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Resonance of Cultural Tourism: Introduction to the Special Issue

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Tourism education and the industry have much to offer each other, but education's contribution must ultimately be rooted in cultivating students' capacities to question, to critique, to relate, and to engage with the tourism world from a standpoint of values and convictions honed through thoughtful consideration and exposure to the perspectives of others. The development of practical vocational competencies must be pursued in dialogue with, rather than ahead or in place of, humanistic capacities. Otherwise, we may find ourselves to be very efficiently producing a world that is not of the shape we want at all. (Caton, 2014)

At one of the regular meetings of the Department of Cultural Tourism at the Faculty of Tourism Studies – Turistica, the idea was floated that a special issue of Academica Turistica could produce a body of work that could be used, among others, to support teaching in the newly established undergraduate programme of Cultural tourism.

Several preliminary discussions of the various topics researched by the members of the Department indicated that to produce a comprehensive work on the subject of cultural tourism as a rounded teaching material would be a tall order indeed. However, tying up individual researchers' interests in a meaningful dialogue that may hopefully resonate among the members of the Department, the students and the network of colleagues at other education and research institutions working in the same or similar areas appeared more feasible. Eventually, on a rather short notice, the call for papers was extended through personal networks inviting foreign colleagues to contribute their research to this special issue of Academica Turistica on 'Resonance of Cultural Tourism,' expanding thus local resonance to multiple localities with good vibrations.

At its core, resonance is a quality of evoking response. This pertains to both material and symbolic aspects of embodiment, communication, spatial orientation and relational practices. In a phenomenological sense, resonance refers to everyday cultural tourism encounters that vibrate within the timespace of material and symbolic exchange, of 'Being-in-the-world' and the co-production of sense and meaning. The widest framework for the special issue was the understanding that cultural tourism should not be treated as merely one of the adjective tourisms. Culture in cultural tourism was understood holistically as a complexity of knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, customs, capabilities and habits found from Tyler on in numerous permutations of a definition. The other framework was a clear notion of an existing split in tourism studies between business oriented and social science and humanities oriented research and teaching, with the business side occupying a much larger portion of the field which renders the empowerment of humanities approach rather imperative in order to address the immense disparity. The present slim volume represents a small attempt in this direction with seven papers that are predominantly based on original fieldwork and supported by qualitative methodology.

The first review paper on 'Cultural Tourism from an Academic Perspective' by Tina Orel Frank and Zorana Medarić aptly demonstates the complexity of

contemporary dilemmas in defining both culture and tourism that ultimately calls for more epistemological work on cultural tourism in the future. The notion of a resonance is directly addressed in the research note by Emilio Cocco who specializes *inter alia* in maritime sociology and the Mediterranean. His preliminary take on his new research in Odessa is grounded in the concept of contemporary interpretations of cosmopolitanism and his innovative approaches to sea/land relationships in various tourism destinations with an emphasis on port cities. Looking at the traumatic relationship between Germany and the Jewish diaspora, Anne M. Blankenship roots her research in anthropological frames of secular pilgrimage and the concept of repentance to show how Jewish tourists experience Berlin and how Berlin is addressing the Holocaust through various memorials and topical guided tours. Switching to another city across the sea, Indianapolis, our colleagues Yao-Yi Fu, Suosheng Wang, Carina King, and Yung-Tsen Chu tackled 'The Influence of an International Festival on Visitors' Attitudes toward Diverse Cultures' by measuring visitation frequency, stay-time at the event, similar event participation, cultural interest, and overseas travel experience contributing to any observed differences in visitors' attitudes. Their work represents an effort towards a potential longitudinal study that addresses cultural diversity in a productive, quantifiable way. Bourdieu's cultural capital underlines a field study of the art of tea by Irena Weber in the mainland China and Taiwan in the form of tea houses, specialized tea museums, tea trails, guided tours, and tea tastings. A research note by a young researcher Helena Tolić, 'Anthropological Portrait of a Home Turned Into a Tourist Resource,' testifies to the sound Croatian tradition of anthropological research and teaching in providing an example of doing anthropology at home with the aim to tackle the comparatively valuable case of transformative and contested contemporary tourism processes. Home in a sense of the location is also the topic of the linguistic analysis 'The Interplay between the Verbal and Visual in Outdoor Interpretive Panels' by Šarolta Godnič Vičič, Nina Lovec and Ljudmila Sinkovič that employs the Barthesian semiotic approach of the relationship between the textual and the visual within the context of cultural heritage from the perspective of contemporary linguistics.

