" of Williamsburg life (Gable et al. 1992), at least until recently. There is, however, no current movement to represent the frontier roughnecks in New Salem.

New Salem is an outdoor museum, and like all museums, the way it is apprehended by the visitors is primarily visual. The tourists do hear about the 1830s from the interpreters inside the homes, generally in the form of oral narratives, and there is conversation, but as the tourists walk about the village their mode of perception is mainly visual. Basically, they look. They almost never hear two or more interpreters talking to each other. However, the 1830s may well have been more of an oral than a visual culture, characterized by the exchange of information, by talking, gossiping, and telling. As this dimension is less dominant in the 1990s New Salem, the way the village was experienced and the sensory mode through which it was perceived in the two eras may be fundamentally different.

As we can see, it is impossible to make a historic reproduction accurate in every regard, especially with limited knowledge and resources; the best one can hope for is a representation that the tourists are willing to accept. Even if the log houses of the 1990s prairie village were an exact physical replica of the original 1830s, in every detail, the question could then be raised: How does one make authentic the sensory mode of experiencing and indeed the very meaning of the site?

There are truly momentous differences between the 1830s and the 1990s. One difference, almost too obvious to mention, is that most persons in the 1990s New Salem are tourists, while in the 1830s there were no tourists, although there were visitors, travelers, and traders. Also, the 1990s New Salem is an idealized community that leaves out the conflict, tension, and dirt of the 1830s. New Salem in the 1990s is presented as an idyllic, peaceful, harmonious village.

The craft activities in New Salem in the 1830s were considered to be the most modern and advanced technology of the time, designed for efficiency and survival, but in the 1990s the same handicrafts represent nostalgia for an earlier period when material culture was made by hand and was locally produced. The meaning of *craft* was completely

different in the two historical eras. In the 1830s New Salem was a commercial trading center, and when Lincoln migrated there he probably thought he was moving to an urban center; but in the 1990s New Salem, for many, is rural, isolated, self-contained, rustic, and folk-like (cf. Whisnant 1983), in opposition to the commercialism, materialism, and fragmentation of 20th-century America.

The 1990s New Salem features Abraham Lincoln—indeed, the site is called Lincoln's New Salem, or as an official in the state tourist bureau told me, "What we sell in Illinois is Lincoln"—but Abraham Lincoln was not that prominent in the 1830s village. Lincoln left New Salem in 1837, and by 1839 the village was abandoned when the county seat was moved to another location. Thereafter, from 1839 to 1860, New Salem was unmarked and effectively out of history. Then, in 1860, when Lincoln became the presidential nominee of the Republican party, campaign biographers and politicians constructed the political image of Abraham Lincoln as Honest Abe, the rail-splitter, the common man of the prairies, the man of humble origin who stood in opposition to the Eastern establishment. In fact, in 1860 Lincoln was a corporate lawyer in Springfield, a man of wealth and power, who had married into a socially prominent family. After Lincoln was assassinated in 1865, he became the martyred leader, the Christ figure who gave his life so the nation might live, who was sacrificed for the Union. Thus arose the mythic Lincoln, the great American folk hero, celebrated in novels, songs, poems, plays, biographies, and textbooks, known by every schoolchild in America.

In 1897 local residents formed a Chautauqua Association to reconstruct New Salem, 60 years after Lincoln had left the village. The interest in restoration arose after most of the original settlers who had known Lincoln had passed away. Possibly the movement to restore the site was an effort to preserve the memory of a way of life fast disappearing, as the old pioneers who had first settled the land were dying off. The oral traditions about Abraham Lincoln were recorded in a number of books (Herndon and Weik 1889; Onstot 1902; and Reep 1927) long after Lincoln had lived in New Salem. The Old Salem Lincoln League gathered the elders together to tell their stories in 1918, after the village of New Salem had already been abandoned for 79 years. The present-day New Salem was reconstructed during the 1930s, a full century after the old village had been occupied. The point is that the present-day restoration of the 1830s New Salem attempts to reconstruct the historical and the mythic Lincoln, but this history and myth did not yet exist in the 1830s, for it emerged only after 1865, a disjuncture illustrative of the many built-in paradoxes, ambiguities, and ironies at this historic site.

