



TOURISM IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH
HERITAGES, IDENTITIES AND DEVELOPMENT



Edited by
João Sarmento
Eduardo Brito-Henriques

CENTRO DE ESTUDOS GEOGRÁFICOS
UNIVERSIDADE DE LISBOA

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1.

TOURISM IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

João Sarmiento & Eduardo Brito-Henriques

Tourism today

Tourism is a powerful *mélange* of cultural, social, economic, political and spatial phenomena, ceaselessly growing. It carries within itself numerous ambivalences, but it is undoubtedly significant in terms of environmental, socioeconomical, cultural and political implications. Although nothing of this is new, it seems that in the last decades tourism is everywhere and its force in landscape, in identity and development is escalating.

Tourism can be seen as a consumer of places and as an active agent in the creative destruction of places (Crang 2004). It occurs in a socially divided and dividing world and it actively contributes to these processes (Kaplan 1998, Williams, Hall and Lew 2004). At the same time, tourism approximates and blends populations and cultures. Through tourism, consumers and producers are put face to face, and places in very different parts of the world see themselves interconnected by new flows of people, goods and ideas. The power of tourism resides in its capacity to transform landscapes, economies, peoples' lifestyle and cultures, and in shaping identities and behaviors, by establishing new networks of power, forging new ideas and representations, and creating discourses of place and difference.

Naturally, the politics of tourism development in the Global South are an extremely fertile ground to observe wider struggles over economic development and political influence (see Hazbun 2008 for

this discussion in relation to the Arab World). While advocates of tourism emphasize its effects on income growing, other authors highlight that the industry's economic benefits are questionable since tourism can produce new relations of dependency. However, above all tourism is about encounters that happen in place and landscape. Encounters between people, people and space, people as socialized and embodied subjects, with expectations, experience, and desires (Crouch 1999, see in this volume Simoni, Piscitelli, and Saretzki and May). Often these encounters are unbalanced, uneven, destabilizing, resulting in exploitation and abuse. But at times they are productive, creating wealth, and forging alliances between distant people.

The Global South

Dividing, ordering and categorising space to organize our minds, control and rule is immemorial, and the mental categories of core, periphery and semi-periphery have a long construction history. Often, economic divisions of the world refer to developed, less developed, underdeveloped and lately developing countries. As part of a Cold war legacy, geopolitical views coined the (now obsolete) terms first and second worlds, constructed upon the difference between capitalist, liberal and democratic countries and communist centralized-states. The concept of third world, later referred to as developing countries, was also created, and always equated with poor-countries. More recently the idea of a fourth world emerged, referring to tribal people, and stateless minorities such as refugees. The United Nations, in its development index, the World Bank, and other institutions use other divisions: low-income economies, lower-middle-income economies, upper-middle-income economies, and high-income economies.

Here, we understand the Global South not as a strict geographical categorisation of the world, but one which is based on economic inequalities and power imbalances having a certain cartographic continuity. This category emerged from a North-South distinction discussed in the Brandt report of 1980, where the terms were equated with rich and poor, developed and developing. The Global South includes Africa, Central and Latin America, and most of Asia, mainly regions of the world where poverty, environmental crisis, human and civil rights abuses, and ethnic intolerance are dramatic issues. How tourism faces these questions deserves some reflection. Finally, the use of the Global South concept highlights the fact that both North and South are strained into global processes, and that problems in the

Global South are enmeshed and also present in other regions of the world. As Appadurai (2000) argues, the new global cultural economy is increasingly a complex, disjunctive order, which cannot be simply understood in terms of a centre-periphery model.

When we think of these issues in the context of the Global South, many discussions emerge. In the Global South, encounters between tourists and hosts seem more problematic and complex because tourism puts together people from different economic and cultural contexts, and people who frequently share pasts of atrocity and colonial domination. Naturally, many of the discussions of tourism in the Global South go hand in hand with debates of the unstable pair colonialism/post-colonialism. Although far from a consensual arena, postcolonialism is grounded on a critique of Western structures of knowledge and power (Bhabha 1994). Nevertheless, postcolonialism itself has been criticised for erasing the complexity and the specificities of peripheral area geographies as they are generalized under the rubric 'Third World' (D' Hautreserre 2004: 236), and often the voices of 'others' are not heard (see Zhang on this volume, on the needs to listen and understand people from cross-cultural settings). Just as postcolonialism, tourism is inescapably rooted in colonialism, and in many ways it perpetuates power inequalities, treating the exotic as inferior and reinforcing and at times celebrating colonial myths, narratives and representations. Tourism in the Global South – a locus of contradictions, juxtapositions and intersections – is eagerly organised for the Western tourist.

Western tourists carry to the Global South certain values, attitudes and routines that end up being dominant, hegemonic, or determinant in their own actions, in the everyday 'petty' actions of companies and corporations in the travel trade (Hollinshead 2004). Postcolonial interrogation takes for granted the argument that the forces that established the Western form of colonialism and imperialism continue to operate, often in altered forms, through mutations in local circumstances, and through different apparatuses, to constitute what Mbembe (2001) has called the postcolony. Tourism has a strong relevance in the ways in which the past is represented. Certainly tourism has the ability to contest postcolonial representations that stem from old/colonial narratives and promote new and bright counter narratives and textualities. But numerous authors have illustrated how past colonial discourses are still manifested in the colonial present in heritage sites, museums and others (Ghandi 1998, Mowforth and Munt 1998, Sarmiento 2011, Selwyn 1996). Yet, in certain contexts, as Marshall (2004) argues in the case of South Africa,

the celebration and even commodification of cultural heritage can be perceived by ordinary people as empowering, since it represents a form of validation and acknowledgement of their own culture and history.

Development, tourism and the Global South

Contemporary notions of development have their roots in the redefinition of foreign policy during the Cold War, as Western policymakers reassessed their positions relative to newly independent states in the 'Third World' (Peet and Hartwick 2009) and to the communist bloc. Since the 1960s there have been various debates upon the strength of tourism in regional development and in creating economic growth and employment, and to whether tourism could break the remaining power and dependency structures. During the 1970s several authors were quite critical of tourism development, stressing that the industry was dominated by outside interests who retained most of the benefits while the host destinations were left with the costs (e.g. Turner and Ash 1975, MacCannell 1976, De Kadt 1979). It is within postcolonialism, framed in a wider poststructural and postmodern criticism of social theory that a questioning of the key concepts of development and progress has emerged. During the 1980s, poststructuralist theory led to a questioning of progress, improvement and development, by equating these processes with powerful, controlling, and often, detrimental ideas. Furthermore, interrogating who development served, who determined what beneficial was, and why did beneficial assumed that life is progress, led to a powerful reexamination of development (see Peet and Hartwick 2009). Development became one of the languages of power, and as Sachs (1992: 1) pointed, 'the idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape'. Post-development thinkers defend local thinking and local acting, using human scale institutions and technologies, and ecological and spiritual simple living (see Peet and Hartwick 2009).

In the Global South, Pro-poor tourism, which can be defined as tourism which generates net benefits for the poor (Ashley, Roe and Goodwin 2001), assumes a critical importance. While any form of tourism can be pro-poor, benefits to the poor from tourism are not simple to occur. Employment or total spending on goods and services produced by the informal sector may increase with the growth of the tourism industry, but that may not be sufficient for poor people to register a sufficient increase in their household income (Goodwin

2007). Developing processes should be re-centred within the lived experiences and consciousness of the people exposed to development and to their active agency. Processes should focus in capacity building (see Rowan in this volume). Nevertheless, in the past decades, despite various successful attempts to mitigate tourism negative impacts in the host communities, and situations that emphasize the positive gains of tourism development, such as community-based approaches (Murphy 1985), ecotourism activities (Fennell 1999, Weaver 2001) and sustainable approaches (Sofield 2003), structural imbalances in tourism development flourishes (Butler and Hinch 2007, Goodwin 2007).

Heritage and Identity

Heritage is a powerful means by which people define themselves and construct a relational framework of values. As many authors have emphasized, very often heritage is less about tangible material artefacts or other intangible forms of the past, than about its implications and representations (Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000, Graham and Howard 2008). It is the values that people ascribe to certain places, buildings or events that are important, and not so much their intrinsic value. These values change with time, with gender (Smith 2008), with institutions, and political settings, so heritage is a dynamic and living process. Also identity is fluid, and from understandings of identity with an emphasis on sameness we have moved to meanings related to recognition, which is partially a result of the augmented scale of mobility in which we presently live (Oakes and Price 2008). Tourism, with its practices and by putting millions of different people in contact, plays a critical role in people's identity: in hosts as well as in tourists. Many have shown how tourism transforms and influences local identity in the Global South (Edenson 2004, Hilary du Cross 2004, Sarmiento 2010, Tucker 2003); others have investigated how tourists alter their identities by travelling to the Global South (Desforges 2000, Teo and Leong 2006, Cohen 2010). Producing culture for tourist consumption and consuming culture as a tourist is a highly politicised process, and certainly the commodification of heritage and of invented traditions for tourism purposes is one of the means to interfere with identity.

Book proposal and outline

This book intends to discuss new research ideas on the tourism impacts in the Global South, focusing namely on the construction and transformation of landscapes through tourism, on issues of identity friction and cultural change, and on the responsibility of tourism on poverty reduction and sustainable development. A proper analysis of tourism impacts always needs an interdisciplinary approach. Geography can conduct a stimulating job since it relates culture and nature, society and environment, space, economy and politics, but a single discipline cannot push our understanding very far without intersecting it with other realms of knowledge. So, this is a book that aims at a multidisciplinary debate, celebrating the diversity of disciplinary boundaries, which includes texts and people from a range of different backgrounds such as Geography, Tourism, Anthropology, Architecture, Cultural Studies, Linguistics and Economics.

While the contributors of the following chapters share certain approaches and concerns, they have also different theoretical and methodological orientations. We have opted to make no internal divisions, although a certain geographical orientation leads the order of the chapters. Thus, we start with landlocked Armenia, move to Africa (Mauritania, Madagascar, South Africa), then the Americas (New Mexico, Cuba and Brazil), and finally to Asia (India, Malaysia and China). After this introductory chapter, **Marianna Cappucci & Luca Zarrilli** discuss the relationship of tourism, nation, identity, and diaspora in Armenia. They examine in particular the Armenian cultural landscape that is the whole system of symbols, signs and values produced by the historical sedimentation of this land. **Joana Lucas** pays attention to the texts of tourism, and analyses how literary production contributed towards a discourse of advertising and promoting Mauritania. By setting normative agendas, these texts help to shape notions of the destination. **Anja Saretzki & Carola May** discuss the ways in which World Heritage Sites may constitute places for intercultural dialogue and are open to new cultural possibilities. By looking in particular at Ambohimanga, Madagascar, they explore Heritage Sites as transdifferential spaces, where interdependency, interference and mutual crossing of boundaries occurs. **Bradley Rink** engages with a series of ephemeral editions of the *Pink Map* and its narratives, to discuss South Africa's Cape Town, queer urban landscapes, the tourist gaze and new modes of consumption. He

examines how the *Pink Map* brought to the fore pink elements of the landscape to the exclusion of all others and how this is only one way of viewing the city. **Přemysl Mácha** argues that tourism can be a *mise-en-scene* for struggles that go beyond tourism, and by conducting an ethnography of relationships between 'tourists' and 'locals', defending a performative and processual view of tourism landscapes, Přemysl discusses identity, landscape and resistance in New Mexico. **Valerio Simoni** focuses on the intrinsic and instrumental value of tourist encounters in Cuba, highlighting the ambiguity of touristic encounters, which ultimately will enable an engagement with a 'politics of value'. **Adriana Piscitelli** explores the connections between love, interest and morality, and in particular the shifting fluidity between sexual and romantic female tourists in two tourism destination beaches of Northeast Brazil. To do so, she engages in a detailed ethnographical analysis of twenty foreign women who maintained relationships with 'native' local men. **Jane Rowan** discusses how to build community capacity development for tourism, analysing the project 'Art for Livelihood', which aims at revitalising and promoting oral traditions and performing art as a means of encouraging sustainable livelihoods in six districts of West Bengal, India. **Emma Pires** analysis the intersection of space, power and tourism on the production, appropriation and re-appropriation of the Portuguese Settlement in Malacca, Malaysia, both in colonial as well as in postcolonial times. **Jasmine Zhang** explores the notion of 'worldmaking' and uses political ecology to analyse how the culture/nature division can be better understood in tourism. Grounded on fieldwork conducted in Shangri-La, in Southwest China Himalayas, she investigates how environmental justice and social justice should not be perceived as separate entities. **Apoorva Pal & Sucheta Mehru** discuss eco-friendly forms of tourism and the Built Environment using the case study of Spiti Valley, also in the Indian Himalayas, where they were called to design a traditional Guest House. Finally, **FU Jia & Ralph Wahnschafft** examine eco-certification and eco-labelling programs in the Chinese Hotel industry, in the context of the profound changes of the country in the last years, namely in its tourism industry.

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2.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE AND HISTORICAL HERITAGE IN ARMENIAN TOURISM: BETWEEN IDENTITY AND NATION(ALISM)

Marianna Cappucci & Luca Zarrilli

Foreword

During the 20th century Armenia went from Stalinist severity to post-communist chaos. Armenian social landscape has been going through deep changes: the rural features and traditional lifestyles still marking Armenia when it got part of USSR have been blurred, though not completely replaced, by a modernization process that produced a urban-industrial culture often disrespectful of the landscape values of the region. The industrial option has then shown all its weakness after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the resulting independence of the country, which started a difficult economic, political and cultural transition not yet completed and, what's more, one that caused a silent migration, still difficult to define but surely very significant in its extent¹. In fact, more than in other ex-Soviet republics, the joint effect of isolation, poor resources and a nationalist drift have so far hindered a genuine growth, although from 2004 onwards a reversal can be spotted considering both the fight against poverty and development perspectives.

What is striking in the Armenian 'parabola' is the contrast between the universal character of its historical and cultural heritage and the demographic, economic and political borderline status of its actual State. Armenian borderline status turns into an almost 'claustrophobic' isolation when looking at its borders and international relations: an

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inner and mountain State, lacking in energy resources, under an embargo by Azerbaijan and Turkey after the Nagorno-Karabakh war, an unsolved question heavily affecting the political and economical development of the country and of the whole region (Zarrilli, 2000), Armenia finds its main political *raison d'être* in being Russia's transcaucasian satellite.

Inigorating the tourist industry could help to lessen international isolation. In this respect the gap between the country's potential and its actual development is still large, and the product 'Armenia', once a famous destination of Soviet tourism, is still lacking worldwide promotion. Although for the last twenty years Armenia has been receiving some media attention, it was mainly due to the 1988 earthquake, the war in Nagorno-Karabakh, the Parliament slaughter in 1999. Rather a 'What is Armenia?' attitude, thus, or, even worse, the image of a place of pain, trouble, tragic destinies and longing for an 'elsewhere'. What the word 'Armenia' calls to mind is not what the country can offer to western tourists: a maybe unique combination of 'otherness' and 'affinity', historical fascinations and cultural incitements, charming landscapes, a wonderful and millennial church-architecture, a still genuine folklore expressed in music, dance, religious rituals, cuisine, craftsmanship.

This paper aims to highlight the strong interdependence that can be found in Armenia between the two domains of tourism and 'nationality', and to do so from a double point of view. First, the origin of tourists: tourists beginning a journey in the 'kingdom of shouting stones', as Mandel'stam called Armenia (Mandel'stam 1988), are mainly, as we'll find out later on, people of Armenian origins visiting their 'motherland', apart from a small group of *aficionados* of odd destinations. Secondly, the iconographic display in the meaning of Gottmann (Gottmann 1952): although the features of the cultural landscape and the national iconography, that will be specified later on, are on one hand the attraction features on which a *destination branding* must be based, on the other they represent the identity references on which a nationalistic rhetoric is often based, aiming to stress the cultural and geo-political opposition between Christian, Indo-European Armenia and the hostile regional context, Turkish in its language and culture, seizing it from West and East.

Socio-cultural facts

Linguistically and religiously Armenia can be thought of as a Christian and Indo-European island 'in the middle of the Turkish-

Iranian-Caucasian sea' (Cori 2000: 22). Linguistically, since Armenian is part of the Indo-European family, but represents a branch of its own: it has its own alphabet, designed in the IV century A.D. by the monk Mesrop Mashtots. Religion is then for Armenians a possibly more distinctive feature than language, not just due to the contrast with the surrounding Islamic context, but also since Armenians claim a 'primacy' of Christianity: brought to Armenia by Saint Gregory called the 'Illuminator', Christianity was declared state religion in the Armenian kingdom by Tiridates III in 301 A.D., (according to traditional dating), or in 314 A.D. (according to some more recent studies). However the Armenian nation stands out for being the first 'officially' Christian one in history. Which explains why the religious and ethno-linguistic peculiar features always have been a powerful identity marker for Armenians, one that while keeping Armenian culture alive in some alien when not actually hostile contexts, also often roused inflamed nationalist feelings with relevant implications in the country's foreign policy.

The Diaspora-factor is thus a fundamental one in our discussion: Armenian Diaspora is so deeply rooted in history and stretched geographically that it cannot be done without in any analysis focussed on 'Armenity'. Such a tight interdependence between the 'national' and the Diaspora constituent is rooted in the above mentioned identity awareness, that is in turn a consequence of this 'border' people's history and geography:

Such 'being on the border' had at first a geographical and political meaning, when the Armenian kingdoms found themselves squeezed between very powerful imperial powers such as the Roman and Parthian, the Byzantine and Sassanid (then replaced by the Arabs), the Ottoman and Russian ones. This notion was then loaded with a strong and undeletable religious connotation after the conversion to Christianity and the need to save the country's identity against a more and more hostile context, thus turning into an autonomous rather than a space dimension (Ferrari 2000: 10).

Therefore this sense of belonging, mainly a religious belonging, has stayed maybe not so much the same but surely really alive in time and space. A space that is almost ecumenically stretched, considering the extent of Armenian Diaspora: Armenian communities can be found in all continents, in more than 50 countries. Sometimes it is rather big communities, like the U.S. (almost one million people), Russian (670,000), Georgian (500,000), French (450,000), Iranian

(200,000), Turkish (140,000), Lebanese (82,000), Argentinian (80,000) and Syrian (80,000) ones². Remarkably enough, Armenian communities are very well integrated in the social systems of almost all their hosting countries, often taking part in the economic and cultural life of these countries with important public figures and developing what has been called a 'multidimensional, many-sided identity', i.e. the ability to 'keep the cultural heritage of one's own roots in the different historical contexts even while being rightfully, or almost rightfully, part of the life and structures of the hosting society' (Zekiyani 2000: 170). As a result, the harmonious existence of a numerically, economically and culturally relevant Armenian component in rich and powerful countries like the United States and France also has significant economic and diplomatic implications for Armenia itself: it assures on one hand a fundamental financial support by the wealthy communities of the Diaspora, on the other it prompts an often effective *lobbying*, supporting Armenian interests. As far as our analysis here is concerned, the Diaspora is, as we will argue later on, a fundamental factor in the tourist incoming flows of the country, so that it deeply marks the whole sector with a 'national' feature, acting both on motivation and on communication, promotional and *destination management* strategies.

The cultural landscape

As for its naturalistic qualities, Armenian territory stands out for its surprising variety, given its very small size: going from south northbound, i.e. from Iran towards Georgia, one moves from an almost desert natural environment, made up of 'death and yellowish earthen plains' (Mandel'stam 1988: 144) and surrounded by rough and rocky isolated heights, to settings that can easily be depicted as alpine, given the richness of their woods and rivers, flowing there like streams forming sometimes deep gorges.

In such a fascinating natural context and in spite of the negative changes brought about by the Soviet 'modernization', a most peculiar cultural landscape is cut, rooted in this people's history, culture and also in its identity, and one that seems mainly based on the special binomial developed in Armenia between architecture and nature³. We are talking about the many age-old churches of multicoloured tuff which 'splinter and break up the sight's teeth' (Mandel'stam 1988: 63), and about their perfect positioning in the lonely and often desert settings of rural and rocky Armenia, an area on the outskirts and thus saved from mounting modernization. Fortified churches or churches

Plate 2.1 The Monastery of Noravank

Source: M. Cappucci, 2005

built in strategic places, in order to hold out against constant invasion attempts; with no incoming light and few openings towards the outside, in order to be able to also turn into safe shelters; almost camouflaged since they're built with the same stone of which the surrounding mountains are made up; with thick and multilayered walls, in order to stand up to the frequent earthquakes always devastating this area.

An emblematic instance is undoubtedly the monastery of Khor Virap⁴, standing out on the background of snowy Ararat, a 'symbolic' mountain full of painful historical and cultural meaning. This 'icon', almost obsessively reproduced in Armenia to the point that it seems ubiquitous in daily life, can be said to represent this land's last essence and the synthesis of its dramatic historical parabola: the cradle of Armenian civilization, the source of Christian identity and the displacement, after the Genocide, from the ancestral land, the region of Ararat. So it is not by chance that it gets used as the country's 'business card' in touristic advertising: one can almost inevitably find it on the cover or the first page of trade magazines whenever an article about Armenia is published.

Plate 2.2 *The Monastery of Khor Virap*



Source: M. Cappucci, 2005

Traditionally, when turning to Christianity, after the idols had been knocked down crosses were raised, which for Armenia meant the building of *khatchkars*. *Khatchkars* (literally: ‘stone crosses’), have for centuries ‘marked’ in thousands each corner of Armenian territory, turning into a peculiar and necessary feature of its cultural landscape: carved on the old megalithic steles, sculpted on modern stones or on the walls of churches, or on the mountains’ rocks, isolated or in groups, sometimes with a refined manufacturing, sometimes simple graffiti by inexperienced hands. These stone crosses were raised both as funerary monuments (sometimes in huge groups: Noraduz, Julfa and so on), and as a ‘memory’, permanently reminding of a happy or sad event, a wedding, a birth, a won or lost battle, a pilgrimage, a journey. It is basically a ‘petrified diary’ telling the story of a people and tying it up to its land symbolically and even physically (through the stone driven into the land).

An impressive iconographic national display, made up of material and non-material items (alphabet, liturgy, church and popular music, dance, miniature manuscripts, craftsmanship, gastronomy, brandy and so on)⁵, builds up the peculiarity of Armenian culture, completing the landscape facts and contributing to make the perceptive-sensory

Plate 2.3 Khatchkar



Source: M. Cappucci, 2005

experience of a journey to Armenia unique and unrepeatable. On such basis governmental institutions and private operators start promoting a kind of 'niche' tourism⁶, addressing a public willing to experience unusual routes of cultural tourism, geographically concentrated in the areas of the Diaspora (Western Europe, Americas, Middle East), as the data reported in next paragraph will show.

Tourist flows

We have to stress straight away that tourism in Armenia strongly feeds on what we could call a 'diasporic' component. Both the mostly western and middle-east tourists with remote Armenian origins, the descendants of past Diasporas, and recently emigrated Armenians (after the collapsing of the USSR), who are gone once and for all but still keep strong affection and family ties with Armenia, can be included in this category. Moreover, and more improperly so, those Armenian nationals working abroad (mainly in Russia) and regularly coming back for holidays can also be considered 'Diaspora-tourists'.

A study of tourist incoming flows shows that 510,000 tourists visited Armenia in 2007, about 34,2% more than in 2006 and more than 12 times the number of tourists counted in 1999. In particular, in 2001 an upsurge in arrivals was recorded (Table 1), when the one thousand and 700th anniversary of the conversion to Christianity was celebrated: back then the figures got almost three times those of the previous year. Actually a slightly greater number of arrivals had been forecasted: it is indeed reckoned that almost 50,000 tourists cancelled their journey to Armenia after 9/11, just when, in the second and third week of September, the highest figures were expected for the main celebrations (Pope John Paul II's visit, the tenth anniversary of independence from USSR, the opening of the new cathedral of Yerevan).

However, 2001 seems to have given Armenia an excellent occasion of promoting itself on an international level. From then on the tourists keep in fact steadily growing in their numbers, to the point that, according to an estimate of the tourist agency of Yerevan, if they keep growing as fast as in the last years, already in 2012 about 800,000 arrivals could be reckoned, a figure very close to those reported in Soviet times. As a matter of fact, up to 1991 about 900,000 tourists per year would visit Armenia, being this country part of Intourist (the USSR tourist agency), in a route including Georgia and Azerbaijan.

A study of the origin of tourist flows shows that it is mainly the Armenians of the Diaspora who go to Armenia. The following table highlights the fact that tourists mainly come from CIS and USA, i.e. the countries where the Diaspora-component is most present (respectively 1,5 million and 1 million people)⁷. Even the number of tourists coming from Argentina (where Armenians are ab. 80,000) and Canada is significant. As for Asian tourists, instead, they mainly come

Table 2.1 International arrivals

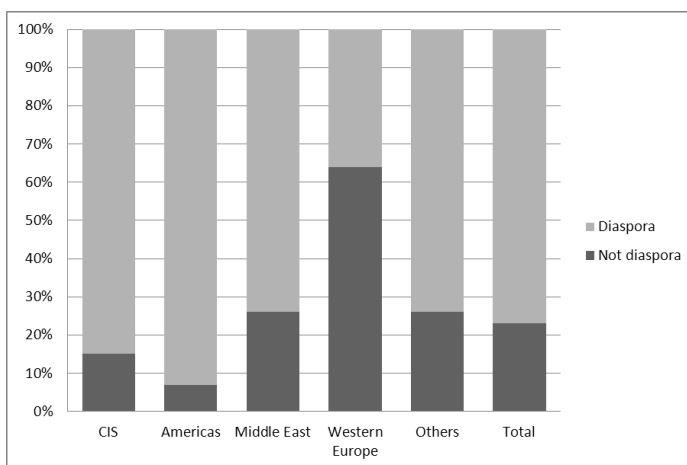
Year	Arrivals (000)	Trend (1999=100)
1999	41	100
2000	45	109
2001	123	300
2002	162	395
2003	206	502
2004	263	640
2005	300	731
2006	380	927
2007	510	1.244

Source: WTO, NSS

from Middle East (Iran, Syria and Lebanon), where Armenians have been living for ages (some of these territories were in fact once part of ‘historical Armenia’).

Considering 2003 data in particular, it comes out that of the 206,000 tourists arrived in the country about 77% were Diaspora-Armenians coming from all over the world. The table also shows that incoming flows mostly consist of tourists of Armenian origin, except those coming from Western Europe, where on 28,000 tourists only 36% belongs to Diaspora. This latter phenomenon can on one hand be

Figure 2.1 ‘Diaspora’ and not ‘Diaspora’ tourists



Source: McKinsey Analysis (2003)

explained through the fact that in Western Europe, apart from France, Armenian communities are smaller than in Americas and Middle East. On the other it reflects the tendency of tourists from Western Europe to visit alternative destinations of cultural tourism.

Table 2 provides more evidence on what we have just discussed. The data come from a research on a sample of 7,627 tourists classified according to the country they came from, and they show one more time that tourists in Armenia can mostly be linked to Armenian communities abroad.

In particular from neighbouring countries like Russia and Georgia a more significant flow of arrivals is recorded plus a higher absolute value of tourists with Armenian origins. Moreover, a high percentage of interviewed people coming from these countries had an

Table 2.2 Tourists with Armenian origins

Country	Total number of tourists	Total number of tourists with Armenian origins	% tourists with Armenian origins on general total	% tourists with Armenian origins on country's total
Canada	55	38	0,8	69,1
France	270	144	3,0	53,3
Georgia	2.143	1.470	31,0	68,6
Germany	222	59	1,2	26,6
Greece	64	37	0,8	57,8
Iran	592	177	3,7	29,9
Italy	65	10	0,2	15,4
Japan	40	1	0,0	2,5
Lebanon	37	33	0,7	89,2
Russia	2.660	2.188	46,1	82,2
Syria	88	63	1,3	71,6
UK	145	36	0,8	24,8
USA	347	186	3,9	53,6
Other CIS	235	136	2,9	57,9
Other W. Eur.	231	67	1,4	29
Other countries	433	101	2,1	23,3
Total	7.627	4.746	100	62,2

Source: USAID, Armenian International Visitor Survey, Sept. 2006 – Aug. 2007, 2008

Armenian passport (for Russia this percentage is higher than 30%). These tourists are thus Armenian nationals working abroad (mostly in CIS) and coming back to their families and homes for holidays. This data is also confirmed when considering the average daily expenditure: a study by the *United States Agency for International Development* carried out between 2006 and 2007 shows that, during their stay in Armenia, people coming from countries like Iran, Syria and Lebanon, or from CIS countries, spend an average 66.3% less than tourists coming from the rest of the world (for Georgia the percentage rises to 86.2%), since, precisely, they do not make use of reception facilities typically designed for tourists.

From countries like Italy or Japan, instead, flows are less or not at all marked through motivations such as family or ancestral belonging to Armenia. The main reason lies in wanting to explore destinations that are not part of mass tourism routes, though they are generally less equipped for tourism itself.

It must be stressed, though, that more and more tourists come to Armenia just for cultural reasons, which means that the country gained more visibility at international levels: tour operators offer it more and more frequently and it starts being present on the global market through 'modern' promotional patterns. To the extent that, by confronting data related to the different typologies of tourism in 2001 and 2006 (Table IV), the following holds true:

- a) figures related to 'leisure and holiday' tourists, i.e. those leaving their homes just for cultural reasons or for pleasure, significantly rise; it is anyway not easy to determine how many of those tourists included in this category, which is itself difficult to measure considering the weak boundary between 'leisure and holiday' tourism and different forms of tourism, do have indeed Armenian origins;
- b) the increase of 'leisure and holiday' tourism is opposed to an almost corresponding decrease of the percentage related to tourists coming in for family reasons: from 50% in 2001 to 45% in 2006;
- c) what stays more or less the same but is nonetheless remarkable is the number of people coming in for business reasons (businessmen, officials from international organizations, diplomats);
- d) eventually a small and essentially constant percentage of tourists is to be linked to spas and education. It is obviously people coming from neighbouring countries like Russia, Iran

and Syria, visiting health centres once crowded with Soviet tourists, or students from the Middle East willing to benefit from the academic prestige reached by the University of Yerevan in such branches like medicine and dentistry.

Table 2.3 Arrivals per typology (%)

	Leisure and Holiday	Relatives	Business	Education	Health
2001	13	50	31	1	5
2006	21	45	29	2	3

Source: NSS, Survey of passengers 2001, 2002; USAID, Armenian International Visitor Survey, Sept. 2006 – Aug. 2007, 2008

Final remarks

On 21st September 1991 the Republic of Armenia declared its independence from a collapsing Soviet Union and came (back) to the international stage. The beginnings of this re-birth can be traced back to what we can call the middle-realm of pre-collapse/pre-transition (basically between 1988-1993): it is a particularly difficult time for Armenia and Armenians (among devastations caused by earthquakes, the radicalization of the Nagorno-Karabakh question, the energy crisis and the collapse of a centralized economic system), but also a time of strong ideological excitement, ‘revolutionary’ in some way, aiming to independence in the name of clear identity values and marked through an iconographic load strongly felt in the streets, the squares, the media, through the free expression of national identity and the proud display of related symbols⁸. Such an impulse towards self-determination, though, would soon deteriorate into a nationalist attitude that is still branding, with ups and downs, Armenian foreign policy.

Thus, as we have seen, the Armenian cultural landscape – meaning not just the material elements of the territory, but rather the whole system of symbols, signs and values produced by the historical sedimentation of this land – ‘induced’ by history to stand out against the surrounding context more definitely than it could happen elsewhere – plays a double role. On the one hand, it stands as the main nourishment of a common feeling of national identity, that sometimes goes beyond the weak boundary between the peaceful display of national features and their aggressive parading, particularly

in an anti-Turkish and anti-Azeri key⁹- which is no wonder, given the historical and geographical circumstances affecting this territory. On the other hand, it serves as a rich 'deposit' of touristic resources, of which significantly, if not mainly, foreign tourists of Armenian origins benefit, confirming once more the special link existing in Armenia between the touristic and national dimension.

Notes

1. Reliable estimates (International Monetary Fund 2002) reckon at least 800,000 people emigrated between 1991 and 2001, on a total population of about 3.8 millions.
2. Data from Avagian, 1994. These data, related to 1990, do not account for the migratory flows in the following ten years; in the case of Russia, for instance, we can reasonably assume a double increase. These are anyway, as the author himself admits, rough and draft figures. Different sources (see for instance Zekiyani 2000: 39) do indeed, in some cases, point out to different figures.
3. When talking about the natural and cultural landscape of Armenia, the one who, better than any other, gave it everlasting life just has to be mentioned: the painter Martiros Saryan (1880-1972). Saryan embodies the artistic symbol of Armenia, coupling Armenian cultural peculiarity with contemporary western art expressions.
4. Built in the IV century where, according to tradition, St. Gregory was held prisoner, not far from the present border with Turkey, the monastery of Khor Virap looks more like an ancient military outpost than a worship place.
5. The historical and cultural significance of the *duduk* must be stressed here, a wind instrument with a slightly nasal timbre made of apricot tree wood, whose origins can be traced back to the times of king Tigranes the Great (95 – 55 B.C.). It is played in popular songs and dances of the Armenian tradition and is usually played at big events like weddings and funerals. In 2005 it was declared by UNESCO a '*masterpiece of the oral and intangible heritage of the humanity*'.
6. See for instance the commercials produced for CNN ('*Armenia. Noah's route. Your route*'), or the web page of the *Armenian Tourism Development Agency* (http://www.armeniainfo.am/virtual_tour).
7. These data, processed by McKinsey & Co., refer to 2003.
8. See for instance the movie *The Journey* (2002) by Edwin Avanes and Emy Hovanesyan.
9. Many instances can be found not so much in official contexts, where the necessary diplomatic attitude is kept, as rather in the nationalist activism that can be mainly linked to circles of the Diaspora. See for an emblematic instance: 'Turkish dream....NOT', www.youtube.com/AchiK2007.

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3.

ORIENTALISM AND IMPERIALISM IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA. CONSIDERATIONS ON TRAVEL LITERATURE, COLONIAL TOURISM, AND THE DESERT AS 'COMMODITY' IN MAURITANIA

Joana Lucas

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the period of effective colonial occupation of Mauritania (1902-1960) and summarizes the most significant literary production of the time pertaining to the area (travel narratives, colonial mapping missions), as well as some of the early material promoting and advertising tourism in French West Africa (AOF), including Mauritania¹. These documents are the founding textual artifacts of a discourse on leisure and tourism in these countries, exogenously produced and aimed at bringing the French colonies to the standards of metropolitan French citizens and its aspirations for tourism.

By examining these documents I seek to understand how the territories of AOF became tourist destinations by way of a discourse produced in and by the metropole, and how these territories became sites of otherness and exoticism to be appropriated by the West. Assuming that otherness is what makes a destination worthy of consumption (Hall and Tucker 2004), I look into how the territories of French West Africa and more specifically Mauritania were presented (or displayed) as locations of otherness.

Tourism in the global south: landscapes, identities and development. Centre for Geographical Studies, Lisbon, 2013: 25-43.

I am also interested in the epistemological gap between a colonial discourse of tourism promotion in Mauritania, diminishing its valences in relation to other colonies, and its contemporary literary production that presents the Mauritanian territory as a space of adventure and authenticity (as the narratives of Odette du Puigauudeau will make clear).

In fact, the argument I develop here stresses the fact that it would only be in the context of postcolonial Mauritania that colonial literature was appropriated by tour operators, who in turn introduced it in promotions of 'desert tourism.' In these renditions of the desert as a product which was socially constructed, the imaginary of colonial expeditions is brought to bear on ideas of freedom and exoticism. The memory of these colonial expeditions is invoked by contemporary tourists, thus projecting a romanticized notion of territorial and people knowledge as a way of mimicking the colonial heroes and their achievements.

Simultaneously, the appropriation of colonial narratives for tourism promotion in post-colonial territories carries with it a colonial 'vision' of the local populations, crystallizing their 'traditional' features and characteristics and denying by default their 'modernity'.

Elsewhere² I have examined how tourists reject signs of 'modernity' among populations portrayed as 'traditional', and how this attempt to mould the identity of the 'other' is a colonial legacy appropriated by contemporary tourism. As Hall and Tucker argue:

Postcolonial theory is useful in reminding us, however, that this aspect of tourism discourse which promotes the preservation of the 'traditional' for tourist experience is itself based on a colonial desire to fix the identity of the other in order that it remains (or perhaps it actually becomes) distinct from tourist identity. (Hall and Tucker 2004:17)

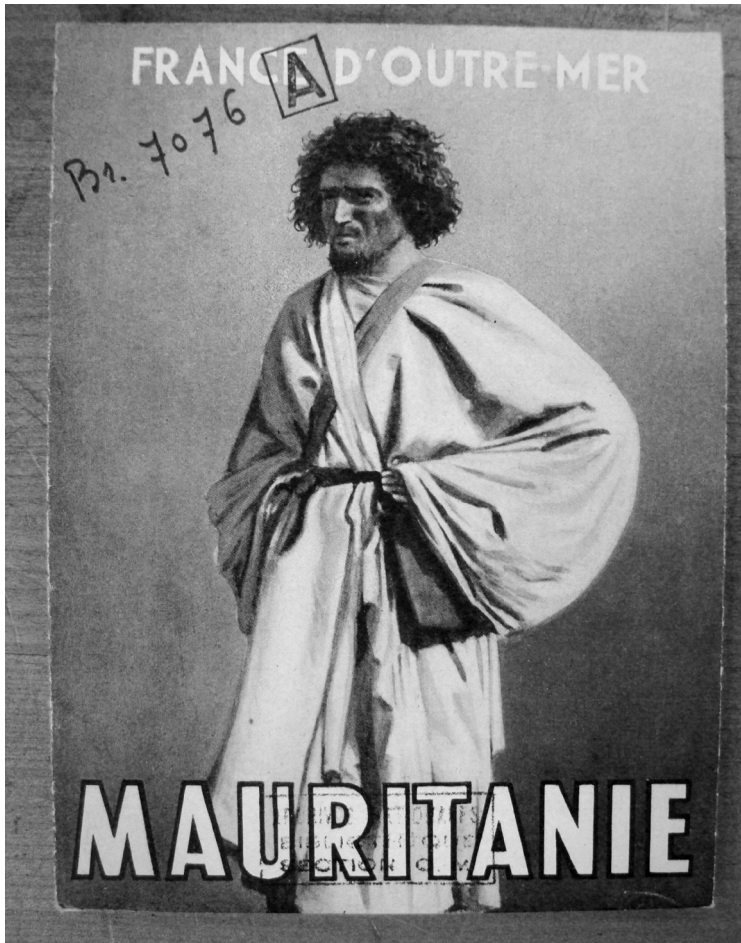
In fact, the objectification of what were termed 'Moorish' populations and their culture seems to be persistent in both colonial tourism discourses, as well as in its postcolonial counterpart. The Orientalist assumptions present in both discursive fields are intended to order and classify an 'exotic' universe in the eyes of, and in accordance to, the West. In the words of Timothy Mitchell:

Orientalism (...) is not just a nineteenth-century instance of some general historical problem of how one culture portrays another, nor just an aspect of colonial domination, but part of a method of order and truth essential to the peculiar nature of the modern world. (Mitchell 1998: 423)

Mauritania and imperial representations: from narratives and colonial exhibitions

In what follows I briefly examine the narrative production framed by the period of effective colonization of Mauritania, distinct from pre-colonial narratives primarily aimed at mapping the territory and its population. The narratives of the early years of effective colonial rule (1902-1911), are clearly directed to the consolidation of the French colonial empire. The discourse on the colonies produced in

Plate 3.1 Mauritanie, dépliant illustré, 1951



Source: Archives d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence, France. Author's photo

this period, specifically on Mauritania, generally makes use of a predominantly technical language, with an increasingly widespread use of local vocabulary (the tribe becomes *qabila*, the desert plains becomes *erg*), whereby the population is no longer referred to generically as 'Moorish' but is ascribed to specific tribes. Concerns about the commercial 'viability' of the colonies, from the standpoint of the metropole, also emerge at this stage and a model of economic organization with banks, transportation, and border control is first deployed by the French colonial administration.

During this period most of the colonial narratives about Mauritania are produced by figures linked to French military institutions (Gruvel and Chudeau 1909³, Gouraud 1910⁴). In most cases they are assessments of the country and of some aspects of the life of their populations (religion and gender relations are among the most frequently discussed topics) while at the same time outlines of colonial theories for the occupation of the territory, as was the case in the 'Précis de Politique Musulmane' (Arnaud 1906)⁵.

One of the most detailed studies of the country at the time, and one of the first that looks at it in a more minute way, is Paul Marty's work of 'Études sur l'Islam et les tribus maures: les Brakna' (1921)⁶. Here the narrative focuses on a particular Mauritania group in the Brakna region (in Southwest) and their forms of organization, among whom the author has conducted an extended stay for ethnographic purposes.

Meanwhile, in the metropole the 'Exposition Nationale Coloniale de Marseille' is held in 1922, the sixth exhibition to take place in France⁷ in the wake of the success of the 'Exposition Coloniale de Marseille' in 1906 which had 1.8 million visitors⁸. With the end of the war the victorious nations will try to consolidate their empires by investing in the commercial potentialities of their colonies. It is also the time when the great colonial empires assert themselves before the world and showcase their conquered territories: after World War I colonial exhibitions multiply, mainly in the UK and in France.

In this postwar scenario the achievement of the 'Exposition Nationale Coloniale de Marseille' is perceived as being able to contribute in some way to the restructuring of the French colonial empire and to give it vitality, constituting at the same time an attempt by Third French Republic to make inroads into the colonies:

Avec la guerre, les relations de la France avec ses colonies changèrent: la métropole ayant reconnu la valeur de ses territoires voulut s'en rapprocher (Verdiè 1996: 68).

However, as we will see ahead, the issue of tourism in the colonies of French West Africa was not yet a priority, largely because of the obstacles of penetrating the African continent, a difficulty that André Citroën would take on a few years later. As Pascale Verdiè explains:

Mais dans la période de reconstruction, l'organisation du tourisme n'était pas une priorité d'autant plus que dans le cas de l'Afrique, il restait limité. (Verdiè 1996: 68)

Thus, after the successful achievement of the 'Exposition Nationale Coloniale de Marseille', André Citroën organizes in 1924, with the logistical and financial support of the metropole, the expedition 'Crosière Noire' (starting off in Algeria and headed towards the Belgian Congo). The expedition was an attempt to find an easier and more accessible route into African territory. This expedition, which was quickly shrouded in controversy, concluded with the victory of French technology over the adversities of the colonial territory, with all its highly charged political, cultural and scientific significance. The success of this mission contributed to the accumulation of symbolic capital of the French Empire in the metropole and in the colonies, and had as its main purpose the massification of the experience of tourism travel through the development of road transport, as revealed in the words of André Citroën:

Transporter le plus rapidement possible le voyageur désireux de se rendre, à travers le désert, dans la région nigérienne, où l'attirent les sports ou les affaires⁹.

The 1930s begin in the metropole with the preparation of the 'Exposition Coloniale Internationale' scheduled for 1931 in Paris, an exhibition that gained international traction with the engagement of several European nations (Ageron 1984). These colonial exhibitions represented a way to consolidate the Orientalist thought through an organized display of otherness and cultural essentialism, objectifying 'exotic' cultures and making them available for consumption by the West (Bennett 1988, Mitchell 1998). As Timothy Mitchell explains:

The nineteenth-century image of the Orient was constructed not just in Oriental studies, romantic novels, and colonial administrations, but in all the new procedures with which Europeans began to organize the representation of the world, from museums and world exhibitions to architecture, schooling,

tourism, the fashion industry and the commodification of everyday life (Mitchell 1998: 409)

This was the last colonial exhibition organized by France until decolonization and it constitutes a fertile ground for analysis given its political, ideological, and symbolic importance. In the 'Exposition Coloniale Internationale' of 1931, Mauritania integrated the pavilion of French West Africa but was entitled to its own brochure with specific information on the territory as it had been for the 1922 exhibition. The date of the 1931 exhibition coincides, as I will show ahead, with the onset of systematic publications of brochures promoting and advertising tourism in the territories of French West Africa.

From this time onward, and more acutely after the 'pacification' of Mauritania was officially declared in 1934, new reports by 'travelers' with different motivations than those of occupying and administering the territory begin to emerge, signalling a shift from 19th and early 20th century military institutions towards the democratization of travel.

The proliferation of independent travelers accompanies the still timid and elitist vulgarization of tourism, where contact with the otherness of the 'exotic' territories appears as a great ideal and aspiration in an European continent seriously weakened in the wake of World War I and circumscribed by its own geographic limits on the boundaries of its ludic aspirations.

In post-war Europe, the possibilities generated by the increasing massification of transportation and circulation of people, namely in the popular 'Grand Tour,' rapidly depleted the exoticism of European 'peripheries'¹⁰ leading to a proliferation of independent travelers outside conventional circuits, eager for new and exotic tourist destinations of otherness.

But the great change on the profile of travelers/explorers who produced literary texts on Mauritanian territory occurs in the mid-1930s when Odette du Puigaudeau, one of the most famous and popular writers on Mauritania, visited the country for the first time in 1934, becoming the first woman traveler to write about these territories¹¹. After her arrival by boat she leaves in a caravan along with Marion Sénones and local people practically touring all corners of the country.

Odette du Puigaudeau is probably one of the first travelers in these latitudes that is not directly linked to colonial administrations or imperial projects, granting her a certain aura of romanticism both

Plate 3.2 French West Africa Stamp (Mauritania)



Source: Author's photo from the personal archive of Ahmed Mahmoud Ould Mohamed. Nouakchott, Mauritania.

in the metropole (though only later) and among local populations. Her enthusiastic and passionate accounts about the country would go on to, some years later, help exercise considerable fascination on Mauritania by travelers eager for unknown, remote, and exotic places. Shortly after Odette du Puigauveau's arrival in Mauritania, Théodore Monod publishes his book 'Méharées, exploration au vrai Sahara' (1937)¹² and also becomes one of the most emblematic literary figures in Mauritania by publishing numerous geographic and ethnographic essays¹³. Though a scientist by vocation, his literary production about the country bypasses fictional and scientific genres, as exemplified by his numerous articles published in the 'Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire.'

The colonies as new tourist destinations: Africa as a leisure territory

The early stages of literary production on Mauritania is accompanied from 1931 by the edition of guidebooks and tourist brochures, a publishing effort that spans across several territories of

French West Africa (AOF). In 1932 a decree is published setting the terms of admission and permanence for tourists in these territories¹⁴, further institutionalized in 1935 by the creation of a Tourism Syndicate¹⁵.

In what follows, I look more closely at the publication of guidebooks and tourist brochures, examining how Mauritania was portrayed in these promotional materials targeting European (and French) audiences as its primary audience. Mauritania is here described primarily in terms of its natural resources and its touristic 'potentiality', particularly in light of the remaining AOF colonies.

Most travel guides include all countries within the AOF: Senegal, French Sudan (present-day Mali), Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Niger, Dahomey (Benin), French Guinea (Guinea-Conakry), Ivory Coast and Mauritania. For the most part, these guides are written by military or former military personnel who will have a key role in the organization of tourist activities such as rallies and expeditions in these territories.