Last but not least the cover photograph depicts a detail of a mobile shown at the first Ars Turistica exhibition that took place in 2017 in front of the Faculty of Tourism Studies – Turistica. It was the results of the Art and Tourism class, where Slovenian and Erasmus exchange students were engaged in a creative dialogue involving land art, kinetic sculpture, contemporary tourism, mobility and sustainability. Walt Whitman's stance from his *Song of the Open Road* forms a spiral in the middle. Whitman, after being done with indoor complaints, libraries, querulous criticisms, took to the open road not to get rid of everyone, on the contrary, to meet the less fortunate, the marginal, the forgotten, to extend the hand to another traveler, much in the same way as the great Slovenian poet of the open road and marginality, Frane Milčinski Ježek, who saw that all roads, however crisscrossed, ultimately lead to another human being that should not be overlooked or forgotten. Without the open road and the stretched hand, what shape is our (tourist) world after all?

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Cultural Tourism from an Academic Perspective

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Cultural tourism is a rather new term that has been much discussed in recent years. Despite many empirical surveys dealing with the notion of cultural tourism, its definition remains elusive. The objective of this research is to investigate the presumably abundant differentiating experts' views on how to define cultural tourism as well as to spot the appearing 'subgroups' that the theory classifies as being subtypes of cultural tourism. To reach this objective, recently published scientific papers will be explored in terms of extracting experts' perspective on defining cultural tourism. The paper aims at finding similarities as well as discrepancies among the obtained definitions. It also focuses on extracting authors' views on what subgroup types could still be defined as a part of cultural tourism.

Keywords: cultural tourism, definition analysis, subtypes of cultural tourism

Introduction

With its rapid development and growth, tourism has specialised and spread into numerous subfields. Cultural tourism is just one of them, yet one of the most discussed and analysed, particularly since the 1990s. Even though the term started to be used only in recent years the idea of cultural tourism is not in any way new. According to Richards (2018), in the post-World War II period, cultural tourism began to emerge as a social phenomenon and as a relevant issue in academic studies.

Starting with the dilemma of objectively defining tourism, as well as culture as such, the interpretations of cultural tourism vary. A vast number of perspectives and ways exist to define the two main concepts, tourism and culture, inside the compound cultural tourism, which underlines the problem of providing one tangible all-purpose definition of cultural tourism. 'There are almost as many definitions and variations of definitions of cultural tourism as there are cultural tourists', McKercher and Du Cros (2002, p. 3) claim. The purpose of this work is to review the current definitions of cultural tourism appearing in academic work.

The theoretical part views cultural tourism from two angles. Firstly, it considers the definitions of the two concepts inside cultural tourism separately; secondly, it discusses the two appearing perspectives in defining cultural tourism as a lexical unit. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the definitions of tourism and culture separately do not just simply combine in defining cultural tourism. This is a much more complex concept in which tourism and culture interact and overlap.

The understanding and conceptualising of tourism, culture, and cultural tourism have undoubtedly undergone many major and minor changes in recent years, especially in 'the extent of cultural tourism con-

sumption, and the forms of culture being consumed by cultural tourists' (Richards, 1996). Defining cultural tourism is therefore also a time-bound task. Hence, this paper examines the recent definitions of cultural tourism appearing in 2018 in academic texts with the purpose of exploring the recent perspectives on cultural tourism in the academic sphere.