Two Stores

The challenge in this anthropological analysis is to transcend the opposition between the authentic and the inauthentic. In considering the 1830s and the 1990s, there is no need to prioritize, to define one as better than, more real than, more basic than, or more authentic than the other, nor does such a qualitative comparison typically occur to visitors at historic sites. There is the 1830s New Salem and there is the 1990s New Salem. The 1830s village was historically prior, it came first, whereas the 1990s New Salem came later and conforms to 1990s sensibilities, allowing visitors to attribute their own meanings to the site. The point may seem obvious, but the implications will be developed by examining two New Salem stores.

The first Berry-Lincoln store, where Lincoln worked in the 1830s as a storekeeper, has been reconstructed as a store selling souvenirs to the visitors, unlike other reconstructed stores in New Salem such as the second Berry-Lincoln, the Hill-McNeil, and Offutt's, which do not have items for sale. The first Berry-Lincoln store is operated by the New Salem Lincoln League for profit, with volunteer salespersons in period dress. It is quite successful and the proceeds are used to support the activities of the site. When the store first began, the New Salem Lincoln League formed an authenticity committee to check on each item sold; but these early efforts met with limited success. They

eventually hired a professional manager for the store who had an eye on the bottom line. The new manager selected inventory that sold, and the authenticity committee no longer met.

It will be instructive to examine the inventory of the Berry-Lincoln store. It has become a craft shop, with many handmade items, including pottery, baskets, quilts, rugs, stuffed dolls, brooms, large wooden ladles, copper pots, products of the carding shop such as small barrels and tubs, pattern books of early American clothing, coonskin caps, and candles. I was told that many tourists come asking for objects made in the craft shops of New Salem, but my observation was that they did a brisk business in all items, and that the shop was frequently crowded with tourists. When I asked the volunteer if their inventory was representative of the items sold in the 1830s store, the answer was that they want everything they sell to be "authentic to the era," which means that it could have been made in the 1830s. This is authenticity in the sense of credibility. When I inquired if tourists ask for authentic items, the reply was that the question rarely comes up.

The setting is a log cabin; the storekeepers are dressed in 1830s clothing; the objects sold look "old fashioned," "country," or "folk"; and my interviews suggest that the tourists accept it as such. To the degree that the museum professionals are successful in adhering to the goal of creating a credible reproduction based on verisimilitude—that is, a historic site believable to the visitors—the probability will be greater that the tourists will be satisfied with what they find at the site. It is important to note that the discussion has turned from the museum professionals to the tourists. It would be a mistake to assume that the distinctions made in this essay about the concept of authenticity used by museum professionals would necessarily be the same distinctions made by the tourists. Museum professionals are the producers, whereas tourists are the consumers, and they do not approach the site in the same way. Tourists know, of course, that the objects they purchase are not from the 1830s and that many are not even reproductions of 1830s objects, and they may realize that no store in the 1830s ever had an inventory like the present first Berry-Lincoln store. They are buying souvenirs, mementos of their trip to New Salem, gifts for those back home, and not necessarily "authentic" objects or even objects that are "authentic reproductions."

We have no direct knowledge of the inventory of the first Berry-Lincoln store in the 1830s at New Salem, as no records have been found; but we do know that other stores in the prairies at that time period stocked items such as varnish, shellac, paint ingredients, dyes, spectacles, spices, knives, axes, tools, pens and ink, hardware, thread, buttons, needles, jewelry, liquor, china, books, textiles, hats, window glass, tin pans, nails, gunpowder, door locks and hinges, and foodstuffs such as coffee, tea, sugar, flour, rice, cheese, and molasses (Atherton 1939; Kwedar et al. 1980). There were fashionable goods from Eastern wholesalers, manufactured items, and products from Europe. Tourists in the 1990s are not interested in these 1830s items, or if they are, the items are better purchased elsewhere than in the New Salem craft shop.

Given the inventories of the 1830s and the 1990s stores, we can see clearly that each of the first Berry-Lincoln stores stocked items that met the needs of their respective clientele. The older store sold items necessary for the survival of the 1830s prairie pioneers, while the contemporary store with its handmade crafts sells souvenirs to the 1990s tourists. Each store is meaningful in its era, and I do not see what we gain by privileging one at the expense of the other. It is the postmodernists and the social theorists who make judgmental evaluations, as I will show in the next section.