For the military in colonial administrations in-between the two Great Wars, AOF as a whole and the Sahara Desert¹⁶ in particular, represented a space of freedom that answered their needs and desires for autonomy and adventure away from the battered European territory (Berthonnet 2009).

It is exactly between the First and Second World Wars that the first texts encouraging the organized presence of French tourists in the territories of AOF are more widely produced. However, by the early twentieth century West Africa, where the foreign presence was limited almost entirely to colonial employees, Barot-Forlière (1902)¹⁷ writes what is for many the first explicit formulation of the possibility of tourism in AOF in a publication intended for Europeans living in these territories in West Africa:

Touristes: Les voyages de touristes doivent être encouragés, car ces personnes sont en général riches et instruites et, rentrées en France, elles demeurent acquises à la cause coloniale. Le jour où une agence aura réussi à organiser le voyage circulaire Dakar, Saint-Louis, Kayes, Bammako, Kouroussa, Konakry (qui peut durer 4 mois environ et coûter 3 à 4000 francs), elle aura rendu un immense service à l'Afrique française (Barot-Forlière 1902: 315)

Despite these attempts at the turn of the century, the first tourism-oriented material in the AOF is published only in 1928. This text, part of the 'Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord', is titled 'Pour aller en AOF'¹⁸ and portrays, yet again, tourism as an elite aspiration.

Le tourisme en Afrique Occidentale Française est donc et sera, pendant longtemps encore, un sport de luxe réservé soit à quelques rares voyageurs organisant spécialement, avec le concours des Gouverneurs des Colonies intéressées, des voyages d'études, soit à des amateurs de chasse ou des grandes émotions attirés par l'abondance et la diversité de gibiers de toutes sortes qu'il peuvent rencontrer. (Pour aller en AOF 1928: 758)

From this point onward, hunting tourism expeditions would also be offered to tourists in the AOF along with 'educational' tours of ethnographic character. These hunting and ethnographic 'products' would be promoted exhaustively in tour guides published by the late 1930s. Along with tourism promotion of sites and destinations offering only hunting/ethnography, colonial tourism would mainly insist on the close connection between elite and leisure activities, a class perspective that would characterize the language of tourism promotion until the mid 1950s.

Despite the aforementioned dichotomy it is necessary to mention that the AOF colonies were never a homogeneous whole and tour guides always made sure to echo these differences. If Senegal, and Dakar in particular, had always been promoted as the 'crown jewel' of AOF, other colonies such as Mauritania and Niger did not seem to possess the same kind of attractiveness appropriate for the Western traveler.

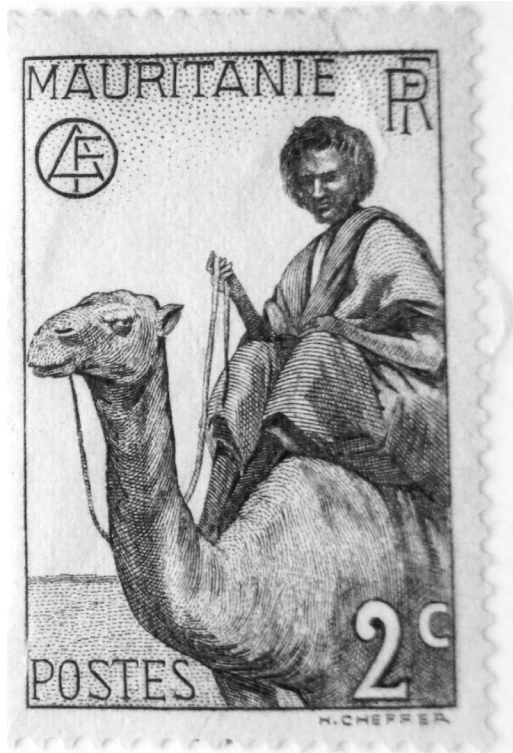
In fact, and while one could find detailed accounts for all the regions in AOF, over the course of the first two decades of tourism guides (1931-1947), the exceptions were the desert-prone Mauritania and Niger, with clearly diminished offerings. Not only that, the same passage was repeatedly reproduced, brochure after brochure, as in this 1931 edition:

Les colonies de la Mauritanie et du Niger, enfin, ont dans leur ensemble un aspect désertique et ne peuvent attirer que les seuls amateurs de solitude et ceux qu'intéresse l'étude des mœurs des nomades qui les habitent, les Maures et les Touareg. (Le Tourisme en Afrique Occidentale Française 1931: 21)¹⁹

This refusal to attribute to Mauritania the features of a potential tourist destination would eventually lend its motto to what was the image of Mauritania projected and disseminated for the West, disseminated in the metropole for almost two decades. There seemed to be, however, a certain discrepancy between the text reproduced above and what the narratives produced about the country in the contemporary travel literature.

While the literary production of Odette Puigauveau and Théodore Monod, to name only the most widely renowned authors, projected an image of the country as a bastion of ‘authenticity’, insisting for example on the hospitality of its people²⁰ and the grandeur of its landscapes, the official colonial discourse remained intent on relegating Mauritania to the group of ‘second class’ French colonies.

Plate 3.3 French West Africa Stamp (Mauritania)



Source: Author's photo from the personal archive of Ahmed Mahmoud Ould Mohamed. Nouakchott, Mauritania.

The downgrading of Mauritania to a secondary group of French colonies can be read in light of the recurrent use of this excerpt – re-published in several tourist publications at the time – which first made its way into a booklet dedicated to Mauritania by the occasion of the ‘Exposition Nationale Coloniale de Marseille’ in 1922²¹. The excerpt below leads us to believe that Mauritania had been

ostracized by the colonial administration, of which tourism materials would be but one instance:

La Mauritanie est essentiellement une marche avancée destinée à protéger la colonie du Sénégal contre les incursions des pillards du Nord. La pacification du pays, après des périodes difficiles, est aujourd'hui complètement assurée et le Sénégal peut travailler sans crainte de razzias au développement de ses richesses. La nature même du sol et le peu de densité de la population ne permettent pas d'espérer pour la colonie elle-même un avenir économique aussi brillant que celui de la colonie voisine. Mais les inépuisables ressources en poissons de ses côtes peuvent lui donner, quand l'exploitation en sera faite méthodiquement et par des sociétés puissantes, un vigoureux essor et la faire contribuer, dans des proportions intéressantes, au ravitaillement de la métropole. (Exposition Nationale Coloniale de Marseille 1922: 32)

For the 1931 'Exposition Coloniale Internationale' a booklet was published entirely dedicated to the territory of Mauritania and its features. This brochure shows a more in-depth knowledge about the country and its people as opposed to what was displayed through the tourism promotion material that we transcribed above. This booklet, divided into six parts²², confirms, however, some of the 'inconveniences' of the country:

Plaine aride, désolée, sans un cours d'eau, ne bénéficiant que des rares et parcimonieuses précipitations atmosphériques tout juste suffisantes pour permettre la vie à quelques nouveaux buissons d'épineux agrippés (...) (La Mauritanie 1931: 7)²³

The obvious disparity between the meagre contents of promotional materials and the detailed, almost meticulous content of the brochure mentioned above, leads us to conclude that despite a relatively abundant knowledge of Mauritania, the country was not perceived as being officially a territory endowed with tourism attractions that could appeal to an audience searching for exoticism and 'authenticity'. The following quote from Colonial Exposition of 1931 makes this point plain:

La Mauritanie, au contraire, qui ne conduit qu'au désert, à l'écart des voies transsahariennes, ne jouit pas dans l'imagination du public du même prestige que certaines régions éloignées comme le Tchad, et n'offre à la curiosité des

voyageurs aucune cité indigène dont la réputation nimbée de mystère soit comparable à celle de Tombouctou. Il est donc certain qu'elle restera encore longtemps en dehors du mouvement de grand tourisme dont la naissance est d'ailleurs de date encore récente en Afrique Occidentale Française (La Mauritanie 1931: 27)

In fact, for a long time the seductive nature of the desert – which is currently the most prized tourist value in Mauritania – was exclusively associated with countries such as Algeria and Morocco, taken to be the only representatives of a nomadic culture and immediately identified with the Sahara desert while also widely promoted as such by the French colonial administration:

Le seul guide publié alors (after the war) par l'Agence économique de l'AOF met surtout en valeur le Sahara: il voulait sans doute faire face à la faiblesse des flux touristiques en profitant du tourisme en Afrique du Nord. (Verdié 1996: 68)

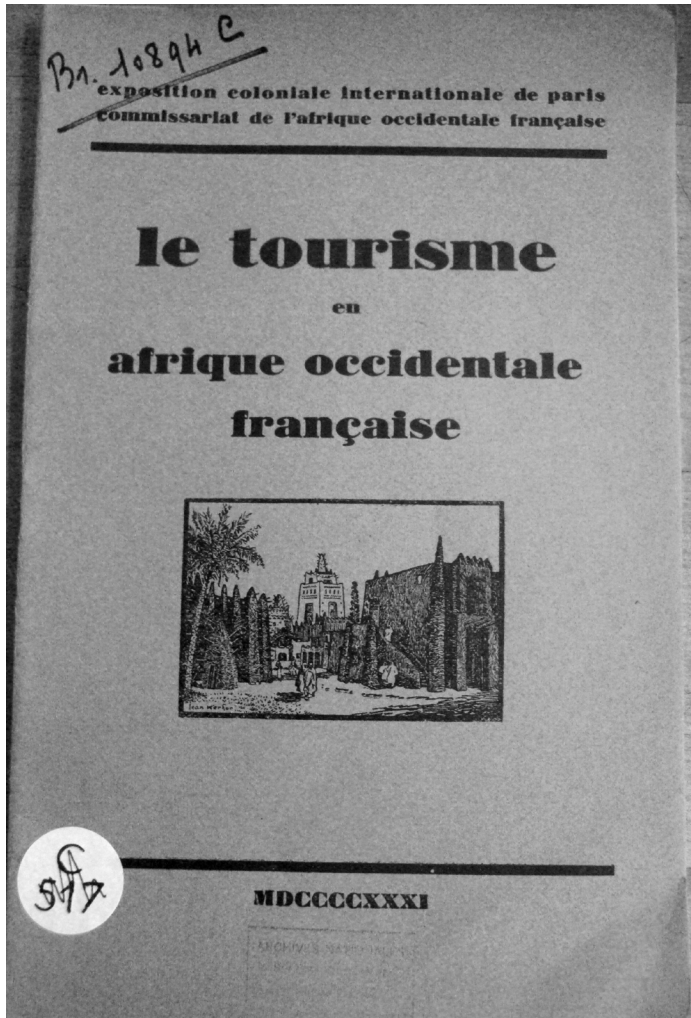
Tourism in contemporary Mauritania – the promotion of the desert and its social construction

How then, was Mauritania created as a tourist destination in a post-colonial context? How was the country able to find (in itself) a touristic appeal – a more or less consensual one at least – after a multitude of claims, repeated *ad nauseam* by the colonial administration that the country was deprived of any (touristic) appeal whatsoever?²⁴ More than the mechanisms that structure the logistic aspects of the tourist activity in Mauritania²⁵, I am particularly attuned to how the country began promoting itself as a tourism destination, despite – or *pour cause* – of the bad omens of the colonial period, and how a clearly successful touristic product – the desert – was established²⁶.

To explore these concerns we can look at how the desert came to occupy a void (in every sense of the word) and become a space germane of social and symbolic significance for Western tourists. As stated by 'Le Guide du Routard': 'La Mauritanie est l'un de ces pays où l'on peut encore goûter aux espaces infinis, à l'illusion d'une liberté sans conditions'²⁷.

The manufacturing of a desire for the desert, and its subsequent appropriation by Western tourists, mimics by and large the paths – and prowess, no less – of colonial and pre-colonial explorers in these very same territories. In fact, colonial narratives that had not been

Plate 3.4 *Le Tourisme en Afrique Occidentale Française* (1931).
Exposition Coloniale Internationale de Paris. Archives d'Outre-Mer,
Aix-en-Provence, France



Source: Photo by Joana Lucas

previously deployed for the promotion of tourism were later appropriated by postcolonial tourism by making use and replicating the colonial representation of otherness.

The representation of otherness was, and still is, also inextricably linked to the popularization of accounts of travels and explorations in the imperial lands (...). For example, the discovery of the Pacific by Europeans was the crucial point for the imaging of the Pacific. The early trading relationship with India and the Spice Islands of the Indonesian archipelago was as initial starting point into the creation of the image of the exotic. However, it was the accounts of French and English voyages of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which confirmed the discovery of 'paradise'. (Hall and Tucker 2004: 9)

The creation of a desire for the desert and its subsequent appropriation by Western tourists mimics by and large the paths – and prowess, no less – of colonial and pre-colonial explorers in these very same territories. In fact, colonial narratives that had not been previously deployed for the promotion of tourism were later appropriated by a postcolonial tourism by making use and replicating the colonial representation of otherness.

It is these narratives, in particular those produced in the nineteenth century and in the first half of the twentieth century, that populate the imagination of tourists and make them want to confront what they believe to be the 'real' desert, the same one they consumed through the Western narratives of exoticism, authenticity, and especially adventure²⁸. The post-colonial tourism, operating with the chronotopes of colonialism, is enabled by the consumption *in loco* of this exoticism:

Postcolonialism and tourism both perpetuate the myths of the colonial exotic. This *imaginaire* is now consumed as a pleasure/leisure destination, and not just as a fantasy or an escape for the elite. (D' Hauteserre 2004: 237)

Indeed, the production of this contemporary mysticism around the idea of the desert draws from colonial and pre-colonial narratives as confirmed by contemporary ethnographies on desert tourism, by scholars such as Corinne Cauvin Vermer:

Les nomades du Sahara sont l'objet d'un culte littéraire. Autour d'eux se constituent des communautés quasi mystiques, avec ses prophètes (de Joseph Peyré à Théodore Monod), ses fidèles (des méharistes aux touristes), ses cultes (la marche), ses rituels, ses sacrifices (échanges de boissons ou légendaires diffas) et ses objets sacrés (la dune, les vestiges). (Cauvin Vermer 2007: 16)

This appropriation of the desert as an artifact of tourism articulates the symbolic oppositions that actualize the desert as the opposite of civilization: it is at once erotic and pure, wild and traditional. It corresponds to a social and ideal construction of the desert destined to be consumed in and by the West. In this context, countries like Mauritania offer the traveler the longed for and desired desert in the form of expansive and apparently untamed 'virgin' spaces, infinitely wider than those of its Moroccan neighbor. The way in which the Mauritanian desert is advertised as an almost infinite space has warranted not only to an unequivocal 'purity' of empty spaces, but also a valorization of a product – the desert – in the context of North African competition.

But the same discourse that presents the desert as a space of freedom and adventure entails its domestication (and taming) as a product and space of tourism. The boundaries of desert tourism are for the most part rigid and invariably defined by tour promoters. The desire for the vast and 'empty' spaces that seems to motivate the majority of tourists captivated by the 'idea' of the desert is built upon an erroneous notion, since the desert, as we know, is all but an 'empty' and 'deserted' place, being as it is crisscrossed with routes and inhabited by people. The creation of the desert as a tourist destination was achieved by granting it a set of values that differ substantially from those taken on by the people who inhabit it, though both sets of values are co-present and productively/reciprocally interacting with each other.

Indeed, contemporary desert tourism promotes an apparent rapport between tourists and the nomadic culture of the desert. This contact has somehow radically changed relations between Western tourists and local populations. The familiarity and closeness promoted between these two groups (which are in fact interdependent from a touristic point of view), guarantees in part the authenticity provided by tour operators, aimed at alleviating the realization that the desert is not, after all, such an 'empty' space.

The desert is 'sold' as a space fit for the tourist to unveil and explore. However, as the desert has already been explored and 'mapped' by colonial agents whose references are then rendered ubiquitous in the discursive field of postcolonial tourism, this experience is 'authenticated' by promoting a rapport with the 'traditional' and 'exotic' ('authentic') people inhabiting this space.

Only, unlike the accounts of eighteenth-century French explorers who described the 'Moors' as their meaningful 'Other' – perfidious, indecent, filthy and bellicose – the current inhabitants of the desert seem to resemble, more and more, the tourists themselves:

Plate 3.5 Guide du Tourisme en Afrique Occidentale Française (1930)



Source: Archives d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence, France, author's photo

Contrairement à ce qu'en pensait l'Occident, le désert n'est plus – ou peut-être n'a-t-il jamais été – l'espace de l'altérité radicale. De ce manque naît la mélancolie des randonneurs, inévitablement déçus. (Cauvin Vermer 2007: 69)

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1. Archival research of colonial tourism materials was conducted at the 'Archives d'Outre-Mer' in Aix-en-Provence, France.
2. Lucas, J (2008) *Um serviço de chá e um kit GPS: Reconfigurações identitárias e outros desafios entre os Imraguen da Mauritània*, Dissertação de Mestrado em Antropologia: Multiculturalismo e Identidades, Instituto Superior do Trabalho e da Empresa, Lisboa.
3. Gruvel, A and Chudeau, R (1909) *À travers la Mauritanie*. Éditions Larose.
4. Gouraud, C (1910) La Pacification de la Mauritanie, Journal de Marches et Opérations de la Colonne de l'Adrar, Comité de l'Afrique Française, Paris.
5. Arnaud, R (1906) Précis de politique musulmane, Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, Typographie Adolphe Jourdan, Alger, which was preceded by 'L'Islam en Mauritanie et au Sénégal', published in the 'Revue du Monde Musulman' em 1915-1916 (vol.XXXI). In contrast, the neighboring colonies seemed to have much more attention. Maurice Delafosse, published in 1912 the three volumes of his 'Haut Sénégal-Niger'.
6. Marty, P (1921) *Études sur l'Islam et les tribus maures: les Brakna*, Éditions Ernest Leroux, Paris.
7. The first French colonial exhibition was the 'Exposition Universelle de Paris' held in 1889.
8. Between 1907 (Exposition Coloniale in Paris) and 1922 (Exposition Nationale Coloniale de Marseille) there were no colonial exhibitions in France, a period that roughly corresponds to the duration of WW1 (1914-1918).
9. MAAO, fonds Haardt, 4^o GMH11, Principes généraux de l'organisation des circuits automobiles sur les itinéraires sahariens, in Murray Levine, A (2000) *Le Tourisme Citroën au Sahara (1924-1925)*.
10. The perception of the exoticism of these European 'peripheries' is present in some narratives resulting from the completion of the Grand Tour as is synthesized by Mary Louise Pratt: 'It is not surprising, then, to find German or British accounts of Italy sounding like German or British accounts of Brazil' (Pratt 1992:10).
11. Among which: Puigauudeau, Odette du (1936) *Pieds nus à travers la Mauritanie*, Plon; Puigauudeau, Odette du (1937) *La grande foire aux dattes*, Plon.
12. Monod, T (1937) *Méharées, exploration au vrai Sahara*. Je sers, Paris.
13. It is also around this time in 1938, that Théodore Monod and Pierre Cenival translate the Valentim Fernandes manuscript on the Portuguese presence on the Mauritanian coast, which may reveal an increase in the interest on the history of this territory.
14. 'Conditions d'admission et de séjour des touristes français et étrangers en AOF', Les Grands Itinéraires de l'A.O.F. (1939) Syndicat d'Initiative et de Tourisme de l'A.O.F, Editions Inter-Press, Casablanca.

15. 'Syndicat d'Initiative et de Tourisme de l'AOF', Les Grands Itinéraires de l'A.O.F. (1939) Syndicat d'Initiative et de Tourisme de l'A.O.F, Editions Inter-Presse, Casablanca.
16. At this time however Mauritania was not perceived as part of the Sahara. This inclusion will only happen later, driven mainly by a discourse of tourism promotion of the late twentieth century that derives from the saturation of desert tourism in countries such as Morocco and Algeria.
17. Barot-Forlière (1902) Guide pratique de l'Européen dans l'Afrique Occidentale à l'usage des militaires, fonctionnaires, commerçants, colons et touristes, Guides-Manuels Coloniaux, Ernest Flammarion Éditeur, Paris.
18. 'Pour Aller en AOF' (1928) Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord, Trente-troisième Année, Volume XXIX, N°113 à 116, Imprimerie Algérienne, Alger.
19. Le Tourisme en Afrique Occidentale Française (1931) Exposition Coloniale Internationale de Paris, Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, Imprimerie A. Thoyon-Thèze, Rochefort-sur-Mer.
20. Which was a clear paradigm shift in relation to the first colonial mapping reports produced in the eighteenth century in which the descriptions about local people insisted on their evident hostility and aggressiveness.
21. Exposition nationale Coloniale de Marseille (1922) La Mauritanie, Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, Imprimerie Coopérative Barrier & Cle, Montauban.
22. Of which: 1- Historique. Géographie physique et humaine; 2- Organisation administrative et militaire; 3- Moyens de communication; 4- Développement économique; 5- Œuvres sociales; 6- Organisation financière.
23. La Mauritanie (1931) Exposition Coloniale Internationale de 1931, Gouvernement Général de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, Société d'Éditions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales, Paris.
24. According to the colonial administration Mauritania was destined to have only a military and political role: 'Dans le concert économique qui groupe en un faisceau puissant les colonies de l'Afrique Occidentale Française et porte rapidement l'ensemble de la Fédération vers un avenir de prospérité, d'ordre et de richesse, la Mauritanie ne peut jouer qu'un rôle très effacé. Sa mission est exclusivement guerrière et politique'. (La Mauritanie 1931).
25. It was only in the late 1980's that tourist activity in Mauritania began to be organized around the SOMASERT (Société Mauritanienne of Services et de Tourisme) subsidiary of a major mining company – the SNIM. In 1996, the first charter flights from France bound for Atar (in the northern part of the country) began to arrive promoted by the French company 'Point Afrique'. The state response came a few years later with the creation of the 'Ministère du Commerce, Artisanat and Tourisme' and later with the 'Office National du Tourisme'.

26. The start of the desert tourism in Mauritania benefited mainly from a depletion of other tourist destinations where the desert constituted the main attraction, such as in Morocco or Algeria.
27. http://www.routard.com/guide/code_dest/mauritanie.htm (last accessed 12.06.2012).
28. This imagery is undoubtedly fueled by some of the stories and narratives already listed, but especially by movies – of which ‘Lawrence of Arabia’ (1962) is a telling example.

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**WORLD HERITAGE TOURISM AND CULTURAL DIALOGUE:
THE WORLD HERITAGE SITE OF AMBOHIMANGA
(MADAGASCAR) AS A TRANSDIFFERENTIAL SPACE**

Anja Saretzki and Carola May

Introduction

Mobilizing persons interested in cultural matters is an important effect of the process of classification of sites as cultural heritage. Both immaterial and material artefacts receive recognition by UNESCO as being of representative value and worthy of being protected while at the same time being made available to people to visit. This puts them squarely in the middle of global tourist activities. The very concept of setting up World Heritage Sites thus becomes part of the system of global tourism without which this concept would be bereft of both its popularity and its effectivity.

Related to such aspects of *availability* and *inspectability* of cultural heritage – and indeed one of the prerequisites for reaching the didactic goals of UNESCO – is the fostering of an understanding for other forms of life and ways of thinking (UNESCO 2009), or in other words: intercultural dialogue. Interculturality denotes a dynamic process that takes place between culturally different subjects in negotiation with each other concerning the rules of their respective (differing) communication and behavior (Barmeyer, 2010). Tourism represents one vital place where intercultural activity occurs¹. But when and how can we, critically speaking, differentiate an intercultural encounter as one of mutual exchange? Intercultural encounters are more than just seeking

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out and contemplating – sightseeing the true sense of the word – some piece of foreign space; indeed, they must go beyond a selective introduction to a representative segment of some space. Even if the heritage site is produced and reproduced by guests and hosts, this cannot necessarily be regarded as an intercultural encounter.

This contribution shows possible paths toward intercultural dialogue as well as the hindrances that crop up along those paths. It points up how touristic practices go hand in hand with indigenous practices to create a process of *place-making*, which in turn defines the representative space in a Lefebvrian sense. Such world heritage space is characterized by the concept of a *third culture* found in the term *transdifference* of Breinig and Lösch. Transdifferential spaces serve as thresholds to any number of different cultural texts that allow communication with the foreign, albeit without deconstructing existing differences. Rather, it enables intercultural exchange processes where all stakeholders are equally integrated into a *communitas* capable of constructing a new ‘reality of world heritage.’ World Heritage Sites are thus transdifferential spaces inasmuch as they create a third, alternative and pluralistic version that questions the homogeneous, culture-immanent thought patterns of both tourists and locals and has its own culture-transcendent rules of communication. An analysis of space theory is complemented by empirical results from qualitative studies concerning the World Heritage Site in Ambohimanga, Madagascar.

Intercultural Encounters

To speak of intercultural encounters automatically means recognizing the existence of different cultures, whereby ‘cultures’ are not seen as objects. Rather, they are viewed as dynamic and very complex meaning systems that arise in a long-term process of social interactions and communication. Being shared worlds of meaning they form the basis for cultural practices and renewable processes of negotiation. Culture is characterized by emergence, variability, heterogeneity, discursivity and conflict (Clifford 1986, Wimmer 2005: 13-14). This dynamic way of looking at culture simultaneously provides the very root of interculturality.

Interculturality in turn refers to all aspects of a dynamic, intermediate state in which cultural contacts are manifested; this is a temporary, preliminary state (Lüsebrink 2003). Demorgon and Kordes (2006: 34) note that cultural spaces are less a matter of differences (multiculturalism) or of commonalities (transculturalism)

than of the overlappings (interferences) of boundaries and contacts – and how people deal with these interactions.

Today we can observe that globalization and worldwide mobility are forcing the development of situations of intercultural interaction. One of the most important catalysts of this development is modern worldwide tourism, which has grown from 25.3 million in 1950 to 980 million in 2011 (UNWTO 2006; 2012). Tourism brings people of very differing cultures together. The type of contact they generally have, however, results in encounters between guests and hosts, an unequal situation that sometimes resembles those of former colonial times.

Tourism has long been considered as a part of the 'culture industries of otherness' (Favero 2007: 52). Even if interest in foreign cultures and the desire to experience other lands and peoples is still the major motivation behind such travel, touristic encounters between locals and foreigners often proceed according to a predetermined script (Thurlow and Jaworski 2010: 235). The short timespan involved and often the vast differences between the two parties tend to result in only cursory encounters. Nevertheless, the attempt to achieve some quantum of mutual understanding is still characteristic of touristic spaces. The specific attributes of the respective socio-cultural identities are, temporarily at least, subordinated to a common, amicable minimal consensus to enable a process of exchange (Alrawadieh 2010; see also the examples quoted by Jack and Philips 2005: 102-103).

When we speak of *intercultural* communication, we mean a situation in which people of various cultural backgrounds *create and share* a common meaning – despite their different perspectives and values (Sadri and Flammia 2011: 10). The distinct perceptions received of oneself, of others and of the different ways of life cause intercultural communication to be a challenge to all involved because one's own cultural standards provide little orientation for manouvering such an encounter. A new dynamic results in which both communication rules and behavioral rules must be continually re-negotiated ad hoc, without a predetermined result to guide the process. The overall insecurity concerning common rules also means that rule violations are generally accepted by those present, who simultaneously try to create new rules to fit the respective situation (Müller-Jacquier 1999 cited in Lüsebrink 2003: 315). If everyone involved agrees to and adheres to such precepts, intercultural synergy is the result.

Yet such an event demands a number of requisite circumstances to enable a proper intercultural encounter. First, the factors that

condition the contact between the 'guests' and the 'hosts' have to be determined (cf. for example, Evans 1976, Reisinger and Turner 2004: 43-52). Three categories can be distinguished: (1) temporal factors (e.g., the length of the stay), (2) spatial factors (e.g., the number of tourists) and (3) cultural factors (e.g., the cultural distance between the culture of the guests and that of the host, including the respective socioeconomic background). Another factor to consider is the role of the *cultural broker*, the mediator of the two groups (e.g., tour guide, local guide or locals with high-frequency contact to tourists and corresponding linguistic capabilities)².

In addition, we must note that contacts between locals and guests occur in a situation marked by diverse interests and power bases. There may be clear differences in socioeconomic status as well as varying role definitions between the service contractor and the guest/customer. The relationships that arise in tourism are per definition monetarized, which affects any intercultural exchange that may eventually take place. Particularly in the realm of small-scale tourism in peripheral and underdeveloped regions does the social, cultural and economic baggage brought to the encounter play a role in the balance of power between (inter)national tour operators, political leaders, regional decision-makers and local stakeholders, and determine both the type and intensity of the interface occurring between the local population and the visitors.

Jensen (2010) uses as an example the village-tourism in Madagascar to point out the special role of the local guides. These mediators between a society based on complex, traditional social roles and cultural value systems and the stream of international tourists play an important role in helping the village community to open up to these foreign *invaders*, permitting something more than simple sightseeing and something more like a true intercultural meeting of local and foreign cultures (ibid.: 618). Against this background, previous literature considered the chance of a true intercultural exchange occurring – in light of the often only short timespan involved – to be rather small (cf. for example, Favero 2007, Thurlow and Jaworski 2010: 235; but compare too the very different conclusions reached by the Turtle Island Tourism Company 2006 and by Scheyvens 2003). Particularly in touristic constellations where the contact may be dominated by great economic, social and ethnic differences, there may be little opportunity for prejudices to be dismantled through a cognitively complex understanding of one's other-image (external perception). Rather, previous knowledge gained through the typical channels and media about the foreign

culture as well as their tourist-oriented declaration as 'experiencing the exotic' may in fact leads to an increase in stereotypical bias than to more deep understanding.

A comparison of insights gained through tourism with those emerging from research on group behavior based on the contact hypothesis³ reveal that it is less the frequency and length of contact that is essential to the reduction of prejudice as the type of contact (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1988: 203-204, as well as the literature quoted there; also compare for tourism-specific data Ward 2008). Establishing positive images of others is best facilitated (1) when the group members are similar in status, (2) when negative stereotypes are disproved, (3) when the chance for cooperation between the group members exists, (4) when the two sides have sufficient opportunity to get to know each another and (5) when the social situation is conducive to sympathy. All of which poses a rather large hurdle for the development of intercultural synergies during touristic encounters. For true cultural exchange to occur in the intercultural space a number of very particular situational circumstances must reign that are usually not found in tourism because of the economic, social and cultural disparities that often dominate. Then, instead of consensus and support for reciprocal understanding, international contacts lead to uneven power distribution, the affirmation of negative stereotypes due to ethnocentric dominance behavior, the absence of common goals, cemented role images and a negative atmosphere in the service culture – resulting in the end in dissociation, misunderstandings and sometimes even xenophobia (Hunter 2001). Left to themselves, intercultural encounters are not necessarily expedient and positive experiences, but rather may go astray and become negative or even harmful. Intercultural communication processes only have the chance to contribute to a mutual understanding and to a reduction of cultural barriers if all partners from the cultures involved approach each other on both the macro- and microlevels as *equals* within the ongoing reflective and acquisition processes – and thus come to equally participate in the *intercultural space* at hand. This brings the intentions and the behavior of the persons involved toward the respective foreigners to the forefront of intercultural understanding: The most important prerequisite for developing understanding in general and intercultural communication in particular is an honest willingness to temporarily appropriate the other world and the willingness to assume a self-sufficient understanding of the intentions of one's partner (De La Rosa 2012: 170). This is not the same as social equality.

That, as Shryock (2012) showed in a study of the Beduins of Jordan, always has an air of artificiality to it: a central problem in the meeting of insiders and outsiders within the same sociopolitical space is having to continually (re)negotiate matters of access and power, exchange and autonomy, opening and shutting.

The principle of being hospitable to strangers and opening one's ethnospecific space to them – one of Shryock's central theses – should not mutate into a forced inclusion of the foreign, into necessary assimilation and finally into the dissolution of differences, nor into the occupation of one's own territory by others (ibid.: 29). Rather, instead of dispensing with the roles of insider/outsider, one should strive to have spontaneous and unplanned interactions occur according to unprepared, unscripted rules. In this scenario, inequality, lack of scheduling and overall creativity come to be seen as positive catalysts (ibid.).

World tourism plays a major role in the philosophy of UNESCO (2009: 29, 171) as well as of other institutions concerned with cultural heritage (cf. for example, ICOMOS, 2002), where it serves to further cultural diversity and the intercultural dialogue necessary to its incurrence. The *Lübeck Declaration* (2007), for example, addresses these matters directly and demands from the tourism industry as well as from the representatives of World Heritage Sites a high level of sensitization – and on the part of tourists a high level of knowledge – concerning both the value of the respective site as well as a modicum of respect toward the local population. Here, the concepts of dialogue and education play important roles (Vieregg and Schefers 2010). Hermann Schefers (2009), himself the head of the UNESCO World Heritage Site 'Abbey Lorsch,' views all World Heritage Sites per se as educational institutions. The very idea of establishing a list of worldwide cultural sites by an international organization serves to turn them – not the least through tourism (ibid.: 72) – into places where people interact and thus participate in intercultural dialogues.

Spatial and Intercultural Practices in World Heritage Tourism

World heritage tourism is a part of cultural tourism which views World Heritage Sites as legitimate spots to be visited by tourists and thus as special destinations. Yet not only have international tourism and local tourism interests pressed the case for opening up World Heritage Sites to tourists (Chhabra 2010: 73). UNESCO too has repeatedly emphasized the connection between world heritage and tourism as well as supporting the commercialization and promotion

of tourism in its own programs (Eschig 2008, UNESCO 2012). The idea of having sites of world heritage, based on the concept of 'human heritage,' is inextricably connected with the opening of such sites to the general public. At the same time, however, it has repeatedly been emphasized that such sites are by nature endangered and need to be protected from being overrun and destroyed by increasing number of tourists (ICOMOS 2002). The UNESCO program 'Sustainable Tourism in Areas of World Heritage' offers a number of approaches to managing and marketing these matters (Eschig 2008: 179)⁴. Providing commendations to heritage sites must thus always be accompanied by addressing attention to tourist interests as well.

As part of the adaptation of World Heritage Sites to touristic interests, the site must be extracted from its original spatial and temporal context and adapted to a new, global, tourism-compatible framework. World Heritage Sites open to tourists are thus characterized by practices of commodification, revaluation and incorporation that leave them at the juncture between global and local interests. One generally assumes that cultural tourists are as much participants in the establishment of cultural heritage as is the local population of the respective site. But UNESCO, being the organization that does the official certification, as well as any number of middlemen (museums, regional authorities, tour guides) also take part in this process. The in part disparate cultural background of the people involved in the process of *heritagefication* (Wöhler 2008) is already a signal that world cultural heritage does not come about from only one single direction. Rather, very many, and very different, groups partake in the production of World Heritage Sites – each of which also has their decidedly own vantage point⁵.

Spatially speaking this means that World Heritage Sites may be seen as social constructs that arise through the complex interaction of physical conditions, symbolic meanings attached to them and the 'social experience of being in a place' (Healey 2001: 269). They cannot be grasped solely via their material constitution and apparent position. Rather, they provide a home for the social relationships and cultural dynamics occurring between actors of very different cultural backgrounds, a place filled with discursive and nondiscursive elements, practices and processes (Healey 2002). The contrasts can be great between, for example, international archaeologists, who want to preserve and do research on the heritage sites; international tourists, who want to visit the spots; the economic and cultural interests of the local population; and the concerns of those representing national

memories. The result is sometimes both global and local tension. The Pérez de Cuéllar Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development 'Our Creative Diversity' (UNESCO 1996) emphasized how important the role of cult and community places were, particularly in developing countries, as *living social spaces* that authentically preserve the sources of world cultural heritage (Winter 2007). Cultural differences between the local actors and the international visitors play a major role in this process.

Cultural differences become salient at any heritage site, for example, in the very differing practices of the respective stakeholders. A concrete example may be found in the World Heritage Site Ambohimanga in Madagascar (Boswell 2011, May and Saretzki, 2012; Saretzki and May 2011). On the so-called Royal Hill, a former residential and burial city that is today still used as a cult site, both traditional pilgrims and the local population feel alienated and patronized by the deterritorialization practices of UNESCO and the Culture Ministry of Madagascar (which manages the site)⁶. The regulations instituted to protect the site on the one hand and to expand tourism on the other have caused both the locals and the pilgrims to enlist in oppositional practices in order to reterritorialize the site – by bribing the watchmen to allow them to carry out their nightly rituals or by stealing protected plants considered to be healing herbs. Even the spatial practices of the tourists are sometimes felt by the locals to degenerate into deterritorialization. The tourists accept, to be sure, the rules and the territorial power of UNESCO; they tend to ignore, however, indigenous and local *fadys*, i.e., taboos (May and Saretzki 2012: 89; see as well Jensen 2010, and Rakotomalala et al. 2001) that are based on a meaning system unknown or invisible to them. For example, tourists may transcend a cosmic order they are not aware of by visiting the execution of cultic rites in the Royal Palace with their shoes kept on. For the local population, which in many ways feels responsible for taking care of Ambohimanga for their forebears, such disrespectful behavior on the part of the tourists toward ritual laws 'soils' the Royal Hill and riles the ancestors. Where is the path of intercultural understanding here?

UNESCO accreditation and the parallel touristification of a site can contribute in other ways to the creation of intercultural. Certification as a World Heritage Site not only broadly serves to protect the Royal Hill as well as the traditions and cultic rites considered so contrary to developmental needs in the past decades (Vérin 1992); it also raises the appreciation allotted the site in the eyes of many Malagasy people. As local heritage site it provides a space

where local and global interests can meet. Ambohimanga as a social construct provides spatial qualities that go far beyond being 'local' and may best be captured in the phrase *place-making* (Friedmann 2010). Place-making means the creation of 'meaningful places,' the collective process of spatial composition as part of an active participation in the space concerned – the goal being to 'possess' the space and to fill it with values (Fürst et al. 2008⁷). But this process can function properly only if everyone present at the site is truly communicating with each other: place-making is always a common project. Successful place-making leads to the creation of a place-oriented social network, fixed and bound affectively to the place concerned, which identifies and feels responsible for its well-being (ibid.)⁸. The inclusion of all stakeholders makes place-making at World Heritage Sites the desired intercultural process.

Intercultural understanding is not mediated by direct communication between the local population and the foreign tourists. According to a study by the Studienkreis für Tourismus (Study Circle for Tourism 2000 cited in Herdin and Luger 2001: 9), the lack of a common language is perhaps the greatest hindrance to intercultural encounters. And yet one can still meet at a common, intercultural space. The concept of world heritage and a community of world heritage is what makes intercultural mediators out of World Heritage Sites. Awarding commendations presents a challenge to both the local users and to tourists as well, both of whom must somehow learn to actively deal with the site and to adopt it on both social and emotional terms. The space-oriented generation of togetherness found in the place-making of World Heritage Sites is seen by Di Giovine (2009: 154-155) as a *communitas* sensu Turner. In his opinion the World Heritage Sites created by UNESCO foster the feeling of global solidarity (*unity in diversity*) and ideally embody a sort of *imagined community* that goes beyond time and space. Weidemann (2007) also points out that a feeling of affinity and mutual understanding of this type of *communitas* can dissolve the differences that exist between different cultures (at least for a short while) and render them amenable to foreign notions that may come to be adopted, at least in thought, as one's own. This path smooths out any disparities found in intercultural contacts.

These are the points at which Ambohimanga must become active in order to guarantee the integrity of its cultic sites. Ideally one could raise tourists' sensitivity toward local cultural meaning systems and the behavioral guidelines necessary to the site. The village inhabitants have expressed a clear interest in assuming this 'educational' part of

the cultural sensitization by training local guides or by establishing a village museum exhibition in order to express and regain their sovereignty over Ambohimanga in the sense of reterritorialization. They are willing and ready to take over the role of (inter)cultural brokers instead of leaving this to foreign tour guides or representatives of UNESCO and the Ministry of Culture. One should note that cultural brokers do not act solely as mediators, for example, by bridging the linguistic gap between strangers and the indigenous; rather, they also translate their culture for others and thus act as gatekeepers: they choose the information transferred by a broker as well as the way in which this information is to be transferred – and thereby greatly influence how tourists see the foreign culture they are confronted with (Cohen 1985, Herdin 2008). Ideally they are acquainted with both the meaning system of the host culture as well as the value and behavior system of the international tourists and in this function vacillate 'between two worlds,' fostering an understanding of the guests for the culturally different world they are visiting and sensitizing them to both the cultural commonalities and differences (Jensen 2010, Scherle and Nonnenmann 2008). This type of cultural translation, however, is never a neutral act, but rather is always shaped by the personal background of the translator, by that person's values, opinions and intents. Besides their own capabilities in communication and mediation, the local touristic structures, which tend to emphasize non-instrumental forms of face-to-face exchanges between natives and tourists, are highly dependent on the social acceptance and embeddedness of the guide in the local social structures. Their depth of social inclusion and knowledge of local affairs can enable guides to strike up a dialogue between the foreign clients and the village inhabitants (Jensen 2010: 618). The value and meaning systems of the traditional, rural parts of Madagascar are characterized by a very powerful local social sense of community. The complex and widespread network of relatives includes not only one's ancestors, but also constructs such as *artificial*, *strategic* and *fictional* relations (ibid.: 619). They provide an extension of the local community by including non-blood-related members who can profit from the resulting social network, visiting rights and hospitality by accepting social rights (and duties). It is against this background that we understand that the social status of the local guide is of utmost importance: He is the one who is obliged to introduce strangers coming from without to the local structures as part of traditional hospitality and to soften the social distance and strangeness that accompany the basic relationship between natives and foreigners

(ibid.: 620). A guide who is well acquainted with the local religious rites and their cultural meaning also holds the trust of the village inhabitants that he will enlighten those from without about the village's diverse *fadys*. In this way tourists can profit directly from the first-hand insights into the culture around them being imparted by one of its very own.

The guide, being an authority and often the only source of information present, bears a responsibility sometimes unbeknown to him. The mediating role of a well-informed and well-situated guide can, on the one hand, exert a positive influence on the development and self-confidence of Malagasy communities (Ormsby and Mann 2006). He can also foster an intercultural dialogue by welcoming, catering to and lodging tourists through villagers with a corresponding training. On the other hand, the central and decisive position of the guide does involve subjective processes of selection, which may cause conflicts and dependencies among the local population, particularly if the dependency is on large tourist organizations and if economic interests come to be dealt higher than goals of participation, empowerment and intercultural exchange (Jensen 2009). But there are differences between individual travellers and package tourists⁹. Provided with a potpourri of expectancies subjectively nurtured from media and internet the individual traveller's anticipation in an interactive encounter is much more participatory than strictly conducted group visits at the front stage, but less predictable, projectable and controllable. Regarding themselves as open-minded, they take the willingness and socio-cultural openness of the locals to provide them an insight into their culture in general and the back stage of their everyday life in particular for granted (Koppensteiner 2012).

For these reasons experts have long called for introducing a modicum of intercultural competence into the training of tour guides (Ranjaksoa Rampananarivo 2001, Scherle and Nonnenmann 2008). Tourists should be encouraged to actively participate themselves in creating the impressions held of other cultures, to gather their own experiences and to take an unbiased look (beyond what the media say) to the strange culture they are confronted with (Breede 2008). Yet, even when a relatively good and differentiated opinion of the other culture is constructed, we must not forget the following: for the cultural heritage this means not just translating the facts some monument or ritual contain, but also interpreting them correspondingly. Tourists' attention is always being diverted toward certain viewpoints in order to construct cultural heritage – but this

construction is in itself a part of the intercultural inherent in World Heritage Sites.

Engaging the local population in the development and management of a World Heritage Site is one of the factors that have led to the successful coexistence of world heritage and tourism (e.g., Aas et al. 2005, Turtle Island Tourism Company 2006). According to Pearce (1995), participating in decisions as well as in the education and training of local actors has a positive influence on the role as a *cultural broker* – and reflects back on their own intercultural capabilities. The necessity to receive advance information about a World Heritage Site is also true for the tourist who comes to visit; this prevents any number of cultural misunderstandings (on the concept of the *mindful visitor*; Moscardo 1996). UNESCO officials have emphasized again and again the necessity of education and dialogue in connection with the World Heritage Sites. To this end one needs above all sufficient space to make contact (Pearce 1995: 149). This insight concurs with Point 4 of the results of the study by Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey (1988: 203-204) on reducing prejudices in intergroup behavior as well as with the results of studies carried out in the field of tourism (e.g., Galliford 2010, Turtle Island Tourism Company 2006).

Another demand often made in order to ensure the creation of positive images of others and the occurrence of intercultural synergies is the development of common goals or the possibility of close cooperation. The process of place-making as part of world tourism is an example for such a common goal. Both locals and tourists are equally involved in creating world heritage. Walker (2008), in two case studies on cruise tourism to Stanley Island and Eastern Island, found that local guides were especially adept at creating a *sense of care* among the foreign tourists by imparting a *sense of place*. Through place-making a guide's own esteem for the cultural heritage being exhibited is able to create (or raise) the appreciation and cultural concern of the tourist group.

We should mention that such processes may, of course, sometimes turn into conflicts, for example, as found in the discussions surrounding the World Heritage Site Uluru in Australia (Digance 2003). Such processes best proceed when we are dealing with 'true cultural heritage tourists' among the visitors. According to Poria et al. (2003), they are characterized by their viewing the heritage site as part of their own cultural heritage. Such tourists travel in accordance with the World Heritage concept of there being one common global inheritance and with the idea of *communitas*.

The Interculture of World Heritage

The above demonstrates that tourism that takes place at World Heritage Sites inherently provides a sort of intercultural impetus. As an intercultural medium the heritage site itself, however, is dependent on all participants reaching a consensus about how the process of place-making is to occur. Both simple *sightseeing* on the part of tourists and simple *monetarization* on the part of local actors serve to negate the full possibilities of intercultural encounters. If, however, both groups are able to develop heterologous thinking as part of the World Heritage *communitas* – that is, getting inside the thoughts and approaches of the other side (Wulf 2006: 45) – then something like synergy can occur within the intercultural World Heritage space: true intercultural exchanges take place.

Yet, the role of UNESCO as umbrella organization of the idea of World Heritage has two sides to it. First, it is dedicated to fostering cultural diversity and to advocating the necessity of an intercultural dialogue, both of which can explicitly be supported through worldwide tourism. The World Heritage idea pushing global solidarity is a boon to place-making processes by spreading this idea and by creating a number of educational and exchange arrangements. On the other hand, the idea of World Heritage can also be seen as more of a transnational or transcultural construct than as an intercultural one. UNESCO demands cultural diversity, thereby assuming different value systems around the world, which takes cultural pluralism to absurdity (Shepherd 2006). The global approach to World Heritage Sites tends to reshape local meaning to adapt it to the uniform needs of Western objectivity (Turtinen 2000). This, in turn, is felt by the locals to be rooted in hegemony – as the examples have shown.