Two Main Concepts: Tourism and Culture

If we base the definition of cultural tourism on the two key concepts – culture and tourism – we can define cultural tourism from the perspective of the definition of tourism or from the perspective of the definition of culture. This part of the paper examines the definitions of tourism and culture from the two separate perspectives. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that certain authors do not make a clear distinction between the two. As for MacCannell (1993) and Jamal and Robinson (2009, p. 3), all tourism is a cultural experience, or even further, for Urry (1990) 'tourism is culture'. This aspect makes the definition of cultural tourism even more demanding as tourism as a whole is treated as an element of culture. This additionally blurs the understanding of the concept of cultural tourism and hinders the path of investigating its specific features, its unique types of expeditions, typical destinations, and the typology of cultural tourists (Rohrscheidt, 2008).

Tourism

In the previous six years, tourism has played a leading role in the global economy (World Travel & Tourism Council, 2017) and, as such, it has surpassed the oil, food and auto industries (UNWTO, 2017). In 2017 alone, the number of international arrivals grew by 7% to 1,322 million, which surpassed the previous trend of 4% annual growth, started in 2010 (UNWTO, 2018). These data show tourism to be a key developmental and research topic, but tourism is much more than statistical data on economic growth. It is the lens through which to look and give meaning to modern and postmodern reality (Bin Salim, Ibrahim, & Hassan. 2012, p. 137). Viewed as such, the definition of tourism remains problematic for those who analyse it (Lickorish & Jenkins, 1997, p. 1). Because tourism has shown massive development and growth in recent years, there are

many players dealing with it from many different perspectives, which leads to a vast number of possible definitions that nevertheless also vary in time. Its definition thus varies on the perspective from which it is studied (Mason, 2015).

In general, tourism definitions are separated into conceptual and statistical (technical or operational) definitions (Lickorish & Jenkins, 1997; Vanhove, 2005; Gilbert, 1990). Statistical or technical definitions view tourism as an economic sector and thus evaluate and measure the value of tourism, which is particularly variable in different countries, whereas the conceptual definitions see tourism as a broader activity affecting many other aspects of reality and deal with the core meaning of tourism. UNWTO (1993) defines tourism as 'the activities of persons during their travel and stay in a place outside their usual place of residence, for a continuous period of less than one year, for leisure, business or other purposes'. These kinds of definitions arise from the need to statistically measure the standards inside tourism (Mieczkowski, 1990, in Vanhove, 2005). Conceptual definitions, on the other hand, view tourism as a broader phenomenon. One of the conceptual definitions, proposed by Kaspar (1996, pp. 15–16, in Planina & Mihalič, 2002), views tourism as the whole of relations and phenomena that are a consequence of travelling to less known places and communities for a shorter time with the intent to satisfy certain needs.

Inside the realm of tourism-related definitions of cultural tourism, one open difficulty is the criterion for distinguishing cultural tourism within the overall phenomenon of tourism (Rohrscheidt, 2008). The author places the essence of the problem in the question of 'what importance should be given to culture-related goals during a touring event and/or whit what intensity should culture-related contents appear during a trip so that it may be classified as a cultural travel' (p. 47). Further to this dilemma, the next question arises, concerning the understanding of the types of attractions and trips. More specifically, which attractions or trips are considered cultural and which are not?

Rohrscheidt (2008), who investigated many different approaches to defining the concept of cultural tourism with a specific goal of providing a holistic

functional definition of cultural tourism, proposed a definition that is based on the holistic definition of tourism, acknowledging its superiority, by conceptualising cultural tourism as one of the forms in which tourism appears. After examining the definitions, the author proposed a definition that 'will not only present academic approach to significant features of cultural tourism but will also make it possible to practically distinguish its catalogue of products from options on offer from other branches of tourism' (Rohrscheidt, 2008). His definition takes into account cultural tourism from phenomenological and economics aspects and defines cultural tourism in the following way (Rohrscheidt, 2008, p. 58):

> The term 'cultural tourism' may relate to all tourist expeditions taken by groups or individuals, where encounters with sites, events and other assets of high culture or popular culture, or effort aimed at improving one's knowledge of the surrounding world organized by man are the essential part/aspect of the traveller's itinerary or are a clinching argument for individuals' decision on whether or not take up such a journey/participate in such a trip.