Discussion

My argument about authenticity and reproductions is different than the postmodern one presented by Baudrillard and Eco and is also different than the position taken by such theorists as MacCannell and Handler in their writings about tourism, authenticity,

and historic sites.[10] I begin by framing my argument in terms of the postmodernist vision, then turn to MacCannell and Handler, then develop some of the implications of my constructivist perspective.

For Baudrillard and Eco, the simulacrum becomes the true, the copy becomes the original or even better than the original. In postmodern hyperreality, all we have is pure simulacra, for origins are lost, or are not recoverable, or never existed, or there was no original reality. As Baudrillard (1983:48) says, "it is always a false problem to want to restore the truth beneath the simulacrum." This is the postmodern condition, one specific to our electronic era, argues Baudrillard. I argue that this is the human condition, for all cultures continually invent and reinvent themselves. In the 1830s during the development of New Salem, there was a prior image, the cultural knowledge of how other prairie villages in central Illinois were built in the 1820s. We could say that the 1830s village was a copy based on a model of 1820s villages, adapted to the conditions of the 1830s, modified in accordance with the particular situation of the New Salem locality, and subject to whatever creative modifications were devised by the New Salem residents. We all enter society in the middle, and culture is always in process (Turner and Bruner 1986).

This perspective, which I have been advocating for the past few decades (e.g., Bruner 1973, 1984, 1993a), has sometimes been known as the constructivist position. Recently it has been called the "invention of culture" tradition, and has produced important studies (e.g., Babcock 1990; Borofsky 1987; Handler and Linnekin 1984; Hanson 1989; Hobsbawn and Ranger 1983; Hymes 1975; Wagner 1975). But the roots of the perspective are really very old, going back to Wilhelm Dilthey, John Dewey, George Herbert Mead, and the American pragmatists; to the writings in the 1920s of the great Russian literary scholar Mikhail Bakhtin; to Roland Barthes and the poststructuralists; and to performance theory (cf. Bauman 1992).

The constructivist view that culture is emergent, always alive and in process is widely accepted today (Lavie et al. 1993). This is not the place to present an intellectual history of the perspective or to discuss its variations, but what all proponents have in common is the view that the meaning of the text is not inherent in the text but emerges from how people read or experience the text. All share the view that socialization is at best an imperfect mechanism for cultural transmission, and that each new performance or expression of cultural heritage is a copy in that it always looks back to a prior performance, but each is also an original in that it adapts to new circumstances and conditions. As Handler and Linnekin (1984:288) argue, "All genuine traditions are spurious . . . all spurious traditions are genuine"; or as Geertz (1986:380) says, "It is the copying that originates." We could say that the 1990s New Salem is an original because each reproduction in the process of emerging constructs its own original—or better yet, as I advocate in this essay, we could just abandon the distinction.

In our era both the 1830s New Salem and the 1990s New Salem are continually being constructed in an endless process of production and reproduction. All we have of the 1830s now are a few artifacts, archeological remains, old records, stories, and mental models of the old prairie village, models that may exist vividly in the imagination of the public and the historians, but that are ever-changing. We are continually reconstructing the 1830s New Salem, rewriting history to fit the era, just as we rewrite Abraham Lincoln (e.g., Basler 1935). The 20th-century New Salem has changed many times and has been totally rebuilt at least twice. An earlier effort to restore the village in 1918 was razed to the ground in 1932, and a second restoration occurred in stages during the 1930s. Periodically, the log houses receive additions and modifications, as do the interiors. In the 1990s, a new visitor and orientation center was opened, the location of the store was moved, and a restaurant at the entrance to the park was built.

It is not just that the 1990s and the 1830s New Salem are always in process of construction, but that the 1990s New Salem influences our conception of the 1830s. In other words, what is called the copy changes our view of the original, a problem that

haunts Taussig's (1993) book on *Mimesis and Alterity.* Academic historians would agree that the 1990s New Salem, by its very presence, overemphasizes the importance of New Salem on the early Abraham Lincoln, to the neglect of the formative influences of the earlier Indiana years and the time spent at Vandalia. Lincoln was 22 years old when he arrived at New Salem, already an adult, and his truly formative adolescent years were spent elsewhere. The historian Mark E. Neeley (1982:222) suggests that New Salem as a tourist attraction may have served to inflate the importance of the New Salem years in Lincoln biographies. Thus a 20th-century touristic representation may have distorted the discourse of professional historians, and hence our understanding of the 1830s.