The intercultural nature of the World Heritage space consists of much interdependency, interference and mutual crossing of boundaries (Demorgon and Kordes 2006). If we view this spatial 'interness' or 'betweenness' not as some *third space* (sensu Bhabha), characterized by hybridity and oriented toward the negation of differences, but rather as a transdifferential space, then we can make out many new cultural possibilities. This so-called *third culture* (Casmir 1999) represents a dialogue model of intercultural communication. The transdifferential concept (Lösch 2005) presumes a fluid concept of culture but also denounces the concept of synthesis and any radical deconstruction of differences (ibid.: 43). Rather,

transdifference unfolds in the liminal zones of uncertainty, which are not considered to be divisions but rather thresholds to a cultural understanding of others. It is in this transitory space, 'where many cultural texts exist ... where temporary links occur between nonidentical things' (ibid.: 34, translated), that true communication with the foreign becomes possible. 'Self- and other-representations lose their protected status (in the sense of authenticity) which has to be renegotiated with respect to a dual experience of otherness (one's own and that of others)' (ibid.: 35, translated). This enables many options for dialogue that are marked by 'traces of the foreign' (Lévinas 1998 cited in Lösch 2005: 35) and allow intercultural exchange processes where all stakeholders deal with each other as part of the *communitas* and as members of the new reality called 'World Heritage.' The World Heritage Sites as transdifferential spaces receive a third, alternative-pluralistic dynamic and variation that questions the culture-immanent and homogeneous patterns of thought found in both tourists *and* locals and introduces its own culture-transcendent rules of communication.

Notes

1. In this regard see Alrawadieh 2010, Herdin and Luger 2010, Jack and Phipps 2005, Steiner and Reisinger 2004, Tomljenović 2010, Weidemann 2007.
2. For example, see Cohen 1985, Gelbman and Maoz 2011, Jensen 2010, Herdin 2008, Leclerc and Martin 2004, Scherle and Nonnenmann 2008.
3. Basically the contact hypothesis states that interpersonal contact between different groups will reduce prejudice and improve intercultural understanding. For further empirical evidences in the tourism context see Tomljenović 2010.
4. Guidelines on the sustainable management of tourism at heritage sites may be found, among others, in the International Cultural Tourism Charter of the ICOMOS (2002).
5. For a look at the various, in part contradictory, ways in which the cultural heritage of Madagascar is seen and managed by both the local cultural actors and the official institutions of culture management, see the empirical studies of Boswell 2001 and Saretzki and May 2011.
6. Similar incidents occurred at the World Heritage Site of Angkor, cf. Miura 2011 and Winter 2007.
7. Fürst et al. 2008 provide a number of practical examples of how place-making processes can be implemented. Dealing with cultural landscapes as part of the governance process runs parallel to managing the tourist flows at World Heritage Sites. In their guidelines for 'Successful Tourism at Heritage Places,'

- the Australian Heritage Commission (2001) cites many examples for how cultural tourism can be achieved.
8. The meaning of participation in place-making at cultural heritage sites is also emphasized in the so-called Burra Charter for Places of Cultural Significance (1999) of the Australian ICOMOS (cf. Articles 24 and 26).
 9. There are no detailed statistics available concerning the relation between individual travellers and package tourists. For problems with tourism statistics in Madagascar see Christie and Crompton 2003: 19-20.

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QUE(E)RYING CAPE TOWN: TOURING AFRICA'S
'GAY CAPITAL' WITH THE *PINK MAP*

Bradley M. Rink

*Cape Town is a Gay Friendly City and Cape Town
Tourism welcomes you...*

Cape Town Tourism, Pink Map 1999 edition

The Pink Map records rather than predicts...it is an archive.

Philip Todres, Publisher of the Pink Map

Representing gay Utopia in the 'Mother City'

Since the end of *apartheid* and the ushering-in of new freedoms under South Africa's democratic dispensation, South Africa's 'Mother City' of Cape Town has gained the reputation—deservedly or not—as a gay Utopia: a city that is as welcoming and gay-friendly as its tourism office suggests. During the early days of democracy in the late 1990s, gay, lesbian, bi-sexual and transgender people in South Africa became more visible (Tucker 2009a) while they began to emerge slowly into mainstream society. As the city of Cape Town began to realise the impact of the tourist industry on the local economy, the city's tourism authority began to actively market Cape Town as a gay-friendly destination. This active and identity-based place promotion is materialised in the form of the *Pink Map*, an

annual publication that since 1999 has attempted to map the city's queerness¹ for gay and lesbian visitors.

More than simply mapping the 'pink' tourist experience, however, my reading of the *Pink Map* is intended to demonstrate how a queer tourist map that depicts the intersection of tourism and sexual identity can also act as an archive of changes on the socio-cultural landscape. In the case of the *Pink Map* the tourist map becomes more than simply a way-finding, tourist promotion tool. In this chapter I intend to demonstrate, like Farías (2011) and Hanna and Del Casino (2003) that tourist maps are '...above all, artifacts entwined with the production and reproduction of social and cultural identities' (Farías 2011: 399). In doing so, I will engage an archive of more than a decade of *Pink Maps* that will illustrate the tension between promotion of Cape Town as a 'gay friendly' destination, the inequalities that continue to complicate the social landscape, and the archival function of the *Map* that illuminates the production and performance of social and cultural identities on the 'pink' landscape that the *Map* represents.

The new-found legal freedom for South Africa's gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender people was not, however, met by an equal dose of acceptance within the pluralistic cultural landscape of the country. As Tucker (2009a, 2009b) demonstrates, *de jure* freedom of sexual identity expression that was granted through South Africa's constitution is far the *de facto* lived experience of many South African queer communities – those communities inclusive of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and inter-sex people. In spite of the disconnect between legal rights and cultural acceptance of same-sex desire, tourism officials nonetheless saw the potential in attracting gay tourists and their pink Euros, Dollars, and Pounds to the Mother City. In that endeavour, the *Pink Map* guides tourists on queer quests through the 'ambient heterosexual' (Murray 1995) toward a multitude of queer nodes in and around Cape Town, while it also traces the journey from sexual to consumer citizenship and the commodification of sexual-identity based tourism in Africa's 'gay capital' (Visser 2003b).

Queer tourist quests: seeking the gay village

While Cape Town has a reputation as the preeminent gay city on the African continent, within the city itself an urban enclave called *De Waterkant* (see figure 1) gained an international reputation as the heart of Africa's gay capital (Kirstein 2007, personal comments) due to its dense conglomeration of clubs, bars, and restaurants that catered to queer consumers. Cape Town's reputation as the premier

gay destination in Africa grew in tandem with De Waterkant's development as the locus of those queer quests, and in the process De Waterkant became discursively 'quartered' in the sense that it was shaped as the locus for the symbolic framing of culture (Bell and Jayne 2004) as a gay village.

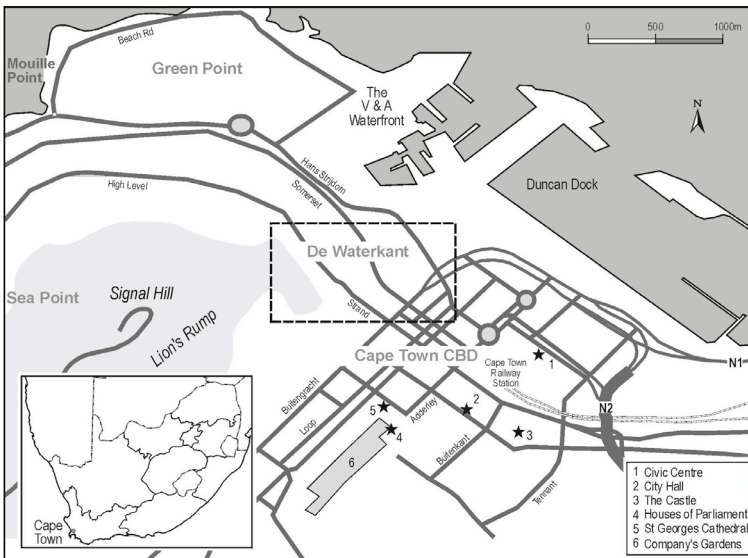
Representations of queer belonging are a key theme in the *Pink Map*, inviting tourists to feel at home in familiar queer surroundings. The quest that a tourist makes from home to 'destination space' (Fariás 2011) is in part guided by the map. As Rossetto (2012) notes, '...maps mediate people's experience of space as spaces mediate people's experience of maps' (Rossetto 2012: 33). Using Rossetto's logic, the queer tourist in Cape Town engages in a conversation between the map and the landscape, reading from the map, inscribing onto the landscape, and forever complicating the otherwise static nature of the printed map on paper.

The *Pink Map* is unabashedly commercial in nature, deriving income from advertisers who in-turn get plotted on the map, which is ultimately intended to result in a visit from a tourist who will hopefully spend money. While the tourist-to-consumer trajectory may be an unsurprising outcome of most tourist maps, the result becomes more complicated when applied to a map intended primarily—although not exclusively— for sexual minority groups. The complication arises through the commodification of gay spaces that 'can be read as an instance of 'the new homonormativity', producing a global repertoire of themed gay villages, as cities throughout the world weave commodified gay space into their promotional campaigns' (Bell and Binnie 2004: 1808). Those using the *Pink Map* are thus simultaneously positioned as tourists and as sexual citizens (Evans 1993), the latter being rooted in the development of sexual politics and utilising 'the idea of citizenship as a space for thinking about sexual identities, desires and practices' (Bell and Binnie 2006: 869). Sexual citizenship is thus inherently geographical, but is nonetheless characterized by conflicts and a struggle for representation when played-out in the real world. Tourist nodes depicted in the *Pink Map* are therefore central to sexual citizenship, particularly as they are also sites of consumption: an idea that is both central to how citizenship is defined, and implicit in the management and disciplining of the self that occurs through the choices that consumers make (Binnie 2004: 167). Modern urban citizenship is incumbent upon how- and where- the citizen-consumer positions their consumptive practices (Binnie 2004). Citizens thus seek and find new conceptions of self and assertions of power (Binnie 1995) through

consumption, and in doing so merge destination space into consumption space.

As a destination for tourists and locals alike, De Waterkant serves as a locus of consumption – another step in the struggle for freedom (Posel 2010) and citizenship in post-1994 South Africa. Recent scholarship in gay-related tourism in South Africa (Elder 2004, Visser 2002, 2003a, 2003b) sheds light on the consumptive practices in De Waterkant, while recognising the impact of gay-oriented tourism that the *Pink Map* intends to promote. And in this instance the term ‘gay’ is more appropriate than ‘queer’ in that much of the ‘pink’ tourist infrastructure is focused upon and limited to an elite group of mostly white, mostly gay male clientele. The growth of such globalised gay spaces, as Elder (2004) notes, can create a ‘myth of community’ while also masking the lives of gay and lesbian people and the material inequalities of globalization’ (Elder 2004: 580). Those material inequalities include what Binnie (2004) calls ‘the limits and myths of the pink economy discourse.’ (2004: 167) As such, queer consumerism must be taken in context of the greater hetero-sexed world—that which is situated in the many silences of the *Map*.

Figure 5.1 De Waterkant and Cape Town



The map as archive

With the goal of interrogating the *Pink Map's* archival function, my analysis seeks to highlight the representation of social and cultural identities on the 'pink' landscape that the *Map* represents. In doing so I begin by focusing on De Waterkant's in the guise of a 'gay village' within Africa's gay capital. The case study that informs this chapter involved analysing 14 years, or 14 editions (from 1999 to 2012) of the *Pink Map*. The *Map* is symbolic of De Waterkant's image as 'queer destination space' and of the situation of queerness over the spatial and temporal axes of this research. In addition, the *Map* serves as an entry point and a guide for consuming Cape Town as a local or international visitor. I will demonstrate how the *Pink Map* is more than just cartographic advertising. Through my analysis of the *Pink Map* I will demonstrate how it serves as a significant discursive element in shaping Cape Town as Africa's gay capital and quartering De Waterkant as a gay village and ultimately a consumer lifestyle destination—trends that are implicated in the trajectory of social and cultural identities in late-20th Century and early 21st Century South Africa.

The *Pink Map* represents De Waterkant like Visser (2003) suggests as 'consolidated gay territory' (Visser 2003a: 128). De Waterkant presents itself through its many bars, clubs and guest houses as gay village quarter in that it is a site of presumably shared gay identity built upon predominantly white (Tucker 2009a, 2009b) and North American conceptualizations of such spaces (Levine 1979). Visser (2002a, 2002b, 2003) and Elder (2004) have demonstrated that a variety of gay leisure pursuits take place in De Waterkant which lead to such conclusions.

While Cape Town has had a long history of tolerance for some expressions of gay identity, particularly from within the coloured² community (Chetty 1994), intolerance and violence still characterise the *de facto* lived experience of many queer Capetonians (Tucker 2009a). In spite of this, Cape Town Tourism presents the city as a queer Utopia, a point that is essentialised by the cover of the 2007 edition of the *Pink Map* that contains an image of a 'pink passport' from 'The Republic of Cape Town'. Such imagery promises to open the borderlands of pink Cape Town to a willing audience while it differentiates gay space and excludes straight space, presumably in order to ensure a pleasant stay by filtering out the gay landscape from all the rest (Elder 2004). The map implicitly assumes for its reader that all space is hetero-sexualised space unless otherwise indicated.

Pink Map out of the closet

The *Pink Map* grew out of publisher Philip Todres' work with special-interest maps. An art collector and dealer by trade, Todres began by publishing a map in 1988 that guided users along an arts and crafts route through the Western Cape. What began as a means of leading patrons to a friend's pottery studio with stops en-route for refreshment and entertainment lead to a publishing company that produces a range of specialised maps including the *Arts & Crafts Map*, the *Antique Map*, the *Food Map*, *Victoria Falls Map*, *B&B Map*, *Rainy Day Map*, *Sports & Leisure Map*, and the *Museum Map* for Johannesburg. Todres' original map led to the name of his publishing company, A&C (Arts and Crafts) Maps.

Eventually, in the post-1994 environment events like the Mother City Queer Projects (MCQP) annual queer costume party and the new constitutional dispensation were allowing gays and lesbians throughout South Africa more visibility and legal—if not actual—freedom to express their sexual citizenship. The MCQP party began in 1994 and each year draws more and more gay and straight revellers to take part in the event. Tourism officials credit the party for putting 'pink Cape Town' on the map while highlighting the city's desire to be seen as a gay-friendly tourist destination (Visser, 2003b). Driven by interest in other routes, connections to segments of the gay community in Cape Town, and an understanding of the emergence of Cape Town on the gay scene, he was inspired to develop a specialized map for gay tourists. As he noted:

Cape Town was changing very dramatically, and when it came to any gay literature it was always sort of like 'under the counter', kind of sleazy. And, I thought...Let's have a gay map to Cape Town on the condition that it was equivalent in every way to the other maps that we were producing. It had to be as professional; it was well laid-out, designer-oriented. (Todres 2008, personal comments)

The conditions were ripe to bring queer Cape Town out from under the counter, and to lend a design-oriented, respectable face to a queer-oriented publication. The metaphor of the *Pink Map's* emergence on the scene as a 'coming out' mimics the journey of self-discovery experienced by some gays, lesbians and bi-sexuals. While the *Pink Map* may not be solely responsible for metaphorically bringing queer Cape Town out of the closet, it at least offered broader visibility to the existence of queer spaces within the city.

The *Pink Map* is a free publication that relies on revenue from the advertisers and service providers listed within the map. More than simply a commercial venture, however, the *Map* also provides relevant information to queer communities that it is intended to serve. That includes information such as the gay, lesbian & bisexual helplines, HIV/AIDS support groups, and gay-friendly places of worship. While it maps queerness in Cape Town, Todres doesn't see it as an exclusively gay or lesbian publication. In fact, as the arbiter of content, Philip Todres bristles at the discourse of exclusivity. As he says,

One of the things that we had concerns about were establishments that claimed to be 'exclusively gay' and I thought that was a very derogatory thing to have on our maps. I still insist that 'exclusively gay' is something that we would not like to have...it's as bad as saying 'exclusively white' or 'exclusively whatever.' Constitutionally it just doesn't sit well with me. (Todres 2008, personal comments)

The distinction that Todres and his *Pink Map* have sought, however, is making visible and—in some sense—mainstreaming queer Cape Town for a broader audience while not symbolically framing gay spaces as unwelcoming to outsiders. The tension of normalising queerness whilst also setting it apart—by mapping it differentially as 'pink'—is something that will over time begin to change the map itself.

As Todres sees it, the *Pink Map* put gay Cape Town *on the map*. And that act of coming out was celebrated by some, as Todres noted:

It was also supported by Cape Town Tourism who were perfectly happy about having their name associated with it. It was putting gay Cape Town very iconically on the map...It was a very nice, clear, clean, uncomplicated message about Cape Town being regarded as a gay and welcoming city. (Todres 2008, personal comments)

Not everyone was welcoming or appreciative of the *Pink Map*. A local church sent numerous letters to editors of area newspapers, condemning the *Map* and those it was intended to serve. What surprised Todres most was the intolerance exhibited in such negative sentiments in the 'new' South Africa; Acceptance, even tolerance, was a struggle as the *Map* presented Cape Town as a gay-friendly and welcoming city. As Todres reminisced:

It's interesting to me, because we're talking about post-apartheid democratic South Africa...Despite our constitutional dispensation and all of that, people feel very comfortable about being bigoted in terms of sexual preferences, maybe slightly less so but almost equally in terms of gender, and religion. Any person who writes in a newspaper and says 'God says...' feels it gives him an inalienable right to be as bigoted, or as illogical as they wish to be (Todres 2008, personal comments).

This evidence of intolerance and bigotry serves as a reminder that the *Pink Map* doesn't exist in a vacuum, and that it does share tenuous borders with the ambient heterosexual world against which it situates itself. The 'pink' in the *Pink Map* suggests otherness more than it does exclusivity. In this sense, Todres' narration of the map describes a queer state of mind perhaps more than it does a gay or lesbian identity. As he noted,

The interesting thing is that...as a publication it's also picked up by, very specifically, non-gay people seeing it as probably an introduction to the creative side. It's *not* strictly a gay guide. For instance there was a lot of anti-feeling against MCQP becoming too straight, and I think it's a *huge* compliment. Andre went out there to make 'queer' normal; to celebrate a state of mind, to celebrate a whole other universe out there. And the fact that it's been embraced by a non-gay community as well, I think is a huge tribute to that state of freedom, creativity, whatever, and the *laissez-faire* that exists in Cape Town. (Todres 2008, personal comments)

As an archival tool, the *Pink Map* 'records rather than predicts' what is happening on the ground (Todres 2008, personal comments) while attempting to situate queer destination space in Cape Town for local and international visitors alike.

Situating 'pink' Cape Town

The pink landscape that emerges across the archive of the *Pink Map* is one that is dominated by a number of salient themes: embodied performance of sexuality within the city; an uneven terrain of representation of those very same queer bodies that results in the silencing of certain queer communities including lesbians; the demise of non-commercial information; the de-sexualisation of the map; and a trend from sexual- to consumer citizenship as a means of belonging.

These themes emerge through analysis of the maps that play an active role in the constitution of queer ‘destination space’ (Fariás 2011).

Embodied performance of space and place

The literature of tourism maps has been previously excluded from tourism studies due to criticisms, as Fariás (2011) notes, ‘that they are often considered to be mere representations, irrelevant for the analysis of tourists’ embodied performances of space and place.’ (Fariás 2011: 398). The embodied performance of (queer) space and place in Cape Town is represented clearly in early editions of the *Pink Map*; and in particular in the enclave known as De Waterkant. While the *Pink Map* doesn’t focus exclusively on De Waterkant, the quarter is represented prominently on the *Map*. The prominence appears as a dense concentration of venues located within De Waterkant’s borders

Figure 5.2 De Waterkant as a gay village, 2000



that have been designated as 'pink' through the *Map*. Examining the concentration of venues along Somerset Road or along any of De Waterkant's narrow cobbled streets tells the story. Of all of the map-referenced listings within the *Pink Map* from 1999 through 2008, between 10.4 per cent (the low in 2003) and 22.6 per cent (the high in 2002) of the pink venues are located within the boundaries of De Waterkant—the borders of which were established by the area's civic association and encompass an area of 0.4 square kilometers. The high percentage of venues within its borders also infers a dense geographic concentration. (see figure 2).

In spite of the *Pink Map's* lack of precise or consistent use of cartographic scale, the visual concentration of venues within De Waterkant is unmistakable. Using the *Pink Map* as your guide, it would be easy to assume De Waterkant as the heart—if not the capital—of 'pink' Cape Town.

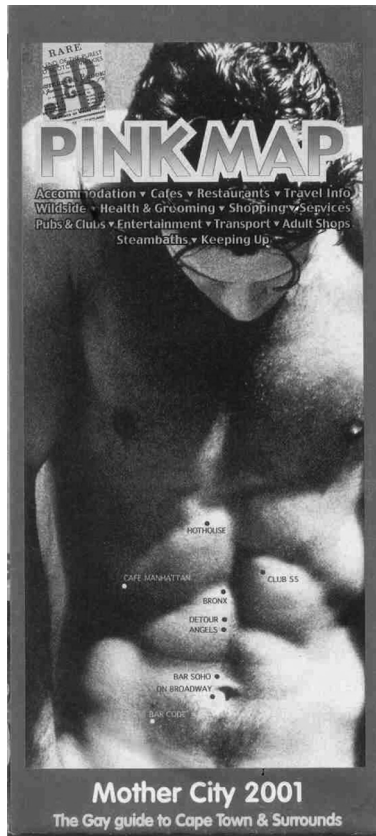
Although the notion of De Waterkant as the capital of gay Cape Town may suggest it also has the character of a gay enclave like New York's Greenwich Village, London's Soho or San Francisco's Castro, the comparison is not supported by evidence (Elder 2004) and the pioneers in Cape Town's self-styled gay village of De Waterkant didn't plan to create a dense conglomeration of gay venues that eventually characterised the area (Shapiro 2007, personal comments). Nor would such an urban structure represent the diversity of South African queer communities for, as Tucker (2009a) demonstrates, the queer visibilities in De Waterkant neglect a large segment of Cape Town's queer communities—namely coloured and black queers.

Nowhere is the prominence of De Waterkant as the heart of queer Cape Town so evident as in the 2001 edition of the *Pink Map* where a portion of De Waterkant is mapped on the body of the cover model (see Plate 1). The image features a white male, seemingly naked, with dark hair and hairy chest and a 'six pack' of abdominal muscles. The cover model is looking 'south'—both literally in a southerly direction on the actual plane of the map and figuratively toward the nether-regions of his own corporeal geography. In this position, most of the model's face is obscured, lending an air of anonymity, while focusing and objectifying the gaze on the contours of his embodied map.

In the midst of his navel gazing, De Waterkant venues are superimposed over the model's upper body – from the top of his abdominal muscles to the area above his pubis. The venues are superimposed as if on a map, with the model's body being the landscape of De Waterkant. The venues are located relative to each

other as they are situated in De Waterkant, with the midline connective tissue of the *rectus abdominus* muscle serving as the cartographic depiction of Somerset Road, the busiest thoroughfare of the area. The eye of the viewer is drawn down the bodily landscape from thorax to pubis and includes map references to the Hothouse (a gay male bathhouse); Bronx (a gay 'action bar' that features dancing); On Broadway (a cabaret); Café Manhattan (a gay-owned restaurant and bar); and a variety of bars/dance clubs including Club 55, Detour, Angels, Bar Soho and Bar Code—a gay bar that caters to leather and fetish aficionados that is, perhaps owing to its geographic location or symbolically due to its transgressive sexuality, situated at the lowest point on the verge of the pubis.

*Plate 5.1 Pink Map 2001 edition
– cover image (Used with permission of A&C Maps)*



The corporeal cartography that is depicted on the cover of the 2001 edition sexualises the landscape of De Waterkant and compels the viewer to imagine their own path along the map. The contours of the body become the contours of De Waterkant's landscape, and the journey through both is positioned as one in the same.

While embodiment is central to early versions of the *Map*, the care and grooming of queer bodies has been a concern of the *Pink Map* since its inception. The number of 'health & grooming' listings has fluctuated over the years, but the changes are telling. In the 1999 edition, the listings under 'health & grooming' included: two general practitioners; a hair stylist; a pharmacy; and a non-surgical facelift consultant. These services can be characterised as utilitarian bodily regimes – with the exception of facelifts. By contrast in the 2008 edition, the 'health & grooming' listings were augmented by the inclusion of a 'good selection of sex aids and poppers' and a 'large range of designer men's underwear'; a wellness centre that offers 'a wide range of treatments including shiatsu, reiki, reflexology, manicures and more'; a 'grooming station' with treatments from an 'international skincare guru'; and a laser eye centre (*Pink Map* 2008). Like shopping that has become 'therapeutic', health and grooming has also become complicated by sexual function, style, and the assistance of laser technology.

These practices of health and grooming fall within the realm of corporeal self-discipline, in the way that Foucault (1977) suggests that citizens invigilate themselves, their bodies, and their movements through space. The bodily practices range from laser hair removal that tames the wildness from the beast (*Pink Map* 1999) to non-surgical face lift consultants that promise to 'reverse the ravages of time' (*Pink Map* 2001). Changes in the *Pink Map* suggest that health and grooming practices become more than utilitarian regimes. Caring for your body later becomes an issue of 'wellness' that involves crystals, pendulums, and elaborate settings that feel 'like entering a submarine from the newest James Bond movie' (*Pink Map* 2008) – all the while overseen not by a mere medical practitioner, but by an internationally renowned 'guru' of skincare (*Pink Map* 2008). Caring for the body is both a gateway to wellness and a service to be consumed. As the previous examples show, the body serves as a means of entry into De Waterkant, and provides a cartographic example of the quest to be taken. While the general sense of corporeality is central to the *Map*, differences in male or female gendered queerness is also an element that shapes the viewer's understanding of it.

Situating lesbian queerness

The male body is an important component of early *Maps*, and plays a role in situating Cape Town's queerness. The female body, however, is more difficult to situate using the *Pink Map*. Such invisibility is not a new phenomenon. While gay men were forming a visible gay subculture in post-World War II South Africa, the lack of a strong feminist or Bohemian subculture led to lesbian communities being less visible than their male counterparts (Gevisser 1994). When a female image first appeared on the cover of the 2000 edition of the *Map*, it was actually that of a drag queen in a blonde wig striking a pose – an image that suggested the female form, but fell short of representation. Since its inception, the *Pink Map* has been dominated by venues that cater explicitly to a gay male clientele rather than to lesbians, bi-sexuals or other sexualities. Of the listings that appear in the map over years 1999-2008, only eight are from venues, services, or accommodations that specifically serve a lesbian or female clientele.

Women first become visible on the *Pink Map* in 2001 by way of a female-only monthly event called 'Brenda's Bash'. Until that point, lesbians lacked visibility on the *Map* and on the landscape of Cape Town itself. This reflects the contention that lesbian subcultures are less visible than those of gay men due to economic disparity between the sexes, among other reasons (Rothenberg 1995, Wolfe 1997). Brenda's Bash, while fixed in time 'on the first Saturday of each month from nine o'clock until late' (*Pink Map* 2001), represented itself without a fixed space. Whether due to concerns over safety or the challenge of finding monthly venues, its location was listed only as 'in Milnerton', a northern suburb of Cape Town. A telephone number was provided for potential party-goers to locate the venue, along with a reminder that 'cash' is the only means of payment accepted. The example provided by Brenda's Bash demonstrates how lesbian space is marked by fluidity, and is created as lesbian bodies move through rather than remain static in space and time, as Munt (1995) notes:

Lesbian identity is constructed in the temporal and linguistic mobilization of space, as we move through space we imprint utopian and dystopian moments upon urban life...in an instant, a freeze-frame, a lesbian is occupying space as it occupies her. Space teems with possibilities, positions, intersections, passages, detours, u-turns, dead-ends, and one-way streets; it is never still. (Munt 1995: 125)

Therefore, the rather capricious nature of lesbian visibility is not a fault of the map but rather a reading of the ways which lesbian social spaces are continually created. The nature of those places are also materially different from other queer communities. The desire for lesbians to have a space, whether temporary or not, in which to socialize is echoed in the comments of one De Waterkant business owner when he said:

[Lesbians] definitely want a venue to go to. They want to have [social functions] totally organised because they do it so seldom. Otherwise they do house parties. They do a lot of house parties. (Shapiro 2007, personal comments)

Lipstick Lounge took lesbian social space outside of the home and into the public realm of the city. The *Lounge* appears in the 2006 *Map*, and then disappears from the map and from the streets. Its fleeting existence for a single imprint of the *Map* is less noteworthy than the fact that it was situated in dedicated premises on the periphery of De Waterkant – the first dedicated lesbian establishment up to that point. Whereas the *Lipstick Lounge* overcame the barrier of fixed location, the *Lounge*, like *Brenda's Bash* and others before it, only accepted cash as payment. The reason for this can be attributed to the transitory nature of lesbian space for such social pursuits. Payment by other means such as credit cards require fixity of location – including physical addresses, telephone lines and sufficient capital to invest in fixed infrastructure of any kind. Given the ephemeral nature of lesbian social space, the need to only accept cash as payment is understandable. *The Lipstick Lounge*, whose name is derived from a lesbian subculture of women who accentuate their hyper-femininity through their appearance, promoted itself as a 'Safe, upmarket environment exclusively for women' (*Pink Map* 2006 emphasis added). The safety of bodies – particularly women's bodies – is a consideration of lesbian social spaces within the *Pink Map* as well as the wider discourse of lesbian spatiality (Rothenberg 1995: 175).

Fixity and safety characterise the discourse around *Beaulah Bar* that opened on the periphery of De Waterkant in 2007. *Beaulah Bar* was created by Myrna Andrews, a key actor in the development of lesbian leisure space on Cape Town's landscape. Myrna opened *Beaulah Bar* after a successful run with her 'Lush Parties' for lesbians. As she put it:

[In 1999] I started doing parties for lesbians [the Lush Parties]. It was never about making money, or anything like that. It was

purely that there was a need for something for women only, not that I particularly wanted a women only space, but some of the girls are a quite strange in that way, and feel a need to be away from the guys... (Andrews 2007, personal comments)

The Lush Parties, which began as 'Events for women who love womyn [sic]' (*Pink Map* 2007), first appeared on the *Pink Map* in 2007, with an ambiguous geographical location consistent with readings of lesbian social spaces (Rothenberg 1995). The Lush Parties continued to defy fixity as Andrews reminisced:

My brother owned a straight club called Fat Boys, and he offered it to me on a Thursday night, and that's how we got started. And basically what I did was that when that closed down I moved to a venue called 'Valve', then I moved to Chilli and Lime, which was a straight club also upstairs. Then I moved to Sliver upstairs and then they shut down I moved to Junction Café. And it was always a case of I would take the door and pay the bouncers and the DJ, and the club would take the barmen, so it was never about making money. It was about giving a space to lesbians. (Andrews 2007, personal comments)

Contrary to what many patrons believe to be the case, Myrna didn't open Beulah as an exclusively lesbian venue—even though many see it in those terms. She rather saw it as an opportunity to open a place for gay men as well as lesbians; but importantly a place where lesbians could feel 'safe'. She notes:

It *isn't* a lesbian space, but it is certainly a space where lesbians feel safe and comfortable. But that they need to know that should anybody make them feel *remotely* uncomfortable—be it by too long a look or any kind of physical approach, all they have to do is to tell me and I will have them removed. We have a right of admission. And I think it's important that they have a space where they feel safe. (Andrews 2007, personal comments)

Beulah Bar becomes visible on the ground and in the *Pink Map* in 2008, where, consistent with Myrna's narrative, it describes itself as 'a bar, with a lounge, and a dance floor that caters for the entire gay community.' (*Pink Map* 2008) With that, lesbian space becomes located, while also being assimilated into a more inclusive queer space of gays, lesbians, bi-sexuals, among others.

The demise of information

By way of its 'Keeping Up' section, the *Pink Map* serves locals and visitors alike by providing free access to information on health and other services to its readers. In addition to providing websites of additional resources, the section also includes useful contact numbers for churches, organizations or services that provide support, community outreach, and HIV counselling. Changes in the profile of those services, and the clients they serve are evident over the period examined here. In the first year of the *Map*, useful information was comprised by a gay, lesbian & bi-sexual helpline; three agencies that provide HIV/AIDS training, counseling and support; two gay- or gay-supportive church organizations; a gay film festival; and a gay sporting group (*Pink Map* 1999). By 2007, among the gay and lesbian organisations there were two helplines; one library; a legal support project; a men's alcoholic support group; four organizations that provide HIV/AIDS training, counseling and support; an HIV-positive support group; and four religious-affiliated gay organizations including *The Inner Circle*, a queer Muslim Organization (*Pink Map* 2007). The appearance of *The Inner Circle* in the *Map* signals an expanding notion of queer possibilities as well as the growing voices of marginalised queer communities in Cape Town. Soon thereafter, their visibility on the *Map* is followed by visibility on the streets as was the case in the 2008 Cape Town Pride parade.

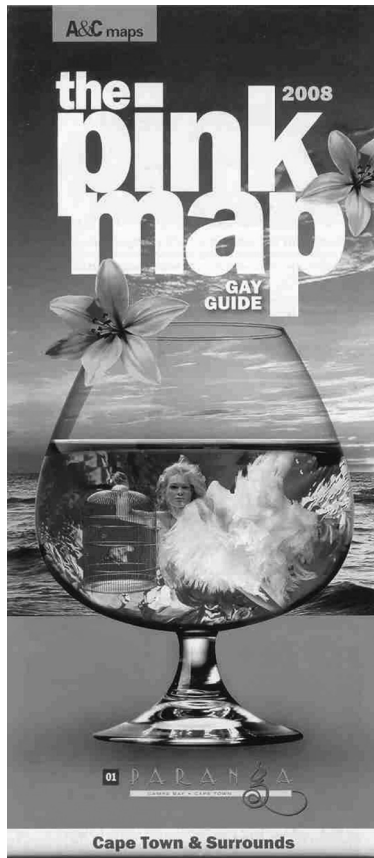
In 2006 the number of listings under 'Keeping up' was at its peak, with twenty-three entries encompassing services and organisations as diverse as *Alcoholics Anonymous for Gay Men*, *Triangle Project* (an NGO serving the needs of GLBT communities throughout South Africa), *Good Hope Metropolitan Community Church*, *Gay & Lesbian Film Festival*, and *Wolanani* (an HIV/AIDS service agency). With constraints on space that drive the publishing of each issue, there are competing interests between space for *pro-bono* 'useful' information and paying advertisers. In the 2008 edition of the *Pink Map*, these useful numbers are eliminated. This signals a recognition of the expanded readership of the *Map* to include heterosexuals, as well as the perception that support services are no longer a central need of Cape Town's queer communities.

De-sexing the Map

The sexualised imagery of the 2001 edition lent an air of seduction and transgression to the cityscape. Looking at the *Maps*

over time, however, one can see a gradual neutering of this sexual discourse. The *Pink Map* category known as the 'Wildside' serves as one example of these changes. By 2006 this category has dwindled to two entries relegated to a sidebar without map references, no longer lending this aspect to the pink cityscape. In 2007 and 2008, the wildness is nearly gone completely from the map, as the one remaining listing gains its map reference once again, as it stands alone in its transgression on the periphery of the pink landscape—located furthest from the notion of the 'good gay' (Richardson, 2004), a self-policing notion of heteronormativity which limits expression within the boundaries of queer.

*Plate 5.2 Pink Map 2008 edition
– cover image (Used with permission of A&C Maps)*



The images and iconography used both on the cover and within the *Maps* indicate further changes. After the drag queen on the cover of 2000 edition, and the corporeal cartography of the 2001 edition, the *Maps* to follow feature increasingly less-provocative, non-corporeal imagery and artwork. In 2007, for example, the icons that point to the map reference numbers change from the iconic pink triangles, a recognizable symbol for many gays and lesbians around the world, but perhaps not as universally understood or identifiable to the broader audience to whom the *Map* may appeal, to simple squares. The unambiguously queer symbolism and iconography that helped to frame sexual citizenship make way in later editions for graphics that appeal to a broader audience of both heterosexual and homosexual readers.

The cover of 2008 edition signals a further mainstreaming of the *Map's* imagery. The cover features an image of a woman submerged in a cocktail glass adorned with a pink lily on the rim (see Plate 2). The woman is holding her breath, and holding a bird cage in her right hand with a pink 'goldfish' inside. Although she appears to be wearing very little, if no clothing, the woman's body is obscured, covered by a wispy underwater sea of white feathers. The glass is set on a pink surface with the image of a sunset (over the exclusive seaside suburb of Camps Bay—perhaps owing to the sponsor, *Paranga* restaurant which is located in Camps Bay) in the background. There is a lack of overtly gay or lesbian iconography or symbolism in the 2008 edition. The image is one that conveys a sense of luxury and exclusivity without directing suggesting that a gay or lesbian identity is connected to those notions or spaces.

The 2008 version stands in stark contrast to the sexually-embodied cartographic image of the 2001 versions. These changes are as much about changes in the way the publisher saw his role as they point to transitions taking place in Cape Town and in South African society. These transitions include a broader acceptance of gays and lesbians in society as a whole and an increasingly mixed (gay and straight) following in the city's clubs, bars and restaurants. Previous covers of the *Pink Map* brought criticism and praise to its publisher. As sentiments changed, and the pink market expanded, however, the publisher looked for something completely different. So, when a high-profile Cape Town restaurant with an upmarket clientele wanted to sponsor the cover, the *Pink Map* opened itself up to new possibilities. For Todres, it was a signal of the recognition of the value of the pink constituency, and a sign that Cape Town had become more liberated. It could also be understood as a symbol of the increased focus on the consumer aspect of citizenship rather than sexuality within the *Pink Map's* expanding constituency.

From sexual to consumer citizenship

Shifts in consumption patterns, and the nature of the citizen-consumer can be seen through changes in listings that are present in the *Map*. What was once a map that appealed to readers through shared notions of sexual citizenship, has become one where the common pursuit of consumption is the overarching focus. In that regard, the *Map's* readership appears to be eating more, and transgressing less. Among the trends is a growth in restaurant listings: from nine listings in 1999 to twenty-seven listings in 2008; and a decline in shopping that is labelled specifically pink. Consumerism itself has changed its name, and perhaps its role in society: from the utilitarian yet descriptive 'shopping' from 1999 through 2005 it was elevated to 'retail therapy' from 2006 onward. This gives the sense that being a consumer-citizen is more than just buying your daily bread, or rather your Diesel footwear 'for successful living' (*Pink Map* 2000), but actually engaging in an act of healing and self-preservation. The act of shopping gains a level of respect and importance in one's daily life that is implicitly necessary for well-being and identity formation.

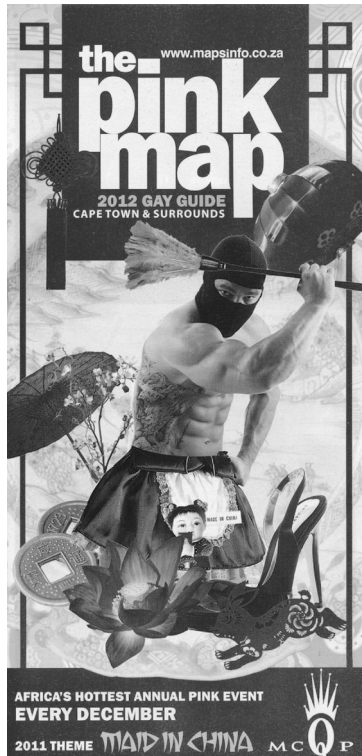
Consuming pink Cape Town, however, means more than just shoes and clubs. It also means consuming for the body, and of the body in the form of food and sex. Some of the changes that can be traced through the *Pink Map* are evident in how consumers are apparently intended to consume both food and sex. Not only has the imagery changed. So too have the venues themselves, the services they offer, and how those services are presented. Take the example of *Execpartners*, a male escort service for male clientele: *Execpartners* moved from a 'Service' in 2002—alongside a laundry, attorney, estate agency and hairstylist—to the 'Wildside' (as *EP Executive Partners*) in 2006.

While the Wildside and Steambaths may be waning in their presence on the map, sex is still alive and well in the form of food: Col'Cacchio, a local chain of pizzerias, goes from one small listing in 2005, where it is described as 'A funky vibey restaurant that is often quoted as 'making the best pizza, pasta and salads in the world'' (*Pink Map* 2005). In the 2008 edition, however, the line between restaurants and the wildside becomes blurred as they note:

It's not only *size*, but the combination of taste and flavour sensations that makes Col'Cacchio Pizzeria stand out in the crowd. *Hunky pizzas, satisfying pastas and sexy salads* plus great locations and friendly service add up to a fun and relaxed good food experience. (*Pink Map* 2008 emphasis added)

Sexual innuendos demonstrate that how the *Map* situates desire has clearly changed. *hot, friendly, diverse, pleasure,* and ‘licensed for wine and malt’ describe Knights M2M (male-to-male) massage in the 1999 edition; while *hunky, size, satisfying,* and *sexy* describe Col’Cacchio Pizzeria in the 2008 edition. One might be forgiven for mistaking the words that described culinary for corporeal desire. The overall effect however is to sexualise the entire landscape, even the culinary one, through the use deliberate double-entendres. One desire may not replace the other, but they both drive the consumer to reinforce their citizenship in the pursuit of corporeal fulfilment. In the most recent editions of the *Map* from 2009 until 2012 the visitor is draw-in by promotion of the aforementioned MCQP Party, where the 2012 theme ‘Made in China’ symbolizes a new era of consumer citizenship, Africa’s recent commercial connections to the East, and the promise of an unforgettable queer night on the streets of Cape Town.

Plate 5.3 Pink Map 2012 edition
– cover image (Used with permission of A&C Maps)



The map as discursive archive

Although much of the *Pink Map* is unapologetically commercial, it maintains a tongue-in-cheek, playful attitude, and is intended to be a practical and welcoming guide for local and international tourists. Although the implication is that the *Pink Map* archives all that is queer in Cape Town, it clearly cannot. Queerness and same-sex desire finds fulfilment in the extraordinary as well as the mundane spaces of Cape Town as Leap (2002) has demonstrated. So, although it does not tell the entire story, the *Pink Map* narrates one part of it and thus provides a discursive archive of a small fragment of Cape Town's queer destination space.

That discursive archive is part of the cartographic tradition. Cartographers seek to 'ground truth' their data by ensuring that the story told through the map—as displayed by symbols, landmarks and physical features – is reflected in the reality on the ground. In a similar way, the narrative of the *Pink Map* demonstrates the socio-cultural trends that are happening within the city and might thus guide visitors accordingly. The *Map* revealed that consumption is increasingly depicted as a necessary pathway to citizenship and wellness. It also demonstrates that queerness has become normalised both in the sense that gays and lesbians have achieved greater acceptance in the ambient heterosexual world with a new generation of gays and lesbians seeing no need to codify exclusionary queer spaces.

Lesbian-coded spaces and events continue to be difficult to find, and much of what the Map depicts as pink is no longer solely intended for a gay male audience of consumers. Non-commercial listings that are meant to guide users to support and queer community information have disappeared, perhaps owing to the proliferation of information on websites, and in the broader media, or perhaps because the *Map* targets a new clientele who don't need such support. The 'pink identity' as expressed in the map has changed from the consumption of same-sex desire to the consumption of goods and services that transcend sexual citizenship in favor of consumer citizenship. The changes could have been generational, editorial and perhaps driven by limits imposed by advertisers who might not want to be associated with alternative sexualities. Likely a combination of all of the above, the changes demonstrate a variety of shifts taking place in society that have bearing on both sexual and consumer citizenship which ultimately conspire to shape the promotion of the tourist experience.

In spite of the inherent ground truth of the *Pink Map*, the notion of locating pink space in the highly mobile urban environment is at best complicated, and at worst a denial of same-sex desire on broader geographical and socio-economical scales. As Polchin (1997) reminds us, 'Queer space cannot be located within a particular place because it does not necessarily represent defined boundaries, but rather exists through a presentation of queer bodies and desires' (Polchin 1997: 386). Despite the *Map's* attempts to outline those shifting boundaries, queerness is still located within the *Pink Map* in the sense that it guides, disciplines, and frames Cape Town for its user while it also outlines narratives of sexuality, the body, gender, and consumer trends. Likewise, the ephemeral sites of queerness in the city remain invisible, and the informal sector of the economy that contributes to the uniqueness of Cape Town as a destination does not feature at all. Although it may not provide its user with a full accounting of sexuality or consumption within the queer destination space of Cape Town, I argue that the *Pink Map* demonstrates some of the major issues that inscribe sexual and consumer citizenship in the Mother City and with a particular emphasis on De Waterkant.

The *Pink Map* serves as a queer entry point for visitors to Cape Town, and by doing so it provides a unique but limited way of understanding Cape Town. The *Map* positioned De Waterkant within the city of Cape Town as an urban quarter under the guise of a gay village by discursively framing destination space through particular cultural symbols of gay life and identity. The *Pink Map* brought to the fore pink elements of the landscape to the exclusion of all others, and demonstrated material examples of identity performance and leisure/consumptive pursuits that are constituent of gay urban quarters in other parts of the world. The *Pink Map* is clearly not the only way of understanding Cape Town or its destination space, but it provides a point of departure for seeing the myriad narratives that continue to shape the city, its citizens and its visitors who are always in a state of becoming.

Notes

1. It should be noted that use of the often-politicised term 'queer' is intended to be inclusive of multiple sexual identities including gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender. In spite of this, gay enclaves are, following Levine (1979), often ascribed to a limited cross-section of gay men. My use of the term 'queer' follows Tucker's (2009) recognition that same-sex-attracted communities and individuals in Cape Town know/practise their own type of subversion. To be

queer is to abrade sexual identity classification and to challenge the 'facts' of heteronormativity. Nevertheless, as Browne (2006) reminds us, queer has been used as shorthand for an increasing list of sexual and gender diversity and potentially limits the possibilities of queer (Browne 2006: 885). In this chapter I employ the term 'queer' beyond a shorthand for sexual dissidents with reference to the ephemeral and fluid nature of space and place, leading to an understanding of tourism destination spaces that lack fixity in the sense that they are highly mobile. In this way my examination of the *Pink Map* and De Waterkant demonstrates shifting practice, shifting space, and the complicated ways expressed in both the discursive and material creation of place and the tourist experience.

2. One of the many apartheid legacies is the use of racial designations. There were four racial designations that were used under apartheid-era laws: Black (of African racial origin); Coloured (of mixed racial origin); Indian (of Asian racial origin); and White (of European racial origin). The terms are still in wide use today to reflect one's racial background, and their use within this research should not be taken as derogatory.

Acknowledgements

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RESISTANCE THROUGH TOURISM: IDENTITY, IMAGERY, AND TOURISM MARKETING IN NEW MEXICO

Přemysl Mácha

Introduction

When taking a photo of the old adobe church in the Hispanic village of Córdova in north-central New Mexico, a man ran out of a near-by house, cursed, half in Spanish, half in English, and told me that photography was not allowed. When I inquired why, he simply said that the priest forbade it. Then he left in a pick-up truck and a few window curtains slightly moved as we walked out of the village. While used to such reactions in Native American reservations in the area, I was surprised by the existence of such a prohibition in a Hispanic village. This experience which later proved to be one of several more made me think about the wider context of such reactions to tourism and led me to a conclusion that in order to understand the dynamics of tourism in a given place from an anthropological or cultural-geographical perspective we must study not only the 'tourist encounter' (Babb, 2011), that is, the relations and interactions between tourists and locals, but also to analyze the wider social relations between different groups of locals and between locals and their governments. From this perspective the tourist may emerge not only or even primarily as a convenient source of income for a profit-driven global enterprise or as a 'terrorist' (Ness 2005) but rather as a 'pawn' in a game with a much greater importance, a game over the control of resources, the obtainment and safeguarding of group

rights and symbolic recognition. In this text I would like to show how tourism in New Mexico has served as an arena of interethnic conflict in which different groups of local inhabitants negotiate ethnic identities in a context of political, economic and social inequality and historical discrimination.