Culture

'Culture' is another all-embracing term appearing in many possible forms, thus comprising many possible definitions. Tomlinson (1991, p. 4) notes that all these definitions either prove that there is confusion in this area or that the term itself is so broad that it can actually account for all the described forms. Instead of trying to define what culture is, Tomlinson (1991) proposes focusing on how the term is used. Two possible ways of perceiving culture are seen as a process (process-based) or as a product (product-based). The view on culture as a process is derived from anthropology and sociology, 'which regard culture mainly as codes of conduct embedded in a specific social group' (Richards, 1996, p. 229), whereas culture as a product approach regards culture as the product of 'individual or group activities to which certain meanings are attached' (p. 229). Richards (1996) adds that the two terms rarely overlap, however in tourism there ex-

ists a certain level of integration. Culture as process is transformed through tourism (as well as through other social mechanisms) into culture as product. Culture is the aim of tourist arrivals whereas the presence of tourists also leads to creating cultural manifestations.

The first, classic definition of culture by Tylor (1871) is rather broad and (still) widely used among social science researchers. He defined culture as 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society' (Bennett, 2015, p. 547), although in general discourse culture was often understood in more narrow terms. The perception of culture has also been changing through time. Up until 1970, the general scope of culture was often limited to what is generally described as 'high culture' (literature, arts, music, etc.). However, the 1980s proposed a new general understanding of the culture that also touches upon tangible artefacts (sites) and intangible components (behaviour, customs, etc.), which were generally described as a part of the 'low culture' (Richards, 1996, p. 25), popular or daily culture. Hofstede added an additional perspective that stresses the aspect of constant contact and interaction between cultures: 'culture refers to the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving' (Hofstede, 1997).

The definition if cultural tourism can, therefore, be based on a broad understanding of culture, for example, Dreyer's definition that defines cultural tourism as 'any journey focusing on (broadly understood) "culture." Hence, the term refers to a specific (new) segment of tourism. Educational and study tours constitute special forms within this segment' (Dreyer, 2000, p. 21). In this manner, cultural tourism could be any kind of tourism involving educational or entertaining components (Rohrscheidt, 2008). Considering this broader comprehension of culture, it offers a limitless list of what could be considered as cultural, comprising almost all aspects of human life. An example of this

view on defining cultural tourism could be found in the additional part of Dreyer's aforementioned definition: 'In broader meaning, the term of cultural tourism contains the element of "culture in tourism." Hence, each form of tourism with integral cultural features is understood as cultural tourism' (Dreyer, 2000).

Cultural Tourism: Definitions

In 2013, *The Routledge Handbook of Cultural Tourism* (Smith & Richards, 2013) was one of the first works to offer a broader insight into many perspectives on cultural tourism. The introduction explains that cultural tourism is more in the discourse of academics and policymakers than in the minds of those who visit cultural attractions and attend cultural events (p. 1). The mentioned work comprises 50 chapters that shed light on many perspectives from which to examine the idea of cultural tourism. There are three main themes to understanding the book's key messages. Firstly, the truth in cultural tourism lays in contemporary events and not from an eternally true perspective. Secondly, cultural tourism should be considered a global issue and, thirdly, the understanding of cultural tourism asks for a critical analysis of the social dynamics inside attractions or destinations.

Bonink (1992, in Richards, 1996) reviewed the existing definitions of cultural tourism and established two main approaches: the sites and monuments approach or descriptive approach and the conceptual approach. The two approaches are clearly different in the aspect that the first, more technical, focuses on the types of cultural tourism attractions and the numbers of cultural tourists, whereas the second is stating the motives and activities of cultural tourists. The first approach is strongly tied to the understanding of culture as a product and tries to identify all the sites and other attractions that cultural tourists visit. By narrowing the possible sites and providing typologies of cultural tourism attractions, these kinds of definitions see cultural tourism from a technical perspective and fail to explore the activities and motives behind the visits of cultural tourists. The conceptual approach, in contrast, aims to define the motives and meanings attached to cultural tourism activities and is hence more process-based. McIntosh and Goeldner (1986), for example, define cultural tourism as comprising 'all aspects of travel, whereby travellers learn about the history and heritage of others or about their contemporary ways of life or thought.'