In their work on authenticity, hyperreality, and the simulacrum, Baudrillard, Eco, MacCannell, and Handler all are making a critique of the culture of the West and of America. MacCannell (1976) makes the claim that tourists are so dissatisfied with their own culture that they seek authentic experiences elsewhere. MacCannell's work was rooted in the 1960s and repeated the old 19th-century critique of Western civilization, of alienated man in search of self.

Handler and Saxton (1988) have a similar position. They write, "For living-history practitioners, as for many of us, everyday experience is 'unreal' or inauthentic, hence alienating. Practitioners seek to regain an authentic world, and to realize themselves in the process, through simulation of historical worlds" (1988:243). For MacCannell, tourists seek authenticity in another place, in a tourist site; for Handler and Saxton, it is in another time period, in a historic site. Authenticity for Handler (1986) has to do with our "true self," and for him and Saxton (1988:243), "an authentic experience . . . is one in which individuals feel themselves to be in touch both with a 'real' world and with their 'real' selves," which assumes that our everyday worlds are not experienced as real or authentic. In the work of MacCannell and Handler and Saxton, the quest for authenticity is doomed, or as they point out, it is a failed quest, because the very search destroys the authenticity of the object, which before the quest was presumed to be pristine and untouched. These authors thus assume an original pure state, an authentic culture in the third sense, like the ethnographic present, before contact. It is as if history begins with tourism, which then pollutes the world.[11]

MacCannell and Handler say that tourists are looking for authenticity, but it may be these contemporary intellectuals who are the ones looking for authenticity, and who have projected onto the tourists their own view of themselves. The museum professionals who say that a historic site is an authentic reproduction use *authenticity* in the first and second senses, not the third. The question is, who are the ones seeking authenticity? Trilling's (1972) insight again is that authenticity emerges to consciousness when a doubt arises. Those in the early 20th century in central Illinois who found themselves in the predicament of having to reconstruct an 1830s New Salem without adequate knowledge became concerned with authenticity. In our era, anthropologists, museum curators, historians, serious collectors, and art dealers as well as some tourists acknowledge that they are seeking authenticity. I agree with Appadurai (1986:44–45) that authenticity today is becoming a matter of the politics of connoisseurship, of the political economy of taste, and of status discrimination; beyond that, I would claim, it is a matter of power, of who has the right to authenticate.

The concept of authority serves as a corrective to misuses of the term *authenticity,* because in raising the issue of who authenticates, the nature of the discussion is changed. No longer is authenticity a property inherent in an object, forever fixed in time; it is seen as a struggle, a social process, in which competing interests argue for their own interpretation of history. Culture is seen as contested, emergent, and constructed, and agency and desire become part of the discourse. When actors use the term *authenticity,* ethnographers may then ask what segment of society has raised a doubt, what is no longer taken for granted, what are the societal struggles, and what are the cultural issues at work. These are ethnographic questions, empirical questions, requiring investigation and research. Grand theorizing gives way to ethnography.

There are two fundamental problems with the essentialist vocabulary of originals and copies, of the authentic and the inauthentic. One is that, despite claims to the contrary, there frequently is an implicit original, an authenticity in the third sense. For the postmodernists the original is Europe and America is a satellite. Baudrillard (1988) says that he knew all about America "when I was still in Paris" (1988:5), claims that America "was born of a rift with the Old World" (1988:10), asserts that "the truth of America can only be seen by a European" (1988:28), and contends that America is "the only remaining primitive society" (1988:7). If for the postmodernists the original is civilized Europe, then for MacCannell and Handler the original is before alienation, the pure state, located elsewhere, around the bend, beneath or behind the touristic or the historic site.

The second problem with essentialist vocabulary is that there is a built-in judgmental bias that regards one side of the dichotomy as better so that the other side becomes denigrated. It usually implies that originals are better than copies or, as the postmodernists Baudrillard and Eco say, the exact opposite, which is still the inverse of the same binary logic. The consequence of the project of Baudrillard, Eco, and MacCannell (and Boorstin 1961) is to diminish historical sites like New Salem because they are seen as inauthentic, as pseudo, as surface, as plastic, as simulacra, as hyperreality, even as fakes. It also implies that copies are based on originals, but from a constructivist perspective, the process may not be that simple. Sometimes an object is constructed in the contemporary era and then an older form is somehow "discovered" as a hypothetical original to add historic depth and legitimacy. To label one form a copy highlights the features that are similar to the supposed original, and may not adequately take account of the differences or of the variations in the societal context within which the originals and the copies were produced. The vocabulary of origins and reproductions and of the authenticity and the inauthentic may not adequately acknowledge that both are constructions of the present.