Resistance through Tourism

For me as an anthropologist, tourism represents a fascinating subject of study because of its profound transformative impacts on individuals and groups and their life-ways and self-understandings (Stronza 2001: 264). Both traditional as well as new anthropological topics such as culture, gender, identity and others cannot be seriously analyzed anymore without at least some regard for the mass voluntary movements of people across the globe we call tourism. In 2011, the World Tourism Organization registered nearly 1 billion tourist arrivals, a double of the number two decades ago (World Tourism Organization 2012). Hundreds of millions of people leave their homes every year for a host of reasons in order to travel to near or faraway places. Most bring their homes with them either literally (in their RVs) or symbolically (by requiring equal or higher standard they are used to from home and avoiding a 'truly' authentic experience— see e.g. Wang 1999), a minority prefers to 'experience' the life of locals, but regardless of the manner and nature of their travel, they profoundly affect the locality and themselves are affected by the experience.

The tourist expectations especially in cultural and heritage tourism tend to produce what has been referred to as the *tourist landscape* (Aitchison et al. 2000). As a consequence, cultural performance in accordance with tourist expectations has become a standard part of the deal between tourists and their hosts (see e.g. Edensor 2001). It is here that the questions of identity and authenticity come to the fore, both being tightly associated with a 'pure' form of culture in the popular imagination. Numerous studies of issues of culture, identity, and authenticity in tourist encounters testify to the transformative effects of tourism on host communities (see e.g. Medina 2003 or Olsen 2001). But even the wide range of these studies does not exhaust the topic of identity and tourism.

Stronza (2001) argues that social science approaches to tourism have focused, for the most part, either on the origins of tourism or on its impacts on localities. She proposes an integrative approach which would include both of these perspectives and enrich them, for example, with an analysis of the impact of tourism on tourists. Similarly,

Knudsen et al. (2008) propose to focus on tourism landscape instead of tourists, locals and intermediaries, landscape being the intersection of multiple meanings open to various readings and interpretations of identity. Their focus, however, remains on the 'tourist encounter' and its protagonists read through the prism of landscape.

While such perspectives are certainly useful and would provide a more complex view of tourism, they would, in my view, still remain incomplete. Tourism, as I will try to show in the following paragraphs, is not only about the socio-spatial encounters between tourists and locals and the political, economic, social, cultural or environmental impacts of tourism in host and guest countries. Attention should also be paid to the wider socio-spatial settings in which this encounter takes place. Landscape is certainly a useful concept in this respect, provided, however, that we view it more in terms of practice, performance and process in accordance with the current phenomenological and non-representational approaches in anthropology and cultural geography (see e.g. Ingold 2000, Thrift 2007, Wiley 2007: 153-169) rather than in terms of the classic Sauerian conceptualization of landscape as an assemblage of cultural artifacts and fixed meanings. This performative, processual view of tourism (landscape) allows us to account for wider societal relations and practices intersecting at particular times and places. In some of these instances tourism may, in addition to mediating relations between tourists and locals, also be used as a strategic tool in the negotiations between groups of locals and between locals and their government while tourists themselves may play a rather interesting role in complex socio-spatial relations in which the tourists are the least important, mostly passive, and rather unconscious and involuntary participants.

Numerous authors have analyzed various forms of local resistance to tourism across the globe (see e.g. Hoskins 2002, Schiller 2001, Barholo et al 2008). In the *resistance-to-tourism* kinds of studies, local communities are mostly depicted as victims of global forces which have led them to various forms of adaptations, accommodations and resistance. In these texts, tourism is analyzed through the prism of tourist-local interactions and impacts, tourism being conceptualized as an external agent of local change.

A significantly less explored topic, however, is resistance *through* tourism, that is, those instances of tourist situations in which tourism is utilized by local communities as a strategic tool for gaining the upper hand in different kinds of local struggles and dealings with the government. An example of this perspective might be Silverman's analysis of the politics of tourism in contemporary Peru in which she

shows the complex, multivocal, and multilayered politics expressed in different attitudes and approaches to tourism in Nazca and Cuzco where 'heritage tourism provides a ready vehicle for the expression of unrelated issues' (Silverman 2002: 891). Another example might be Hiwasaki's study of Ainu identity negotiation in Cusco tourism vis-a-vis the Japanese state (Hiwasaki 2000). It is this *resistance-through-tourism* perspective which I would like to apply to the analysis of various forms of reactions to tourism observed in the Native American and Hispanic communities in New Mexico.

Tourism in New Mexico

New Mexico stands unique among the federal states of the U.S.A. It has by far the largest pre-Anglo Hispanic population, the most militant indigenous population, the greatest proportion of new Latino immigrants and a large Anglo retiree community, in addition to its Chicano, Tex-Mex and Anglo populations. Formally speaking, we might say that New Mexico is not part of the Global South. However, if we look less at formal economic criteria and examine rather the historical factors which have led to the North-South divisions in the first place, we find a similar story in New Mexico as we find in the countries of the Global South – a story of successive conquests and colonial control, a systematic discrimination of the original populations by colonial masters (first Spanish, then Anglo), low level of infrastructural and economic development, high incidence of poverty, low educational levels, and poor access to medical care, all relative to the U.S. average (according to the U.S. Census Bureau 2011).

The perception of New Mexico within the U.S. seems to confirm its 'Global South' status – among other things, tourists associate the state principally with 'exotic' Native American and Hispanic cultures and a relatively poor quality of tourist infrastructure (New Mexico Tourism Department 2012). This perception has not really changed significantly since the publication of *The Land of Poco Tiempo* by Charles F. Lummis in 1928, at once musing about the cultural and natural wonders of New Mexico and deriding them on grounds of general racial inferiority, backwardness and an attitude inimical to 'progress':

Sun, silence, and adobe – that is New Mexico in three words...It is the Great American Mystery – the National Rip Van Winkle – the United States which is *not* the United States. The opiate sun soothes to rest, the adobe is made to lean against, the hush a day-long noon would not be broken. Let us not hasten – *mañana*

will do. Better still, *pasado mañana*. New Mexico is the anomaly of the republic (Lummis 1966: 3).

The history of the development of tourism in New Mexico is one marked by its Global South origins and character. The first visitors were lured to New Mexico by presumed Aztec cities and Mexican and Indian architecture and artisanry. Tourist development received an especially strong impetus with the famous Indian Detours of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railways and the Fred Harvey Co. with tours centered on Santa Fe and near-by sites. The railroad detours had a profound impact on the development of commercial tourism, producing a range of adaptations in artisanry and cultural performance to suit the tourist demand (see e.g. Weigle 1990, Wade 1985).

What drew the first tourists to New Mexico continues to do so even today. It is the past (or an illusion of it) preserved in the landscape that stirs the tourist imagination the most (Jackson 1994: 15). Every year, New Mexico registers approximately thirteen to fifteen million overnight visitors. Over 70% of them come from NM and the surrounding states and as is common in most other states, the majority of visitors prefer recreational sites (skiing, watersports, etc.) in national forest areas and at lakes. Immediately next in popularity, however, are various historic and cultural sites and events. The most visited of them include the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center, the Bandelier National Monument, the Gathering of Nations Powwow, the National Hispanic Cultural Center, the Petroglyph National Monument, the Santa Fe Indian Market and others (New Mexico Tourism Department 2011).

Red chili, Indian corn, a wandering donkey, slanting adobe walls with protruding vigas, a religious Hispanic procession, Navajo jewelry, a masked Pueblo dancer, painted Pueblo ceramics, and perhaps an occasional cowboy symbolizing the eastern plains, these are the main marketing images of New Mexico. Sometimes they stand alone, at other times with images of presumably natural objects – mesas, canyons, mountains, rivers, forests and lakes – in the background which emphasize the exotic nature of local culture – wild, yet civilized. The past, inauthentic and commercialized, forces itself upon the visitors eager to experience the ‘real’:

New Mexico Manifesto

We are all travelers. We seek what is true and we push past what we know to be false. The question is: where do we go? What place is true and good and real? Where is the place that

will speak to us, crystal clear, in a voice that is familiar and kind? Where is true found....and false forgotten? Where?

New Mexico True¹

But it is not an innocent infatuation with illusions of the past. As Rodriguez (2003: 188) pointed out, tourism stands at the heart of interethnic relations in New Mexico and the images, tactics and practices associated with it deeply structure social life in the state:

The tourist gaze in New Mexico issues from a position of middle-class privilege and seeks an experience of 'solitude, privacy, and a personal, semispiritual relationship with the object of gaze'...It focuses on a threefold visual semiotic or system of meanings comprised of Indians; a vast, empty, arid landscape; and adobe architecture. Its cornerstone is art. The core whiteness of this gaze lies not only in imperialist nostalgia or antimodern escapism, but, most importantly, in the selectively racialized landscape it projects.

Building a State Identity in Tourism (Landscape) Marketing

New Mexican representatives have been aware of the 'Unamerican' character of their state which has given them some comparative advantage in tourism marketing but has also posed numerous obstacles in forging a unified state identity well integrated into the national imagination. Because of its pre-Anglo Native American and Hispanic populations which were not displaced by Anglo immigration, New Mexico has never really become part of the national mythology. The only local figures and events which 'made it', were those of rather debatable moral implications – the banditry of Billy the Kid or the heroic resistance of Geronimo, the leader of the Chiricahua Apache band, who refused to surrender to U.S. troops. Nevertheless, the ethnic, cultural and architectural uniqueness and self-sufficiency of New Mexico has provided a strategic resource in tourism marketing all throughout the twentieth century and up to the present.

It was a combination of climate, scenery and cultural distinctiveness which drew artists from all over the U.S. and the world. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Santa Fe and Taos became major centers of art and attracted more artists than any other area in the U.S. (Gibson 1983: 9). Writers and painters such as D.H. Lawrence, Georgia O'Keeffe, Mary Austin and Mabel Dodge Luhan established permanent

homes in the area and popularized what later became known as the Pueblo Revival Style, also called the Santa Fe Style, which has left a permanent impression upon the New Mexican architecture and landscape (Wilson, 1997, see also Markovich et al., 1990).

*Plate 6.1 Hotel Loretto in Santa Fe (1975)
– another example of the Pueblo Revival/Santa Fe Style*



Source: author, 2006

This year – 2012 – New Mexico is celebrating its first centennial (<http://nmcentennial.org/>), that is, its one hundredth anniversary since the obtainment of statehood. At the intersection of civic identity, tourism and romantic aesthetics, the Pueblo Revival Style has served as one of the key tools in establishing, justifying, and reproducing a state identity as a synthesis of Pueblo Indian, Hispanic and Anglo influences (Wilson 1997: 115). It needs be noted that New Mexico (together with Arizona which was originally a part of New Mexico) was granted statehood as the last federal state (excluding Alaska and Hawaii), that is, much later than surrounding states with smaller populations and no historical antecedents. The reason for this is obvious – the loyalty and identity of the inhabitants of New Mexico was rather uncertain and it continued to be questioned by federal authorities long after the annexation of the territory in 1846 (Simmons 1977: 166).

One of the pioneers of the Pueblo Revival/Santa Fe style was the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque – its campus was rebuilt at the start of the twentieth century, drawing on Pueblo and Hispanic elements. For example, the first student dormitories built in 1906 bore Pueblo names (Hokona and Kwataka) and resembled portions of Pueblo villages. Other buildings in the Pueblo Revival style followed soon after – the ‘estufa’ – a Pueblo kiva (the Pueblo Indian ceremonial chamber) serving as a meeting place for one of the student fraternities in 1906 or 1908 (unclear dating), various service buildings or the complete remodeling of the main administrative building in 1909. With time, structures inspired by Puebloan and Hispanic architecture became dominant, and after the arrival of the architect John Gaw Meem, the entire campus was remodeled in the Pueblo Revival Style and it has maintained this character ever since (Hooker 2000).

Plate 6.2 The Zimmermann Library (1936-1938) – an example of the Pueblo Revival/Santa Fe Style on the University of New Mexico campus in Albuquerque



Source: author, 2006

At first, the Pueblo Revival Style generated many negative reactions, especially from the Anglo population who saw it as a sign of architectural degeneration (Hooker, 2000: 24) but gradually it

became re-appropriated precisely by this Anglo elite who has utilized it as a means of promoting a common identity with a dominant position of the Anglos. Today, the Pueblo Revival/Santa Fe style is a hegemonic architectural style in New Mexico, creating a semblance of an ethnically harmonious state. It is part of the building code in many cities and a principal marketing tool for the realtors and developers. Whole city centers have been remodeled to fit the style, much to the dismay of historians and preservationists who lament the disappearance of historical buildings built in other styles (see e.g. Wilson 1997: 232-272).

Plate 6.3 The Pueblo Revival/Santa Fe Style demasked – under the ‘adobe’ facade is the conventional two-by-four and plywood structure (new houses in Santa Fe)



Source: author, 2006

One of the most powerful examples of architectural construction of state identity is the state capitol. The vast majority of state capitols are modeled on the federal capitol building in Washington, D.C. New Mexico was not an exception but after several fires and reconstructions of the previous capitols, a brand new capitol was built in 1966 in a mixture of Territorial and Pueblo Revival/Santa Fe style, bringing thus the architectural battle for a common state identity to the highest public level.

It bears the form of the Zia Pueblo sun symbol which is well known from the New Mexico state flag, the state license plate, and hundreds of commercial articles and marketing images. Also, the round, circular floor plan with four, symmetrically located square avant-corps resembles the kiva which is also round, albeit with only one square avant-corps. The attempt to incorporate Puebloan symbolism goes even further, though – the central sky-light, for example, represents a Pueblo basket weave.

The Hispanic element is architecturally emphasized in the central location of the seal of New Mexico in the floor of the Rotunda, picturing, just as the Mexican flag does, an eagle seated on a cactus, holding a snake in its beak – a clear recognition of the Mexican population, albeit under the protective cover of the American eagle. The Anglo element is made visible in the use of the so-called Territorial Style which arose from the interaction of mid-nineteenth century U.S. military architecture with the adobe architecture of New Mexico. Classicist door and window frames and columns and a row of bricks along the upper part of walls are characteristic identifiers of this style, while the beige colors of walls and round surfaces stand for the adobe architecture of New Mexico. This mixture of Territorial and New Mexico style goes a step further toward incorporating the Anglo element into the state identity, something that the Pueblo Revival/ Santa Fe style cannot do by itself.

Plate 6.4 The New Mexico state capitol in Santa Fe



Source: author, 2006

The interior of the capitol is decorated with Native American and Hispanic art and portraits, statues and photographs of important historic figures representing the different groups which have come to inhabit the state. While the architectural composition of the capitol narrates a story of a unified, albeit culturally diverse state, the reality is far from being harmonious. For example, the use of the Zia sun symbol has generated numerous and mostly unsuccessful legal battles and petitions in which the Zia Pueblo demanded compensation by the state of New Mexico for using their sacred symbol without the Pueblo's permission (see e.g. Brown 2007).

Another powerful landscape practice invented as a means of fostering a common state identity and closely associated with the Santa Fe art colony is the Santa Fe Fiesta. It is a widely advertised and very popular tourist event which, however, serves primarily to sort out local ethnic relations. The fiesta takes place annually every September since 1919 when it was initiated by Anglos sympathetic to the Hispanic heritage who wanted to foster a common state identity. The organizers, however, present it as a centuries-old tradition, creating thus an illusion of antiquity and authenticity (for this historic mystification see the fiesta web site <http://www.santafefiesta.org/>). The fiesta celebrates the supposedly voluntary and mutually enriching fusion of three cultures – the Pueblo, the Hispanic and the Anglo. Its central performance is a parade going through the town and headed by Don Diego de Vargas, the Governor of New Mexico who led the 'peaceful' reconquest of the colony in 1692 after the Spaniards were forced out from New Mexico during the Pueblo Revolt in 1680. It reenacts the moment of submission of Pueblo chiefs, impersonated initially by actual Pueblo members. Originally, the parade also included General Stephen W. Kearney who led U.S. troops to New Mexico in 1846, but this character was left out after the first few fiestas, leaving the central role to Vargas.

Another important performance during the fiesta is the burning of Zozobra which actually opens the event, alongside a mass in the Santa Fe cathedral. Zozobra, a paper effigy – also called King Worry or Old Man Grouch – was a carnevalesque invention without historical antecedents and it originated in the 'counter-fiesta' – *Hysterical Pageant* – organized by a group of artists in Santa Fe in 1920s who resisted the historical narratives of the official fiesta. With time, however, the burning of Zozobra became part of the official fiesta, conveying an ambivalent message of farse, on the one hand, and legitimizing the subsequent narratives of 'peaceful reconquest' and the harmonious coexistence of different cultures, on the other.

Plate 6.5 Pueblo dancers performing in front of Vargas and his Queen during the Santa Fe fiesta in September 2005



Source: author, 2006

Since its beginning, the fiesta has generated strong criticism for its historical incorrectness, inauthenticity and caricaturing of Pueblo and Hispanic inhabitants of New Mexico. For example, the Pueblo dancers prefer to present their own traditional dances and Native American characters in the pageant have to be impersonated by Hispanics and Anglos. Of late, due to the heavy immigration from Mexico, the fiesta has acquired a strongly Mexican character (in dress, music, and food) and because of its artificiality and debatable character, it is boycotted by many Puebloans as well as original Hispanic inhabitants of Santa Fe (for a full description of the history of the fiesta see Wilson 1997: 181-231). Others, however, come and join in the celebrations and it is perhaps here that the illusion of a common state identity is forged after it turned out that the 'authentic' traditions in Native American and Hispanic communities could not

be tamed and harnessed for state purposes. In the remaining paragraphs, I am going to show different reactions to the state attempts at forging a unified identity with a particular focus on the ambivalent role of tourism in this process.

Resistance to the State Identity through Tourism

The reactions to tourism in New Mexico are diverse. They range from a total rejection of tourism to the erection of selective obstacles to tourism to its full embracement. Diverse and even contradictory as these reactions might be, their common denominator is that they all serve as messages to the government and the neighboring communities and only secondarily to the tourists. These messages can be read only with the knowledge of the historical context which has shaped the complex ethnic relations in New Mexico. There are many possible examples which might be given, but because of the limited space available, I will present only a few which illustrate some of the general trends. Specifically, I will briefly describe landscape practices and performances associated with the Acoma and San Antonito feast days as examples of tourist events and destinations serving as mediums for the negotiation of interethnic relations.

First, however, I would like to elaborate upon the story about photography in New Mexico which opens this text. While perhaps banal at first sight, I would argue that the total prohibition or at least a very strict control of photography found in all Native American and some Hispanic communities strikes at the very heart of the tourist experience. Since the invention of photography, this new medium has stood in the center of the tourism industry. If we were to name one practice common to all tourists, it would have to be photography. It is probably the most fundamental activity that tourists engage in and which defines them as tourists in tourist situations (see e.g. Crawshaw and Curry 1997, Gillespie 2008). Concisely put, it is the materialization of the 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 1990). Photography is also closely associated with the 'authenticity' of the tourist experience – if the tourist has no visual 'proof' of his trip (no 'trophy'), his experience may seem somehow less credible and substantiated, both to him/her as well as to the audience back home. Equally importantly, photography also plays a key role in tourism promotion which is based on visual images more than on anything else. The prohibition or severe limitation of photography thus clearly expresses something important about the relationship of local communities not only to tourism but also and principally to the state which is promoting it.

All photography is, for example, banned in the Hispanic village of Chililí which is generally hostile to tourism. Spanish and Mexican land grants awarded to Pueblo and Hispanic communities by the Spanish king and the Mexican government were not recognized by the U.S. government after the annexation of New Mexico in mid-nineteenth century. In 1920's Pueblo land grants were finally recognized, but most Hispanic land grants still wait for their recognition in their full extent. The Chililí land grant is an example of a partially recognized land claim and such historical grievances still severely deform state-community relations (see e.g Westphall 1983). In our case, it is the reason for the Chililí boycott of tourism.

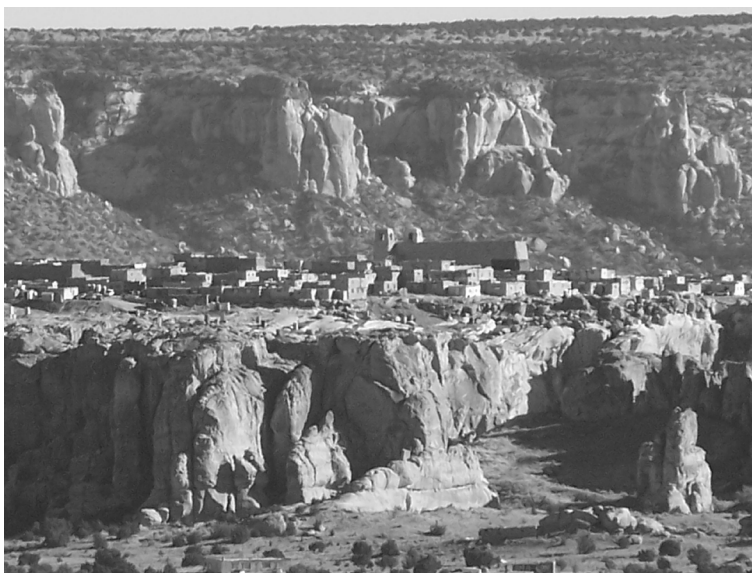
Plate 6.6 A 'welcome' sign in the Hispanic village of Chililí



Source: author, 2006

The case of the Native American communities is better known. In most, photography is strictly forbidden and violators are fined and their cameras, mobile phones and other recording devices confiscated. The prohibitions on tourism go even further when on most ceremonial occasions all outsiders are denied access to the village guarded by armed men. Even on 'open' days, however, movement around the community is severely limited and trespassers are prosecuted. The Governor's Feast Day in Acoma Pueblo is a good example of this complex ethnic landscape practice and I describe it as I experienced it on February 11, 2006.

Plate 6.7 The heart of Acoma Pueblo as seen from a distance



Source: author, 2006

Acoma Pueblo is a Keresan-speaking Native American community in western New Mexico whose ancient village is located atop a mesa overlooking the reservation. Gambling in the Acoma-owned Sky City Casino serves as the principal source of income for the pueblo as well as for its inhabitants employed there, guaranteeing a degree of economic independence. Acoma Pueblo likes to call itself the Sky City (see <http://www.skycity.com/>) and takes full advantage of tourism, advertising well beyond the New Mexico borders. Feast days are generally good days for visiting the pueblos not only because 'there is something to see' (all day dancing and some feasting) but also because on regular days a tourist would have a difficult time justifying his/her presence, if s/he was allowed to enter the village at all.

When we arrived to the bottom of the mesa, we were told – after a brief examination of our physical appearance – to turn around and go back to the tourist parking lot. Only members of Acoma Pueblo, their friends, and members of other pueblos were allowed to drive further to a designated parking lot and only Acoma Pueblo members were allowed to drive up the mesa. At the visitor center we had to register (report our names and places of origin), pay the entrance fee

(ten dollars) and wait almost an hour for the next tour. No photography was permitted on this day. Signs said that on regular days photography anywhere on the reservation was permitted only after the purchase of the photography permit (ten dollars). This applied to photographing rock formations as well and the permit did not accord the right to utilize the photographs for any commercial purposes.

Plate 6.8 A road sign advertising for the Acoma Pueblo casino



Source: author, 2006

In a small bus in a group of some twenty people, we were finally driven up the mesa where we were dropped off at the entrance to the village. A guide immediately distributed maps which indicated areas closed to us. These closed areas covered the entire pueblo with the exception of a short path from the pueblo entrance to the church and the plaza. We were told that if we were caught anywhere else, we would be immediately escorted back to the tourist parking area.

The guide led us to the church, reprimanding people if they got ahead or fell behind. Inside the church, again, the guide made sure that everyone was in his or her proper place. One woman could not bear it any longer and went outside. She was called back but refused

to comply. Most people, however, went along and actually seemed to enjoy the tour, nodding in agreement to the mostly historically incorrect or ideologically skewed statements of the guide who emphasized Pueblo communal harmony and the nefariousness of the Spaniards and the Anglos. No one was allowed to approach the altar or do much else but to stand in one place.

When the tour ended, we walked to the plaza. The north side and the side streets were blocked off by chairs of locals, so we could watch the ceremonial dances only from the southern end. Being kept at a distance from the dancers was yet another example of the ethnic delimitation of space. When gifts were thrown at the crowd and the dancers (cookies, chocolate bars, soups, crackers, cups, etc.), most distributors made sure to avoid throwing any at us which was made easier for them by the ethnic spatial separation. After some time, we walked back down to the parking lot, passing the ethnic boundaries in reverse – Acoma Pueblo only, members of other Pueblos, tourists.

In spite of all the declarations of hospitality and appreciation of visitors, it is difficult to feel welcome when the language of space delivers a very different message. It appears that the original meaning of feasts (opening doors, showing hospitality, trading, establishing or reaffirming friendships and alliances) has been mostly lost and Pueblo feast days today serve as manifestations of ethnic difference where tourists are tolerated only because if they were not there, there would not be anyone to whom that ethnic difference could be demonstrated.

The Hispanic community of San Antonito located some 30 kilometers east of Albuquerque represents an opposite attitude to tourism and photography. Following is the description of the annual feast day honoring the patron saint *Nuestro Señor de Mapimí*, as I witnessed it in September 2005. Having just experienced a rather hostile unprovoked treatment at the annual Jicarilla Apache *Go-Jii-Yah* festival, I did not even bring a camera. One of the first questions of the organizers, however, was: 'Where is your camera? You have to take as many pictures as you can!' all meant sincerely and followed by a degree of disappointment when I was not able to produce the camera. I did bring it the following day when the feast day culminated and took many pictures, never feeling awkward or intrusive. I was even honored by carrying the statue of the patron saint for a while during the procession which circled (and thus sanctified) the Hispanic core of the community, and I was then hosted generously at the communal dinner.

Plate 6.9 The Matachines dance – Montezuma as the pagan king and Malinche as the Virgin in the center, Montezuma's captains and soldiers on both sides, San Antonito



Source: author, 2006

An important element in the feast is the Matachines dance. This fascinating tradition is shared by many Hispanic and Pueblo communities throughout New Mexico and it goes well beyond the scope of this paper to describe the history, complex choreography and rich meanings associated with the dance. The dance is one of the so-called Dances of Conquest (*Danzas de la Conquista*) which are thought to have been introduced into the New World by Spanish friars as a means of evangelization. In Hispanic villages, the dance is generally interpreted as the celebration of the victory of Christianity. The meaning of the dance in Pueblo communities is somewhat less clear, but in both cases, as Rodriguez (1996) and I (Mácha 2006) have demonstrated, this dance serves as a crucial factor in the delimitation and reproduction of ethnic boundaries. The dancers go around the village, purify it from (ethnic) defilement and perform a final dance of victory next to the old adobe church in the vicinity of the old Hispanic cemetery, that is, for the ancestors. Clowns (called *Abuelos*) who are the most complex of the many characters involved in the dance crack jokes all throughout the performance, many of them with fundamental ethnic overtones.

Plate 6.10 The clowns / ancestors (Abuelos) impersonating an Anglo couple, San Antonito



Source: author, 2006

San Antonito is an old Hispanic community whose identity has been seriously threatened by the suburbanization processes occurring in Albuquerque. Most of the newcomers are neither Hispanic nor Catholic and they now form the majority of the population. The communal identity has been further problematized by the renaming of the community which now appears on the maps as Sandia Park, a fitting name for a suburb at the foothills of the Sandia Mountains. In this context, the generosity and hospitality of the local people during the feast in spite of their unquestioned Christian love is therefore somewhat suspect. As in the case of Acoma but in the context of a different political economy and land rights, the tourist in San Antonito is forced into the role of an ally whose task is to spread the word about the existence of a group with a long history and rich

traditions threatened by the consequences of tourism promotion by major land developers who opened up the area for the Pueblo Revival/Santa Fe style kind of construction by Anglos in search of the myth of New Mexico.

Conclusions

In this article I have tried to offer perhaps a somewhat less common perspective on tourism, landscape and identity. This perspective is not an alternative, but rather a complement to the dominant approaches to tourism within the social sciences. Tourism, of course, is always and primarily a form of an 'encounter' and its impacts fall always and primarily on those directly involved, regardless of the level of control either party exercises over the encounter. This holds true for Acoma as well as for San Antonito, for Chililí as well as for Santa Fe. What I have tried to show, however, is that to focus predominantly on the encounter without taking into consideration the historical context and wider social relations structuring the landscape is insufficient and in some instances such as those described in this text it would make the understanding of tourism situations very difficult, if at all possible. Tourism may be a reason for resistance for its oppressive, exploitative aspects but it also may be a means of resistance for its emancipatory potential. And it also may be – in view of its dynamic growth and transformations – many other things still waiting to be discovered by further research.

Notes

1. From the New Mexico Department of Tourism website <http://www.newmexico.org/>

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TOURISTIC ENCOUNTERS REVISITED: CONTROVERSIES OF 'SOCIAL' AND 'ECONOMIC' VALUE IN CUBA

Valerio Simoni

Scholars and commentators assessing the nature of encounters between tourists and members of the visited population have often reached contrasting conclusions. On the one hand, touristic encounters appear to be fraught by striking inequalities, highly deceptive, and a constant source of misunderstanding and reciprocal exploitation. On the other hand, they seem to hold the promise of mutual understanding, and the establishment of positive connections between people from around the globe, notably across the North-South divide. Touristic encounters are thus said to constitute a realm of 'mere illusion' and 'make believe association', a 'parody of human relationships' (Krippendorf 1999 [1984]: 58, van den Berghe 1980: 378) where deception and exploitation prevail. Alternatively, they are portrayed as the 'building block for global peace and cultural understanding ... bringing ordinary men and women from around the world into contact with one another', and thus helping 'dispel the myths, stereotypes and caricatures that often hold sway from a distance' (Ki-Moon 2007). A black and white pendulum, these meta-narratives tend to mirror and relationally constitute each other by way of contrast and opposition. They have become ubiquitous tropes proliferating hand in hand with the development of international tourism, highlighting its brighter and darker side, its positive and negative potential. These divergent assessments, which find echoes in touristic Cuba, tend to rely on implicit assumptions about what

(good) touristic encounters should be about. As such, they call for a scrutiny of their moral underpinnings, and of the notions of value on which they are grounded.

Building on Malcolm Crick's remarks that '[t]he question of what sort of social relationships grow up in tourism encounters can only be answered by detailed and descriptive studies' (1989: 330) this chapter explores these issues in the light of an ethnography of relationships between 'tourists' and 'locals' in Cuba¹. In this Caribbean island, contrasts and oppositions between sentiment and interest lead the different actors involved in touristic encounters to blur and redraw boundaries between the intrinsic ('social') and the instrumental ('economic') value of these relationships. The joint examination of the moral imperatives and pragmatic considerations that lead people to outline divergent approaches to their relationships helps explain how these different assessments and notions of value take shape, are discriminated and hierarchized. Rather than trying to establish, unambiguously, the 'true' value of touristic encounters – be it 'social' or 'economic' – the view advocated here draws attention to the competing agendas, aspirations, and moral demands that inform the way value is attributed and judgments are made. Thus, it becomes possible to understand why touristic encounters are being evaluated in contrasting, and often paradoxical, ways. Accounting for this multiplicity and the controversies it generates, the paper provides analytical pathways to illuminate the uneasy coexistence of different notions value in tourism.

Reassessing 'Hosts & Guests'

The study of encounters and relationships between 'hosts' and 'guests', between 'tourists' and 'locals', has been capturing the anthropological imagination at least since Valene Smith's edited book *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* was first published in 1978. In the conclusion to this path breaking publication, which helped establish the anthropology of tourism as a legitimate field of inquiry within the discipline, Theron Nuñez asked the following question: 'What is the nature of the interaction between hosts and tourists?' (1978: 212). More than two decades later, in her review of the anthropology of tourism, Amanda Stronza recognizes that 'tourism has captured the attention of anthropologists because it often involves face-to-face encounters between people with different cultural backgrounds' (Stronza 2001: 264), before adding, however, that 'missing from many current analyses is an attempt to learn more

about the dynamics of host-guest interactions by observing and talking with people on both sides of the encounter' (2001: 272). This is what Nuñez had advocated three decades earlier, urging anthropologists to study 'the indigenous population' and 'the tourist population' 'in interaction' (1978: 212).

Answering his own question, Nuñez maintained that such relationship 'is almost always an instrumental one, rarely coloured by affective ties, and almost always marked by degrees of social distance and stereotyping that would not exist amongst neighbours, peers, or fellow countrymen' (1978: 212). Instrumentality, social distance, stereotyping: all these features have been repeatedly highlighted in the literature, as testified by the works of Pierre van den Berghe (1980; 1994), Dennison Nash (1978; 1981; 1996), Erik Cohen (1984) and Malcolm Crick (1989), which have explicitly addressed the issue of tourist-host encounters and have attempted to summarize the state of the research on the subject. Thus, the nature of relationships between tourists and locals has been alternatively characterized as transient, manipulative and exploitative (van den Berghe 1980), impersonal (Pi-Sunyer 1978, Nash 1978, 1981), de-humanized (Crick 1989), or 'staged as personalized' following a linear evolution towards the commoditization of hospitality (Cohen 1984).

Cohen's (1984) article on the sociology of tourism provided a timely and useful review of social sciences research on tourist-local relationships. In it, the author traces an evolutionary pattern of how relationships between tourists and locals change as the development of tourism progresses. Cohen describes various stages that lead from the realm of 'native hospitality', to an 'anomic' phase of 'predatory orientation towards tourists', to a 'commoditized, professionalized service relationship', in which locals 'play the natives' and tourism service is 'personalized' (1984: 380). In this sense, professionalization becomes an 'effort to surmount the potential conflict between the economic and the social components of the service role' (Cohen 1984: 380), a conflict which is never completely resolved². While certainly appealing in its formidable logic and relative simplicity, the model traced by Cohen can be questioned on several grounds. Strikingly, some of Cohen's more empirically oriented work gives us important clues to question his evolutionary dynamic. In his ground-breaking article on 'Arab Boys and Tourist Girls in a Mixed Jewish-Arab Community' (1971), Cohen shows the 'surprising significance relations with foreign tourist girls' (1971: 1) could acquire for the Arab youth amongst whom he carried out fieldwork, and how interactions between tourists and locals were negotiated in ways that

could generate long-lasting friendships. Such relationships enabled his Arab informants to satisfy emotional needs and sexual desires; they reinforced self-reliance and raised the boys' status in their peer-group; they acted as a 'window to the wide world' and allowed them to learn foreign languages; and most importantly for Cohen, they held the (false) promise of getting away from their problems by moving abroad. As we can easily appreciate, the value these encounters acquired for Arab boys went well beyond economic rewards.

Since Cohen's article, empirical researches by other scholars have similarly shown that the type of relationships that can emerge through tourism cannot be reduced nor exclusively understood as transient, impersonal, and commoditized. Among these is the work of Vicanne Adams (1992) on reconstructions of reciprocity in the realm of tourism in Nepal, which is instrumental in showing how the relevance of notions of reciprocity and hospitality to understand touristic encounters cannot be obliterated by grand narratives of ineluctable 'capitalist uniformisation' and the global triumph of 'commoditized relationships'. Adams' insights into reconstructions of reciprocity, hospitality, and friendship in tourism counter the hasty claim made recently by Aramberri that 'the host should get lost' from the field of tourism research (2001). Of course, neither should we idealize all touristic relationships as interactions between hosts and guests, nor consider hospitality as the unquestionable paradigm that should illuminate them. Processes of commoditization certainly need to be examined and taken into account. While doing so however, we would benefit greatly from approaches akin to that of Adams: as much as we strive to relocate and understand how hospitality and reciprocity regimes are brought about and recreated, so we should do with processes of commoditization. Under which conditions do these notions and value constructs emerge? Who is deploying them in which situation? What do they conjure and achieve? These are the questions on which I would like to direct attention.

In line with Adam's approach, the researches of Tucker in Turkey (2003) and of Sant Cassia in Malta (1999) similarly unveil and shed light on the situated emergences of 'hosts' and 'guests' in tourism. As Tucker pertinently argues:

While objections have been raised regarding the use of 'hosts' and 'guests' for discussing tourism relations because of the sheer commercialism these terms disguise ... the roles of 'host' and 'guest' themselves are used by the Göreme villagers in

order to negotiate and determine their relationship with tourists. It will also become clear how these roles are used by tourists in Göreme in order to intersect and reach beyond the primary tourist gaze. (2003: 118)

One may argue that to a certain extent the researches of Cohen (1971), Adams (1992), and Tucker (2003) deal with relationships between tourists and members of the visited population that develop in conditions of relatively small scale, 'alternative' tourism development. Could this suggest that in the case of more mass-oriented tourism development, impersonal and commoditized service relationships will inevitably emerge and prevail – as in Cohen's evolutionary model?

The work of Amalia Cabezas in all-inclusive resorts in the Varadero peninsula – a coastal area frequently dubbed as Cuba's quintessential 'tourist bubble' – demonstrates that even Cohen's notion of a 'staged personalized service' (1984: 380) does not accurately convey what is at stake in relationships that develop between foreign package tourists and the Cuban personnel employed in the resort. Accordingly, Cabezas shows how Cuban resort workers – employed in hospitality organizations that encourage 'friendliness, subservience, and flirting' (2006: 515) with tourist clients – blur the line between the hotel management suggested behaviour and the pursuit of their own agendas. Thus, workers strive to find opportunities to cultivate various forms of relationships and intimacy with hotel guests. In this context, 'relationships that create long term obligations and commitment are, for many resort workers, more beneficial than commercialized sexuality' (Cabezas 2006: 516). The potential for romance and marriage with tourists, loaded with opportunities to leave the country, can become the most attractive prospect of employment in all-inclusive resorts. And indeed, as Cabezas shows, intimate relationships are forged between Cuban employees and foreign tourists. The supposedly 'staged' personalization of service shifts into another realm which breaks down the client/worker divide, opening up other relational possibilities for the protagonists involved. By refraining from categorizing a priori the types of relationships that can emerge in all-inclusive resorts, Cabezas is thus able to unpack taken for granted assumptions and to show how even in the most enclavic and mass-oriented tourist environments the interpretative moulds of 'staged personalization' and 'commoditization' can obstruct subtler realities and understandings. Brought together, the works of Cohen (1971),

Adams (1992), Tucker (2003) and Cabezas (2006) constitute compelling reminders of how slippery the terrain of generalizations on 'the nature of tourist-local relationships' can be, and how an exclusive focus on economic rationalities and commoditization may obscure other important dimensions of these interpersonal connections across the North-South divide. This is what my research in Cuba clearly suggests.

***Jineterismo* in Cuba: Highlighting the 'Economic' Value of Touristic Encounters**

From the beginning of the twentieth century up to the Cuban Revolution led by Fidel Castro in 1959, international tourism, essentially from North America, thrived on the island of Cuba, making it the main tourist hub of the Caribbean. The pleasure-oriented and hedonistic features of tourism development at the time, and its close associations with the 'gambling and sex' industry, gave Cuba the reputation of a 'tropical playground' for US citizens (Schwartz 1997). The success of Fidel Castro's revolutionary movement in 1959 marked the close of an era in Cuban history, and a turning point in its associations with international tourism. Towards the end of the 1980s, after about three decades of relative stagnation in terms of international tourist arrivals, a rapidly worsening economic crisis prompted the Cuban authorities to renew their efforts in developing tourism. The new impetus given to international tourism gained further momentum from the beginning of the Special Period in Time of Peace (*Período especial en tiempo de paz*) in 1990 – the time of austerity and economic hardship that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union, which since the 1960s had entertained privileged relationships with Cuba. Following a spectacular rate of growth, more than 2 million tourists visited Cuba in 2004 (they were about 340,000 in 1990), bringing hard currency into the country.

Nevertheless, in spite of governmental reforms and a certain degree of 'economic recovery' after the first years of the Special Period, characterized by dramatic shortages, the economic situation kept being difficult for many people on the island, especially for those who did not have direct access to hard currency through a job in the tourism industry or remittances from relatives abroad. With Cuban people struggling to get by and to ameliorate their economic conditions, the Special Period saw the explosion of an ample range of informal economic activities on the island, among which tourism-oriented occupations played an increasingly salient role. This realm of

activity has come to be known as *jineterismo*, from the Spanish *jinete* (jockey, rider). Indicating the 'riding of tourists' for instrumental purposes, *jineterismo* is a contentious term which tends to evoke notions of 'tourism hustling' and 'prostitution'. Selectively employed to designate and target a diversified range of informal engagements in the tourism realm, this notion and its application bring issues of morality, nation, race, class and gender into play (Berg 2004, Cabezas 2004, Fernandez 1999, Simoni 2008, 2012).

Any major contemporary guidebook on Cuba is likely to have at least a small section devoted to the phenomenon of *jineterismo*, as it is the case in the very popular *Guide du Routard* and *Lonely Planet*, which are nowadays translated in several languages. Let me just focus here on the latter to give an idea of the narrative resources on which tourist travelling to Cuba could rely – and many of my research participants did indeed consult such guidebook. A specific section of the *Lonely Planet* titled 'Hints on *jineterismo*' argues that 'if readers' letters and personal experience are an indication, *jineteros* are the number-one travel bummer in Cuba' (Gorry 2004: 359). Having introduced the phenomenon as a peculiarly Cuban form of hustling – less persistent than touting in a Morocco medina and less desperate than Rio de Janeiro orphans – the guide explains that 'the point is Cubans aren't hustling to survive, and so that allows them to charm you doing what they do best: being friendly, funny and yes, helpful' (Gorry 2004: 359). Several tips follow on how to get rid and avoid *jineteros*: from ways of answering their initial approaches, 'conversation-stopping rejoinders', to the more radical option of visiting Cuba's most secluded, less touristy, and therefore 'hustler free' provinces (Gorry 2004: 359). In the same guide, *jineteras* are dealt with in a different section, under the heading of 'culture', subtitle 'lifestyle'. Here we can read the following:

That women are turning to the hustle to make some extra cash or attain baubles is disturbing. While some *jineteras* are straight-up hookers, others are just getting friendly with foreigners for the perks they provide: a ride in a car, a night out in a fancy disco or a new pair of jeans. Some are after more, others nothing at all. It's a complicated state of affairs and can be especially confusing for male travellers who get swept up in it. As one American traveller put it: 'Although I've had many relationships with Latinas, I'm reluctant to get involved with Cubans because of the socioeconomic dynamic involved'. (2004:37)

A rather complex and puzzling state of affairs is thus presented here to tourists. To pick on the last quote, 'socioeconomic dynamics' come indeed to the fore once the relational idioms of *jineterismo* are at stake. *Jineterismo* speaks the language of inequalities. On one side, it confronts tourists with their advantageous economic position, reiterating their status of privileged outsiders and emphasizing differences between them and the Cuban population. On the other, it also highlights their lack of knowledge of local conditions, and the possibility of being duped and deceived by *jineteros* and *jineteras*. Besides the information and 'competence-building propositions' (Latour 2005: 211)³ provided by tourist guidebooks, it is also important to consider that with the booming of tourism in Cuba, with the increasing flows of people moving in and out of the country, similar warnings against *jineterismo* have started circulating in the tourists' countries of residence by way of word-of-mouth tips and suggestions.

Among the tourists I met in Cuba many were those who – prior to their journey – had gathered a wealth of practical tips and suggestions from friends or relatives who had already been there. These suggestions were likely to contain some advice on how to deal with Cuban people, and more specifically with the phenomenon of 'tourism hustling' and 'prostitution'. A recurrent warning was to be careful with people met on the street, particularly in Havana. 'These people' – alternatively referred to as 'hustlers' or '*jineteros*' – had gained the reputation of skilful cheaters and deceivers, whose main goal was to get hold of tourists' money. Other stories related to the trajectories of Cuban migrants played an important role in shaping tourists predispositions. They were the stories of the relationships that had enabled Cubans to migrate, in which examples of 'instrumental marriages' and 'deceitful relationships' featured heavily. For tourists ready to leave for the Caribbean island, such narratives of 'relational failures' would exemplify the diverging drives and agendas of foreign visitors and their Cuban partners, projecting an un-auspicious shadow over the prospect of establishing relationships.

If these considerations show how pre-travel warnings and arrangements could already inform tourists expectations, once in Cuba the occasion to discuss and exchange further advice on the matter with fellow travellers multiplied. Among the tourists I met, the underlying logic of widespread tips and gossip regarding the world of *jineterismo* went as follows: 'more or less subtle tactics, similarly instrumental drives'. The essentially economic value that tourists had

for Cuban people was thus highlighted. The suggestions of experienced travellers who came regularly to Cuba were very important in shaping the dispositions of the newly arrived ones, and their tips tended to emphasize in rather cynical ways the instrumental dimensions of touristic encounters, warning foreigners about the Machiavellian plans and economically oriented agendas of most Cuban people. 'They are all looking for ways to get hold of our [tourists] money!' 'We are like 'walking dollars' to them!' These were the kind of bold statements I often heard. The ubiquity of these warnings certainly constituted an important challenge for the emergence of other, more positive views on the potential of informal encounters and relationships between tourists and Cubans. Emphasis on economic instrumentality and deception did not favour, for instance, the emergence of narratives of friendship and romance.

From guidebooks' advice, to word-of mouth pre-travel warnings, to gossip and tips once in Cuba, the narratives of instrumental and deceitful relationships with Cuban people – epitomized by the idiom of *jinetismo* – have spread out wide since the booming of tourism in this Caribbean island in the early 1990s, warning tourists of the eminently economic value of these encounters from the local's point of view. However, such interpretations, which tended to portray every Cuban person as a potentially strategizing and deceptive *homo economicus*, were likely to be contested by the people who engaged with tourists, who often strived to highlight the intrinsic value a relationship. Let me elaborate on this point and the challenges it poses to our readings of the touristic encounter.

(Dis)entanglements of Sentiment, Interest, and Morality: Recognizing 'Social' Value

The following vignette of a paradoxical situation encountered during fieldwork is a good starting point for showing how at least two notions of value related to touristic encounters could come into play and contradict one another. At stake here is the narrative of a young Cuban man, eager to flee his country via the tourist connection, which chose to break his promising relationship with a tourist girlfriend after she provocatively hinted at his desire to migrate. In his late twenties, Manuel⁴, a resident of the rural town of Viñales (200 kilometres west of Havana), had been in a relationship with Marina for a couple of years. During that time Marina, a few years younger than him and often described by Manuel and his close friends as a 'beauty' from a 'good' (wealthy) Spanish family, had

come to visit him repeatedly in Cuba, bringing her parents with on one occasion. When talking about their relationship, Manuel insisted on the seriousness of his engagement with Marina, his *novia* ('girlfriend'). The relationship was indeed for him a very gratifying and promising one, and one that raised hopes of a possible marriage and future in Spain together. These, however, were delicate issues to talk about, and Manuel had carefully avoided bringing them up in his conversations with Marina, since he did not want to give her the impression that this – i.e. migration to Spain – was what he was after. Significantly, in one of the several tales he recounted me about his relationship with her and how it all ended, Manuel said that it was precisely when Marina started insinuating that he wanted marry in order to migrate from Cuba, that he had decided he could no longer stay with her.