Similarly, ATLAS (see http://www.tram-research.com/atlas/presentation.htm) also distinguishes between the conceptual and technical definition of cultural tourism: the first focuses more on the motives of cultural visits, whereas the second establishes the cultural sites and attractions cultural tourists might visit. The latter two could be considered more holistic definitions of tourism as they contain a more comprehensive presentation of the phenomenon. They give more focus on culture itself as the goal for tourism and also pay more attention to the individual characteristics of travellers inside this type of tourism.

McKecher and Du Cros (2002) also observed definitions of cultural tourism and put them in four categories: tourism-derived, motivational, experiential, and operational. Tourism-derived definitions put the concept of cultural tourism inside the framework of tourism and tourism management theory. They, therefore, recognise cultural tourism as special interest tourism, in which culture stands as a basis for tourist attraction or motivation to travel (McIntosh & Goeldner, 1986; Zeppel, 1992; Ap, 1999; in McKercher and Du Cros, 2002; Dreyer, 2000), or as involving interrelationships between people, places, and cultural heritage (Zeppel & Hall, 1991, in McKercher & Du Cros, 2002). Motivational definitions consider motivation to be the key factor in defining cultural tourism. They state that cultural tourists are motivated to travel for different reasons than other tourists. UNWTO states that cultural tourists travel for study tours, performing arts and cultural tours, travel to festivals and other events, visit sites and monuments, travel to study nature, folklore or art, and pilgrimages (UNWTO, 1985, p. 6, in McKercher & Du Cros, 2002). Experiential or aspirational definitions consider cultural tourism to be an experiential activity that involves experiencing or being in contact with the unique social fabric, heritage, and special character of places (Blackwell, 1997; Schweitzer, 1999, in McKercher & Du Cross, 2002). The last, operational definitions, which are the most common, try to define the places, services, activities,

etc. people visit inside cultural tourism. Nevertheless, it is difficult to state clear parameters to what activity is considered cultural tourism and what is not. Therefore, McKercher and Du Cros (2002) propose using the term cultural tourism as an umbrella term comprising many related activities, such as historical, ethnic, arts, museum tourism, etc.

Richards (2003) divided the above-mentioned definitional approaches into two axes: (1) experiential/conceptual vs operational/measurement and (2) tourism-derived/supply vs motivational/demand (Figure 1). The first one is differentiated in terms of purpose, meaning that we either try to conceptualise the term as well as its meaning for (cultural) tourists or merely count the number of people participating. The second one is differentiated in terms of interest in the knowledge about the market for the tourism industry on the one hand and in understanding the existence of demand on the other. In his recent study Richards (2018) identified some additional challenges with regard to the definition of the concept of cultural tourism in the future. He highlights that more focus should be put on studying the practices of cultural tourism. The main problem of the above-presented approach is that it fails to measure the meaning of the phenomenon (experiential/conceptual) on the one hand and the integration of supply (tourism-derived definition) and demand (motivational) on the other. He, therefore, proposes studying mainly practices of cultural system which form a system compound of (a) resources (tangible and intangible heritage, contemporary culture, creative industries, lifestyles etc.); (b) competences (ways of doing cultural tourism, increased cultural capital, reading and interpreting cultural resources, development of cultural routes); and (c) meanings (learning, identity, citizenship), which are interrelated and mutually dependent (Richards, 2018).

Research

The present research aimed at extracting current definitions of cultural tourism in research articles. To find relevant scientific articles, we used the key term 'cultural tourism' that appeared in the title, among the keywords, or in the abstract of articles. For the term 'extraction', we used the Science Direct, SAGE, Wiley,
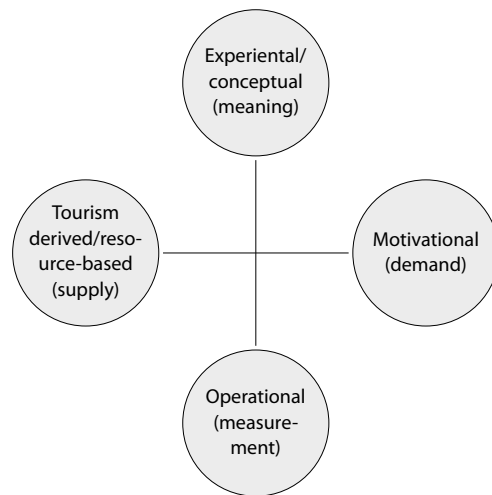
Figure 1   Cultural Tourism Definitional Field
          (adapted from Richards, 2003)