Conclusion

Let us turn to my speculations about the tourists. If the tourists are not buying into scripts of postmodern hyperreality or authenticity, then what are they buying at New Salem? In their writings, Baudrillard and Eco make grand generalizations about America, without nuances. They use homogenizing monolithic language when they write about Americans, and they do not differentiate among the many kinds of tourists of historic sites. They fail to recognize the constructed nature of the meanings of historic sites.

In the view argued here, the meanings of New Salem Historic Site for tourists are constructed in the performance of the site, as visitors move through the village and as they interact with the interpreters. Experiencing the site gives rise to meanings that might not have been predicted before the visit, so that the site in this sense is generative. It is not that all meaning is individual and idiosyncratic—for of course there are cultural patterns, as I will demonstrate—but meanings are generated in a social context. An ethnographic perspective is needed to examine the social organizational settings within which New Salem is experienced. Baudrillard and Eco reflect none of this complexity.

For example, many visitors to theme parks come as family groups, not as isolated individuals, so that the family becomes the basic social unit for processing the touristic experience, and as such the visit frequently assumes an educational focus (Willis 1993). At New Salem, especially when school is in session, busloads of schoolchildren arrive with their teachers on class outings to the site. One day there were forty different bus loads of schoolchildren at New Salem, and the educational function was quite explicit. Another time a group of immigrants from Chicago, taking their citizenship training class, spent a hurried two hours rushing through New Salem. In these cases, parents or teachers or immigration officials were explaining the meaning of New Salem, empha-

sizing the role of Abraham Lincoln in American history. The recipients of the knowledge had come to New Salem as children, students, or learners.

I have shared the New Salem experience with a troop of 7- and 8-year-old girl scouts, on an all-day outing with their scout leader, supported by a few parent volunteers, and the main attraction appeared to be cooking beef stew for lunch on a wood-burning fireplace. It seemed to take hours for the stew to cook, everyone was hungry, and the conversation centered on the life of the early pioneers who settled in central Illinois, and particularly on the difficulty of that life. This was a recurrent theme among many of the visitors.

One farmer from Illinois entered a log house where one of the interpreters was spinning wool. The farmer stated that when he was a child there was a spinning wheel in his home very similar to the one at New Salem, and he recalled images of his grandmother sitting at the spinning wheel telling stories about her early life on a family farm in the prairies. That experience of New Salem was very evocative, but many tourists make associations between what they see at the site and their personal lives. The meaning of New Salem is emergent in the social context of the visitor's experience of the site.

A judge told me how he loved to come to New Salem very early on snowy winter mornings so that he could walk, in solitude, on the same hallowed ground that Abraham Lincoln had walked. The judge had practiced law in the same district as had Lincoln. He had a bronze bust of Lincoln in his office, he had played the part of Lincoln in local theatrical productions, he was tall and thin, he physically resembled Lincoln, and clearly he had made a personally meaningful identification.

Visitors to New Salem include Lincoln buffs, antique collectors, retired people making their way through the theme parks of America, sophisticated urbanites from Chicago on a visit to the "rural" hinterlands, and university professors entertaining foreign visitors. It is indeed a varied audience. Tourists are not monolithic, and neither is the meaning of the site. There are many New Salems (Bodnar 1992). Tourists construct a past that is meaningful to them and that relates to their lives and experiences, and this is the way that meanings are constructed at historic sites.

What encourages the local production of meaning is the format of dialogic interaction between the interpreter and small groups of tourists who move from house to house. As the interpreter tells about Lincoln or about the 1830s village or about the history of the original residents, the tourists have an opportunity to ask questions and to interact with the interpreter. Although the tourists have received the main message of the museum professionals, of New Salem as the site of Lincoln's transformation presented to them in the orientation video and the brochures, their relationship to the interpreters has a more personal and immediate quality. The interpreters, too, have received the official messages of the site, primarily in training sessions and in manuals, but they frequently depart from the official scripts and move off in their own directions.[12] The tourists, as we have seen, bring their own concerns and interests to the interaction. The result is a very open format, more like a discussion than a lecture, one that allows for improvisation and that facilitates the constructivist process.