Whether this was 'truly' the reason that prompted their separation (other stories circulated among his friends), is beside the point that interests me here. According to Manuel's narrative, it was, and this, I argue, gives us a good vantage point into his aspirations and moral way of being Marina's boyfriend, and into the notions and hierarchies of value he associated with it. For Manuel, Marina's accusations implied the existence of instrumental agendas behind his professions of love. They brought to life the image of a cunning and deceptive *jinetero*, denying him the possibility of being 'simply' in love, to be capable of sentiments that had nothing to do with economic considerations and the structural inequalities that separated them. This, for Manuel, was a move fraught with important implications, and one you could not undertake lightly. By making that move, Laura had shown that she did not trust him, and that 'she had no heart' (*no tiene corazón*). Manuel, in other words, was calling for their relationship to be recognized and valued first and foremost in its emotional and affective qualities, in what we may understand as its intrinsic social value, in contrast to a more economicist assessment that foregrounded his interest in moving out of Cuba and in using the tourist connection as a ticket to a better life.

Interestingly, on other occasions, Manuel did however rely on economicist evaluations of his encounters with tourists, assuming the posture of the cunning *jinetero*, becoming a 'tourist-rider' who engaged with visitors to squeeze some hard currency from them – informally selling cigars, bringing them to private restaurants where he could gain commissions on inflated bills, and also cultivating a network of foreign girlfriends and male friends that would occasionally send him presents and money transfers. This was the

Manuel that I got to know in moments of sociability with other Cuban men, when he talked and gossiped with his peers, boasting about his exploits at the expenses of naïve foreigners. In these contexts of interaction, Manuel and his friends tended to objectify tourists, referring for instance to them as *piezas* ('pieces'), and avoided delving on the emotions they felt for their *pepas* (their foreign girlfriends). Rather than positing love, and assuming a stance that carried the risk of appearing foolish and naïve in the eyes of cynical peers, they would therefore align to the semantic registers and moral discourse of *jineterismo*, becoming *jineteros* who followed economic rationales and had conquered their foreign 'victims' for essentially instrumental purposes.

What can the coexistence of these two competing ways of talking about, and of evaluating touristic encounters, tell us? How are we to interpret the paradoxical valuing of a relationship, by the same person – Manuel in this case – for its affective and intrinsically social dimensions at one moment, and for its pragmatic and economic ones at another? A possible answer could be to say that Manuel was simply feigning love for Marina, but was in reality moved by other interests – notably to migrate and to improve his economic conditions. This would lead us to conclude that the economicist regime informing his conversations with fellow Cubans was really the one that mattered, and the one we should consider when trying to assess – 'once and for all' – the true value of such relationships. Such assessment could be easily supported by the ample body of tourism social sciences literature reviewed above, maintaining that touristic encounters are essentially exploitative, deceptive, and a constant source of misunderstanding.

In Cuba, the notion of *jineterismo* evoked precisely such scenarios. It also brought to life the wider trope of the 'cunning' local, the economically 'poor' but resourceful and skilful resident of developing countries who is not deprived of agency, but is instead tactically resisting adverse global forces and struggling to get it its way against structural conditions of inequality. In this view, tourists are apprehended essentially for their economic value, an economic resource to be rightfully taken advantage of. For many of my Cuban research participants, this was what the Cuban government was itself doing – 'squeezing' foreign visitors to bring in as much hard currency as possible. Inscribing *jineterismo* in this regime of justification, it became a rightful way for people who operated at the margins of the formal tourism sector to get their share of the tourists' wealth, part of a nation's cunning tactics to siphon capitalist wealth. Shouldn't these

considerations finally lead us to say, with a measure of certainty, that the value of touristic encounters for Cuban people was essentially economic and instrumental? To illustrate why I believe that this univocal assessment is not particularly insightful, and does not adequately account for the complex and multidimensional nature of such encounters, let me consider another example, which provides further proof that an exclusive emphasis on the instrumental value of touristic encounters risks silencing alternative aspirations and moral ways of being, both for tourists and Cuban people.

In the tourism beach of Santa Maria, a thirty minutes' drive east of Havana, sentences like 'You must be crazy to fall in love with a Cuban!' were common place among my tourist informants, who were mainly Italian men in search of sexual adventures with Cuban women. It was in this rather cynical environment adverse to any sort of romanticism that I became familiar with the love story between Bruno and Yunila. Bruno had been travelling with a group of Italian friends to Cuba. For him, and unlike some of his more experienced travel companions, it was the first time on the island, and when they had arrived in the provincial town of Las Tunas (several hours East from Havana), he had fallen in love with Yunila, a Cuban girl in her twenties and about ten years younger than him. By inviting her back to Havana so that they could spend the rest of his holiday together, and by openly expressing the love he felt for her, Bruno had become a laughing stock and victim of scornful insinuations from his companions. Spending several days in their company, I was saddened by the constant remarks made by Bruno's fellows, who constantly joked about him being in love, and occasionally referred to Yunila as 'a bitch', a *jinetera* like all the others who had managed to deceive him, feigning love to get hold of his money, marry him, and eventually migrate to Italy. Repeatedly scolded as naïve and blind to evidence, Bruno was embarrassed and hurt by his friend's remarks. Yunila on her side, was even more disheartened by their accusations, and repeatedly complained about being treated as a prostitute. They were denying her any fidelity to the love she professing for Bruno, reducing her to a manipulative economic agent, and reifying a divide between Cuban's self-presentations to outsiders and their actual motivations and agendas, which were deemed ineluctably strategic.

To understand this situation and the kind of interpretive logic deployed by Bruno's friends (which echoed that of many other foreign travellers I encountered in Cuba), I think it is important to relocate it in a wider field of tourism discourse and critique, and to take into account tourism's drive to reach into the most intimate

realms of the places and lives that come onto its path. Tellingly, Dean MacCannell (1973; 1976), one of the first theorists of modern tourism, made of such quest for the 'real' and 'authentic' Other the key tenet of his theorization. Drawing on Goffman's front versus back distinction (1959), MacCannell maintained that modern tourists were longing to 'enter the back regions of the places they visited', regions 'associated with intimacy of relations and authenticity of experiences' (1973: 589). For him, this quest was ultimately doomed to failure given that 'tourist settings are arranged to produce the impression that a back region has been entered even when this is not the case' (1973: 589). Since his pioneering conceptualization of tourism first appeared, MacCannell's work has been much discussed and criticized, giving way to more nuanced and constructivist approaches to authenticity (see in particular Cohen 1988, and Bruner 1994). However, the basic tenets of his theoretical proposal seem to have gained much popular recognition, and – in some tourism circuits at least – appear to inform the practices and interpretive frameworks of tourists.

Indeed, what my ethnographic material suggests is that tourists in Cuba often adopted a MacCannell-ian approach to make sense of their experiences and interactions with Cuban people. Accordingly, most of them despised the idea of being cheated and deceived, and were constantly puzzled about the 'real' intentions and motivations of the Cubans interacting with them. Here is where narratives of *jineterismo* could serve as a useful competence building proposition, and provide key interpretative resources to 'unmask' the 'secret' motivations of Cuban people. In tourism social sciences, similar frames of legibility also seem to be retaining much analytical purchase when assessing touristic encounters from a critical(-cum-cynical) perspective. Such interpretive grids may become all the more compelling, operative, and theoretically limitless when combined with a strong focus on structural inequalities, and a unilateral emphasis on local resistances to dominant global forces. While in principle I have nothing against such critical endeavours, I take issue here with any aprioristic and totalising application of them, and with the lack of reflexivity as to the implicit moral assumptions and constructions of agency they may carry with. The risk I see lies in 'romanticizing resistance' – as Lila Abu-Lughod (1990) puts it – and with it the image of the cunning locals that in spite of their subaltern position are able to trick and deceive the structurally advantaged tourists – a category of people for which academics have traditionally displayed little sympathy (see Crick 1995). Going a step further, I would argue that social scientists couching their analyses along the

domination/resistance binary we may be easily tempted by the notion that disadvantaged inhabitants of tourism destinations in the South are not only able to take advantage of tourists, but that they should and are expected to do so inasmuch they are capable of acting as rational economic agents.

Warning against aprioristic and taken for granted deployments of such interpretive framework, and calling for a more reflexive acknowledgement of scholars' moral assumptions, agendas, and desires (Fassin 2008, Zigon 2010), my research in touristic Cuba draws attention to the fact that the image of the cunning *jineterola* deceiving tourists via duplicity and dissimulation is becoming an extremely widespread and reified construct from which my research participants – themselves key actors of its propagation – found it difficult to extricate themselves. In many instances indeed, the 'hypothesis' of 'duplicity and dissimulation' as the quintessential 'arms' 'of the dominated' – as Callon and Rabeharisoa discuss it (2004: 20) – became a conceptual prism (and prison) that became extremely hard to refute and disentangle, pointing to some limits of the domination/resistance paradigm to illuminate the dynamics of touristic encounters. Such an image was selectively mobilized by the government (replacing perhaps 'dominated' with 'luxury seeking marginals') to condemn *jineterismo* and justify its repression, it was reiterated in tourism guidebooks and other international media on tourism in Cuba, it was activated by my Cuban research informants when bragging about their *jinetero*-like exploits at the tourists' expenses, and – as the cynical deconstructions of Bruno and Yunila's love clearly show – it was also evoked by tourists to erect insurmountable boundaries between 'Us' and 'Them'.

What the stories of Ernesto and Marina, of Bruno and Yunila, and many others similar narratives of relationships between tourists and Cuban people led me to recognise, was that to imply an inevitable horizon of self-interestedness in Cubans' professions of love – or friendship for that matter (see Simoni 2009) – and to force this interpretation on them, was to negate my research participants an important venue to fulfil their desires and aspirations. By insisting on their commitment to a disinterested, sentiment based love, people like Ernesto and Yunila were arguably trying to align their moral selves to those of their tourist partners, and thus lay claim to the possibility of being together in a shared social world, one that was not (or not exclusively at least) dominated by material concerns, structural inequalities and economicist notions of value. The aspiration at stake here was to be recognized capable of a 'love' they assumed would

hold sway under 'normal conditions of existence' – as opposed to the context of exceptionalism, enduring crisis, scarcity, and isolation they associated with Cuba, and which they wished to overcome⁵.

Beyond these moral and emotional dimensions, what should also be taken into consideration here is what such professions of love could enable and achieve at a more pragmatic level. With love came a range of moral responsibilities and obligations. For a Cuban partner for instance, this could mean being sent a monthly allowance to face the hardships of life in the island when their foreign love was absent, or being able to marry and join them in their countries. What remained extremely important for people like Manuel and Yunila, to preserve the moral configuration on which their love was grounded, was for these obligations and responsibilities to be experienced not as love's defining motive, but rather as a sentiment-driven outcome of it. In other words, people first loved each other, in uncompromising and uncalculated ways, and subsequently, simply 'normally', helped each other out as much as they could. These ways of reasoning outlined a move to hierarchize notions of value, giving primacy to the intrinsically social and affective value of relationships over their economic one, which was internalized and re-qualified here as epiphenomenon.

Conclusion

I have highlighted in this chapter a set of contrasting assessments of touristic encounters, of their key features and their value. As indicated by my ethnography of encounters between tourists and members of the visited population in Cuba, such assessment was informed by the equally contrastive agendas, aspirations, and moral demands of the protagonists involved. To understand these, one needs to consider the range of subject positions people inhabited as they moved through different realms of their multidimensional lives. Accordingly, disinterested professions of love in one such realm did not necessarily exclude the possibility that partners could deceive and instrumentally manipulate each other when engaging in another realm. In other words, we could argue that the 'same' relationships could actually mean and become different things for the 'same' person. Faced with the insinuation of instrumentalizing love, of inappropriately deploying sentiments within economic rationales and calculations, Ernesto had reacted with outrage. However, in other contexts of interaction that called forth other moral demands and subject positions – like when gossiping with Cuban friends and peers

– he did not hesitate to brag about his *jinetero/a*-like feats at the expenses of his foreign partners.

When trying to make sense of the contradictions inherent in the co-existence of these incommensurable forms of engagement and notions of value, which often seemed to negate each other, I think we should resist the impulse to try to find coherence, consistency, and the definitive drivers of agency at all cost. A well-established interpretation to resolve this kind of paradoxes is to rank engagements as more or less real or superficial. This has often been done in tourism research, where notions of simulacra, simulation, and inauthentic sociality as analytics still thrive. The metaphors of ‘front/back’, ‘real/superficial’ ‘truthful/deceptive’ that lead us back to MacCannell (1976, 1973) bring about a unifying view of the individual with a core ‘true’ self. Such grids of legibility have become so operative and widely distributed that they seem to work as self-fulfilling prophecies, foreclosing other relational possibilities and leading people to dismiss them as naïve illusions. In the light of the material I presented, however, and in order to fully grasp – beyond condescension – the significance of the competing claims and realities we encounter during fieldwork, I believe that it may be more fruitful to engage in an ‘ethnography of moral reason’ that recognizes the ‘living paradoxes of a global age’ (Sykes 2009) and the contests over value that can result from it. In Cuba, the productive and persistent ambiguity of touristic encounters could itself facilitate radical shifts between different modes of engagement, moral dispositions, and notions of value. Instead of striving to reveal the ‘true’ nature and value of relationships – as many scholars and commentators have attempted to do – and moving beyond the view of ‘tourists’ and ‘locals’ having distinct views on their relationships, the approach I advocate wishes to account for multiplicity as an intrinsic quality of persons and relationships. The recognition of contradictions and paradoxes as significant features of people’s lives, coupled with a closer attention to the composite concerns, allegiances, and aspirations of our research participants, will lead to a better understanding of how touristic encounters are (re)assessed in the light of different notions of value. This is also what will enable us to productively engage in a ‘politics of value’ whose ultimate stakes are ‘not even the struggle to appropriate value’, but rather ‘to establish what value *is*’ (Terence Turner quoted in Graeber 2001:88).

Notes

1. My use of the categories of 'tourist' and 'Cuban' does not imply to the existence of two homogenous groups of actors with clearly defined characteristics. Instead, 'tourists' and 'Cubans' are apprehended as emic, emergent and relational categories, as a 'grammar of distinction' (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997: 25) that was particularly salient in the context of international tourism in Cuba (Simoni and McCabe 2008, Simoni 2009).
2. A similar evolutionary view is outlined by Jost Krippendorf – albeit in a more simple and cynical way – in his discussion of 'the encounter between tourists and locals' (1999 [1984]: 57-61), accordingly to which 'the massivity of tourism' leads to replace personal contacts and relationships between hosts and guests with 'mercenary smiles and sterile politeness' (1999: 59).
3. Relying on the metaphor of 'plug-ins' which people have to 'download' in order to become competent actors, and tracing parallels with recent developments in the field of distributed cognition, Latour develops the notion of 'competence-building propositions' to underline the co-constructed and situated nature of cognitive abilities (2005: 211-212). This notion may be particularly productive when thinking about tourism, tourists, and the development of competences to make sense of a destination via a range of tourism mediators (from travel agents to guides and other media supports).
4. To protect the anonymity of research participants, all personal names employed in the text are fictional.
5. My approach here is simultaneously informed by Ferguson's remarks on the importance of recognising claims of 'membership' when addressing 'the social relations that selectively constitute global society' (Ferguson 2006: 23), by Moore's call to pay a closer attention to the 'the aspirational character of our relations to others' (2011: 10), and by anthropological research on love and intimacy (see Cole and Thomas (eds.) 2009, Feier 2007, Padilla et al. (eds.) 2007, Patico 2009, Povinelli 2006, Zelizer 2005).

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EUROPEAN WOMEN'S SEXUALIZED TRAVELS IN THE NORTHEAST OF BRAZIL

Adriana Piscitelli

Introduction

During the first seasons I spent doing fieldwork on the beaches in the State of Ceará, in the northeast of Brazil, the local narratives about the relationships between female foreign tourists and local men called my attention¹. During the 2000s Fortaleza, the capital city, a centre of industry and tourism more than 3000 kilometers from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, and several coastal villages were considered to be hubs for heterosexual male sex travelers. Throughout those years, part of the Brazilian State's expressions of modernization regarding sexuality took the shape of actions directed towards preventing and repressing sex tourism, perceived as a problem that affected the northeast in particular, one of the poorest and most unequal regions of the country (Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada 2012). Foreign male sex travelers were the center of narratives that unambiguously depicted these men's practices as predatory and exploitative (Piscitelli 2012, 2007). The stories about foreign female travelers, however, were different, since they relativized the sexual character of foreign women's journeys and highlighted the economic exploitation and the severe mistreatment they suffered at the hands of 'native'² men.

Stories about symbolic and material violence inflicted by men of the Global South on foreign women are far from exclusive to this

Tourism in the global south: landscapes, identities and development. Centre for Geographical Studies, Lisbon, 2013: 133-155.

universe. Rape, battery and robbery in the context of relationships between local men and female travelers from 'rich' countries, as well as local male narratives infused with sexual hostility towards those women have been registered in socio-anthropological studies in different parts of the world. This violence has been explained in terms of opening possibilities for subaltern men to imagine and act out a power that they do not have (Bowman 1989), as 'cultural misunderstandings' and as men's reactions towards their lack of control over women in contexts in which male power might temporarily encompass inequalities connected with nationality, race and class (Meisch 1995, Pruitt and Lafont 1995, Frohlick 2007, Antonioli 2011)

In some approaches, these practices are not considered to disrupt the idea that female tourists from wealthy nations are sexual tourists who objectify and sexually exploit local men using the advantages conferred by the intersection of race, class and nationality in order to obtain sexual advantage (Sanchez Taylor 2006). In other perspectives, these stories of violence are used to demonstrate an opposite point: that gender configurations, regardless of structural privileges, always inevitably have the effect of situating women in subordinate positions (Jeffreys 2003).

These conflicting views have been outlined in the debate 'sexual versus romance tourism' regarding female travelers from the Global North (O'Connell Davidson and Sanchez Taylor 1999, Kempadoo 2004, Pruitt and Lafon 1995, Dahless and Bras 1999). Shifting the focus from this opposition, other approaches have offered productive angles to analyze the relationships between foreign female travelers and local men. These lines of thought do not dispute that the privileges conferred on these women by race, nationality and class allow them to consume sex permeated by racialized fantasies of an exotic 'other'. They do not contest either that there is an entrenchment between these commodification processes and gendered ideologies of romance. However, attempting to go beyond binaries of gender and race and problematizing what are seen as narrow conceptions of romance (Jacobs, 2009), these perspectives pay attention to the ambiguities permeating sexual and affective encounters that may revolve around sex, romance, or companionship, where women prefer to ignore the presence of economic exchange (Herold, Garcia and DeMoya 2001). These approaches also bring to light the fluidity present in relationships where desire and control are in permanent negotiation within intimate spaces (Frohlick 2007). Notwithstanding, these lines of thought have not yet shed sufficient light on the

connections between foreign female travelers' experiences and situations of violence.

Creating a dialogue with these perspectives, in this article I analyze these connections in two coastal villages in the state of Ceará: Canoa Quebrada and Jericoacoara. Taking into account the diversity of relationships forged between foreign women and 'native' men in these places, I consider how women's desires and their social positions in the contexts in which these encounters occur relate with situations of violence.

In the literature about sex travel much has been written on the western imagery that turns gendered aspects of wild nature into paradises, whether tropical beaches, virgin forests or deserts (Frohlick and Johnson 2011, Jacobs 2009). In line with the perspectives that consider that foreign female travelers' relationships with local men are connected to the production of those notions, here I pay attention to how these women's choice of partners is related to ideas about nature, travel, liberty and sensual pleasure.

In the researched universe, the relationships between foreign women and 'native' men, permeated by racialized and sexualized conceptualizations, cannot be separated from this interlinked set of notions. Taking as reference the emotional and sexual experiences of heterosexual, predominantly European, women but also considering the perceptions of Latin-American female travelers, I observe that the intertwining among those notions extrapolates 'western' European or Euro-American female sensitivities. The location of the female travelers' nationalities in the global system, however, interferes in their local social positions, which are differentiated and expose predominantly some 'First World' travelers to violence. In this paper, I analyze the transformation of these women's erotic subjectivities throughout these processes. And, considering recent discussions about the connections between love, interest and morality in touristic scenarios (Simoni 2012), I explore how these women's explanations of needs, including affection and sex, are associated with the enduring of violence.

I will initially introduce the scenarios in which I undertook my research and the interactions between traveling foreign women and local men which I observed in these places. I then consider the sexual and affective experiences of my female interviewees. In particular, I pay attention to how the interactions between various forms of differentiation operate and transform as foreign women travelers settle down to become residents in the frame of the local gender re-configurations connected to the expansion of tourism. Finally, I hold

these women's narratives up as a counterpoint to the principal academic arguments regarding female sex travels.

Scenarios

Brazil is investing heavily in tourism.³ In the State of Ceará, the growth of this industry is evident both in the transformations of deserted beaches into resorts and in the increase in the number of hotels. International tourism has been rising since the 1990s. While it represents less than 10 percent of domestic tourism⁴, it is extremely visible in the touristy places of Ceará. This process has affected Canoa and Jeri (local nicknames for Canoa Quebrada and Jericoacoara), two villages that share certain characteristics.

A few decades ago both were isolated villages, where the main economic activity was fishing, small-scale animal husbandry and (in the case of Canoa) the craft production of hammocks. Jeri and Canoa were 'discovered' by alternative tourists and rapidly became two of the principal tourist destinations of Ceará (Molina 2007). Canoa, situated along the state's northeastern coast, 160 kilometers from Fortaleza, with little more than 4000 stable residents in 2005, started receiving visitors toward the end of the 1960s. Situated along the West coast, with almost half the population, Jeri was 'discovered' ten years later. Its distance from Fortaleza, 350 kilometers, and the difficult access helped to 'protect' the place for several years.

With the development of tourism, a significant part of the villages' traditional economic activities were abandoned and substituted by work in the tourism sector. Local residents became integrated into the formal or informal labor markets, generally situated in unequal positions in relation to the 'outsiders'. In both places there were also relevant changes in the ways in which land and space were occupied and inequalities produced and tourism led to the rapid commodification of social relationships (Robben 1982). Foreigners were among the early waves of 'outsiders' who came into the communities and several later became residents and owners of tourism-related businesses. A series of economic and social ties which link the villages to different countries were created through these foreign migrants.

Jeri, however, is perceived as more sophisticated than Canoa. In Jeri, at the beginning of the 1980s, the local economy was still based on barter. Electrical energy only arrived at the end of the 1990s, together with tourism investments geared towards aquatic sports. The village then became part of the international 'wind' circuit,

composed of kitesurfing and windsurfing enthusiasts. These sports contribute to attracting foreign tourists with a greater potential for consumption. Jeri is seen as a comparatively elitist beach. The small hotels by the seaside with a rustic/charming style are expensive. Today, Jeri sports a cosmopolitan atmosphere, created by the intense circulation of people of different nationalities. The village's restaurants and cybercafés offer international cuisine from the most diverse corners of the world. Many locals speak two languages and several have travelled overseas through the relationships that they have forged with foreigners.

Plate 8.1 Hotel by the sea, Jeri



Source: Fernanda Leão, 2008

The studies that have been made about these villages point to social problems created by tourism: real estate speculation, loss of local identity, tensions between natives and 'newcomers', and intense drug use. And although Jeri is not considered to be a focal point for sex tourism, like Canoa, researchers inform an increase in 'non-explicit' prostitution (Fontenles 1998, Molina 2007).

I visited Jeri for the first time as a tourist in the mid 1980s, when the *New York Times* included the place in the list of the ten most beautiful beaches in the world. It was my first vacation in Ceará,

accompanying my partner, born in Fortaleza. Returning to Ceará every holiday season I accompanied the intensification of tourism in the region and the increasing arrival of foreign visitors. When I started my anthropological research, in 2000, on the effects of international tourism on the sexual and affective choices of the local population in Ceará (Piscitelli 2007 2004), I was well acquainted with the capital city and several beaches of the state. I carried out my study in Fortaleza and in some beaches of Ceará at different moments over an 18 month period stretched across several 'high seasons' up to 2008. Fieldwork involved intensive ethnographic work, combining participant observation, unstructured conversations and in-depth interviews with 94 people, including foreign and local men and women involved in transnational sexual and affective relationships and people occupied in the tourism sector and in the sex industry. The majority of my interviews were recorded digitally or on audio tape, while informal conversations and observations were recorded in my field diary.

In the present article, I center my remarks on the narratives of twenty foreign women who have maintained sexual and/or affective relationships with 'native' men. Seventeen were full or part time residents of Canoa or Jeri, having lived there for periods ranging from two months to 16 years. The remaining three women were tourists who spent days or weeks in one of the two villages. Two of my interviewees are Latin American, from Argentina and Colombia, and the rest are Italian, German, Swiss, Spanish, French, and Dutch. These women are all considered to be white, including the Latin Americans, and range in age from 20 to 60 years old.

Some of these female travelers have college degrees but most only completed their high-school level courses. In their native countries they were employed in the services sector with low to middling salaries. Upon moving to Brazil, the majority dedicated themselves to working in the tourist industry. To establish themselves in Brazil, all of these women made efforts to acquire, in their countries of origin, the capital necessary to set up businesses in Brazil, even going so far as to sell off their property overseas. Only three of the women had children in Brazil and the older among my interviewees forged relationships with men who were five to 20 years younger than they were.

Just like a tourist, I befriended locals and foreigners. The fact of being Latin American but not Brazilian and daughter of Italians facilitated these approaches, particularly with Italian, Spanish and Latin American women. A young research assistant took part in the final phase of the study, approaching some of the youngest

interviewees in these villages. Part of the interviews was conducted in Portuguese with the rest being conducted in English, Italian and Spanish.

'World's street corners'

Studies which deal with the recent transformations in gender values in small communities of the Brazilian northeast analyze how processes linked to urbanization, economic growth, government programs and improvement in public services have affected these villages. These researches show how, as women's place in the labor market has grown and diversified, gender dynamics in terms of domestic power and decision-making has been balanced (Rebhun 2004, Robben 1982). Yet, these dynamics co-exist with traditional notions of gender and sexuality in contexts where dominant masculine styles revolve around homosociality, intensive consumption of alcohol and extra-conjugal sexual-affective relationships (Ribeiro 2006). Contrary to the masculine values on public display, women still are expected to conform to a relatively more controlled sexuality (Rebhun 2004).

In Jeri and Canoa these transformations are inseparable from those brought about by tourism in general. Most of the local residents see these changes in a positive light, perceiving tourism as a source of economic opportunities with favorable effects in terms of formal education and also regarding gender equality, which is seen as expressed in the reduction of domestic violence and the higher age in which women get pregnant, in comparison to the previous generations. The younger population tends to value tourism also in terms of the international connects that they are able to forge through it and take pride in living in places that they characterize as 'the world's street corner'.

In both villages, economy, sociality and sexuality are entwined in processes that have led many locals to choose sexual-affective partners of other nationalities. Foreign visitors rapidly become integrated into circuits of sexual, affective and matrimonial exchanges with the local population. According to my local interviewees, sexual initiation tends to take place with 'natives'. By the end of the adolescence, however, many girls and boys choose to form relationships with tourists.

Socio-anthropological approaches that analyze how intimate relations have become more explicitly commodified pay attention to how this process is linked to transnational mobility (Constable 2009).

Sexual and economic exchanges that connote transactional or tactical sex, exchanges that do not involve an explicit negotiation of sex for money, but rather seek out other benefits (Hunter 2010, Kempadoo 2004, Cabezas 2009) are on display across a wide section of Brazil. Principally involving younger women and older men with higher economic resources, these exchanges have traditionally offered relevant resources for low and middle low class women and are frequently associated with the notion of economic and also emotional 'help'. In international tourism scenarios, young women often forgo the 'help' offered by local men for that which they receive from foreigners (Piscitelli 2007), seen as younger and more attractive and frequently hoping to be able to marry them. In Canoa and Jeri, a recent and significant transformation in commodified sexual and affective exchanges connected with tourism is their expansion since now they include local men in asymmetric relationships with foreigners. In this extension of transactional exchanges local codes of gender and sexuality are re-configured in the intersection with racialized notions of nationality.

The general opinion is that in both villages local boys and men go out with foreigners in exchange for drinks, dinners and trips. These relationships sometimes involve male homoerotic sex. Local boys who do not consider themselves to be homosexual trade sex for economic benefits with 'gay' tourists. In terms of heterosexual relationships there are frequent reports of cases in which foreign women 'pay for things, end up getting screwed over and lose a lot of money in these relationships'. There is a general understanding, however, that these relationships should not be qualified as 'sex tourism' as they do not involve prostitution, understood to be the direct exchange of sex for money. Jose, a thirty year old local man, *capoeirista*⁵ who at the moment of the interview had recently returned from a trip to Europe invited by a foreign girlfriend said: 'Yes, I go out with women, with Brazilian and foreign women...But here there is no prostitution. Nobody pays'.

Sexual and affective choices

In these places, tourism helped to create diverse aesthetical patterns. According to local narratives, traditional masculine taste preferred strong women with thick thighs. At the present moment, however, men of these villages also appear to be fascinated by Nordic-style 'blonde' women who are thin and tall, with long legs and light colored eyes and hair.

As Caren Kaplan affirms (1998), the places and people who are visited by tourists are commodified but the tourists themselves are likewise transformed. In these landscapes of desire, the estheticization of these 'blondes' cannot be disconnected from the historical value attributed to 'European whiteness' in Brazil and to this commodification process. In Jeri and Canoa, this whiteness is shorthand for the relatively privileged structural position these women occupy and is inseparable from the possibilities that their economic power opens up, which is most importantly materialized in their possibility to circulate across international borders.

The value which is attached to this location seems to also play a role in the condescending ways in which the local men see out of shape young foreign women. Older women are understood to be 'on the prowl', but unfit or not, are not seen with an analogous decree of condescension. On more than one occasion, we saw scenes and heard stories in which older foreign women encountered hostile and humiliating sexualized gestures and language. One of these narratives involved the relationship of Veronica, a 60 year old Italian woman, currently the owner of a bed and breakfast, with a local man who was 11 years her junior. According to the story, at the beginning of the relationship, when she still did not speak and understood Portuguese, he used to drink with his friends commenting in a loud voice: 'I'll fuck her in such and such a way'. And they all laughed while she nodded.

Several local men 'collect' 'outsider' girlfriends from São Paulo, Israel and diverse Latin American and European countries. In the view of some of these men European women are understood to have a 'cool' (*legal*) temperament, characterized by a lack of jealousy and 'respect' for their partners. However, Brazilian women, even though they are understood to be possessive, jealous and controlled by their families, are held in particular esteem. In the words of a local windsurfs instructor, aged 25: 'Brazilians are beautiful women...They have a different charm...They pay more attention to their appearances. It is their bodies, their ways of moving, walking, behaving!'

In Jeri, notwithstanding, the most appreciated woman was Ione, a thirty one year old Colombian woman who taught at the local school. She had lived for ten years in the village, sharing with the community the tough life of the period prior to electrical energy and current water, married and divorced a 'native' man with whom she had a child. When I met her she lived modestly, and as other local persons, was intensely engaged in community actions, played *capoeira* and performed 'afro' dances at a local night club. Her corporeal style was similar to that of the most appreciated local girls, in terms of beauty:

she was petit, had a slim, well delineated body and tanned light skin. The local men, who desired and respected her, viewed her as embodying some highly appreciated feminine qualities: the propensity for maternal care and a distance from sexual promiscuity. These attributes, combined with her frequent travels connected to her work as an 'afro' dancer, in Brazil and abroad, evoked a modernized and cosmopolitan version of (respectable) femininity.

In this environment, the act of choosing foreign women from 'rich' countries cannot be detached from the benefits that these women offer. Such exchanges were open to only a few local men, however, particularly those involved in aquatic sports and *capoeira*, who end up becoming more cosmopolitan. Both activities gave these men greater status and visibility and opened up sexual opportunities which created economic advantages and which also generated a privileged position in the local male hierarchies.

Capoeira did not exist in the villages until quite recently, being introduced in the 1990s as part of a larger process of the diffusion of this martial art with African roots in national and international spheres. This dissemination was connected to ideas in which the image that supposedly synthesizes 'Brazilianess' has been produced by taking as its reference Brazilian cities that are racially marked by high numbers of black and mulatto inhabitants. This is not the case in Ceará. Contemporary authors describe the state's population as being descended from a mixture of Portuguese colonists and Native Brazilians (Pordeus 2006). The state's identity icon, in racial terms, is the *caboclo*, (mixture of whites and aboriginals), short in stature and with a skin color that, although dark, is distant from the highly estheticized color of the mulattos.

In Jeri, in 2008, *capoeira* was already considered to be a local tradition and was a source of income for the best local players. According to analysis of the relationships between *capoeira* and eroticism, in Brazil, players' abilities in the martial art are seen as expressing their virility, with the best players being the most virile and, therefore, the best lovers (Lewis 2002). Among foreign women in Jeri, this eroticism is also linked to the concept of a 'blackness' which is not necessarily observable on players' bodies, but which appears in the cultural associations made with the martial art's mythological African roots.

The local girls who engage in sexual and economic exchanges with foreign men are locally seen as *caboclas* but perform as Brazilian 'morenas' (brown coloured) (Piscitelli 2004, 2007). Yet, in these cases, the exotic, constructed through the association colour/sexuality

Plate 8.2 Foreign women watching the daily capoeira performance in Jeri

Source: Fernanda Leão, 2008

participates in interplays around female subordination. In the vision of the foreign male visitors, the *morena* colour is intimately linked to Brazil and is associated with being “hotter”. And the ambivalences which shade the appreciation of this colour maintain relationships with the procedures for aesthetization, which associated with femininities, places in a relatively inferior position the ‘beauty’ associated with Brazilian women. The aesthetization, by synthesizing the values which permeate the encounters between foreign men and local women, mirrors the unequal relations present in it. The aesthetization expresses the subordinate place attributed to the racialized Brazilian women. In this field, gender and race ‘act’ as metaphoric agents of economic and cultural power inherent in these transnational relations. These two categories play an active part in the updating of imperial conceptualizations through which the native women are rendered inferior and the foreign men are privileged. These conceptualizations express themselves through constructions of gender, or alternatively through those connected to race. In other words, conceptualizations created in the intersection between gender and nationality or between colour and nationality are alternatively used in the sexualization and devaluation of the native women.

Local men also play out cultural traditions that are heavily linked to African-Brazilian identities. *Capoeira* is a privileged means of performing these identities that far from being mere 'staged authenticities' displayed for tourists (Cohen 1988), are fully incorporated by these men. However, differently from local women, the nexus between virility, eroticism and African roots makes *capoeiristas* highly valued in these spaces of transnational contact. They acquire market value, prestige and power through their corporification of this version of Brazilian masculinity and, at the same time, the privilege of being frequent objects of foreign women's love.

'Paradises'

Some international female travelers do not wish to contact members of the local population at all. Others wish to meet the locals and to learn about other cultures, but they found the styles of masculinity attributed to local men to be invasive, 'sexist' and 'too macho'. Marina, a forty four year old German woman, owner of a small restaurant in Canoa, shared this view. During the 16 years which she spent in Canoa, she avoided local men and finally married a Chilean artist who, like her, had college education. By keeping a distance from local men and also from European women that she sees as mostly sex tourists, she feels that she gained the respect of the local community:

I never got involved with local men...When I arrived in Canoa I already spoke Portuguese and I know how to defend myself. After some time, men here stopped bothering me. I have seen lots of *gringas*⁶ showing themselves off, very low level...(March 2002)

Whether they were interested in local men or not, all these women who repeatedly returned to Canoa and Jeri or moved into these villages shared a fascination for these places that was expressed in analogous ways. My interviewees repeatedly alluded to aspects of nature. They spoke of the beauty of the dunes, the intensity of the colors, the strength of the wind and the openness of space, highlighting the effects that the 'natural' beauty of the landscape had on them. In Marina's words:

Canoa was very romantic, not in the amorous sense...Nature was so strong, because there was nothing, no noise...We bathed in the springs of non salty water on the beach. The climate leaves you free (March 2002)

The women who formed relationships with local men often offered highly romanticized readings also of the community, extending to local residents the qualities associated with Jeri and Canoa. Most of them highlighted the enchantment provoked by the 'natural' beauty of these places and, at the same time, by the 'simple' style of life which they attributed to the local residents. In their narratives, the joy aroused by the direct contact with nature was inseparable – in particular, especially for those women who arrived years ago – from the delight provoked by the 'primitive' air of the villages without electricity or plumbing, sporting a community life that these women considered to be more authentic and which revolved around intense interpersonal contact. And it is impossible to dissociate this enchantment with the relationships they formed with local men. These women attempted to absorb these places through their affective and sexual encounters with them.

In this process some felt they attained the self-discovery they sought. Veronica, from Italy, told me that when she arrived in Jeri, in 1992, she was forty four years old. She was passionately dazzled by Jeri, but she also fell passionately in love with a man, a 'native', an artist. Giving me details about how she decided to stay in Jeri, Ione said: 'What happened? That magic, nature, at that personal moment of my life and that person that I met, a *capoeira* player. *Capoeira* gave me a light. I discovered who I was, I identified myself with that all'.

These narratives remind one of ideas related to traditional feminine romanticism. The several perceptions shared by European and Latin American travelers, however, allow us to problematize the connections of these romantic perceptions with an idea of 'western' feminine sensitivities usually restricted to European and North American women. However, among the interviewed women, the extreme sexualization of the relationships with local men is limited to the narratives of European women.

In these women's accounts, the recurrent association between simplicity and primitivism is also expressed in the qualities that are attributed to Brazilian partners, at least at the beginning of relationships. These men, somehow infantilized, are described as being happy, gentle, noble and lacking malice, sensitive, shy and even fragile. At the same time, these qualities are further linked to a style of virility that is understood to be strong and 'exotic' and that allowed them to explore new aspects of their erotic subjectivities. Ema, a twenty year old student from Germany, talking about her recent local boyfriend in Canoa explained me:

I don't understand much Portuguese. I cannot guess what he says...and that is sexy. And he can be dominant, he can be the leader in bed, and I just lie back. And that is unusual, because men in Germany are so lazy...(March 2002).

According to Laura, a 21 year old Italian girl in love with a local windsurfer with whom she was involved for over a year in Jeri: 'For example, here you smell scents which you no longer smell in Italy. Italian men have no smell. And hugs are another thing [one finds here]. It's the simplicity.' Elisa, from Spain, offered a more detailed account of the difference attributed to Brazilian men:

Brazilian men are much more sexual, very physical. They touch a lot and sex is more frequent. Maybe it's also because of the kind of life they can lead... they're much more optimistic... I keep on asking myself: 'Am I frigid or something? I can't do it so many times a day!'(November 2008).

The interactions with this 'difference' in which notions of masculinity are inextricably linked to a racialized idea of nationality are seen as having positive effects on these women. Karin, a forty year old Dutch woman married with a local man in Canoa, explained me:

Brazilian men are more sexual and much less well-behaved. That is so seductive and it affects you, that also makes you into someone who doesn't do things by the book. I like myself much more now (March 2002).

Local men are not dissociated from 'machismo. This 'machismo', however, sweaty and smelling of virility, is also part of the fascination that these women have for local men. In the process of rendering these men exotic, the category 'native', that in local terms allude to those born in the villages, children of fishermen, tends to be extended to include all Brazilian male residents, regardless of their origin in small or large cities and of their level of education. The combination of these attractions led women who traveled looking for 'different', 'special' places, to return to these villages, year after year, and/or become residents of these tourist destinations.

Fluid exchanges?

In the narratives of the European interviewees, their relationships with local men represent the freedom to trade stable European

lifestyles – understood as ordered, predictable, boring and stressful – for adventures created by intimate contacts in the midst of a culture understood to be ‘open’ and ‘living day by day’. The idea of choice materializes in the option for relationships that are transgressive in terms of breaking with homogamic and homo-ethnic norms with men who are situated in socially inferior positions and who are, on occasion, much younger than the women in question. The racialized eroticization of these relationships also involves a certain perception of the risks of getting involved with men who are seen as intensely virile, but quite distant from the egalitarian patterns of gender which the women claim to be accustomed to.

These women show a perception of their relatively privileged situation in the villages. They speak about a feeling of being ‘hunted’ because they are supposedly wealthy blonde foreigners. Yet, they also try to minimize their privileges when they refer to their relationships with local men, treating inequalities as if they were ‘cultural differences’. As Pamela, a 35 year old Italian woman with high school education, owner of a small hotel in Jeri married to a local man and mother of a young child put it, describing her relationship with her first local husband: ‘The cultural differences were huge, because he’s from here, right? He barely knew how to read or write, see? He was born in a really poor place’.

Scholars that analyze the commodification of intimate relations point to the relevance of paying attention to how this process is understood and experienced by those involved in such relationships. The idea is that the commodification of intimacy is not an analytical end in itself, but instead offers a valuable starting point for analyses of cultural meanings, gendered social relations, social inequalities and capitalist transformations (Constable 2009). In these women’s narratives the idea of their partners’ economic interest provoked intense distress. However, that interest did not appear in an homogeneous way. In several of these stories the transactional nature of their relationships with local men was blurred by a particular notion of love. They considered the investment of material resources in promoting the partners or the partner’s business’ as ‘help’. This includes paying and organizing their tours of Europe as part of their sports or *capoeira* careers, seeking out sponsors, housing and feeding them abroad. When the women install themselves in the villages, the idea of ‘help’ involves buying real estate, buggies, motorcycles, or setting up tourist businesses. But unlike the traditional versions of ‘help’ involving Brazilian partners frequently connected with a style of affection born out of gratitude, and expressed as ‘respeito’, these

women's 'love' is expressed as romantic and altruistic. Veronica recalled her painful relationship with a local artist in the following terms:

I struggled in Italy in order to be able to buy something here...When I met him, I was 44 years old. He was 11 years younger than me. I helped him a lot...Three times I opened a bar for him...My love was the kind of love that only gives but seeks nothing in return (November 2008).

In younger women's stories, the inequalities of social position between them and their partners and the economic exchanges that occur because of these are erased by the concept of 'intense love'. Simoni (2012) observes that via their professions of love to foreign tourists some Cubans distance themselves from a dominant view that sees them as strategizing, manipulating and laboring with affects and emotion. In analogous ways these European women evoked 'intense love' in order to shut off the idea of their local partners' economic interests. At the same time this idea of love seemed to open new possibilities of affect and intimacy, in spite of 'cultural differences'. Their tales of lasting love and recent marriages are constructed around the notion of an ideal alliance, in which each member of the couple introduces the other to their social web of relationships. These narratives often show how their structural privileges, combined with the strong social connections which they maintain outside of Brazil, allow them to move about with a fair amount of ease, establishing connections with local kinship networks and confronting what they consider to be unacceptable 'machismo' in their personal relationships. These women believe that they have been successful in establishing egalitarian relationships with their Brazilian partners in the domestic sphere, claiming to have re-educated the men to take part in household maintenance.

Yet, older women's narratives who, at the moment in which the interviews were carried out, were aged between thirty five and sixty years old, draw a sort of more dramatic picture in which the economic exchanges involved in the relationships that they maintained with local men were more evident to them. These women, who engaged in relationships with men who were 10 to 15 years their juniors, allude to economic exploitation and also to symbolic and sometimes physical violence.

These narratives highlight a process in which the racialized masculinity of local men operated as an erotic 'good' upon which the desires of women are concentrated. But when foreign women were no

longer tourists but residents in the villages, the men shifted to a dominant position. This change situated these women in extremely unequal situations, for all that they may have relative privileges in other spheres. In these women's accounts, once they are installed in Jeri, they discovered how much their partners had profited from them in the process of buying land, constructing homes and bed and breakfasts. Aside from this, they found that they generally had to face the workload of their new tourist enterprises alone, sustaining their Brazilian partners and their consumption of alcohol and also drugs. Often, this workload only grew even more onerous after these women had children with their Brazilian partners.

According to Dona, from Italy

I didn't know how to speak Portuguese and I got pregnant in a place like Jeri... with these sexist people who tried to isolate me any way they could from the rest of the community...He always put himself in the middle of everything, wanting to be the only [contact with] the outside world... [He] would arrive home and break everything. Once he locked me in the bedroom, took all the keys and threw them away. Several times he hit me... He became... very violent... (November 2008)

In this process, the articulation between asymmetric gender codes and nationality seems to enclose the women with a cruelty that is associated with the fact that they are 'rich gringas' who are not inserted in local kinship and sociability networks. In these cases, unlike the relationships formed by foreign Latin-American women with local men, not even the birth of children had the potential to create kinship in the sense of establishing relationships with their partner's relatives.

Some of the women also attribute this cruelty to the disparity in age between them and their husbands/boyfriends. Viviane, a 49-year old Frenchwoman who fell in love with a local man who was ten years younger, lamented the money and dignity that she had lost in the years she spent in Jeri, exemplifying this perception:

I wanted to help him...Seeing as how he couldn't get much work, I bought him a buggy, but [I] told him it wasn't a present...[He] never had money for gasoline, for repairs...he spent everything on drugs, robbed my house, my money...He lost the buggy and came after me, wanting me to buy him a motorcycle...As if I picked money from trees in France...Now I'm sad over what happened...I was stupid, I lost money, time,

and I feel ashamed. In France this never would have happened to me because I only [go out] with people who are like me, socially speaking...As I'm a gringa, everyone thinks I have to pay...And it doesn't matter how long I live here!...Jeri was paradise and now it's hell....I asked myself if he loved me or if he wanted to take advantage of me. Seeing as how I'm older...he maybe thought in his head that he couldn't love me for that reason. (November 2008)

Feminine youth is valued in local relationships, but in both villages there are couples formed by local younger men and older women and these women are not subject to violence from their partners. In the context of the re-configuration of gender codes articulated with a racialized idea of nationality that permeates relationships between local men and foreign European women, however, older women appear as a particular focus for hostility. In this process, which cannot be thought of as a mere reiteration of local codes of masculinity, European 'whiteness' as an expression of freedom of movement and economic power associated with the countries of the global North is neutralized. The precariousness of local social connections and in some cases, the eagerness to obtain legal residence in Brazil, contributed to maintain these women in these relationships. Yet, once again love is evoked as the reason associated with the enduring of violence.

The romanticized eroticization of relationships with local men appears as a central aspect that imprisoned some women for years in an abusive dynamic. In the words of Viviane: 'He cheated me... he robbed me... [but] I was still in love'. Pamela, from Italy, explained:

I did not leave him before, in spite of the violence, because I wanted to obtain my resident's visa, but also because I was very lonely and I felt vulnerable. And I was running away from my reality in Italy, a failed relationships with an Italian man and it was difficult to accept that here I also failed. But I think that above all it was because I was passionately in love with him, I loved him so much, I gave myself entirely to him.