and Taylor & Francis databases. As for the publishing date, we were solely interested in recently published papers, and thus reduced the number of research elements to journal articles published in 2018. In total, 43 scientific articles were selected. Further context-based selection, however, revealed that some were not dealing with cultural tourism at all or the term 'cultural tourism' was mentioned in a different context than that of tourism research (for example, in the context of mathematics, computer studies, etc.) and were hence excluded. Therefore, the final sample consisted of 30 scientific articles.

The aim of our research was twofold: (a) to explore how cultural tourism is currently defined within the scientific language of tourism in the present year and (b) to identify the main 'subgroups' of cultural tourism as presented within articles.

Findings

The definitions of cultural tourism within the articles we researched reflect the diversity of cultural tourism research and the width of this broad field. Richards (2003) explains that it is not possible to adopt only one universal definition of cultural tourism since the definition depends on the perspective taken and the objectives aimed at when defining cultural tourism. According to Richards (2018), the definition of cul-

tural tourism has also made a journey from the original very broad UNWTO definition, including practically all tourism experiences, through more narrow definitions that attempt to provide support in understanding and measuring cultural tourism, back to the new UNWTO definition, which is again much broader as it is defined as 'a type of tourism activity in which the visitor's essential motivation is to learn, discover, experience and consume the tangible and intangible cultural attractions/products in a tourism destination. These attractions/products relate to a set of distinctive material, intellectual, spiritual and emotional features of a society that encompasses arts and architecture, historical and cultural heritage, culinary heritage, literature, music, creative industries and the living cultures with their lifestyles, value systems, beliefs and traditions.' (UNWTO, 2018, p. 18).

Motivation for Travel

While most definitions of cultural tourism used within the researched articles were not necessarily very broad, they often focus on the activity of tourists and culture as a main motivation for their travel. Therefore, we can claim that the definitions mostly fell into the realm of motivational definitions. Frequently, they also emphasise the experience aspect (Chen & Rahman, 2018) and information/knowledge gain (Chiao, Chen, & Huang, 2018). The ATLAS (see http://www.tram-research .com/atlas/presentation.htm) conceptual definition that joins both aspects, is also sometimes used as a starting point for the article: 'the movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs' (ex. Su & Teng, 2018). In one case, the 1985 UNWTO cultural tourism definition that falls into this domain was used: 'cultural tourism includes movements of persons for essentially cultural motivations such as study tours, performing arts and other cultural tours, travel to festivals and other cultural events, visits to sites and monuments and travel to study nature folklore or art or pilgrimages' (UNWTO, 1985, in Vinodan & Meera, 2018, p. 76). As presented above, the 2018 UNWTO definition used in the article of Richards (2018) can also be characterised as a motivational one.

Cultural Consumption and Experience

The term cultural tourism is also used to explain the consumption of, for example, art, heritage, movies, etc. In this context, the definition is sometimes somewhat narrowed to the understanding of tourism as a specific cultural manifestation, like for example ethnic tourism in Lugu Lake in China in the article of Wei, Qian and Sun (2018), where tourists are interested in the 'matriarchal' social organisation and the distinct marriage practice of Mosuo. In this case, for example, authors confine cultural tourism to ethnic tourism. Chen and Rahman (2018) further explore the behavioural intention of arts festival tourists. They stress an important concept of MTE (memorable tourism experiences) that is 'a tourism experience remembered and recalled after the event has occurred' (Kim, Lee, Uysal, Lim, & Ahn; 2015, p. 2). According to Chen and Rahman (2018) view, this concept is often overlooked when researching cultural tourism. In defining cultural tourism, they, hence, follow the typology by which cultural tourism is used as an activity and visitation by the tourists to cultural destinations (Silberg, 1995; Richards, 1996; Reisinger, 1994, in Chen and Rahman, 2018) where the emphasis is on the experience of the tourist during the visit. One of the rather narrow definitions in this context is that of Libang, Wenjuan, and Jinghui (2018) who define cultural tourism as 'a kind of tourism where travellers are engaged in entertainment and local culture' (Fu, Gao, & Chai, 2014, in Libang, Wenjuan, & Jinghui, 2018).