I found many instances of a playful quality to the interaction, whereas much of the literature emphasizes the seriousness of the tourist quest and experience.[13] The interaction between interpretive guides and visitors at historic sites may be oriented to enjoyment as much as to discovery of historic fact. For example, one time on the reconstructed Mayflower in Plymouth, which does first-person interpretation, I saw a woman guide in period dress. She told me that it was a long and arduous journey across the ocean, that she had lost her husband on the voyage, and that she felt so lonely in this vast new country. Then she looked me straight in the eye and winked, and I could not tell if it was a 1620s wink or a 1990s wink. On numerous occasions, interpreters at New Salem will engage in light banter and joking behavior with the visitors. A woman storekeeper in period dress will say to the assembled tourists, "What have you come to

purchase today?" Such an inquiry, an example of slippage from third to first person, will lead to humorous conversation about the goods sold in the store or the 1830s prices, noting how low they were compared to today's prices. In these settings, many tourists play with time frames and experiment with alternative realities; it is a good way to learn about the past. Visits to historic sites have a strong entertainment and playful quality.

In the course of my fieldwork, I often remained in one location and noted how the topic of conversation changed with the arrival of each new group of tourists. Also, I followed some groups from house to house, and noted how the discourse and even the roles changed as persons moved through the village. The roles of tourist and interpreter are not fixed. A mother who had been a tourist began to explain New Salem to her children, and at that point she was in a sense becoming an interpreter, switching roles. Subjectivities and motives change, even within one individual, even during the course of a single visit.

Although individuals construct their own meanings, I found there were clearly recurring patterns and generalizations that emerged. In reporting on what I learned about the meaning of New Salem to the tourists, I acknowledge that my findings are hypotheses and that they are my own constructions of meaning, open to further study and testing. In addition to learning about the past and enjoying the historic site, I found the following three major themes.

First, some tourists to New Salem are consuming nostalgia, the hand-crafted and the locally produced, in opposition to machine age materialism. Many tourists to New Salem view the village with a sense of nostalgia for a vanished past, for an imagined time when life was more natural, purer, and simpler—in effect a Midwest equivalent of the Garden of Eden. Many see in New Salem the image of early pioneer life in the prairies, a return to the first settlers in central Illinois. For these tourists, New Salem is an Illinois origin myth, a prairie pastoral.

Second, as visitors walk through the village they are also buying the idea of progress, of how far we have advanced, for the one question that the interpreters repeatedly ask is, Would you like to live back in the 1830s, when life was so hard? The answer is invariably no. The theme of progress is prominent in New Salem discourse. The emphasis is on the contrast between the hardships of the 1830s and the conveniences of the 1990s. The two themes mentioned thus far are not in conflict, because where the first focuses on the simplicity of life in the past, the second focuses on the severity of that life. In the first, technology is seen as evil; in the second, as progress. Many visitors hold both views simultaneously. In their imagination, they yearn for a simpler life. But they are not alienated beings; they want modern 1990s conveniences, and they would not be willing to give up their 1990s lives in exchange for the 1830s.

Finally, many tourists are also buying a commemoration of traditional America, of honest values, good neighbors, hard work, virtue and generosity, the success ideology, and the sense of community in small-town America. The tourists are seeking in New Salem a discourse that enables them to better reflect on their lives in the 1990s. New Salem and similar sites enact an ideology, recreate an origin myth, keep history alive, attach tourists to a mythical collective consciousness, and commodify the past. The particular pasts that tourists create/imagine at historic sites may never have existed. But historic sites like New Salem do provide visitors with the raw material (experiences) to construct a sense of identity, meaning, attachment, and stability. In the America of Baudrillard and Eco, copies refer only to themselves, no origin myths pertain, and no collective reality is invoked. This, however, is an America of their own imaginations and not an America of everyday practices.