Considering the relevance of paying attention to what do people want to tell us when they profess love (Simoni 2012), in these women's narratives 'intense love', altruistic love and 'passionate love' evoke the possibility both of the transformation of their erotic subjectivities in the relationship with racialized local men and the creation of relationships that transcend structural inequalities. While

this possibility is sustained in some stories it is also challenged in several narratives. Among my interviewees, six women, including a Latin American interviewee, considered that they have been economically exploited and half of them, exclusively European women, perceived that they had also been subjected to physical violence. And I observe that foreign men who engaged themselves in relationships with local women might only rarely considered themselves exploited and never subjected to physical violence.

The effects of these experiences on foreign women were diverse. Some considered the permanence in these places unbearable and were selling their properties in order to leave definitively. Others, however, managed to disentangle the fascination they felt for these places and for their 'culture' from the relationships they had with the local men that mistreated them. As Dona, a 54 year old Italian woman, petit blond, green-eyed and with a youthful-looking body, who was also the owner of a bed and breakfast in Jeri, put it:

When I met him I felt that he was the key to this world, a cultural world that I saw as very distant. I felt that I would not be able to get inside it without his mediation. But later on I discovered that I could, that it as an individual path...When I discovered *capoeira* I fell in love with it, with its magic, also the sexual attraction, those black bodies fighting. It aroused my fantasies. But now I finally play *capoeira* and I am not in love with the *capoeiristas* but with the *capoeira*.

Besides maintaining their businesses, these women invested heavily in the creation of local social networks that could protect them and in this new social setting they rehearsed new choices of local sexual and affective partners. Several aspects they valued in the local masculinities were reiterated in these choices. They still looked for intensely virile, sexualized and racialized men. Yet, the construction of their sexual lives occupying stronger social positions, the less romanticized visions of their partners and the preservation of their private spaces allowed them to further explore their erotic subjectivities with less danger.

Conclusion

Reviewing the debate 'sexual versus romance tourism' and considering the experiences of our interviewees brings us to question notions about female sexual travels. What these interviewed women

report combines aspects that are supposedly characteristic of 'female sexual tourism', such as sexualized and racialized fantasies regarding local men, with other aspects that are more typical of 'romance tourism', with its strong emphasis on love/passion and the perception that these relationships are a crucial aspect of immersing oneself in an "other" culture. And if these women report non-traditional gender performances in terms of their styles of travel and of their non homochromatic/homoethnic and homogamic relationships with men, the supposed fluid exchanges in which the women utilize their structural privileges in order to negotiate desire and control in their intimate relationships end up being severely limited.

In these tourist destinations, in which new erotic subjectivities are rehearsed, this fluidity seems to evaporate when women are transformed from tourists to residents. In this process, visions of 'paradise' give way to perceptions of a 'hell' that is particularly cruel to older women, as local reconfigurations of masculine styles destabilize these travelers' privileges. As this transformation occurs, the ambivalences that led the women to think of the economic exchanges in these relationships as 'help' disappear and they come to be seen as exploitation.

This does not mean, however, that gender inequalities are always and necessarily all-encompassing. The structural advantages that allow these women to travel and contribute to their attractiveness in Jeri and Canoa are preponderant in one phase of their relationships with local men. With regards older women, in later phases of their relationships, the persistent play of negotiations becomes destabilized, and the women's structural advantages are neutralized. This process is potentialized by the fact that the men are embedded in relationship networks in localities where the *gringas* have few social contacts. The domination that these European women suffer is temporary, however. They continue to be positioned as white/European and, most of the time, are still the owners and operators of the tourism businesses that they set up. New and safer possibilities of exploring their erotic subjectivities open up for those who stay, seeking deeper insertion into local social networks.

Notes

- 1 This text is based on research results from the 'Gender, corporalities' project, funded by FAPESP. Fieldwork in Jericoacoara was undertaken in collaboration with Fernanda Leão Antonioli. I thank my interviewees, and also Ana Fonseca, Thaddeus Blanchette, Kamala Kempadoo and Lia Machado, who commented on points developed here.
- 2 Term that refers to any local people but is mostly used alluding to persons born in villages distant from the capital city.
- 3 In 2009 this industry was to be responsible for 10% of the Gross National Product (Jornal O Estado de São Paulo, 28/02/2010).
- 4 In 2008, foreign visitors represented approximately 7,6% of the total flux of tourists in the city (Governo do Estado de Ceará 2009).
- 5 Performer of *capoeira*, a Brazilian dance of African origin that incorporates martial arts movements.
- 6 Gringo/a is a word locally used to refer to foreigners, frequently from countries of the Global North. It can be used in descriptive, but also in pejorative terms.

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ART FOR SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS: WORKSHOP, CULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM AND FESTIVALS

Jane Rowan

In recent years, cultural diversity and living heritage has received international recognition and its safeguarding has become a priority of international cooperation with UNESCO's leading role in the adoption of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (CSICH) (Blake 2007). When culture is strengthened and enhanced both at an individual and community level, it can contribute to personal fulfilment, integral human development and social development. Protecting and preserving intangible cultural heritage (ICH) skills and knowledge is a major challenge; ensuring that they provide viable livelihood for their owners is an even greater one. Safeguarding ICH requires not only the increased participation of communities, groups and individuals but further requires increased market awareness, enhanced capacity through dissemination of information and the cultivation of cooperative networks.

It is however suggested that tourism has a high potential for contributing to the reduction of poverty in poor and remote destinations, which are rich in intangible cultural resources, such as customs or folklore. Using culture as a vehicle for sustainable tourism development is becoming an important item in the priorities of public policy planners, governments, non-governmental organisations and enterprises due to the potential of tourism to contribute to rural poverty reduction (Goodwin 2000). The UNWTO New Year message

stated in 2007 '... should be a year to consolidate tourism as a key agent in the fight against poverty and primary tool for sustainable development' (Mitchell 2010). Meanwhile, a fundamental orientation in the CSICH is the continuity and on-going transmission of intangible heritage as a living phenomenon takes a central importance when we consider sustainable cultural tourism. Tourism not only has the capacity to strengthen local economies but further strengthen people's self-respect, values and identity, thereby safeguarding aspects of their intangible heritage and enhancing their development potential. Whether a private sector service activity, like tourism, can reduce poverty or safeguard ICH in developing countries through socio-economic effects, is still unknown.

Despite the increased focus on utilising tourism as a development tool, tourism development literature is seldom grounded in an understanding of actual tourism development processes (Hall 2000, Moscardo 2005). It has been recognised that key stakeholders often have limited understanding of how tourism operates as a system, what the potential impacts of tourism may be and what the range of potential markets are. Smith et al. (2001: 1) described increasing community capacity for tourism development as the 'essence of development'. The success of tourism development however requires that all stakeholders understand that investment in community capacity is necessary for sustainable development. Capacity development therefore is relational, working across different levels of human associations; that of organisations, communities and individuals. Often developing countries, especially rural regions, have weak tourism organisations, lack strong tourism leadership and contain poor foundations, particularly infrastructure and resources, which directly affects the project (Moscardo 2005, 2008, Sharpley 2002). Hunt (2005) highlights that the barriers to tourism development include knowledge skills, funding limits, abilities of the multi-stakeholders and lack of skilled tourism development. If stakeholders have limited understanding of how tourism operates as a system, especially as tourism has different sets of principles to other rural industries such as agriculture that underpins its implementation and planning, then how can effective community capacity for sustainable tourism be developed to alleviate poverty?

The case study discussed in this paper was a response to the European Union's 'Investing in People' project, which supported actions 'in areas of human and social development' (Reference). Art for Livelihood aspires to revitalise and promote oral traditions and performing art as a means of promoting sustainable livelihoods in six

districts of West Bengal, India. The fieldwork behind this paper has been gathered over a period of 20 months with multiple visits of periods lasting from 3 to 6 months. A combination of anthropological research methods were used including participant observation, mapping and interviewing. Participant observation consisted of recurring stays in the villages, from 2 to 15 days at a time in addition to traveling with the artists to events, attending performances, workshops and village festivals. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with various members of the village communities, workshop performers, foreign artists and artists throughout the research period. Detailed field notes were taken throughout the field research which included mapping the villages. Meanwhile, data on the project was gathered from the enterprise staff involved in planning and coordinating the art livelihood projects, project literature and newspaper articles; as well as, interviewing travel industry professionals working with or outside the project. The focus of the research was on community capacity for sustainable tourism development interventions with two distinct folk art forms of West Bengal: the first a village of Patau painters (VoP) and the second a group of Baul/Fakiri musicians (GoM). These two groups were chosen due to the influence of the AaL in promoting their artforms on an national and international level.

The purpose of this paper therefore is to articulate the relationship between developing sustainable livelihoods and building community capacity. This relationship is conceptualised by connecting community capacity building for tourism development and sustainable livelihoods rather than merely taking tourism as a development tool. The paper is structured as follows: in section one, relevant literature on sustainable livelihoods approaches will be reviewed followed by its relationship to community capacity for tourism development. In section two the case study 'Art as Livelihood' (AaL) is introduced and detail is given on the particular vision behind the social enterprise whom looks at utilising traditional art and cultural heritage a vehicles for promoting sustainable livelihoods. The final section considers how effective the model was in achieving sustainable livelihood opportunities for artists and communities, particularly in terms of tourism development. The conclusion offers some cautionary points on the limitations of this approach and makes some practical suggestions on how such a model could be more holistically implemented as to ensure it brings sustained and wide community capacity for tourism development.

Conceptual Frameworks: Principles & Rationales

The concept of 'livelihoods' attempts to capture the complexity of living which comprises tangible and intangible assets of people as opposed to the narrow concept of employment. Livelihood approaches are based on the multidimensional understanding of people's lives, which recognise different assets that people hold in the wider context of institutions, regulations and cultural norms. An understanding of the complexities and integrated nature of livelihoods allows for a better identification of vulnerabilities by external shocks and stresses.

Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) emerged; in the late 1990's, over the need to create people centre and learning processes in development. SLA emphasises the importance of working alongside the poor, building on their strengths and supporting them to reduce poverty, predominantly at a micro (household) level. The framework focuses on identifying the complexities between livelihood assets, cycles of livelihood strategies, individual assets, transforming structures and processes and vulnerability to livelihoods (Fujun et al. 2008, Toner and Franks 2006). A number of operational principles are emphasised in the model, such as the requirement of multi-level or holistic approaches on livelihood; the necessity of treating all groups equally; the advantage of working towards shared goals in transparent partnerships, and the importance of intervention programmes being flexible and long-term. More recently however versions of SLA have differentiated categories further which include the analysis of factors which enable or block people's access to opportunities as well as the influence of people's rights and access to services. In addition, a new emphasis has been placed on the inner dimensions of people's livelihoods assets which recognise that 'orientations of the mind and heart' play an important part in determining people's livelihood strategies (Fujun et al. 2008). A key dimension therefore is empowerment, a greater voice and the opportunity to influence processes and power to claim their entitlements to assets and services. SLA thus envisages scenarios in which people and communities can better maintain or enhance the assets of which their livelihoods depend as well as cope with and recover from stress and shocks which can provide stability for future generations.

However, due to the complexity of tourism networks, a tourism-livelihood approach needs to be broadened to include core

community assets, activities related to tourism, and the access to these which provide a means of living. As within the tourism context, individual, governments, NGO's, social enterprises and tourists interact and each have direct or indirect influence on individual livelihoods (Frank and Smith 1999). In a tourism context the image of cultural heritage tourism products are based on local communities as a whole rather than just individual. Market system analysis is one tool that describes the inter relationships between a range of functional activities, service providers, customers, supporting institutions and supply chains. These approaches are recognised in the development as ways of examining the complexities and challenges of poverty reduction.

Within the market system approach it is, first and foremost, the performance of the entire system that determines whether individuals are 'constrained' in the structures and processes of the market. Accordingly, the 'systematic factors' that affect this performance include: end market for products, enabling environment, linkages between businesses, support services, needs for upgrading, and the effect of power imbalances and trust within the systems (Sharpley 2002). Market systems framework recognises the value chain and within them the varying roles of diversity stakeholders, capacity, influence and competing interested in shaping the market system rules and functions. These systems are practical approaches to reducing poverty, grounded in the approach that markets matter for the poor, but that inadequate attention has been paid to market systems and where the poor fit into them. The measurement of success is in terms of gradually pushing out the frontiers of sustainable market access to people previously excluded.

Tourism value chain (TVC) analysis considers meeting and exceeding visitor's expectations of the 'internal' quality of destinations. Thus destination managers are required to bring together, and keep together, representatives from the communities and stakeholder in an integrated and cohesive manner. Tourism value chains comprises of training support for businesses; undertaking of audits of physical destination attributes; encouraging and facilitation funding and support for local business training; assessment of economic, social and cultural impacts of amenities and facilities; and the encouragement of locally sources products and services. Value chain approaches thus address the relationships between people's poverty and capacities to do something, and along with opportunities created (or not created) by their social, economic and institutional environments.

SLA and TVC look at people's livelihood through very different lenses. SLA is a people centred direction while TVC looks at a market perspective. SLA emphasises that livelihoods strategies of the poor are richly diverse, and the factors that influence livelihood outcome are numerous and dynamic. Whilst, TVC recognises that market systems are also often replete with interacting actors, linkages and institutional factors. These approaches look to some kind of conceptual framework to assist practitioners to understand and analyse the complexity, structure information and reveal patterns. These approaches therefore endeavour to guide the way we think about livelihoods and market systems, particularly, placing great emphasis on understanding of the 'systems' surrounding respectively people and markets.

Sustainable Livelihoods & Market Systems: Understanding community capacity for tourism development

The most effective barriers to community capacity development for tourism development identified in the literature include 'a lack of skill and knowledge' by stakeholders of tourism in general. According to Frank and Smith (1999), community tourism development requires a broad base of skill and knowledge on various subjects. They also contend that skills needed to undertake community development include: communication, facilitation and team-building, skills development, research, planning and evaluation skills as well as problem-solving, and management skills (Frank and Smith 1999). Moscardo (2008) however argues that barriers to skill and knowledge in tourism development have hardly been debated by scholars of tourism. Hence understanding barriers to skill and knowledge is important when a community is getting organised or becoming involved in tourism activities.

Hall (2005) argues that limited skill and knowledge of tourism can contribute to false expectations about the benefits of tourism and lack of preparedness for the change associated with tourism limits opportunity for locals to benefit from tourism business opportunities. According to Aref (2009), inadequate knowledge negatively impacts a community's ability to effectively influence and develop tourism. Moscardo (2008) takes this further arguing that lack of knowledge has been used in many developing countries to justify the exclusion of local residents and other stakeholders from involvement in tourism development decisions. However, barriers to community capacity development have been further identified at structural, operational and cultural levels. The barriers at these levels include;

- *Structural Level*: lack of government support, commitment to tourism development, community participation, expert skills, human resources, appropriate tourism development structures;
- *Operational Level*: political support; power structures; lack of coordination, collaboration and communication between stakeholders; availability of information; attitudes of professionals; lack of financial support;
- *Cultural Level*: increased awareness of locals, limited capacity of poor people to handle development effectively; local leadership; strong base of participation; (Aref 2008).

The concept of community wellness and learning have been emphasised as key building blocks of community capacity. Community wellness and learning is inherent by an association with traditional culture and must be engaged and directed towards community learning new skills and strategies that will allow communities to take advantage of new opportunities, without threatening other livelihoods. It is an empowered position derived from processes linked to the re-connecting to and valuing traditional culture and learning as discussed by Bell (2000). Community capacity is thus derived through development of collective individual capacity combining knowledge with skills.

Tourism development however must seek to address community and individual needs simultaneously due to the fact that tourism products are not monopolistic and combine various complimentary products such as activities, accommodation, transportation and food. Furthermore, tourism development involves complex multi-stakeholders (Goodwin 2000, Moscardo 2005). Analysing community capacity for tourism development using a sustainable livelihoods and market systems approach therefore enhances our understanding of the complexities of the barriers that may affect sustainable tourism development.

‘Art as Livelihood’: A vehicle for promoting sustainable livelihoods through cultural revitalisations

Art as Livelihood concentrates on raising ‘artists’ awareness, skills, and entrepreneurial mind set in order to raise income levels. This model built upon a flagship initiative of making art a livelihood and whose objective was to ‘aspire to make oral traditions and performing arts a means of sustainable livelihood, safeguard intangible cultural

heritage and forge multi-regional partnerships for the revitalisation and promotion in innovative ways' (Project Literature 2011). The AaL vision is to 'synergise cultural and economic development leading not only to the preservation of cultural heritage and diversity, but also facilitating sustainable development of people' (Project Literature 2011). This social enterprise aims at utilising the potential of a community's intangible cultural skills (such as performing arts and crafts) to create opportunities for sustainable livelihoods.

When the model commenced the social enterprise, from now on referred to as the enterprise, used a folk art inventory which it built earlier in order to identify and document the range of traditional folk art forms as potential vehicles for enterprises based around the direct selling or the offering traditional cultural experiences. The objectives of the AaL include the following;

- Preserving living cultural heritage, like performing arts, oral traditions and rituals;
- Promoting cultural diversity;
- Facilitating inter-regional and international exchanges, collaborations and partnerships;
- Raising awareness of the role of culture in social inclusion and economic empowerment (Project literature 2010).

The model build on the enterprise experiences of reviving and revitalising performing folk art traditions as a means of sustainable income generation for sustainable livelihood. The model facilitated extensive training, development of innovative cultural contents, and increased dissemination of the folk arts through extensive promotion. Transmission and dissemination was established through training under leading folk Guru's and contemporary artists, in design, product pricing, campaigning on consumer rights, the use of microphones, recording songs in studio's, making performances for video CD and styles of vocal and instrumental music. Innovation of the folk art was fostered through the establishment of cooperative stakeholder's networks which lead to innovation and cross-cultural exchanges which subsequently lead to promotion and enhancement of the folk art through the creation of folk art hubs, development of festivals and cultural heritage tourism. The model therefore aims to allow artists within the communities to be able to earn a sustainable livelihood from their art forms while safeguarding the ICH and creating a new identity for themselves as recognised artists instead of marginalised individuals.

The social enterprise targeted groups of folk artists in six districts of West Bengal. The model identified a few 'artistic' leaders in these communities and initially worked with them for 4 to 6 months on quality, artistic and basic life skills. The objective of identifying leaders is to broaden development aims by involving other community members as stated by one director, 'when others see the leader's monetary and social status increasing, it will bring them forward' (Field Interview 2011). This is further highlighted by another director's statement that 'once the artists start feeling secure in their increased livelihoods they may begin to plough money back into their communities' which can be accomplished by expanding opportunities for other artistic members of the community and infrastructure development (Field Interview 2010). As a result the initial implementation is seen as a vehicle to promote dormant aspects of traditions and culture which in turn raises skills and knowledge leading to increased income and community motivation.

The six folk forms targeted by the AaL model involve crafts and performing arts that include music, dance, theatre and oral traditions. Although the project involved six folk cultures, this article focuses on two distinctive folk forms; Pataus Scroll Painters and Bauls, Fakiri musicians, due to these groups being the most visible during the project and most promoted by the social enterprise. Continuous promotion of these art forms were created by the social enterprise expanding and developing media partnerships, creating new market opportunities, development and promotion of workshops and 'community' festivals. These included increased media partnerships with local televisions and national press, organising collaborative workshops and cultural exchanges with European, Indian and Bangladeshi artists, the development of performances across India, the organisation of 'community festivals', and the documentation of the folk art forms. These opportunities not only increased the market reach of the folk art forms and artists but further increased their confidence. The two art forms however are highly distinctive in the folk arts they practice, the construction of the 'communities' but also the cultural backgrounds of the art forms.

The Pataus Scroll Painters, is a village of painters (VoP), consisting of 53 houses, whom come from a traditional caste community of artists, called pataus, who paint colourful scrolls to accompany songs which they sing to relate historic, current, religious and cultural events to their audience. In the past, pataus travelled long distances to perform in small villages, singing the scroll and unrolling the scrolls panel by panel to accompany the narrative in

exchange for food, clothing or payment. Now however many pataus perform in more populated areas and people come to them to purchase their painted scrolls. Patua art has always been dynamic, changing to meet the needs and interest of their audience, and as a result the scroll painters have adapted their work to the changing times and topics.

Meanwhile, the group of Bauls and Fakiri musicians (GoM), consists of practitioners who live in various villages within one district of West Bengal and are spread across a large geographic area. Their art forms are intangible and grounded in a syncretic religious sect. Their teachings aim to deconstruct what is viewed as problematic about normative religions while their music celebrates celestial love and the many-splendored bonds of the heart, subtly revealing the mystery of life, the laws of nature, the decree of destiny and union with the divine (Openshaw 2004, Sen 2010). Bauls used to wander from village to village and sing for people who would give them alms. It is said that bauls would accept only what they needed and refused anything more than the strict minimum (Openshaw 2004). Historically the artists were referred to 'as godless and debased entertainers of the common folk' evolving to their 'apotheosis as bearers of a glorious indigenous heritage' (Openshaw 2004: 19). Although bauls comprise only a small fraction of the Bengali population, their influence on the culture of Bengal has been considerable.

During the final phases of the project, 'community' resource centers (CRC) were built in each district for 'supporting preservation, promotion and dissemination of local culture' (project literature). According to the social enterprise, the CRC were also to provide space for the communities for learning, exhibition space and scope to deliver tourism. The construction of the CRC's, were done in conjunction with the active participation of the folk artists. While, the CRC in the VoP offers space for the exhibition of village *pots*, workshop and meeting space throughout the field period it was often locked for long periods, due to the lack of 'community' activities. Meanwhile, the CRC in the GoM community provided a space for learning, practice, storage and scope for lodging although it has a contested identity within the community as Abdul's *Akhra*, or personal shrine. Both resource centre's were launched in conjunction with 'community' festivals, 3 day events organised by the social enterprise, which started the development of heritage tours focusing on 'community' stays.

The enterprise mission is to foster pro poor growth by developing creative industries based on ICH. Interviews and field

observations conducted with many of the artists involved in the project clearly depict the complex social-cultural 'micro' realities of livelihood development. As a result, the next section will analyse the AaL in achieving capacity for sustainable livelihoods through the use of excerpts from field transcripts, project literature and observations.

Analysis & Evaluation of Art as Livelihood in building community capacity for sustainable livelihoods

Transmission & Dissemination: Capacity Building & Exchange

The comprehensive training and capacity building programme addressed training in basic skills as well as capacity building for artists to innovate new ways of rendering the art forms. These specialised training programmes were organised for the artists to 'fine tune skills, provide new inputs and facilitate innovation and transformation for improved marketability' (Project Literature 2010). The director commented that 'the workshops are aimed to increase skills so the artists can gain confidence, learn new skills and become more confident so they can increase their marketability and livelihoods, through increased market opportunities' (Informal conv. 2010)

A key challenge revealed during interviews and field observations conducted with artists was participation and inclusion in the capacity building events. Some artists felt they had benefitted from the project, whilst other artists felt very limited, if any benefit. Top artists¹ remarked about the benefits of the workshops and commented that 'I have learned some English (3 months), how to display my paintings better and last workshop I paint on new materials and was shown how to make colourful t-shirts' (VoP Interview 2011). Meanwhile, other artists including leading Gurus have become disengaged and frustrated with the project often deciding to leave it altogether. In discussion with these groups of artists, it became apparent that their primary livelihoods had not changed as they still relied on jobs as labourers, agricultural workers and hawkers. The workshop and training sessions did not improve their artistic viability, rather many commented: 'workshops, workshops but no performance', no livelihood and 'we attend the workshops in the beginning but are not asked to perform or exhibit, so now I do not attend especially if I am not compensated for lost wages' (VoP Interview 2011). Although skills have been learned, they

are limited to a select number of artists despite there being over 200 registered artists in the AaL model.

For many of the top artists the AaL model has given them the opportunity to generate a livelihood from their art form. The enterprise reports that 'today these folk artists make a living from their art; they are performers and painters engaged full time in training, developing products, documentation and performance' (Project Literature 2011). In addition, these individuals are recognised in their communities as 'artists' and have had the opportunity to visit places like China, Australia, London and Japan. This social differentiation has however led to some artist developing 'artists syndrome' and as the AaL director states:

this is a typical condition that artists go through especially after they have risen to this social status from that of farmers or agricultural labourers. The moment they get recognition as artists, the element of professional jealousy creeps in. They start thinking of themselves as superior to the rest of the people from the community. A person with such an attitude will never be able to act as a good leader for his team members (Filed Interview 2011).

The model seems to have added to social tension through its process of nurturing 'top' artists who go on tour nationally and internationally. One artist stated 'only 25 artists in our district have benefited from performance locally and abroad in this project, I have not been contacted in over a year' (GoM Interview 2011). Another artist commented 'I have no chance, the AaL director does not pick me, it's always the same team, no chance, never a chance – so I don't participate, I work in the fields and perform outside' (GoM Interview 2011). The director considers such tensions to be irrelevant to the model stating; 'An enterprise should never be bothered about village politics. Some people can never come together. So it will be foolishness on our part to even think that at the professional level they will leave their personal differences behind. Frankly, for us it doesn't matter much. We have a team who has been properly trained for international performances and they are doing well. Others are simply jealous' (Field Interview 2011).

Breakdown in trust, relationships and social cohesion among community members can result in decreased respect for local leaders and power struggles within the communities that can directly impact development strategies and stakeholder relationships. Community leaders however often play a role of catalyst for actualizing the

potential of local communities and assisting them to change. Leadership however requires a strong base of participation and can contribute to capacity building including formal and informal leaders, encourage participation from a diverse range of participants, ensures democratic decision-making and effective planning, and nurture and support new leaders (Smith et al. 2001). Moscardo (2008) argues that lack of local tourism leadership often leads to a domination of external agents.

Community Wellness:

A complex dynamic emerged among the GoM, many practitioners stopped attending workshops due to the philosophical conflicts and location of the community resource centre, in which they are predominantly held. In this cultural context, 'training' by a Guru is linked to the philosophical roots of the folk art in which a student either find his/her guru or a guru approaches a student they believe has the qualities. This involves long and mentally challenging stages of understanding knowledge. It takes years of discipline and devotion to learn. One artist remarked 'by taking the vows you are dedicating and devoting your life to a calling. But I can never call myself a professional performing artist as this goes against my vows' (GoM Interview 2011). Another remarked 'our work, our music comes from within ourselves. We are artists but we do not present ourselves to show off. Our music is our way of life; our addiction' (GoM Interview 2011). Many of the Guru's who started in the programme have left as one comment highlights – 'if I were to tell the truth some people who take the training want to spoil our songs and its cultural context and meaning by adding and singing rubbish just to make money. That is why a lot of Gurus have stopped teaching as I have. If anyone wants learn seriously I am willing to teach' (GoM Interview 2011). Some of the workshops, which prepare artists for public performances, conflict against individual beliefs although individual artists use their own agency 'first of all you need to choose which workshop interests you. I was invited to sing in the qawwali workshop but, because I do not have a qawwali background, I declined. Singing qawwali would conflict with my own beliefs and faith' (GoM Interview 2011). Although these workshops are conducted at the resource centre, a newly constructed building in the community; it is predominantly the same group of artists who attend. Artists within the wider artist community state that their reasons for not attending the workshop include that they are not included in the

AaL workshops, they are not invited to the resource centre by the artists themselves which makes them reluctant to attend and that there is no direct route or easily accessible transportation.

Promotion and Enhancement: Cultural Heritage Tourism and Festivals

Cultural Heritage Tourism

The first fundamental yet often overlooked barrier to community participation is a lack of understanding within a community of what tourism is. It has been recognised in the literature that effective methods of learning expose community members to expectations created by tourism implementations (Moscardo 2008). 'What is a tourist' is an activity where individuals are asked to draw their ideas of what a tourist is, this method was used alongside other participatory methods to access the communities current understanding of tourism. After the drawings were completed, the individuals were asked questions about the visible differences or similarities of the images. The aim was to understand the similarities and differences between tourists and community members in a local context. The levels of understanding of tourism varied between stakeholders and include opinions such as:

- 'people coming to buy paintings';
- 'there is no negatives to tourism, we are happy when people come to buy' (VoP Interviews 2011);
- 'those who only come for a quick look and for a holiday are different group of visitors and it is okay to cater for them';
- 'people coming to attend festivals, they watch us and enjoy the performance' (GoM Interviews 2010);
- 'people coming to interact with the artists and their communities' (Enterprise Interview, 2010).

The 'What is a tourist?' exercise along with semi-structured interviews that focused on gaining an understanding of the current level of community knowledge of tourism reiterated that tourism must be understood as a culturally defined concept. The increased market exposure of the AaL model has exposed artists to field experiences such as; cross cultural exchanges, event tourism, and

international exchanges, which have influenced the way these individual artists understand tourism. The communities, to a limited degree, have only been exposed to special interest groups and community festivals. As a result, the wider community has a limited understanding of tourism and its various products or skills such as food preparation, ground maintenance, tour components and tourists expectations. Simply, tourism planning must be carefully planned to suit each community representing the communities own ideals, values and interests in the planning process.

Promotion of Cultural Heritage Tourism:

Communities are rarely the only stakeholders involved in tourism development and are often left out due to the lack of understanding of what tourism is both for tourists and themselves. Even with a 'lack of awareness' and knowledge of the complexities of tourism development; the enterprise has moved forward in promoting tourism activities. Community resource centres have been constructed in both communities with the initial purpose of providing space for artistic practice, workshops, educational sessions, galleries and hosting visitors. The enterprise states that 'these centres could be used to promote cultural tourism' which could result in a huge benefit to the larger community (Informal conv. 2011) The enterprise published 'community-led' heritage tourism brochures promoting the communities, selected surrounding attractions and entered into a partnership with other stakeholders. In the case of the village of painters, tourists are not given the option of staying at the CRC but are directed to one villager home, due to the facilities at the CRC not being yet 'properly equipped' for guests. In addition, local activities described in the heritage brochures, as additional daily activities, have not been co-ordinated or previously discussed with the communities whom were unaware of the brochure content and pricing strategies. The development of 'community led' tourism can create incentives for safeguarding heritage while promoting economic development. These heritage trails promote 'community festivities and rituals replete with grandeur and pomp as a destination for tourists' (Project Literature 2011). In order to make significant contributions to alleviating poverty, it is essential that tourism engage the private sector while economic linkages deliver more to the poor through employment practices, local linkages and activities. Although the brochure tries to encourage diversification of the tourism experience by offering additional experiences, it

misrecognises different aspects of the supply and demand of the tourism product, skills, systems and infrastructure at a local level nor does not respond directly to the wider social networks of the communities. It was revealed in the communities, during interviews with local village residents and artists that their ideas of local experiences would include, the responses included, more localised activities including visiting the community weavers, pottery makers, tours of the fields, cycling around the village and visiting other local artists which are all geographically close to the community. The model has largely ignored local diversification that is critical for tourism development thus contributing to discouraging diversity in production strategies, lack of understanding the community needs and ignoring community capital strengths.

Festivals: Cultural Heritage Tourism, Promotion and Dissemination

The promotion of activities is aimed at raising awareness of the art form to the general public, particularly for younger generations and increasing sustainable development in the field of ICH. The organisation of international festivals for the exchange of ICH as well as the organising of exhibitions and performances increases the opportunity for the general public to experience while enhancing an artist's livelihood and identity. Festivals are connected to cultures and to places, giving each identity and helping bind to their communities (Bell 2000). A dominant discourse in the festival tourism literature is that festivals building capacity and expanding market connections provide a sustainable reoccurring event for the local communities.

The first years, both festivals were predominantly organised by the enterprise including scheduling, programming, catering, tent hire, and entertainment, although the community of artists were involved in assisting with decorating the grounds, cleaning the village and local advertising. The enterprise used the AaL partnership, its social networks and industry contacts to add inspiring and highly enticing news value to the festival campaigns which intensified the sense of pride and spirit of welcoming amongst most of the people with the community. In addition, the festivals launched the newly completed community resources centre's which were funded by the projects international donors.

The festival highlights fundamental barriers to developing community capacity for tourism development within both livelihoods and market system perspectives. These barriers are highlighted by the following comments;

- ‘during festivals and other occasions, we are never invited. So why should we go when they don’t want use there?’ (Community member, GoM);
- ‘the community did 70% and we did 30% of the organisation of the events’ (corrs. 2012);
- ‘this festival is excellent for the community and region, it has enhanced the image of the art form with the surrounding community and we will be inviting some of the artist to the school to conduct workshops’ (Community member interview, 2011);
- ‘in the morning we were threatened by some of villagers, so we had to stop singing’ (GoM Interview, 2010).

The above comments highlight that there are indeed barriers within community participation, commitment to capacity building, collaboration and communication between stakeholders, and community wellness and learning.

Festivals as tourism events also affect the cultural and social realm by being employed as tools of destination image-making, repositioning, and branding. It is argued that many visitors go away with an enhanced image of the host community although the voices of the ‘community’ are rarely heard (Getz 2008). One official visitor to the festival commented ‘it is amazing what the community has done with some help from AaL; they have come together and are now hosting the event themselves’ (Field Interview 2010). On the other hand, one artist commented: ‘the festival is not ours, it does not have the same feeling, meaning or atmosphere as our community mela’ (CoM Interview 2011). The consensus was that although the festival in their village would increase market knowledge and linkage, it was fundamentally not their festival but that of the enterprise. This feeling was further reiterated through the large branding boards which were on display at the second year festivals which enhanced the image of the project and artists by displaying market linkages. However, it could be argued that the enterprise uses these festivals primarily to enhance the image of AaL and the enterprise itself. This is supported by one employee stating that: ‘the boards are being used to highlight the benefits of AaL, its increased market connections and how its increased livelihoods in these communities... we are continuing with the model, so we must market it’ (Informal conv. 2011). These boards highlight that the AaL model, is strong in the promotion and enhancement of the folk artist not only through their own

publications but by other media systems. This increased awareness through publishing of ICH enhances and disseminate various contents to generate greater value to ICH.

Conclusion

There is little doubt that the AaL model and its initiatives have resulted in tangible benefits to many artists in terms of increased livelihoods through the expansion of social networks, exposure to different markets, expanded social awareness of the folk art forms, and improved individual artistic capacity. However, despite the fact that the revitalisation of these folk art forms have included increased livelihoods and transformed identities, the benefits have not 'trickled down' to the all the artists or community. There are various contributing factors that are impacting the effectiveness of art for livelihood models in reaching sustainable livelihoods at a broad community capacity.

Capacity Building for increasing sustainable livelihoods

Success factors in capacity building involve support from the wider community and the ability of workshops to increase capacity building can be applied directly to increasing one's livelihood. Workshops can improve the attitudes of artists giving them confidence and additional skills. Unfortunately, capacity building failures result in a lack of participation, isolation due to social discrimination and mobility constraints, especially in rural regions as they have restricted knowledge about market systems. Well informed decisions are thus a critical key to a successful outcome. New capacity building therefore should build on the foundation of existing capacity. The first step is to recognise that existing capacity building is represented by the folk traditions and values of the artists and their strengths. Moreover, cultural fit is a key component in capacity building development initiatives which need to be flexible and adaptive to different community conditions as every individual community is unique and must be respected.

Increasing the identification and participation of community stakeholders

The failure to involve the local community in the decision making process and a lack of an integrated vision at a community

level of tourism planning forms a major barrier towards achieving sustainability (Ioannides 1995). The development of a community inventory of additional art forms as well as their geographical spread and numbers and skill level could lead to improved local diversification. In addition, cultural mapping beyond the artist's community would increase the support and development of creative networks and knowledge between local suppliers. Moreover, cultural mapping could assist in the development of local leaders that could be better implemented into a process of development.

Can 'art for livelihood' projects assist in building tourism capacity?

The AaL model's initial process was to review and research the possibilities of cultural heritage tourism integrated into the third phase of the model. If this AaL model is going to be used as a precursor for introducing cultural heritage tourism, then key recommendations at a structural, operational and cultural level should be considered before expanding the model further, which include;

- Maximizing community participation by the enhancement of community mapping would identify broad community capital and skills at the onset of a project model. A database of community capital and skills would assist in the identification of local linkages and added value experiences that would enhance diversification and spread socio-economic benefits throughout the wider community;
- Establish a base knowledge of 'what tourism is' for all stakeholders in order to understand tourism in a cultural context, which is unique to each community. This knowledge can then guide stakeholders to build capacity were required including guest-host relations, pricing, expectations and added-value diversification;
- A model should provide continuous or on-going capacity building on skills that are transferrable from the enhancement of livelihoods to tourism; this may include English, computer skills, planning and management, numeracy etc.;
- Decrease artistic isolation, especially of artistic practitioners who are not involved in capacity building workshops or promotion by incorporating them in alternative elements of a tourism product, which could include tour guides, destination hosts, community leaders etc.;

- Placing tourism development within broader community goals, values and aspirations. This of course would require stakeholders to be aware of the broader needs of the community whilst engaging with community members in order to design.

These recommendations see to strengthen and enhance both individual and community capacity levels which will result in contributing to improving personal fulfilment whilst being integral to social development. Out of these recommendations key research questions emerge in regards to increasing sustainable livelihoods through the dissemination, transmission and promotion of intangible cultural heritage through the development of art for livelihood incorporating tourism, these include;

- Are art for livelihood and tourism development compatible to effectively increase sustainable livelihoods? How do they adapt to different communities wellbeing and values?
- How does tourism impact the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage? Can tourism be sustainably integrated into art livelihood models?
- Would theatre based educational programmes enhance a community's awareness on the dynamic of tourism? What are the forces shaping the tourism capacity building awareness events? Can they be controlled?
- How does the level of involvement or engagement affect the cultural heritage tourism experience? Who gets excluded or marginalised?
- What are the ways in which stakeholders exercise power, and negotiate, to develop tourism and related policy?

While safeguarding ICH cannot solve everything, and art and artists alone cannot drive the economic and wider equalising of rural community's lives, enhancing folk art in these regions contributes to realistic individual and communal livelihoods. As a result, the evaluator processes of art for livelihood models must be further tailored to meet the specific needs of the artists with respect to learning from actions taken and assessing the satisfaction of partners and beneficiaries, whilst further incorporating the larger communities in which these folk arts and artists reside. Safeguarding intangible cultural through livelihood should respond to the priorities of their

members so they are as diverse as their communities, as distinct as their artists and as varied as the folk traditions. Livelihood projects however must further a philosophy focused on community wellbeing.

Notes

1. Top artists are individuals whom have been identified as the most skilled and talent by the social enterprise.

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SHOW-CASING THE PAST: ON AGENCY, SPACE AND TOURISM

Ema Pires

In this paper, I wish to contribute to an understanding of the linkages between tourism, space and power, in order to explore how these aspects relate to peoples' spatial practices. Using a diachronic approach to tourism, this paper argues that in order to understand tourism phenomenon we cannot do without three intertwined categories: time, space and power. Indeed, understanding spaces of tourism is closely related with depicting their multiple layers of fabric weaved through the passing of time. Based on ethnographic research (Pires 2012), empirical focus is focused in analysing practices of production and appropriation of space in Malacca (West Malaysia). The main data collection techniques consisted of direct observation (during three intensive periods: August and September 2006; June to September 2007; October 2008 to April 2009). Secondly, in articulation with observations, semi-structured interviews were conducted to residents, restaurant managers, tourists and local leaders. Thirdly, archive research in public and private archives (located in Portugal, Malaysia and Singapore) was done extensively from 2006 to 2011). Types of documents analysed consisted of texts, photographs and souvenirs.

Historical references trace back the city's origins to around the year 1403 of the Christian era (Chew 2000: 50). Malacca's growing importance in the complex network of trading activities in the Malay Archipelago made it fall under the colonial rule of European powers

– Portugal, the Netherlands and England, respectively – from 1511 to 1957. The city's contemporary urban cartography still reveals the historic thickness of these successive colonial occupations by European powers. One of the city's main icons is 'Santiago's Gate' – the ruin of a 16th century Portuguese Fortress. Malacca's history as major trading emporium of the Straits of Malacca, has led to its listing, as UNESCO World Heritage City in July 2008, together with the city of George Town (Penang), also in the Straits of Malacca, West Malaysia.

On the outskirts of the city lies the *Portuguese Settlement*. The place is also named *Kampung Portugis* (in *Bahasa melayu*), and *Padri sa Chang* (in the Creole language spoken locally); comprising an area of approximately 28 Acres of land, it has an estimated population of 1200 residents (personal communication with Regedor Peter Gomes, 27th August 2006).

The village was 'born between 1926 and 1934 as a quite literary fabricated entity resulting from the philanthropic efforts of two priests' as the nucleus of residence of the 'Malacca Portuguese' (O'Neill 2008: 55). The group is also known as *Kristangs*. Following O'Neill 'Today, the term *Kristang* has three meanings: (1) the Creole spoken by the Malacca Portuguese, (2) a person of the Catholic Faith, or (3) a member of the ethnic group of Portuguese Eurasians' (O'Neill 2008: 56-57).

My paper aims to deconstruct how Malacca's Portuguese settlement's spatial story has been re-scripted by people in contemporary times (from 1929 to 2009). Under post colonial government, tourism has been set to be one of the country's major development strategies in recent years. Depicting Malaysia as 'Truly Asia', tourism promotion policies are targeting tourism markets located in Asia and the Pacific, with a focus on China and Southeast Asian countries (ASEAN), on the one hand, and the Middle East, on the other hand. European fluxes of tourism movements are also targeted, even though they are less relevant in the statistics than the former categories. A clear example of Malaysian official tourism narratives this is frequently viewed in advertisements in American televisions, such as CNN.

The paper is structured in four moments: we start by framing the colonial production of Space and the empirical context; continue analyzing how the Portuguese Settlement is (re)presented in official tourism narratives; we then move on to address some of the aspects present in peoples' appropriation practices; and I finally end with some (in)conclusive remarks.

From Colonial Space to 'Heritage Village'

Place names may tell us a lot about appropriation and significance of spaces. Regarding the present case, the *kristang* designation of the place is *Padri sa Chang*, meaning, literally, *The Priests' Land*. Indeed, Malacca's Portuguese Settlement exemplifies a process of colonial production of space, in the 20th century. This was done, in a close alliance between British Colonial Government and Christian (Roman Catholic) Missions. And, especially, through the mediation of some catholic missionaries, whose agency is the object of evocative remembering in the local museum. Located in a small room inside the Portuguese Square, the museum was opened in 2000 by the Regedor's Panel, with the main purpose of hosting the visit of the *Yang di-Pertuan Agong* (Paramount Ruler or King) of Malaysia. Its' collection of objects and old photographs was gathered through donations by Eurasians (Personal communication with resident Michael Banerji, 31st August, 2007). History, daily life and collective celebrations are the three main themes represented at the museum.

One of the colonial agents evoked at the museum is the Portuguese priest *Fr. Álvaro Coroado (1879-1944)*. Fr. Coroado's main pastoral activities are less well known than his agency (and successful mediation practices). In a joint alliance of the Portuguese and the French Catholic Missions of Malacca, they negotiated with the British Resident Commissioner, with a view to obtaining a residential area for low-income Portuguese Eurasians. This symbolic patronage is, up until the present day, quite visible in the local name of Malacca's Portuguese Settlement, '*Padri sa chang*' ('Priests' land').

Data collected from interviews with residents and local leaders (in 2007 and 2008) confirms that the social appropriation of space by the first settlers occurred during the early 1930's, giving rise to the physical and social construction of the *Padri Sa Chang* in the following decades. An enduring marker of its colonial production, are street names (named after Sailors and Colonial Agents).

In the early 1950's, the gradual process of social construction of the place for tourism, would slowly begin. Another colonial agent would be closely engaged in this process: Fr. Manuel J. Pintado (1921-1994). A major part of this missionary's agency was directed towards the introduction and promotion of Portuguese folklore among the local community of Portuguese-Eurasians, a task he organized for the first time in 1952, for the visit of a Portuguese Overseas Minister (Commander Sarmiento Rodrigues) and was developed since then.

This process of stereotyping Portugal (in Asia) through folklore, would be reinforced in the following decades, with the Portuguese missionary's own mediation as an (informal) tourist guide for Portuguese (and other European) visitors. His agency in the diffusion of Portuguese folklore among Malacca's Portuguese Eurasians holds the significance of an enduring marker of stereotype building, directed toward a process of emulating 'Portugal', from colonial to post-colonial times. A detailed analysis of this pattern of emulation can be found in O'Neill (1995, 1999, 2008). Renato Rosaldo's reflection on *imperialist nostalgia* (Rosaldo 1989: 68-87) may be useful here. This author proposes a dismantling analytical strategy for the study of ideology and agency, where Manuel Pintado's action clearly seems to fit. Following the missionary's own words: 'Father Pintado [...] revived the Portuguese culture in Malacca, by introducing to the Malacca Eurasians, the folk songs, dances and costumes of their forefathers. Today, this ethnic revival in Malacca, has become one of the many tourist attractions of this country and has gained Government support and recognition' (Pintado 1989: ix).

Indeed, the *Kristangs* themselves would creatively integrate this *new* Portuguese identity, [expressed through folklore], as a dimension of their ethnic identity. This process of symbolic appropriation would prove to be successful, in terms of identity politics in post-colonial Malaysia. Also, it would provide economic revenue during the 1980's and 1990's, when tourism process started to grow more vigorously in the city. Meanwhile, the neighbourhood's physical environment would start to reflect this identity rhetoric: in 1984, a *Portuguese Square* was built. This spatial transformation would bring relevant changes in the built-form and appropriation practices in *Kampong Portugis*. Locally, the decision to build the new equipment gave rise to residents' contestation. The main reason was the place chosen for the new equipment: the *Padang* (the open public space where the people of the place gathered for leisure activities). The open, empty space of the *Padang*, facing the sea, would give birth to a volumetric building, which would soon become a marker for the tourism appropriation of the community.