Following Zipes (1979), New Salem can be read in two different ways. There is the pessimistic view (Haraway 1984; Wallace 1981), which sees museums and historic sites as exploitative, as strengthening the ruling classes, as deceit, as false consciousness, as manipulation of the imagination of already alienated beings. Or there is the optimistic view, which focuses on the utopian potential for transformation, offers hope for a better

life, says people can take charge of their lives and change themselves and their culture. The story of Abraham Lincoln is, as Zipes writes (1979:119), the "folk tale motif of the swineherd who becomes a prince," but there is revolutionary potential in this fantasy, for it can be heroic and can lead to greater—not less—contact with social life. In this respect, fantasy, art, and historic sites have a similar function.

In postmodern writings, contemporary American tourist attractions tend to be described in ways that replicate elements of the theory of postmodernism, emphasizing the inauthentic constructed nature of the sites, their appeal to the masses, their imitation of the past, and their efforts to present a perfected version of themselves. This is a narrow and distorted view that fails to account for the popularity and frequency of such sites on the American landscape, that begs the question of the meaning of the sites to the participants, and that by its denigration of popular American culture and mass tourist sites imposes an elitist politics blind to its own assumptions.

Notes

Acknowledgments. I wish to thank Richard S. Taylor for his help and friendship; Robert Johannsen, Jean-Philippe Mathy, Norman Denzin, and the students in my 1992 tourism seminar for their critical comments; Christina Hardway for her many efforts on behalf of the project; the Hewlett grant program and the Center for the Study of Cultural Values and Ethics at the University of Illinois. Earlier versions of this essay were presented at the anthropology departments of the Universities of Wisconsin, Chicago, and Virginia; at the 1992 annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association; and at a conference on Le Tourisme International entre Tradition et Modernité, Carrefour Universitaire Méditerranéen, Nice, November 19–21, 1992.

1. Relevant literature on authenticity includes Trilling 1972, MacCannell 1976, Handler 1986, Appadurai 1986, Cohen 1988, Morris 1988, Handler and Saxton 1988, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Bruner 1989, and Bruner 1993a.

2. Following the suggestion of the students in my seminar on tourism that we take a field trip to explore some of the theories we were reading about, the class went to New Salem in April 1988. It was my first visit. I became fascinated with the site, returned later that season, and worked on New Salem full time during the summers of 1989 and 1990, with financial support for fieldwork from the National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Stipend and the University of Illinois Research Board. Part of the time was spent in the library doing historical research on New Salem and the early Abraham Lincoln; the remaining time was devoted to participation, observation, and interviewing at New Salem.

3. In third person, the interpreter talks about the 1830s; in first person, the interpreter adopts an 1830s persona and speaks from that time perspective.

4. Relevant literature on reconstructed villages, historic sites, theme parks, and museums includes Wallace 1981, Anderson 1984, Schechner 1985, Lowenthal 1985, Dorst 1989, Karp and Lavine 1991, Gable et al. 1992, and Willis 1993.

5. The Onstot house, which was moved from New Salem to Petersburg and then, with the reconstruction, back to New Salem, is an original. The interpretive guides at New Salem point this out to the visitors.

6. This paragraph relies on Taylor and Johnson (1993), historians at the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, the branch of state government in charge of the interpretive program at New Salem.

7. I make no claim that there are only four meanings of *authenticity,* only that these four emerged in my fieldwork. There are other shades of meaning (see the *Oxford English Dictionary*). If one says, for example, that an object is a counterfeit or a forgery, it implies that the object is not authentic but was falsely or mistakenly presented as an original. To be authentic in this sense would mean that the object actually is what it professes to be.

8. After presenting my findings to the superintendent at New Salem, he said that he had never thought about some of the issues raised in my study, but that the issues now made sense to him, which is what I mean by penetrating the taken-for-granted.

9. This is a pseudonym.

10. My criticism in this essay is of the assumptions in Handler (1986) and Handler and Saxton (1988), not of Handler and Linnekin (1984) and not of the Colonial Williamsburg research conducted with Eric Gable. I criticize MacCannell 1976, not MacCannell 1992.

11. Criticisms of this position in the tourism literature include Van den Abbeele 1980, Goldberg 1983, Cohen 1988, Morris 1988, and Bruner 1989 and 1991.
12. Gable and Handler (1993) have made a similar observation at Colonial Williamsburg.
13. Exceptions are Schechner 1985 and Cohen 1988.

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