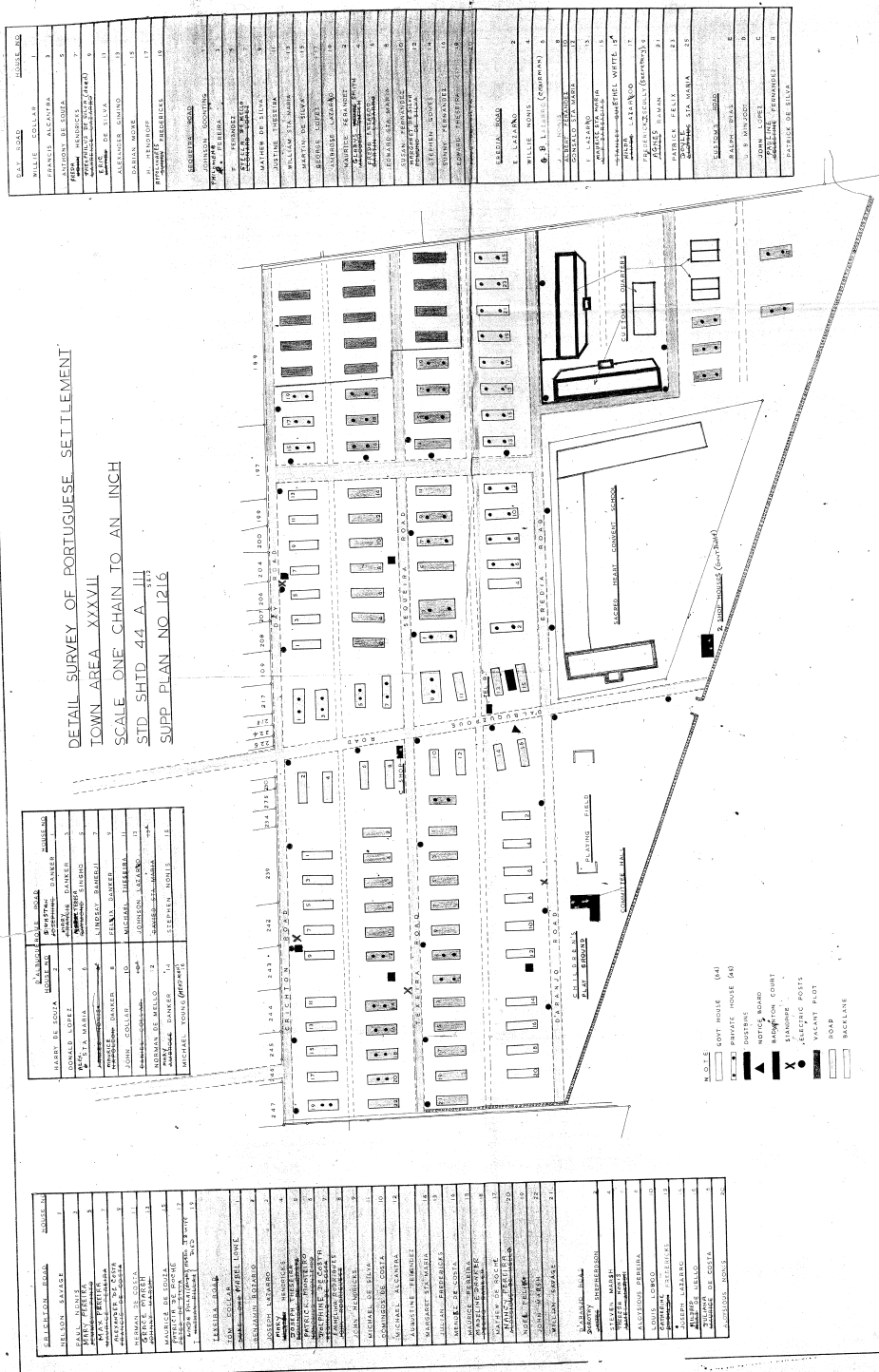
The destruction of the *Padang* would make a rupture with in long time relationship to the place, but gave way to a new spatial, exogenous, marker. The *Square* was planned under regulation of the National Government of Post-Colonial Malaysia, in cooperation with the Portuguese Government. Designed to resemble a Portuguese Plaza and Market, near the Malacca's seashore, its built form also holds meanings of a leisure and touristic borderzone with multiple

uses. Material collected from interviews infers the square would soon be appropriated by the *Kristangs*, becoming a place of gatherings for both tourists and locals. Its' uses, though, were regulated since the beginning: it was a place to eat Portuguese local food (at the restaurants existing inside it), and to watch, (on the local stage), weekly performances of Portuguese Folklore, by one of the several cultural troupes of musicians existing in the community. There is also a community museum, and, in an adjacent building, a Community Hall, used for religious practices. Finally, near the entrance, there is a souvenir shop.

In 1988, *Kampung Portugis* also became a Gazetted Heritage Village, and would start to be represented as one of the symbolic places of Malacca's cultural heritage. In line with it, the spatial and symbolic appropriation for tourism and leisure purposes has been followed by a land reclamation process of the seashore. This motivated the building of other spaces: an 'Open-Air Stage, and a Car-Park, facing the *Portuguese Square*. Further away, near the seaside, a new food court, *Medan Selera* – locally known as *The Stalls* – would soon compete with the *Portuguese Square* as the main place for eating Portuguese food. Residents' perceptions of *Medan Selera*, when compared with the Square, refer that this space holds the added value of having a much broader sea view over the strait of Malacca, *Selat Melaka*). Across this food-court, the empty car park is filled on weekends and feast days, with dozens of cars. Many of the vehicles have Singaporean car plates, disclosing leisured mobilities and short stays. Across the car park, the 'Open-air Stage', is now the main place for musical performances, informal local leisure practices, and the symbolic centre for community gatherings. Not far from it, lays the *Portuguese Square*. Previously built just across the seashore, the land reclamation process has put it further inland, as another new portion of the seashore was to give way to new reclamations.

In 2000, political changes in the management and ownership of the *Square* were also in the way. The *Portuguese Square* had been under administration of the Malaysian Government, from 1984 to 2000, when it came under the management of the local community leaders, the *Regedor's Panel*. [According to historian Gerard Fernandis, 'The *Regedor* is a Portuguese word which means the administrator. In this context it means the headman of the Portuguese Settlement. The position was set up when the Portuguese Settlement began in the 1930's and the *Regedor* acted as a liaison man as well as an agent for the government' (Fernandis 2004: 291)]. This action of the *Regedor's Panel* was preceded by complaints concerning abandonment and low

Figure 10.1 Portuguese Settlement Plan



Source: Private Archive of George Bosco Lazaro, Portuguese Settlement, Malacca, ca. 1979

maintenance of the equipment. The complaints, made by *Kristangs* themselves, were supported by tourists (who were asked, by the *Regedor's* staff, to fill in enquiries with suggestions on 'how to improve the place'). The *Regedor's* agency was directed to trying to acquire the governance of the place, from State Government. On the other hand, however, the owner of the building (Malaysian Government) would soon stop the patronage (and the funding) of cultural activities in the place, but would keep the ownership of the Square. Consequently, since 2005, there have been no longer weekly cultural shows in the *Portuguese Square* stage, (despite the references to it in official promotional brochures). Unless tourists book it in advance, the *Square* (and its stage) are empty performative places.

In 2006, six more acres of seaside land were reclaimed by the Malaysian Government, for the building of a Hotel (named after the Portuguese capital, *Lisbon*). The design of the new building slightly resembles the structure of the *Portuguese Square*. Locally, the opening of this Government-owned Hotel (in June 2007) has given rise to open contestation and debates over ownership and appropriation of public space. Located near the symbolic centre of community gatherings, the

Plate 10.1 Portuguese Settlement



Source: author, 2008

Hotel is perceived as a space of alterity. Indeed, local reactions to *Lisbon Hotel* (seem to) vary between indifference and passive rejection. Social access is restricted and the building's gated entrance of the poses a physical, as well as social boundary.

Within the Settlement's social space, there are several formal and informal groups involved in the process of identity making. The *Regedor's Panel* is the formal structure that rules the compound, and to whom the leadership is recognized by the political structure of the country/city. But there are other institutions and groups also visible locally and influencing the identity building process. Three examples that deserve being mentioned are the Malacca Portuguese Eurasian Association, the Funeral Association and the Residents' Action Committee. The main aspect of all these groups is their rootedness in the social life of Malacca. Differing from the context described before is the case of association *Korsang di Malacca*, a foreign Association (based in Portugal) which, in recent years, has also made itself visible in the compound, through a project of promotion of linkages between Eurasian and Portuguese identity. This group and their agenda are beyond the scope of this paper.

The Settlement in Official Tourism Discourses

In this sub-section, I will address, process of indexing of the place by official tourism discourses. Official Discourses emphasise the economic and political dimensions of Tourism activity. According to the chairman of Melaka Tourism Committee, Tourism 'plays a very important role in energising the nation's economy to keep it dynamic (*Melaka Tourism*, sd: 4). State and Federal government highlight Melaka as the *locus memorie* of the nation, (quite visible in the marketing slogan 'Visit Historic Melaka means visit Malaysia').

Within this rhetoric 'landscape', the Portuguese community is a portrait: one piece among the multicultural and «Colourful heritage» of the nation's past and present: [quoting Melaka Tourism Guide] 'Today, the descendants of early Portuguese live in a community called Portuguese Settlement'. Historical references highlight the original name of the place, *Padri sa Chang* (Priests' Land) and the two missionaries whose agency enabled its founding, in 'the late 1920's' (*Melaka Tourism*, sd: 4).

In the national context, celebrating the 50th Birthday of Independence in 2007, the Malaysian Federal Government has launched a tourism campaign (Visit Malaysia Year 2007) within

which Malacca's Portuguese Settlement is also represented. Mirrored images reflect some of the politics of representation.

The 'cultural extraordinariness' of the place – and its touristic relevance – is central on one public space – Portuguese Square – and one event in particular: the Festival of S. Peter. Additionally, the place is also indexed with references to Portuguese space, cultural performances and gastronomy. Images of the Square in official propaganda discourses depict 'a square similar to the central square in Lisbon, Portugal.' (*Melaka Tourism* nd.: 4). In the *Malaysia Travel Guide*, the Settlement is also represented as a place 'where visitors can enjoy its lively square and eat Portuguese –inspired seafood. [To] Visit during festivals such as San Juan and San Pedro held in June' (*Malaysia Travel Guide* nd.: 19).

On the other hand, the Festival of San Pedro is indexed as a place in history, portraying a historical and colourful tradition:

'On 29th June every year, fishermen will honour their patron saint, St. Peter, a tradition kept alive for 500 years. Known as Festa de San Pedro, the festival relives the glories of old Portugal where gaily-dressed fishing-fleets participate in the blessing of the fleet [...], traditionally held off Lisbon. There will also be traditional music and dances' (*Melaka Tourism* nd.: 4).

In 2007, the Festival of San Pedro was enlisted in the official Programme of Visit Malaysia Year. The way the Feast is mirrored in national level celebration would draw the discussion to the symbolic and political meanings of this inclusion. Quoting the official brochure, going to 'Fiesta San Pedro [is to] 'Experience Portugal in Malaysia!' (*Visit Malaysia* 2006: np). The text also invites visitors to:

'Participate in a Festival unlike any other! Fiesta San Pedro or Feast of Saint Peter is a major annual celebration of the Portuguese fishing community. Get ready for a day filled with fun and delight as you watch traditional games, cultural performances, food fairs and a 'best decorated' boat contest' (*Great Events* 2007: np).

An '(Extra)Ordinary Place'?

Tourism 'is a practice of ontological knowledge, an encounter with space that is both social and incorporates an embodied 'feeling of doing'' (Crouch 2002: 211). I follow Chris Rojek's proposition concerning the role that myth and fantasy play in the social

construction of tourist sights. Used in the plural, the noun 'sights' refers, here, to 'noteworthy or attractive features of a town' (whereas, if used in its singular form, it would mean 'the faculty of seeing') (Pocket Oxford Dictionary, 1984: 697). Chris Rojek assumes '...the proposition that myth and fantasy play an unusually large role in the social construction of all travel and tourist sights. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, travel sights are usually physically distant from our ordinary locale. (...) Second (...) the cultural significance of sights engender representational cultures which increase the accessibility of the sight in everyday life; in theory we may speak of an index of representations; that is, a range of signs, images and symbols which make the sight familiar to us in ordinary culture. The process of indexing refers to the set of visual, textual and symbolic representations to the original culture. It is important to recognize that representational culture is not a uniform entity. Rather one might speak of files of representation. A file of representation refers to the medium and conventions associated with signifying a sight' (Rojek 1997: 53). According to this view, 'Methaphorical, allegorical and false information remains a resource in the pattern of tourist culture as an object of reverie, dreaming and speculation. In the social construction of sights this information can be no less important than factual material in processes of indexing' (Rojek 1997: 53). As such, 'A tourist sight may be defined as a special location which is distinguished from everyday life by virtue of its natural, historical or cultural extraordinariness' (Rojek 1997: 52). As a social category, 'the extraordinary place' spontaneously invites speculation, reverie, mind-voyaging and a variety of other acts of imagination' (Rojek 1997: 51). This brings into discussion, also, questions of agency and power, related to processes of labelling and appropriating space. I follow, here, Sherry Ortner's (2006) approach to conceptualizing agency: '(1) the question whether or not agency inherently involves 'intentions'; (2) the simultaneous universality and cultural constructedness of agency; and (3) the relationship between agency and 'power'' (Ortner 2006: 134). A more detailed theoretical analysis is, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

In this section I briefly describe practices of appropriation of public space in the *Settlement*, during *Festa San Pedro* 2007. Locally, the *Kristang* community, through their representatives (the *Regedor's* Panel) elected the theme *My community, My country* for the 2007 celebration— [politically 'in line' with the state and federal government]. The spatial context of the celebration seems to be made of multiple centres, (gaining more or less centrality, according to the

time of the day). One observes the centrality of the 'Open Air Stage' (and surrounding area): this is the main public space and its festive centre and the central point of an intense economic contact zone. It is also a highly mediatized landscape. I will illustrate this fact by presenting two examples [taken from fieldnotes]:

Interactions on Stage: Tropa di Minino and Tropa di Malaca

In the first day of the *Festa* there was the debut of a new Cultural Troupe: «Tropa di Minino» (Children's Troupe) was created by the local *Regedor's* Panel, with the aim of trying to 'secure' the socio-cultural continuity of Portuguese dances. In the debut performance, the thirteen *kristang* children, dressed in 'traditional' local costumes [made by local tailors], were asked to 'SMILE' (by their lady teacher), while entering the stage. This troupe was followed by the cultural group «*Tropa di Malaca*», whose leader is the *Kristang* musician Noel Felix. [I will not address here the structure and repertoire of the performances, as it is beyond the scope of this paper]. I would, however like to emphasise an incident that occurred on stage: while performing, *Tropa di Malaca's* musicians and dancers were interrupted twice, in order to enable a TV channel and their reporters to film their performance. The stage was now a shared space between musicians, dancers, photographers, cameramen, and the lady journalist.

Second: Procession & Boat Competition.

The Christian procession and blessing of the Boats (on the last evening of the Festival) is the second moment I would like to invoke here, as it was held among a massified crowd of visitors, journalists and locals. This was also a setting of photographic interaction between locals and visitors. Fishermen's Boats were decorated with various materials, and all presented logos by a national telephone company. Boat Competition winners received money, and the competition's judges were asked to evaluate each boat according to the following criteria: 'Cleanliness', 'Decoration', 'Significant Religious points', and 'Originality'. [In 2007, I was one of the judges. In the past, other foreign researchers were asked to evaluate the competition.]

Other central spaces, (practiced by both locals and visitors) located in the reclaimed land near the seaside were *Medan Selera* [locally named 'The stalls'] and a *Fun Fair* – occurring in a leisure playground area near the sea, and held for the first time in 2007.

At the periphery of all these spaces, one finds the [touristy indexed] *Portuguese Square*. In contrast to the centrality that is given to it in tourist official narratives, this is a rather abandoned social space. At the entrance, colourful signs indicate a museum (closed for renovation), some restaurants and a souvenir shop. However, the emptiness of the place only diminishes at meal hours or when the souvenir shop's loud music fills in the space (stimulating tourist consumption practices). Particularly, interviews with European tourists (twenty-two semi-structured interviews, 2007-2008) were carried out during festivals and also in occasions when there was not a public celebration in the settlement, with the purpose of knowing how they perceive the space of the Settlement. Most of the interviewees expressed a feeling of disappointment towards the space of the compound. Interviewees infer that their experience in the place is one of disenchantment. Experiencing the *real* place, is less pleasurable than imagining it, in an anticipated way. A general perception of emptiness is corroborated by the people of the place, and, specifically, by the *Square's* restaurant owners.

(In)Conclusive Remarks

Space 'is discursively mapped and corporeally practiced. An urban neighbourhood, for example, may be laid out physically according to a street plan. But it is not a space until it is practiced by people's active occupation, their movements through and around it' (Clifford 1997: 54). In the present empirical context, discourse and experience seem to be displaced. Regarding spatial identities, the *Kristang* imagine *Padri sa Chang* as the stage upon which social memory is constructed, where locality is 'produced', as well as a site for tourism performance both in local, national and trans-national contexts. It seems to be, also, a symbolic arena for negotiating place and identity and coping with the media and politics. Somewhere in-between, they are dealing with commercial activity, media exposure, and multiple agencies. David Greenwood's (1989) classic study on commoditization of culture is evocative, here, of the dense process of appropriation of this place, by multiple agents.

The symbolic appropriation of the village by the Malaysian Government, calls into the background, *Kristangs'* religious identity, and how their spatial practices are appropriated into national rhetoric by Malaysia's Islamic State. The *exoticness* present in the narratives about the place draws into discussion the making of a Christian ghetto, into a *touristic* place. European Tourists' disenchant

perception of the *Portuguese Square and Settlement*, may be helpful empirical tools in deconstructing the social meanings of emptiness, in tourist settings. The place of the *Settlement* in Official Tourism discourses brings into the context the relations between Power and Tourism, regarding processes of ideological investment in the construction of sites. There seem to be multiple ways in which governments have been interested in promoting and shaping Tourism. Indeed, state intervention and tourism regulation can be noticed throughout the history of such activity. From its colonial production to its post-colonial appropriations, this seems to be the case in Malacca's *Portuguese Settlement*. Analyzing Tourism, anthropologically, is all about reflexively unpacking these processes.

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POLITICAL ECOLOGY OF TOURISM WORLDMAKING: A CASE OF SHANGRI-LA COUNTY, SOUTHWEST CHINA

Jundan (Jasmine) Zhang

Introduction

Within the tourism industry and academia environmental issues are discussed intensively and extensively, due to tourism's dependency on the resource and quality of 'nature' (Holden 2003). To avoid an overly simplistic and instrumental view of the relationship between tourism and 'nature', we need to ask what the word 'nature' means (Soper 1995). Nature has been regarded as a more complex concept than it appears to be in our daily life (Luke 1997, Williams 1988) and becomes even more complex when people use the word in different contexts. Ecocriticism, as an interdisciplinary study about the literature of environment, criticizes environmentalism and its various approaches to understanding and coping with the so-called 'environmental crises' (Garrard 2004, Glotfelty and Fromm 1996).

One particular challenge of ecocriticism is how to confront, in a context of globalization, the accusation that 'environmentalism is neocolonialism' (Shiva, 1989), in particular that 'the environmentalist 'advocacy of an ethics of place' has often resulted in hostility toward displaced human populations' (Wright 2010). A recent shift in the studies of ecocriticism is to recognize that, besides ecocriticism conducted by Anglo-European trained scholars, ecocriticism from other scholarly traditions may have its own cultural ramifications, for example, 'Chinese ecocriticism seems to be developing more

independently and growing rapidly in several institutions' (Garrard 2010). A blog entry 'Unreasonable development could result in people's wearing animal fur in Yunnan' (hereinafter Unreasonable Development) from a leader of an environmental non-governmental organization (e-NGO) in China unravels the issues around 'nature' and 'people' from the perspective of that organisation:

There was a provincial officer told a Western media that, in promoting the notion of 'developing Yunnan province with ecological awareness', us grass-roots environmental NGOs expect people in rural Yunnan to remain their poverty; and that we hope to keep their 'primitive lifestyle (i.e. living on the trees, wearing animal furs)' to feed eco-tourists' brutal exoticism... (to this accusation) I would say this officer knows little about Chinese grass-roots environmentalists. In China, the groups who first sense the environmental issues are...literati and intellectuals who are sensitive and emotional; many of them are women. ...First they saw injustice in human rights, resource distribution, education rights and discourse power. Then they saw the people who suffer most from such injustice also often entangled with the consequences of environmental deterioration... Therefore these 'literati environmentalists' always put human rights and discourse power issues as key points on their agenda of solving environmental issues. (Feng 2008 my translation)

It is pertinent here to note that the idea emanating from Unreasonable Development (Feng 2008) first challenges the fundamental perception of the relationship between people and nature, and states that they are one inseparable being. It may not necessarily demonstrate the 'Chinese ecocriticism' Garrard (2010) identifies, but certainly views environmental problems from a more political perspective. This challenge, therefore, shifts our attention away from the dualistic debates between anthropocentrism and ecocentrism; debates which are traditional in environmentalism and enlightenment thinking, to an emerging interaction between the concerns for people and the environment they rely on. This echoes the ongoing debates of the nature/culture division in both social and natural science research, especially in geography and anthropology fields (Braun and Castree 1998, Castree 2005, Franklin 2003, Gerber 1997, Alan et al. 2003).

In Unreasonable Development (Feng 2008), tourism is presented as a controversial industry, however not understood to be a context. It brings us to wonder whether the traditionally used term 'tourism impact' is again a simplistic and dualistic convention in that it describes the model of changes brought to certain people by certain

other people through tourism; for example both the provincial officer and Feng the environmentalist leader have the impression that ecotourism is a vehicle for tourists to purchase natural/exotic images and experiences of primitive peoples and places. In order to look into the more complex relationships between environmental discourse and tourism development in this paper, I adopt the notion of 'worldmaking' to understand tourism's role and function as 'an interpretable and malleable carrier/creator/confirmer of being and becoming' (Hollinshead et al. 2009), that often results in a dominant vision over others. How such a dominant vision happens in tourism 'worldmaking' has been discussed in critical postcolonial studies that focused on unbalanced power relations between East and West. In this paper, I argue that through tourism 'worldmaking' there is always a dominant vision in the binaries of nature/culture, host/guest, East/West and North/South, and we need to understand how such dominant 'worldmaking' is normalized from a political ecology perspective (Huggan and Tiffin 2009, Morton 2007, Roos and Hunt 2010).

Tourism development as Worldmaking

The term 'worldmaking' was first used in the realm of art and aesthetics (Nelson Goodman 1978). Goodman's idea of 'worldmaking', that artists 'work' and 'become' creatively and intently through experiences, is moulded by Hollinshead to be 'visionary imperatives and muscular fabricative activities of tourism' (2009: 431). Hollinshead (2009) points out that, similarly with art, those who represent reality or who make judgments in tourism are not acting alone. Rather, they are embedded in complex re-presenting reality in symbolic ways. The representation of reality hence is different from the mimetic 'copying of reality'; it functions as a force to (re) manufacture a powerful medium – tourism – to revalue things. Examples are observable, as cultural frameworks are selected and formulated through tourism, and present a strategy for destination marketing and branding, which will further enforce place-making and identity-making. During such practices, those who work within and alongside tourism act on their own positions, exchanging their influences to essentialize/naturalize/normalize imperatives that revalue the meaning and beings of people and their place. A particular vision of the world is made more favorable than other visions, and 'becomes entrenched/embedded/hegemonic over other actual or potential interpretations or perspectives...' (Hollinshead 2009: 434).

With the idea of 'worldmaking' it is hoped that tourism researchers can avoid the grand clichés current in Tourism Studies and better contribute to such studies (Hollinshead 2007). There have been many tourism researchers trying to elaborate on the impacts/consequences that tourism practices induce, clouded however by the dualistic binaries such as authentic/fake, traditional/modern, developed/developing and north/south. Such binaries and categories have 'played a vital role in bringing about the dominant vision of the world, a vision according to which we act' (Gerber 1997) and which indicates to us as tourism researchers that we are the same as everybody else who is involved in tourism activities; that we are not only embedded within a dominant dualistic vision of the world, but remain also (at least mostly) unconscious of this dualism, due to the naturalization/normalization of this vision.

We are reminded by the academic literature that such naturalization/normalization is an expression of power about which, within Tourism Studies, we have articulated little (Jamal and Hollinshead 2001, Jamal and Kim 2005, Storey 2008, Tribe 2009, Tribe 2010). Instead of making a neat and tidy system or model of the world, the notion of 'worldmaking' aims to shed light on the hidden power tourism plays in the discursive construction of well-planned and collaborative imperatives. Additionally, some worldmaking acts are done possibly without awareness of authority or in a 'passive projection' (Hollinshead 2009: 431), because we are always 'aesthetically conditioned and politically pre-imbued' (ibid: 432).

It is this 'passive projection' that is drawing increasing researcher attention to their own positions in 'worldmaking', noticeably in a postcolonial perspective. Tucker (2009), in recognizing her own discomfort in an encounter with tourists and the toured, reflects on the colonizing tendencies of tourism researchers in a 'worldmaking' process and sheds light on the postcolonial potentialities within tourism activities. With its contribution to the discourse around 'Otherness', postcolonial studies has supplied a context of examining worldmaking in that tourism destinations often are nationally and internationally influenced by the dominant Western ways of knowing and being, resulting in the 'othered' groups and communities who 'have been under-suspectingly but ethnocentrically mis-labelled' (Hollinshead 2007: 182). To challenge such 'worldmaking', inquiry is supposed to critique the role of tourism in leading the 'reevaluation of local places, cultures and cosmologies' (Hollinshead 2007: 166).

However, while maintaining close attention on the changing cultures happening in tourism 'worldmaking' (e.g. *Journal of Tourism*

and Cultural Change), we have been limited by the binaries of East/West and nature/culture. It is argued that tourism as postcolonialism (after Tucker and Akama 2009) should now begin the project of opening critical spaces for new narratives of identity and belonging (Keen and Tucker 2012). The dominant 'worldmaking' made through tourism development offers a context where dominant assumptions about society and nature and our relations to nature are to be articulated from a political ecology perspective.

Political ecology of tourism 'worldmaking'

The culture/nature division currently is often situated within a 'sustainable development' discourse, where 'nature' can be managed scientifically and human as an active agent ought to do good for a better 'common future', for example to reconcile economic growth and environmental preservation (Escobar 1996). Political ecology is a worldview which seeks to understand the complex relationship between society and 'nature', embedded in the problematic conception of 'sustainable development' as a 'reworking of the relationship between society and nature' (Escobar 1996). It is widely understood that political ecology adheres to a constructivist philosophy that 'nature' itself and the degradation happening in 'nature' are socially constructed. Here I follow Escobar's (1996) argument that while 'nature' is made into 'ecological capital' in the current sustainable development discourse, it must be seen as a 'material-semiotic' actor that emerges from a 'discursive processes involving complex apparatuses of science, capital and culture' (Escobar 1996) because how nature, bodies and organisms are produced is always mediated by scientific and cultural narratives. Therefore, looking back to the question of what does the word 'nature' mean and how do people use the word in their own meanings, we can see that while it is almost certain that people have different answers, it is indeed a question of 'who speaks and for whom' (Huggan 2007), so whose answer is dominant over the others.

Plumwood pointed out that our knowledge, and the way we obtain such knowledge, 'harbor hegemonic concepts of agency in the land and natural systems' (Plumwood 2006) in that our anthropocentric prioritization of our own species' interests over the silenced others, to make the others available for exploitation, is still largely regarded as being 'only natural' (Huggan and Tiffin 2009: 5). The key issue here is, whether advocacy for one oppressed group could unintentionally result in further marginalizing another

oppressed group; whether the 'passive projection' aspect of the dominant 'worldmaking' is enacted no matter how we try to prevent it. These issues are identified in political ecology studies, operating particularly to challenge the naturalized binary thinking and so to challenge also the dominant vision of 'worldmaking' in an increasingly mobilized and globalized world.

While tourism researchers have endeavored to challenge the representation functions in social/environmental inequalities that occur alongside tourism's worldwide expansion, they have made their focus either mainly material or mainly textual (for example the research on 'tourism's negative impacts on environment' or 'staged authenticity'). Political ecology takes an alternative approach from any apolitical way of viewing environmental issues; that environmental problems cannot be solved 'without addressing issues of wealth and poverty, overconsumption, underdevelopment, and the notion of resource scarcity' (Heise 2010). With an emphasis on political processes of environmental changes, tourism as a potential medium of imperialism (colonialism and neocolonialism) should be challenged with regard to 'who constructs it in league with whom' (Hollinshead 2009) in the process of authenticating and authorizing one vision of the world/truth over others. For instance, Jamal and Everett (2007) critique that in nature-based tourism, nature can be studied as a neutral, objective concept, but only as an ideological marker that is deeply influenced by geopolitical and cultural factors, social constructions and historical meanings (Jamal and Everett 2007).

The point here is that we need to listen to and understand people from cross-cultural settings, about how their perceptions of 'nature' may relate with their position in their inhabitation (not necessarily a remote and wild place) and their understanding of the universe; the cosmologies. These understandings are highly diverse and fluid, perhaps at times perceived to be spiritual and religious. It needs to be clear here that such assumptions and beliefs about 'nature' are different from one's judgment and evaluation towards 'the environmental crisis', but broadly reflect one's ontological and epistemological position.

Thus, both theoretical and empirical studies are urgently needed. It is critical to enquire how tourism has valued and revalued the meaning of living and ways of living, especially in the areas where natural and cultural diversity are marked dualistically as two bodies of entities, and then promoted/produced separately as tourism attractions by authorities and sovereignties without taking other agents' perceptions of such diversity into account. Responding to the

criticism that critical tourism studies has failed to understand tourism's relationship with the growing inequalities produced by neo-liberal capitalism and globalization (Bianchi 2009), political ecology sheds light on the need to adjust the entangled power relations' effects on the imaginative texts in tourism 'worldmaking' and offers a broader and integrative perspective for understanding the relationships between people, place and nature.

Shangri-La – a political ecology perspective

Carrigan (2010) suggests that the role of 'stories/narratives' is important in current Tourism Studies to open dialogues between different agents; critical, creative and innovative methodologies for conducting research are urged and the interpretation of the hegemonic force of their symbolic activities needs longitudinal investigation (Hollinshead 2009). It is pointed out that, the one-off site visit and survey are simply not sufficient to comment on 'these acute interpretative and political matters of agency, authority, appropriation and aspiration' (Hollinshead 2009: 543). In my research, such a suggestion is crucial to understanding people's cosmological positions and to bring them into the changing social, cultural, political and physical environment. Shangri-La is the ideal place to illustrate the issues discussed above and also is suitable to conduct long-term ethnographic study.

Located in the northwest part of Yunnan province, Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture is one of the least economically developed areas in China and one of the richest areas in biodiversity and topography on earth. Since the late 1990s, the Diqing Prefecture Government has included natural resource in its economic strategy through developing four 'pillar industries', namely mining, hydropower, biological products and tourism (Diqing Development and Reform Committee, 2008). It is believed that tourism should be the priority because 'tourism revenue can potentially be kept entirely within the prefecture' (Zinda in press). However, the wish of the Diqing Prefecture Government to convert scenic and cultural resources into tourism attractions happens in a more complicated context.

For decades, Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture and Shangri-La County had relied on logging for a living. After the 1998 Yangtze River flood the logging was banned by the central government. This ban resulted in the displacement of logging community in Eastern Tibet and parts of Yunnan, Sichuan province.

At the end of 1998 a collaborative conservation and development project between the Yunnan provincial government and a United States based environmental NGO, The Nature Conservancy (TNC) was initiated; 'The Yunnan Great Rivers Project' (Ou 2004). The rapid progress TNC and Yunnan province government made catalyzed a remarkable coalition of local residents, religious figures, local governments, academic institutions and conservation organizations (Litzinger, 2004). In the Conservation and Development Action Plan for Northwest Yunnan the project proposed to produce several national parks, including Pudacuo National Park in Shangri-La (JPO (Joint Project Office) 2001). The Diqing prefecture government's resolution for converting cultural and natural resources into tourism attraction meshed with TNC's wish to promote well planned and managed national parks (Zinda in press). The local actors viewed TNC and its project as a useful tool to bring people together to pursue their own aspiration their land and environment. However, in 2010, this coalition dissolved. TNC removed its offices in Shangri-La County and also Kunming City, the capital of Yunnan Province.

What happened in this process is well recorded (Wang et al. 2012, 2012, Zinda in press). The collaborative and market-oriented conservation model in Shangri-La County or Diqing Prefecture proved to involve many difficulties. It is portrayed that TNC's efforts in protecting and managing both nature and culture failed because 'TNC was not equipped to understand local politics and resident concerns well' (Zinda in press: 3), thus leading to the chaos of 'from ecotourism to mass tourism'. Kolås (2008) mentions that mass tourism consumption is an effect of the Chinese central government's 'Open Up the West' agenda. Litzinger (2004) pinpoints that the examination should be situated in a context of a sustainable development discourse of a competing 'mobilization of nature', rather than a simple relation to the operation of Open Up the West. Litzinger (2004) also argues that how landscapes should be named, protected and developed is at the centre of cultural and environmental politics. Indeed, from a political ecology account, Shangri-La and its tourism development, especially the establishment of Pudacuo national park manifests power distribution among decision-making involving nature's 'ecological capital' and also the narrative of nature's role in the process of development.

While TNC, local government and provincial government were busy with battling for who has the right agency to do the 'good' thing for whom, people who live on this land found their own ways to make their tough life bearable. Besides tourism, the other three

industries in 'four pillar industries' occurred with more visible conflicts. Mining, hydropower, and biological products were studied within a political ecology framework. For example, Yang et al (2008) report that northwest Yunnan, as a place to grow wild mushrooms, has provided the villages opportunities for a non-timber livelihood. The harvest and import of wild mushrooms in general, and in particular a prized species Matsutake (pine mushroom in Japanese), generates good income, with the wholesale price in Japan USD 27 to USD 560 per kg. They also note that now in Shangri-La County, up to 50% – 80% of household income is generated by the harvest and sale of matsutake (Yang et al. 2008). A complex commodity chain between Shangri-La County and the surrounding villages' harvesters and Japanese consumers was established and conflicts arose from access to and use of the forest, managing forests as well as responding to environmental degradation (He 2010, Yeh 2000).

Compared with the industries in which 'nature' is materialized into tangible ecological capital (e.g. water, minerals, wild mushrooms), ecotourism is suggested to be a more 'sustainable' way to advance the development of Shangri-La County (Xu and Wilkes 2004, Guihua Yang et al. 2000). Engaging with political ecology thinking, an environmental discourse that involves the politics of making changes to 'nature', politics of people's ideas of 'nature', and politics of narratives or actions towards 'nature', emerges. Through tourism development different individuals are representing, and also represented by, different ideologies, epistemologies and cosmologies. How the environmental discourse in tourism development is shown in individuals' perceptions, recognition and reaction of the role of 'nature' is at the centre of understanding the political ecology of Shangri-La.

Environmental discourse and tourism development in Shangri-La

It is recognized that the sustainable development discourse, within which tourism in Shangri-La was promoted, occurs in a wider environmental discourse; to be more precise, within an evolution of environmentalism in post-Maoist China (Yue 2010). The earlier awakening of environmentalism in China was led by creative writers in the 1980s, strongly influenced by the traditional Chinese values of human-nature harmony, especially from Taoist and Buddhist views on nature. These writers urged the rebuilding of the connection with 'traditional Chinese culture' of the period before cultural revolution, or pre-Maoist China. The American conservationist ideals were

translated into Chinese and became influential with intellectuals. The more nationwide environmental awareness didn't arise until the mid 1990s, when international calls here made for awareness of China's rapid shift from being a net grain exporter to being the world's second largest grain importer. It was feared that China would cause competition and even war over food and other resources. This environmental awareness happened around the same time as 1998 Yangtze River flood, which caused the aforementioned logging ban and promotion of tourism development (Yue 2010). This environmental realisation sparked the second-wave of the environmentalist movement in China, concerning whether China can 'afford to pursue the Western model of economic development and mass consumption.' (Yue 2010: 56).

There are several competing environmental discourses: a so-called traditional Chinese (Han) environmental narrative, a global/western conservationist environmental discourse, a detested utilitarian form of engagement with nature, and an unclear transferring of 'indigenous' environmental knowledge. The tourism development in Shangri-La County on the surface is a consequence of 'ecological economic exchange' between the downstream China and East Tibetan regions since the environmental crisis in Tibetan regions must be solved to save China's water supply in the Yangtze River. Thus, Tibetan regions are reconfigured through tourism. From a political ecological point of view, tourism development is a consequence of these competing environmental discourse; a co-production of human and 'nature' and therefore an ongoing process of making and remaking people's perceptions towards 'nature'. The location of 'real Shangri-La' is selected; the image appointed of Shangri-La County being 'no conflict, no chaos, only economic prosperity, national unity and social stability'; and the identity of being a 'different Tibet' is mandated. A dominant vision is installed through tourism development, and rapidly helps 'render some ideas sayable and other notions mute' (Hollinshead 2009: 537). Such a process is discussed also in a context of Yunnan province and China (Hollinshead and Hou 2012, Hou 2012, Summers 2010).

Not far away from Shangri-La County, in the Mount Everest National Park and Buffer Zone in Nepal, some Sherpa ecological knowledge and understanding were noticed to have shifted from spiritual and agro-pastoralist socioeconomic values to a more tourism-centred economic logic (Spoon 2011). The blurring of ideas of religious belief or 'ecotouristic' belief of 'nature' is reflected by scholars who have lived in Shangri-La County for decades; Tibetan

biologists Pan and Yang believe ecotourism and religious tourism are exchangeable because Tibetan Buddhism believes in an 'eco-friendly' ecology (Pan and Yang 2000). Donaghe's (2012) recent research in Shangri-la County offers information of some ongoing process of influence from global 'sustainable ecotourism' knowledge. Few major newly-established institutions/organizations in Shangri-La are providing education and training and possible pro-poor projects are being investigated, through the Eastern Tibet Training Institute, The Poverty Alleviation Fund, Shangri-La Association of Cultural Preservation and Shangri-La Institute for Sustainable Communities. All of these agencies are involved with Ecotourism, each of them having some partnership with another. However, they have less collaborations with local government. Interestingly, Donaghe (2012) claims that in his fieldwork the participants were confused in answering what does 'ecotourism' or what is 'eco' in general mean; he questions that if the definition is not consistent, how is it possible to develop a sustainable 'ecotourism'.

The action of introducing new conservation discourses, supporting a romanticized version of the physical environment and altering indigenous epistemologies, is of concern (Coggins and Hutchinson 2006). This caution makes me recall a scene which I witnessed when first I went to Shangri-La. According to my notes at that time, one night, after a day-tour, we were talking about impressions of the national park. Everyone had something to say. The lack of resource and inefficient delivering of information were pointed out; another colleague noticed that there was too little cultural heritage information. My primary concern was how people understood the concept of 'national park' and whether they would adopt it the way the planners wished. For me, there was no way to argue or decide how to do and educate conservation before we know how the idea of 'conservation' is structured within people's mind. Hakkenberg (2008) explains that the epistemologies of the sacred sites in Tibetan areas of northwest Yunnan are far from monolithic; instead, a localized discourse on biological and cultural diversity coexist with one and another. There is, however, a risk of oversimplifications in expecting indigenous knowledge as necessarily possessing solutions where global science has failed. Empirical studies are needed to see how the role of 'nature' intersects the binary of indigenous and global.

Conclusion

Huggan and Tiffin (2009) ask whether there is any way of 'narrowing the ecological gap between coloniser and colonised' and thus freeing them from their 'seemingly incommensurable worlds'? (p.2) Political ecology studies appeal through an awareness that social justice cannot be separated from environmental justice. In this paper, I have elaborated the point that the political ecology approach to view environmental issues in tourism development may contribute to a better understanding of tourism's role and function in 'worldmaking'.

Shangri-La County in Southwest China as a tourism destination is perhaps seen by some as a set of distant natural, cultural, and ethnic resources. More likely it is seen as an overall mythical product located in a remote part of the world, waiting to be visited. From a political ecology perspective, the tourism development there is a negotiation between ecological and economic surveillance, a set of products closely intertwined with environmental discourse. China's environmentalist movement, set in a global context, shows that 'worldmaking' is not merely one type of ideology dealing with the way people view things, but involves also cosmologies, assumptions and beliefs about place, space and the universe people inhabit. I suggest that more longitudinal ethnographic studies are acutely needed in order to understand what role 'nature' plays in peoples' changing identities and thus their role in the 'worldmaking' process.

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**ECO-FRIENDLY FORMS OF TOURISM AND THE BUILT
ENVIRONMENT: IMPLICATIONS AND LESSONS
FOR SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN
SPITI VALLEY, HIMALAYAS**

Apoorva Pal and Sucheta Mehru

Introduction

Tourism is among the fastest growing industries in the world and is of great significance in the developing world as it provides foreign exchange and livelihood opportunities (UN 2008). In India, tourism is from both the domestic and foreign market, with many Indians visiting different states within the country as well as many international tourists arriving in the country each year. As per the Ministry of Tourism in India, the number of international tourist arrivals in 2011 was 6.29 million with a growth rate of 8.9% annually, compared to the world growth rate of 4.6% (Ministry of Tourism 2011a). The number of domestic visits was estimated as 850.86 million for 2011, with a growth rate of 13.8%. The Foreign Exchange Earnings from tourism were estimated to be 16564 million USD for the same year, at a growth rate of 16.7%. These statistics show that not only is tourism a growing industry and an important source of revenue for the country, but also presents a great challenge and opportunity for sustainable development. Tourism impacts all 3 aspects of sustainable development – environmental, social and economic – and hence must be one of the key areas of concern for development.

Himalayan region and Spiti Valley

The Himalayan Mountains are one of the most pristine locations in the world. The highest and youngest mountain range in the world, they are associated with adventure, mysticism and surreal beauty. They are home to many different ecosystems within, with a variety of water bodies, flora, fauna and avifauna. They attract tourists for many reasons such as pilgrimage, sport, adventure, exploration or simply for their beauty (Spaltenberger).

The state of Himachal Pradesh is a mountain state and lies in the northern Himalayan region in India. It is bordered by Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Haryana and Uttarakhand in India, and China to its east. It attracts one of the largest shares of tourists in India, with 14.6 million domestic tourists and over 480,000 international tourists in 2011 (Ministry of Tourism 2011b). It is also the 10th most visited state in terms of foreign tourists.

Within this state, there are many natural variations in terms of geography, topography and terrain. On one side of the mountains lie green and lush forests and thriving settlements. The other side of the same mountains represents a complete contrast being on the leeward side and hence receiving hardly any rainfall. This leeward region is marked by high, bare mountains that reach up to clear blue skies, stark landscape, and rocky, barren terrain. This area is the Spiti Valley in the district of Lahaul and Spiti in the state of Himachal Pradesh.

While this area was closed off for many years, it opened its doors to tourism in 1992 (Kaushik 1993). Since then, the number of tourists visiting the district of Lahaul and Spiti has been increasing steadily, with almost 20,000 tourists visiting this district as of 2005 compared to about 15,000 in 2004 (Selvam 2012). Since this is still a somewhat unexplored region and not very easily accessible, the population in these settlements has not interacted much with the outside world and lead content, self – sufficient lives in harmony with their surroundings (Kaushik 1993). Tourism development in this region represents a great challenge and must be dealt with very carefully, as the ecosystem as well as socio-cultural environment is extremely fragile and untouched.

Apart from the growing numbers, what makes tourism in this area very important and interesting to look at is because while it has opened up the yet unexplored region to tourists seeking adventure and the exotic, it also exposes the inexperienced locals to tourists. The traditional Spitian society and lifestyle has never been so directly in contact with outsiders or a large income generating industry, and

has affected the societal structure on many levels. This area has always traditionally relied on natural resources for subsistence, and did not experience industrialisation coupled with so-called modernisation. The development of tourism has now triggered the youth to seek study and work opportunities outside the traditional domains, and also brought a desire to ‘develop’ the region physically and economically. These ideas are rooted in globalisation and must be analysed in order to preserve this fragile ecosystem. The terrain and climate ensure that the pace of this development and subsequent environmental degradation is not as rapid as it would be elsewhere. On the flip side, this also means that degradation here is much more visible and affects people much faster as they rely only on the natural environment.

Sustainable Tourism

The concepts of sustainability and sustainable development gained prominence due to the Brundtland Commission report in 1987, and then the Rio Conference in 1992. These concepts and their 3 pillars can be applied to tourism also – environmentally, socially and economically sustainable tourism development, especially for developing countries where tourism can be one of the main economic activities.

There are many definitions and terminologies associated with sustainable tourism, such as green tourism, eco-tourism, environmentally friendly tourism, nature tourism. According to the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) definition, sustainable tourism is ‘*Tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities.*’ This definition applies well to Spiti Valley, which must take all these factors into account to develop a sustainable strategy for tourism.

The WTO also gives some further guidelines for the development of sustainable tourism, including the conservation of natural, built and living cultural heritage of the local communities (UN WTO).

Importance of tourism for the local economy

Tourism affects the local environment and communities in tourist destinations, and needs to be well planned and managed to preserve the environment and local heritage as well as socio-cultural

life (UNEP and ICLEI 2003). Since it is one of the main sources of income in remote areas with few economic resources, it can be an important means of livelihood if developed properly. Guidelines for developing sustainable tourism have been provided by the Local Agenda 21. These guidelines cover many aspects such as environmental planning, transport, conservation and promotion of heritage resources. The most important thing they re-emphasise is the importance of learning from the experience of local communities, as they are the real stakeholders in the development of sustainable tourism.

Role of built form in sustainable tourism development

As the tourism industry is multi-sectoral, each area must be considered to be able to really apply the concept (Avenzora 1993: 3). Sustaining local livelihoods, preservation of the natural resources and environment, enhancing the economic opportunities for the region, provision of a sustainable built environment and infrastructure, waste management are all some of the many things to consider. The built environment directly impacts many of these aspects, such as the natural heritage, resources, society and culture. It means not only the buildings, but even public spaces, cultural centres and landscape. The focus of this paper is on the built form related to tourism development, and the authors hope that dealing with this aspect would on one hand have environmental benefits and also social and economic benefits by involving the local communities in the project.

Project Area and study

Spiti Valley and its ecology

Spiti Valley is a sub-division of the Lahaul and Spiti district, and lies on the eastern most edge of the state of Himachal Pradesh bordering Tibet and Ladakh. The river Spiti flows through the valley and some agricultural lands dot the riverside (<http://himachaltourism.gov.in>). Geographically and culturally, the region is very similar to Ladakh and Tibet. The valley covers an area of approximately 8000 square kilometers kms and has about 10,000 inhabitants (<http://www.spiticosphere.com/spiti.htm>). The area has a very rich geological past. While the Spiti River has carved out Shale formations all along the valley, there are also many marine

fossils found in this area. The administrative headquarter of Spiti is a town called Kaza, located at a height of approximately 3,600 metres. It is a fast growing town with all the large administrative and commercial buildings in the valley being built here.

Geography and Climate

Spiti lies on the leeward side of the Trans Himalayan mountain range, and hence has very less precipitation. The climate is cold and sunny, with extremes of temperature variation between summers and winters. Winter is especially harsh for about 4 months a year, and temperatures can go as low as -25° C. Spiti is a cold desert with very sparse vegetation. Barley, buck-wheat and peas are some of the crops grown here.

Society

The people living in the valley are almost all Buddhists, and religion plays a major part in the lives of the people. The region is economically very poor and relies on heavy subsidies from the government. Agriculture was the mainstay of the economy, but it is largely subsistence based as the harsh land and climate makes it difficult to make agriculture a profitable venture. With the opening of the area recently, more cash crops have begun to be cultivated, and other avenues for employment are generated, tourism being one of them.

Introduction to the project

The authors were asked to design a Guest House in Spiti by a local in the area, who was very passionate about reviving the old style of building. His vision extended beyond prevalent views associated with traditional buildings – such as that they do not last long, are not durable and have no amenities. He instead understood their potential in this harsh terrain, and decided to overcome the limitations that had forced many people to abandon them. One of the key concepts behind his ideas thus was to use locally available material to save construction and operational costs, provide thermal comfort for the building occupants, and generate an interest and appreciation for the traditional systems and knowledge in the valley.

Primary Study

This paper tries to demonstrate how the built form can contribute to sustainable tourism development. As seen before, the built form is one of the many dimensions of tourism. However, in a place like Spiti which has an extremely fragile ecosystem, it becomes very essential as unsustainable construction activity can harm the environment, natural resources and ecosystem adversely. Also, it is intrinsically linked to the creation of identity in this barren landscape. The focus of this study therefore is to first study the existing forms of construction analyse their suitability and apply them in a project designed by the authors. The villages and buildings studied by the authors during the primary survey were Tabo Monastery and the surrounding village of Tabo, Key Monastery, Kibber and Lhalung.

Methodology

The first part of the study deals with the study of existing construction systems and materials prevalent in Spiti valley. This was conducted through literature review, talking to local stakeholders, experts and through primary study. The authors conducted informal interviews with 3 experienced masons and labour in the valley who have been using traditional materials for construction. The interviews were meant to find out the tradition of building with mud and other local materials, recent changes in practice and the reasons behind it. Other important stakeholders consulted were the monks at Tabo Monastery, who had in the recent years commissioned a large project to be built using traditional materials. The authors also spoke to the proprietors of Ecosphere, an organisation trying to promote eco tourism in the valley through initiatives such as home stays, waste management and also to provide employment to local persons. During this period, the authors also undertook a study tour through many villages in the valley to understand the construction systems, settlement pattern and the changing trends. The second part of the study deals with the design and construction of the project, and the various challenges encountered during this process. Despite the challenges faced, it is hoped that this work will encourage others to experiment with ideas that are rooted in the past and may be adapted to the present to arrive at solutions for the great challenges we face in the field of eco-tourism.

Traditional built form and the creation of identity

All the old villages in Spiti were located on the top of the mountain rather than at the base as movement and trade happened through the mountain passes. The high location and barren landscape ensured the visibility of these villages from far. The built environment came to define and create the identity of the village. Its importance thus goes beyond just providing a shelter.

Systems of construction

The geographical isolation, climate and availability ensured that traditional construction in Spiti was only with local materials. Traditionally, stone is used for the foundation, and rammed earth and mud brick for walls due to availability, convenience and the thermal properties of this material. The typical house typology is slightly tapering walls, small openings for keeping out the cold and a small area open to the south on the upper storey to enjoy the sunshine. The roofs are flat and used to dry fodder which also provides insulation.

Although the area may have been spared colonisation, it did not escape its effects completely. Ironically, the modern buildings first arrived in the form of Government offices in independent India. The Indian Government's Public Works Department, responsible for the construction of most of its buildings, follows a standard construction typology inherited and evolved during the colonial rule in India. There are no efforts to adapt, modify or see their applicability. While many small private and individual movements are happening in different spheres in India such as construction, textile, fashion and even education, the Indian Bureaucracy remains rooted in the colonial era and has not progressed beyond. The colonial ideas that Spiti was exposed to thus came long after the colonisers had gone but still managed to affect many parts of Spitian lifestyle.

Later, as Spiti opened its doors to tourism, the demand for tourist facilities and infrastructure increased suddenly. This led to the rapid construction of various small hotels and guest houses inspired by the Government buildings. They were built using baked bricks, concrete and cement as these materials allow for rapid construction. However, these materials are not available locally and increase the carbon footprint of the buildings tremendously. They are also not suitable for the extreme variation in temperatures that Spiti experiences. In addition to this, rising incomes and exposure to other cities has made

many local inhabitants also want to construct using these materials. This stems, in part, from the belief that newer materials are more durable and long lasting. This is actually far from the truth, as the old buildings in Spiti have lasted for a long time. Tabo Monastery for instance, built using traditional materials, is over a thousand years old and many of the houses visited by the authors were over 100 years old. These traditional materials and systems of construction have stood the test of time without much maintenance or renovation.

Importance of preserving vernacular

The importance of preserving the traditional practices of construction is due to three main reasons – thermal comfort and necessity, ecological impact and conservation of living heritage and skills. Even if we do not take into account the more recent trends of green building and ecological footprint, the traditional materials still remain the most suitable given the extremities of climate. They are available locally and hence it is cheaper to construct with them.

The challenge is more about adapting and using these materials in today's context. With regard to this, an important case study for this project was the Guest House for Tabo Monastery, known as the Sarai for Tabo Gompa. This project has been designed by the architect Shubhendu Kaushik, who has lived and worked extensively in this region.

This case study was extremely important as it served to show how traditional materials and built form can be adapted to meet present day demands and provide eco-friendly building solutions.

Some of the important characteristics of this project are Solar Passive Design using trombe wall technology and courtyards, two feet thick walls made of rammed earth, mud roofs and mud or wooden flooring (Sustainable Habitats 2009).

Project Design

Approach

The design approach for our project was to conserve the living and built heritage to as much extent as possible. This is because buildings represent not only a physical entity, but also living heritage in the form of building craftsmanship and skills. By employing traditional style, methods and materials of construction, the project

aims not only to construct an environmentally friendly and climate responsive built environment, but also to provide opportunities for engagement with locals who can use their traditional knowledge and building skills in the construction.

Features

Site Planning and Design

Many trees were planted along the site, such as Willow and Poplar, which are indigenous to this region, and also some fruit bearing trees such as Apple and Apricot. Poplar is a fast growing tree and used in building construction also, while the Willow provides greenery and shade. Poplar trees were planted along the Northern edge, and as they can grow to a height of 30 or 40 feet in this region, they are potential wind barriers for the cold winds coming from the direction of the mountains and river to the north. As the Willow trees are shorter, they were planted along the Southern edge, so that they do not block sunshine from this direction.

Solar Passive Design and Thermal Comfort

The building was oriented along the east-west direction so that the longer face of the building faces south and heat gain is maximised. The building is approached from the south, where most of the windows and openings are located (Plate 1). To minimise the effects of cold winds from the north, thicker walls and openings with fixed glass have been provided on this façade.

The rooms are designed around a central courtyard which has been covered with transparent polycarbonate mounted over a wooden grid structure. This provides light and thermal heat inside the building, and also heats the guest rooms. As these rooms are constructed of rammed earth, the walls absorb heat in the daytime and transfer it inside at night, helping to keep the interiors warm and comfortable without use of energy intensive heating systems.

The benefits from this system are reduction in energy use, saving of wood in this area where trees are scarce by eliminating need of fire places for heating, and also reduction in air pollution caused by fire places.

Plate 12.1 Front facade

Source: Authors, 2011

Material Use

The major part of the construction (over 60%) was carried out using stone and mud which are locally available and hence reduce the carbon footprint of the materials. All the interior walls and staircase were constructed using Rammed Earth (Plate 2). The walls were finished using paint made from mud available locally and the addition of an adhesive to add longevity to the life of the coating (Plate 3). The structure for the roofs and interior work uses wood, which was sourced from Government depots that supply wood from old trees, or waste wood from recycling factories located around 600 kilometres from the site. While this is a long distance that increases the carbon footprint from transport and also causes air pollution, the decision was taken keeping in mind the scarcity of trees in the cold desert region of Spiti and thereby to utilise this waste wood. All the wood was then coated with linseed oil in order to impart strength and repel insects. Solar panels for heating and lighting were also placed on the roof to make use of the abundant sunshine and decrease energy use and costs from electricity use.

Plate 12.2 Rammed Earth Construction for walls



Source: Authors, 2008

Plate 12.3 View of interior



Source: Authors, 2008

Construction Method

Due to the location of the project in a high seismic zone area, Reinforced Cement Concrete framed structure was used to provide strength and stability. The walls were constructed with stone masonry, rammed earth and compressed mud bricks (Plate 4). The roof system consists of mud rammed on top of wooden beams and sections and provides thermal and sound insulation (Plates 5 and 6). Cement is poured on top of a polycarbonate sheet laid on the mud to act as water proofing. The kitchen, toilets and all the storage spaces have been constructed using cement and bricks.

Plate 12.4 Making mud bricks on site



Source: Authors, 2012

Plate 12.5 Recycled wood for formwork



Source: Authors, 2008

Plate 12.6 Flat mud roof



Source: Authors, 2008

Challenges and Outcome

The project was meant to provide environmental and socio-cultural benefits for the region. The environmental benefits of the project are in the form of energy savings and use of local materials. The project saves approximately 181,072 kWh of embodied energy due to mud brick construction (estimated from values of embodied energy as per RCFTLD, 2012). A similar building made entirely of cement and bricks would consume almost 67% more energy only in the form of embodied energy, not accounting for energy used in transporting these materials as they are not available locally. Additionally, use of recycled wood in the project saves precious trees from this cold desert region, and also trees planted on site add to the vegetation and oxygen supply.

In terms of socio-cultural benefits, the project affords visibility to traditional forms of construction that can be applied for commercial and large projects. The project site is strategically located on the road towards Kaza, and the empty terrain ensures project visibility for travellers and locals along this route. One of the major challenges during the construction was to find masons for this particular method of construction. While it used to be the traditional way of construction until a few years back, the rapid changes in the valley have forced the skills of these masons to become redundant. Therefore even though it was a difficult task, finding these masons and giving them employment was seen as an important way of keeping the living heritage of the valley alive. Also, the project uses traditional motifs in the design, and also gives employment benefits to these craftsmen (Plate 7, Plate 8). It is also hoped that the project will demonstrate how construction using traditional and modern systems may be integrated so as to provide solutions for building in today's environment. During the construction process, many of the inhabitants in the area were curious about the techniques and how they could be applied to their own homes. Many locals have been adopting modern materials even though they are unsuitable in part because of the belief that modern amenities such as water supply and plumbing cannot be integrated in mud structures. The discussions clearly demonstrated that the people are aware about the potential of their own traditions, but lack the expertise to integrate them with modern demands and lifestyle. Since this project uses both systems of construction to optimise thermal and living comfort, it might provide an example of a solution that may be adopted for future constructions in the valley.

Plate 12.7 Craftsman using traditional motifs



Source: Authors, 2012

Plate 12.8 Basket made by local inhabitants



Source: Authors, 2011

In addition to the construction process, the other ideas the client had were to serve only local foods and employ local persons in the resort. While it is difficult to objectively quantify how much of these ideas were entirely the client's own, it is still important to recognise that of all the various promotional strategies today, the client chose to pick one that was closest to his own childhood experiences and rooted in the place.

Sustainable Development in the context of the project

While terms such as eco-tourism and sustainability are used widely these days, their implementation and realisation remain difficult. The authors surmise that there are two main reasons how it was made possible in this particular context. The first is the geographical isolation and unique climate of Spiti. The isolation ensured that the area was cut off from the impacts of colonisation and the subsequent post-colonial experiments embarked on in the search for an identity. This in turn meant that the region grew at its own pace and did not really have many external influences until recently. Although better connected, its isolation still continues due to its location and climate, and hence it is not a mainstream commercial area yet. Especially in the winter, the high mountain passes are cut off due to the snow and road access is blocked, thus limiting the tourist season to only a few months a year. The geography and landscape are also critical because environmental degradation in this fragile ecosystem is extremely visible. They are not unsituated issues such as Climate Change and river pollution may be for city dwellers but pose real threats in the area. The people are therefore receptive to change and innovation that works to better the environment. The climate also ensures that local building styles remain the most viable and comfortable. Together, the geography and climate create circumstances so that people evaluate things in terms of practical applicability rather than the rush to create something spectacular and forge identities. Even the reason for so-called modern buildings has been due to its association with durability and not aesthetics or progress. The second is that both the idea and funding for the project came from a single source – the client, who belongs to this region and grew up here. The client saw both the potential and opportunity to develop tourism after a large religious event was held in his village in 1996 to celebrate 1000 years of Tabo Monastery. The rush to cater to this influx of tourists left him with no choice but to build quickly and

cater to their demands. The first resort he built thus looked like it could be located anywhere in the world, served English breakfast, and had souvenirs that tourists might consider authentic. It was the maintenance of such a building in harsh weather conditions contrasted with the experience of his own comfortable home that made him question the kind of tourism activities happening in the valley. Already there was some awareness in the area through the building of the Sarai mentioned before, and the presence of Ecosphere, an NGO working in this area.

The idea for the second resort was thus to be as close to the vernacular architecture as possible. This vision was entirely his own and he only needed technical support to be able to realise it. Although it is a small example, this project still demonstrates that imposed knowledge and expertise from the outside to achieve lofty objectives of sustainability and sustainable development may not always be required. Through this case, we can clearly see that it is, in fact, possible to break free of concepts and ideas rooted in modernisation and dependency theory. The circumstances in this case may have been unique, but the lesson we can draw from here is that technical expertise should be used to bridge existing gaps and the role of experts should be that of facilitators rather than planners and managers who impose their ideas on surroundings and local inhabitants believing them to be superior.

Another important observation here is that albeit unintentionally, the client managed to cater to the tourist demand of eco-tourism or sustainable tourism. Perhaps for the tourist staying at such a place might translate into an exotic experience while trying to be eco-friendly and hence add to the charm of travel, but for the client the decision was for very practical reasons. Again, it is the unique geography of this place that was the determinant for such a decision but it brings home the fact that buzz words like eco-tourism are not ideas to be transplanted, but grow out of the place and context. And it also reinforces the notion that sustainability cannot be transmitted, that local factors are more important if we want to be truly sustainable rather than trying to impose solutions. The present ideas of sustainable development look at economic, social and environmental aspects of the local, rather than from the local. It may be effective to change our perspective in order to implement ideas coming from the people and context instead of those that are just directed toward them.

Conclusions

It can be seen clearly from the literature that sustainable tourism is a multi dimensional concept and must take into account many factors. This is especially true of fragile and pristine regions such as the Spiti Valley. The built environment is only one of these dimensions but an important one as it affects the environment, people and the economy. It can therefore be a crucial element in the promotion of sustainable tourism strategy. What this project really demonstrates is not just the importance of the built environment, but how the process of the building and innovation can contribute to sustainable development in the region. Realising the importance of the context, local environment and conditions to be able to work with them is the way to really create sustainable tourism. Even more so, it is in the local people and their ideas and vision that the real potential and strength for sustainable development lies.

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**ECO-CERTIFICATION AND LABELING PROGRAMS OF
HOTELS IN CHINA: TRENDS, ISSUES AND POLICY
PERSPECTIVES FOR SUSTAINABLE TOURISM**

FU Jia & Ralph Wahnschafft

*The drive for sustainability in the hotel sector needs to come
from the bottom-up as well as from the top-down.*

Alessandro Bisagni,
Founder & Managing Director of BEE, Inc. (CBRE 2011: 21)

**Tourism services and hotels: Contributing to China's rapid economic
growth**

Ever since China embarked on its economic reforms in the late 1970s, international inbound tourism has grown rapidly, often by double digits, year after year. Construction of international hotels boomed throughout the 1990s and beyond. Today, China's hotel industry comprises of 13,556 star-rated hotels, with the projection of 730 million room nights sold in 2012 (CNTA 2012). The 2008 Olympic Games, 2010 Shanghai Expo and other large international conference events, trade fairs, and business and educational programs have regularly brought many visitors to China and to its unique and worldwide well known tourist attractions. During the more recent years, the country saw some leveling off in the arrivals of foreign tourists. The global economic and financial crisis, as well as public

health issues such as the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) and the Influenza A (H1N1) epidemic, temporarily posed serious challenges for China's tourism industries. Today, however, new tourist markets are emerging, resulting again in an increase of international visitors to China. In 2010, more than 55 million foreign visitors visited China, spending in excess of US\$ 50 billion (The World Bank 2012). Recent tourism trends include growing diversification in tourist activities and experiences, development of new destinations and new services, such as ecotourism, in order to cater to more affluent international visitors.

Rapid urbanization, modernization, and economic expansion in China have lifted millions of people out of poverty and have created a rapidly growing middle class, as well as a wealthy business elite. Together with the growth in disposable incomes, demand for entertainment and leisure, tourism and related services have all grown tremendously. In 2011, China's 1,347 million inhabitants (not including residents of Hong Kong SAR, Macao and Taiwan) have undertaken 2.64 billion trips (approximately two trips per person per year). Much of the domestic travel occurs during public holiday periods and is mostly comprised of family visits. However, China's domestic market for commercial tourism services may soon become the largest in the world. Today, Chinese consumers demand not only more but also better tourism services. This trend is expected by many to continue well into the future. Today, the Chinese middle class is already larger than the entire population of the United States. In 15 years, the Chinese middle class is expected to reach 800 million (Thraenhart *et al* 2012). China's outbound tourism is also seen by many as a vibrant and expanding market for the years to come.

Concerns over sustainability of international and domestic tourism in China

As economic progress unfolds, China also faces growing natural resource constraints and environmental challenges. Scarcity of drinking water, water and air pollution, waste disposal and wastewater management already pose serious problems in several cities around the country, including tourist destinations. Per capita water and energy/electricity consumption of hotel guests is typically much higher than the average per capita consumption in the residential sector. According to the China Hotel Association, the average electricity consumption per unit of floor area of hotels is ten times higher than that of urban residential areas, while water consumption is five times

higher. More luxurious forms of consumption and continuously increasing demand of hotels for energy and food are also widely seen as contributing to long term price increases.

Large hotels can generate considerable amounts of additional traffic and local waste streams, for which adequate local infrastructure may not always exist. Enhancing sustainability in tourism is a globally agreed goal, most recently reaffirmed at the Rio+20 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2012). However, analyzing and addressing the challenges and identifying feasible and acceptable ways to enhance sustainability in the hotel sector requires comprehensive local and national studies, as well as stakeholder consultations and prudent policy decision making, which this paper hopes to facilitate.

For *national policy makers*, one of the main tasks in sustainable tourism development is to develop a regulatory framework that supports the expansion of the national hotel and tourist industry, but also ensures its efficient use of resources whilst minimizing environmental impacts. Local employment opportunities are also important concerns. In China, sustainable tourism development has been identified as an important area for policy making ever since 1992, the year which the National Tourist Administration declared 'Friendly Sightseeing Year'.

For *local policy makers*, one of the main challenges is to enhance the attractiveness of the locality to tourists, particularly in areas where destinations compete for visitor attention and tourist expenditure. In addition to ensuring adequate local infrastructure as well as public security and safety, close cooperation with local businesses and coordinated public relations will always be essential, in particular for successful destination marketing. In addition, in China, local policy makers are tasked to execute the 'top-down' directives issued by the Central Government.

For *hotel owners and managers*, tourist customer satisfaction and the successful marketing of tourist services is imperative. Whereas high-end hotels emphasize comfort, services, wellness and exclusivity, managers of budget tourist accommodation attract their customers with competitive prices. In China, as in many other countries, hoteliers observe and anticipate tourism development trends, including an expected greater demand for 'greener' hotels. However, hoteliers also observe that a large number of the tourists who perceive themselves as 'green' are rarely willing to compromise on location, comfort or price. Hence, hoteliers have to decide on

which environmental protection measures to implement, and how best to publicize their green hotel measures, if they decide to do so.

Tourist visitors / consumers have the choice to reflect on their preferences as they plan their tourist activities and programs. At the time that tourists make their reservation decisions, most of them do not as yet know what product or what level of service to expect. Independent quality ratings, including ratings of hotel facilities and services, have an important role to play in providing market transparency. Star rating systems are a common measure used to rate hotel facilities. Star rating systems are typically designed and administered by government authorities in collaboration with the concerned industry associations. In addition, a considerable number of national and international 'green hotel' rating and eco-labeling programs have emerged which aim to provide (prospective) hotel guests assurance of adherence to sustainability and environmental principles, concepts, and measures.

This paper provides a brief analytical overview of the evolving hotel rating systems in China, in particular with regard to the aforementioned sustainability concerns. The paper is based on information collected and reviewed during desk research, internet searches and telephonic and in-depths on-site interviews with regulatory entities, hotel management and guests in several Chinese cities, including Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Kunming, Hangzhou and Ningbo. The paper places particular emphasis on the more recent Chinese domestic 'Green Hotel' eco-certification and eco-labeling programs which have thus far received only limited recognition beyond China.

Hotel classification and star rating systems in China

A hotel classification and star rating system, namely, the antetype of the current *Classification & Accreditation for Star-rated Tourist Hotels* was first introduced in China in 1988 with a focus on those hotels licensed to accommodate foreign visitors. The rating system was subsequently revised and improved several times, respectively in 1993, 1997, 2003 and 2010. Star rated hotels are those which have been certified by the National Tourism Administration of China (shorthanded as CNTA thereafter). Star rated hotels typically provide better facilities and services than non-rated hotels. Hotels are rated as one, two, three, four or five star hotels.

Since 2003, the star rating system applies to all hotels, not only to hotels that were approved for hosting foreign guests. Furthermore, a

new ‘platinum 5-Star’ level was added over and above all other levels. During recent years CNTA and other authorities have more vigorously implemented follow-up checks to confirm compliance with the rating system. Various media reports have indicated that a number of hotels were stripped off their star ratings due to violations or non-compliance.

The analysis of the CNTA databank suggests a number of recent industry trends which can be summarized as follows: (a) China’s hotel industry has grown continuously, in particular in the up-market categories; (b) China’s hotel industry is also increasingly diversifying. Today, accommodation services are provided not only by a growing number of large and small chain hotels, but also by serviced apartments/apart-hotels, boutique hotels, economy hotels, budget hotels, youth hotels, hostels, inns, motels, guesthouses and some other forms of privately rented accommodation; (c) Together with the rapid expansion of accommodation capacities, average hotel occupancy rates have tended to decline.

**Box 1: Key facts of China’s hotel industry in the
11th Five-Year-Plan period (2005-2010)** (Liu and Lu 2012)

- China registered 13,991 star-rated hotels at the end of 2010, including 595 5-star hotels, 2,219 4-star hotels and 6,268 3-star hotels (CNTA, 2010).
- Between 2005 and 2010 the room inventory of star-rated hotels grew by an average of 6.3 per cent per year. Growing at an annual average rate of 16 per cent, the increase in the 5-star category outpaced other categories.
- Star-rated hotels comprised 28 per cent of China’s registered tourism enterprises, accounting for 53 per cent of fixed assets, 40 per cent of operating revenues and 61 per cent of employment, generating 72 per cent of business tax revenues.
- About 1000 of the hotel properties are associated with one or the other hotel chain. There are currently some 70 hotel brands in China, including 40 international hotel chains. Several of the domestic Chinese hotel brands have started to gain international recognition.
- The revenue per available room (RevPAR) and gross operating profit (GOP) of 5-star hotels operated by domestic hotel groups has improved and is now comparable to those of the international hotel groups.

As can be seen in Table I presented below, the average occupancy rate varies between hotel categories, namely from 50 to 62 per cent. Such average occupancy may still be regarded as high by international comparison, but it lags behind expectations, in particular of the management of chain hotels. Two-, three-, and four-star hotels tend to report slightly better average occupancies than do one- and five-star properties. The gradual decline in occupancy rates underscores the risks in hotel investment. Some analysts expect that the growth in hotel capacities will slow down during the 12th Five-Year-Plan period (2011-2016).

Table 13.1 Statistical and financial indicators of star-rated hotels in China 2010

Star-rating	Number of Hotels per star-rating category	Average annual occupancy (in per cent)	Average room rates (RMB)	Revenues per available room (RMB/room night)	Flat Share of Operating Revenues (RMB/room)
5-star	549	61 %	665	402	313,151
4-star	2,034	62 %	339	210	179,338
3-star	5,550	60 %	203	122	99,609
2-star	3,833	58 %	142	83	62,374
1-star	235	50 %	114	57	36,871
Average	(Total) 12,201	60 %	295	178	143,793

Source: CNTA (2010) ^{1,2}

Between 2003 and 2010, the hotel rating system and the criteria used have evolved considerably. In addition to assessing the facilities, other aspects such as environmental protection and emergency preparedness are also considered. However, the star rating system does not provide customers with information on hotel sustainability projects or initiatives. Hence, both, hotel operators competing in an increasingly competitive market place, and hotel guests concerned with environmental conservation may find separate eco-labeling informative and useful.

International eco-certification programs of hotels in China

Certification of the International Standards Organization for the hospitality industry

The International Standards Organization (ISO) has established a number of general global quality and environmental management standards for manufacturing and service industries which are also applied in the hospitality industry. The relevant ISO standards are ISO 9001 (quality management), ISO 14001 (environmental management), OHSAS 18001 (occupational health and safety), as well as ISO 22000 (food safety standard).

The ISO 14001 certification was published in 1996, and amended in 2004. It provides a road map for companies seeking to improve their operational efficiency and environmental credentials. Under the ISO guidelines, licensed auditors are invited to assess the environmental performance of participating companies. Audits may include measurement of energy consumption, recycling efforts, and other aspects. Participating hotels are obliged to periodically retake on-site audits if they wish to remain certified.

One of the main institutions overseeing ISO quality assessment in China is the China Environmental United Certification Center (CEC). ISO Certification is popular among companies engaged in international trade. A considerable number of hotels in China participate in the ISO assessment and certification process, and many of them announce their certification on their respective hotel websites. Ibis Hotels China Headquarters and its first three hotels in Beijing, Shanghai and Wuxi reportedly obtained ISO 9001 certification in June 2009, making Ibis the first ISO certified economy hotel chain in China. Fourteen more Ibis hotels are scheduled to obtain ISO certification in the near future (Accor, China, 2012).

International eco-certification and eco-labeling programs used by hotels in China

Eco-certification and eco-labeling means any program that offers a 'logo' or a 'marketing brand' that leads the consumer to believe that their choice of accommodation implements good environmental practices (Honey 2002). Eco-certification schemes are mostly created by private companies, as well as by non-governmental or nonprofit organizations. Like the ISO certification programs, private eco-certification and labeling depend entirely on the voluntary

participation of hotels. Most hotel operators who participate in eco-certification programs do so in the expectation of both, lower costs as well as increasing sales and revenues, at least in the long term.

Certification schemes can be distinguished by their method. While process based certification schemes set up a system for monitoring and improving performance, performance based methods state the goals or targets that must be achieved before any certification is issued. Most of the more widely used private eco-certification schemes are process based schemes which allow participating companies to use their eco-labels as soon that they meet minimum requirements and commit to performance improvements over time. Various hybrid schemes combining elements of both methods can also be found.

Most eco-certification programs charge an enrollment or a membership fee. Fees are used to cover administrative costs and to support advertising and promotion of the logo or the label. On-site assessments by independent auditing experts are typically charged separately. Some programs stagger their fees according to the assessed volume of business of their clients. Larger hotels are expected to pay higher fees for the use of the eco-label.

Today, there exist a considerable number of local, national and international 'green' hotel rating and certification programs, mostly in Europe, North America and other countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Many of these programs were launched in the wake of the 1992 Rio Earth Summit. A study undertaken by ECOTRANS for the World Tourism Organization in 2001 found no less than 104 voluntary eco-labeling, eco-awards and eco self-commitment programs, all aimed at enhancing sustainability in tourism related service (UNWTO 2002). This paper discusses only those programs that have issued certifications to hotels in China.

Founded in 1987, *EarthCheck* is one of the oldest and most widely applied private environmental standards and eco-labeling systems for the hospitality industry (EarthCheck 2012). EarthCheck is a voluntary performance based program. It monitors the hotel performance in terms of water and energy consumption, waste management, paper use, pesticide use, cleaning and hygiene product use, as well as local community involvement. Hotels which implement a plan of action and practical measures to improve their performance and achieve the goals set by EarthCheck will receive certification. Hotels are inspected by independent auditors. The EarthCheck certification is not permanent and can be withdrawn if the hotel does not continue its efforts on a regular basis.

The EarthCheck proprietary technology and systems is owned by the nonprofit Sustainable Tourism Cooperative Research Centre (STCRC) of the Australian Government, based in Queensland, Australia. The program is managed and marketed globally by EC3 Global, an STCRC subsidiary company. Today, more than one thousand hotel and other tourism business operators in more than 60 countries hold EarthCheck compliance certifications, including some 50 up-market hotel properties in China, most of which are associated with international hotel chains (e.g. Crown Plaza, Holiday Inn, Intercontinental, Radisson Plaza, Shangri-La Hotels, Novotel, and Traders Hotels).

Green Globe is also a globally operating sustainable tourism certification company (Green Global Capital Partners 2012). Green Globe is an affiliate member of United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) and is partly owned by the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC). Green Globe offers environmental certification not only to hotels, but also to other travel related enterprises, including airports. Whereas the Earthcheck and the Green Globe eco-certification programs co-operated more closely in the past, more recent announcements issued in 2010 and thereafter suggest that the two programs intend to pursue their marketing more independently in the future.

The Green Globe Program criteria for sustainable operation and management of hotels include: (i) compliance with all relevant international or local legislation and regulations including health, safety, labor, trade and environmental aspects; (ii) training is offered, as necessary; (iii) client satisfaction is assessed and corrective action taken where appropriate; (iv) promotional materials are accurate and complete; (v) local residents are employed, including in management positions; (vi) commitment to policies and principles against commercial exploitation, particularly of children and adolescents, including sexual exploitation; (vii) equitable hiring women and local minorities, including in management positions; (viii) legal protection of employees is respected; (ix) purchasing policy favors environmentally friendly products for building materials, capital goods, food, and consumables; (x) the purchase of disposable and consumable goods is measured, and the business actively seeks ways to reduce their use; (xi) measures to decrease energy consumption are adopted, while encouraging the use of renewable energy; (xii) measures to decrease water consumption are adopted; (xiii) greenhouse gas emissions from all sources controlled by the business are measured, and procedures are implemented to reduce and offset

them; (xiv) wastewater, including gray water, is treated effectively and reused where possible; (xv) a comprehensive strategy of reuse exists to reduce waste to landfill.

Green Globe International, Inc. announced in August 2011 that Green Globe Ltd., the UK corporation that owns the Green Globe brand, has received the registration certificate from China's trademark registry, which is valid until December 2020. Thus, the Green Globe eco-certification and labeling program can be expected to expand in China in the months and years ahead.

There are also two international eco-certification and labeling programs under the name *Green Key*. One of these programs is hosted by the Danish nonprofit organization Foundation for Environment Education (FEE 2012). Its participants and clients are mostly located in Europe and include hotels associated with hotel brands such as Radisson Blu, Park Inn, Rezidor, Starwood, and others. The Danish 'Green Key' program does not operate in North America.

The second *Green Key* program operates mostly in North America. It was launched in 1997. The membership of the program includes some 3,000 hotel properties, mostly in Canada and the United States, as well as in a growing number of other countries (for further info see: www.greenkeyglobal.com). At the time of the research for this paper, neither of the two Green Key eco-certification and labeling programs operated in China.

The *Sustainable Tourism Eco-Certification Program (STEP)* was launched in 2007 by Sustainable Travel International (STI). Since the beginning of 2012 the STEP process is officially recognized by the Global Sustainable Tourism Council (GSTC). STEP is currently certifying hotels in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and Brazil. Applicants can decide what level they want to be certified. Those who wish to apply for one to two stars and become eco-assessed must comply with all mandatory STEP criteria through a desk self-audit, whereas those who wish to apply for three to five stars and become eco-certified have to have an on-site audit. To date, only a few dozen companies and chain hotels have gone through the STEP process. Only few properties in China are STEP certified. Most of these are located in Taiwan Province of China (for detailed info: www.sustainabletravelinternational.org). Beyond eco-certification, STI also provides travel assistance, booking and other services primarily to 'green' minded travelers.

STI has also launched a separate certification program for luxury properties, focused on Five-Star-Hotels. Taking into account the special challenges facing high-end properties that seek to go green,

STI developed a stringent but achievable *Luxury Eco Certification Standard (LECS)*. LECS certification requires an on-site audit. According to the company's website a total of 61 Five-Star-Hotels located in different cities of China are participating in the auditing program administered by Leading Quality Assurance (LQA), an STI subsidiary (for info: www.leadingquality.com).

There are still several more eco-certification and labeling programs, including *Green Leaf*, *Green Seal*, *Travelife*, *EU Eco-Label*, among others. These programs play a role in other important national or regional markets, mostly in North America and Europe, but can rarely be found in China. Hence, they are not further discussed in this paper.

Private, commercial eco-certification and eco-labeling programs have not as yet been able to gain very significant market share among the Chinese hotel industry. Only less than four per cent of the star-rated hotels in China hold one or the other form in international private commercial eco-certification. Most hotels that do so are in the up-market category, notably Four-Star and Five-Star hotel properties, which are often associated with international hotel brands.

Managers of hotels that primarily cater to domestic business travelers and tourists may implement their own environmental conservation and cost reduction programs but appear to be less interested in international certification, in part because of communication difficulties and costs involved, and in part because most international eco-labeling programs do not seem to offer as yet a Chinese language equivalent of their labels. Earthcheck is reportedly considering to provide its label in Chinese, too. However, as long as most domestic travelers are not yet familiar with foreign hotel eco-labels and their meaning, there is little commercial incentive for hotels to acquire them.

Chinese 'Green Hotel' rating and certification programs

The China Green Hotel rating system

The first initiative to introduce a green hotel rating system in China dates back to 2003 and to the publication of China Hotel Association's standards for 'green' hotels. In 2005, the State Council called for the setting up of a more stringent nation-wide green hotel rating and certification system. The program was subsequently developed by the Ministry of Commerce, the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), the Ministry of Environmental

Protection, the Standardization Administration, the State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission, the National Tourist Administration and China Hotel Association.

The Green Hotel regulation GB/T21084 was drafted in 2007 by the fore mentioned entities and became effective on March 1st, 2008. A National Green Hotel Committee was established in 2008 to guide and oversee implementation of the regulations. In addition, several subsidiary working groups were established at the provincial level.

Application procedures are similar to those governing the ISO 14000 Environmental Management System: Hotels submit applications on a voluntary basis. The assessment institution determines a provisional rating, which is communicated to the applicant within a short period of time. Hotels are encouraged to undertake their own self-assessments. Hotels may then apply for on-site inspections which are carried out by independent professional assessors. All hotels that pass the on-site assessment will be granted an official approval in the form of a plaque and a certification. Hotels will need to pay an initial application fee (4000 Yuan RMB or approx. US\$ 700 at the time of the preparation of this paper) which includes an on-site inspection and the later issuing of a plaque and a certificate. Hotels are also responsible for travel costs of auditors. The eco-certification typically remains valid for a period of four years and reviews are carried out every two years. The plaque and the certificate are meant to be displayed for information of (prospective) hotel guests. The green hotel certification scheme differentiates five levels of achievement

Figure 13.1: Sample plaque of China Green Hotel



symbolized by the number of ginkgo leaves in the certification, with five leaves representing the highest level.

The China Green Hotel standard integrates a series of other national standards as well as building codes, including:

- GB5749 Sanitary standard for drinking water
- GB8978 Standard for integrated wastewater disposal
- GB9663 Hygienic standard for hotels
- GB12348 Noise at boundary of industrial enterprises
- GB13271 Emission standard of air pollutants from boilers
- GB15316 General principles for monitoring and measuring of energy conservation
- GB/T18883 Indoor air quality standard
- The China Green Hotel Standard also requires participating hotels to comply with ISO 9001:2000 Quality management systems, ISO 14001:2004 Environmental management systems, ISO 22000: 2005 Food safety management systems, and OHSAS18001: 1999 Occupational Health and Safety Assessment Series.

Safety, health and environmental protection are the three core elements of the China Green Hotel Rating and Certification Scheme. Safety concerns include fire prevention and control, public order, food quality and occupational safety. Health concerns include hygiene of guestrooms and catering, as well as sanitary conditions. Environmental aspects refer to cleaner production, energy conservation and waste disposal.

Box 2: Measures required by the China Green Hotel Rating system

- Installation of meters to monitor energy and water consumption and conduct energy audits. Indoor temperatures in common areas are recommended to be kept at no lower than 26°C during summer time, and no higher than 20°C in winter time;
- Reduction in use of packaging and disposable products, including reduced frequency of changing towels and bed sheets (unless requested otherwise by guests), and using paper-smart technologies;
- Compliance with national and regional standards on the discharge of pollutants and emissions, including reducing and separating solid waste, handing over hazardous waste and recyclable materials to qualified agents for disposal or recycling, and applying only organic fertilizer and natural insecticidal methods.

- Promotion of public health by offering non-smoking rooms and floors and ensuring good ventilation and insulation of walls, doors and windows, offering relative humidity for indoor climate, providing clean drinking water and a daily disinfection of toilet equipment and facilities.

Hotels that have as yet to be built are recommended to be designed and constructed in accordance with ‘green’ design standards and principles. Such principles include: (1) choice of location sufficiently distant from any source of industrial or other pollution or radiation; (2) energy conservation; (3) efficient use of land and space; (4) compliance with high standards in insulation, noise reduction and heat preservation, using natural lighting where possible; (5) use of renewable energy resources to the extent possible.

A first *China Green Hotel Development Report* assessing the impact of the program was released in 2010. According to the report, about 700 hotels had been certified as Green Hotels under the China Green Hotels Certification Program. A nation-wide survey was also carried out in 2011 in an attempt to quantify actual achievements. The survey estimated that the water consumption saved in 2010 equaled about 1.5 times the volume of West Lake in Beijing, and the electricity consumption saved was equal to five months electricity consumption of a medium sized Chinese city (National Green Hotel Committee 2011).

The China Green Tourist Hotel rating system

During recent years, a similar yet different hotel eco-certification and eco-labeling program has emerged in China, largely based on a regional initiative of the Zhejiang Province of China. This standard is primarily based on Zhejiang Province Standard LB/T007-2006 and was activated on March 23rd, 2006. The standard differentiates between ‘Golden Leaf Level’ and ‘Silver Leaf Level’ eco-certification. The application is open to tourist hotels having been in operation for one year. Once granted, the certificate is valid for a five year period. Upon expiry, a re-assessment and re-certification may take place upon the request of hotels. The China Tourist Hotel Star-rating Committee is the executing agency of the program. As of August 2012, a total of 2,439 hotels – equivalent to near 20 per cent of all hotels in China – have been issued China Green Tourist Hotel certifications (806 ‘Golden Leaf’ and 1,633 ‘Silver Leaf’), with Jiangsu

Province, Beijing and Shanghai having the most certified hotels. Notably, almost all ‘Golden Leaf’ hotels are star-rated hotels, while some ‘Silver Leaf’ holders are not.

Figure 13.2: Sample plaque of China Green Tourist Hotel



Comparative assessment of the two China Green Hotels certification programs

Whereas the two hotel eco-certification programs are comparable in term of their requirements concerning water quality, waste water disposal, air quality and air pollution from boilers, there are also several differences. The China Green Hotel system attaches relatively more importance to energy conservation, food safety and occupational health and safety, while the China Green Tourist Hotel program is more specific and more demanding with regards to emissions, efficiency of electricity use and solid waste management.

Whereas the China Green Hotel eco-certification program secured only some 700 hotels as subscribers over its start-up period of the first several years, the parallel China Green Tourist Hotel eco-certification scheme secured more than three times as many participants. The China Green Tourist Hotel program appears to be more flexible in implementation enjoying significantly greater acceptance by the hotel industry, especially star-rated hotels.

Under both programs, most of the certified hotels are located in the main cities, in the more affluent provinces, and along the Eastern and Southern coast. In smaller cities and towns, and in the Northern and Western provinces, eco-certification of hotels is still more of an exception.

In some resort areas, such as on Hainan Island, and in some cities where tourism plays a more prominent role in the local economy, such as in Guangxi Province, some local hotel industry associations can be observed actively advocating the 'greening' of existing and new hotels.

Additional efforts are currently underway to further promote the uptake of both programs. The China Hotel Association has identified the 'greening' of hotels as the priority for the on-going 12th Five-year Plan period. In 2010, a first China Green Hotel Expo was organized in Beijing to promote new concepts for 'green' hotel designs. The China Green Hotel Committee recently also launched a nation-wide campaign to promote low carbon tourism and environmental protection. Some one hundred certified green hotels participated in the campaign, attracting the attention of public and social media, and raising the environmental awareness of Chinese consumers.

Hotel environmental conservation programs without certification

A considerable number of hotels in China are also implementing their own independent voluntary resource conservation programs from the 'bottom-up' without taking part in any external eco-certification, or without advertising any logos, even if they would be entitled to it.

Like in other countries, China has a growing number of resorts and boutique hotels which offer unique travel or accommodation experiences. Such hotels are often located within or near important historic, scenic, natural or cultural sites of touristic interest. The management of up-market hotels in such locations is typically more aware of the potential environmental concerns of their guests. Hotels in such locations typically cater mostly to tourists travelling for leisure,

rather than business, and many of these hotels spare no effort to provide their guests with the comfortable feeling of staying at a facility that implements sustainable development policies and environment protection projects. Some of these resorts articulate their environmental protection programs in detail in their promotional materials, on their websites and in the guestrooms. In this case, eco-certification can be considered dispensable. There are also some specialist hotels that function as technology demonstration centers, providing commercial accommodation at the same time. The Himin Solar Valley Micro-Emission Hotel in Dezhou, Shandong Province, is one such example (see also www.chinasolarvalley.net). Another example of unusual hotel designs may be the Five-Star Xiang Xiang Xiang Pray House Hotel near Changzhi, which was built from shipping containers.

Some international hotel chains have also established their own trade mark to characterize and publicize their environmental policies and programs. The Accor hotel chain, for example, launched its own 'Planet 21' Sustainability Program, which has its own logo. The designated cost saving and resource conservation measures are implemented by most of the hotels associated with the chain, including its associated properties in China (Accor, China, 2012). Most hotels of the Accor Hotel Group are still independently eco-certified, but the creation of their own brand names can save operators payment of recurrent inspection and eco-labeling subscription fees.

Empirical studies: Prevailing perceptions and remaining issues

One of the co-authors conducted more than twenty in-depth interviews with senior hotel management staff with a view to assess prevailing perceptions on eco-certification and eco-labeling programs. Feed-back received from hotel industry representatives is summarized here below.

Insufficient commitment and financial support from governments

Insufficient government or public financial support for eco-certification and eco-labeling was often cited as one reason for a comparatively slow dissemination and up-take of the green hotels programs in China. At present, all program costs of assessments and eco-certification are covered by the hotel industry itself. Several hotel managers expressed an expectation of greater recognition of their own voluntary and independent 'bottom up' initiatives and good practices.

Varying motivations of participants in eco-certification and labeling programs

Although the number of hotel managers who are taking part in third party eco-certification programs is growing, the main motivation was often found to be focused on obtaining the eco-certification for general marketing and public relation purposes. At the same time, several hotel establishments, notably boutique hotels and resort hotels, were found to be among the pioneers supporting the 'green hotel' campaigns. Some hotels were found to participate in even more than one program in their endeavor to give their environmental efforts a higher publicity profile.

Flexibility and adaptation of eco-certification standards to local conditions

Given that China is a very large country with varying regional and local climatic conditions and resources, it will be essential to further explore possibilities for a more flexible adaptation of national standards to local conditions. Some hotels reported difficulties in achieving established standards, goals and targets. Beyond national standardization, eco-certification programs could allow, and perhaps encourage, appropriate adjustments by participating companies.

Balancing guest satisfaction and environmental performance

Hotel management and staff interviewed for this project regularly pointed to the challenge of meeting expectations of hotel guests in a sustainable manner. In particular, the managers and staff of the more up-market hotels noted that providing quality services for tourists intrinsically requires more resources. 'Green hotel' programs are therefore clearly not acceptable by the hotel industry concerned if they include any measures that might compromise the comfort of hotel guests.

Conclusions and recommendations

Recent reforms of the general star-rating system for hotels in China and the more rigorous control of its correct implementation have greatly helped to provide market transparency and enabled consumers to make more informed choices.

Throughout China, hotels and their management can be observed to strive to up-grade facilities and services with a view to improve sales and revenues in an increasingly competitive market.

Even though eco-certification and eco-labeling of hotels is still a rather new concept for China, the related programs, and in particular the recently launched national China Green Hotel and China Green Tourist Hotel programs, have rapidly gained popularity. In total, nearly 30 per cent of all star-rated hotels in China hold one or the other type of eco-certification.

In China, the national eco-certification and eco-labeling programs are significantly more important than the international ones.

Whereas the national campaigns to make the hotel and tourism industries in China more environmentally conscious and 'greener' have been met with considerable enthusiasm and success, a variety of additional policies and practical measures could still be considered to further enhance the sustainability of the hotel and tourism sector. These could include some of the following:

Incentivizing greater participation: Notwithstanding the active participation in general, there still remains a considerable number hotels that do not participate in the 'green hotels' program as yet. Hence, the Government of China and its national, regional and local authorities may consider providing some direct or indirect incentives to encourage additional participants to join the programs. Favorable policies can motivate greater participation. Such measures could include tax credits or other forms of subsidies which can make environmental audits less costly and, therefore, more acceptable.

Dialogue with management of hotel chains and hotel business associations: Advocacy aimed at motivating newcomers to join the green hotels campaigns may give priority attention to the dialogue with management of hotel chains and hotel business associations. The largest Chinese hotel chains are Home Inns and Hotel Management (848 properties), Green Tree Hotel (600 Properties), China Lodging Group (including Hanting Hotels and Inns) (580 properties), 7 Days Inn (568 Properties), Jinjiang Inns (400 properties), and Jinjiang Hotels (346 properties) (Tophotelprojects GmbH, 2012). Several of the Chinese hotel chains have already signaled their intention to improve their environmental performance.

Dialogue with hotel companies engaged in hotel modernization and new hotel construction: At almost any given time, there are approximately 500 or more on-going or planned hotel modernization, expansion or new construction projects in China. In 2011, many major new projects were inaugurated, including one of the largest hotel

projects in China, the Sanya Beauty Crown Hotel on Hainan Island, which is expected to feature 6000 rooms, once fully completed. Installations for indoor temperature, climate and illumination control, as well as energy and water conservation are comparatively inexpensive if already considered during building design and construction. Wherever possible, advocacy aimed at ‘greener’ hotel buildings should seek opportunities for dialogue with hotel property developers, architects and building designers at an early stage of project planning.

Dialogue with online hotel booking platforms: Online booking platforms, like Ctrip, Elong or others, are significant and influential stakeholders in the Chinese tourist hotel market. At present, only some few specialized online hotel booking platforms provide consumers with information on environmental performance. Eco-certification of hotels could reach a much higher level of importance if online booking platforms were to include eco-labels in their product information.

Consideration of mandatory eco-certification for specific environmentally sensitive tourist regions: As a part of the continuing expansion and diversification of tourism in China a growing number of up-market seaside, mountain, desert, and other nature resorts are being developed, including in environmentally sensitive areas. The Government may consider making compliance and Green Hotel certification mandatory in selected locations or regions in order to protect the natural heritage of some of these environmentally sensitive tourist destinations (e.g. Hainan Island, Inner Mongolia, Tibet, or other regions).

Notes

1. Figures shown here only reflect star-rated hotels which update their operational and financial statistics on time (approximately 87.2 percent of all star-rated hotels).
2. Considerable differences exist between different locations, provinces, etc.
3. Figures rounded off to units.

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