Structural Characteristics of Cultural Tourism

In relation to the definition of cultural tourism, Hernández-Mogollón, Duarte, and Folgado-Fernández (2018) highlight the importance of its structural elements, i.e., elements that cannot be transferred from one location to another and are derived from 'local traditions, cultural heritage, historical sites and buildings, museums, food-related heritage and other types of natural and manufactured resources permanently present in specific places' (Hernández-Mogollón et al., 2018, p. 171).

In their study about the tourist experience of management of a heritage tourism product, Wijayanti and Damanik (2018) emphasise the tangible and intangi-

ble structural aspect of cultural tourism and define it as: 'Cultural tourism offers both tangible and intangible cultural attractions, living culture, and cultural heritage'.

Subfields of Cultural Tourism?

As a part of our research, we attempted to identify the sub-fields of cultural tourism. Here, it has to be mentioned that our keyword in searching for articles was only 'cultural tourism'; if we had searched specifically for the phrases that define the 'emerging niches' in which, according to Richards (2018), cultural tourism has been fragmenting, such as gastronomic tourism, film tourism, arts tourism etc., we would have probably identified more articles with these topics. Richards (2018), identified the following well-developed subsectors of cultural tourism: cultural heritage tourism, film-induced tourism, and literary tourism. These three themes also emerged within our article search (Barber, 2018; Domínguez-Quintero, González-Rodríguez, & Paddison, 2018; Gyimóthy, 2018; Io, 2018; Vinodan & Meera, 2018, Yu & Xu, 2018;) however, sometimes the above-mentioned terms were used interchangeably with the term 'cultural tourism' and not as a subgroup. For example, Yu and Xu (2018, p. 292) examine 'the moral aspect of literature and literary/cultural tourism'; in this case, literary tourism is equated with cultural tourism.

Similarly, Gyimóthy (2018, p. 392) explores Bollywood-related film tourism in the Swiss Alps and, at the beginning, states that it 'reviews the phenomenon of non-western popular cultural tourism.' We identified the subfield of cultural heritage tourism within the research of Domínguez-Quintero et al. (2018) and that of Barber (2018) in which heritage and its presentation are seen as a part of cultural tourism. The latter is focused on heritage-themed tours and trails, while the former analyses the aspects of authenticity and satisfaction within cultural – heritage tourism.

Additionally, Su and Teng (2018) discuss museum tourism as a part of cultural tourism, while Chianeh, Del Chiappa, and Ghasemi (2018) research religious tourism and connect it with the concept of cultural tourism and throughout the article discuss the development of 'cultural and religious' tourism. Chen,

King, and Lee (2018) similarly discuss 'arts and cultural tourism'. Therefore, it seems it is not represented as a subgroup of cultural tourism, but its equivalent.

Some of the definitions offered an extended view of cultural tourism. They did not in a literary sense provide subgroups of cultural tourism but a sort of extended versions of cultural tourism. Firstly, the term 'creative tourism' was found to be an extension of cultural tourism, in which tourists co-create the experience and they are important actors in, for example, museum activities (Richards & Wilson, 2006, in Camarero, José Garrido, & Vicente, 2018). Similarly, the concept of 'eco-cultural tourism', which appeared in two articles by Tiberghien, Bremner, and Milne (2018) and Tibergien et al. (2018), according to Wallace and Russel (2004, in Tiberghien et al., 2018, p. 309), combines the ecological and cultural aspects of landscape to create experiences for tourists.

Conclusion

Our research reveals the expected diversity of uses of the term 'cultural tourism'. Through the selection process of the articles, confined only to the keywords and abstracts in which the term appeared, it was obvious that the term cultural tourism is used in very different contexts as well as researched within different disciplines. The article search also confirmed the trend, observed by Richards (2018), that recently there has been a shift in research focus towards researching cultural tourism topic in Asia, where the connection between tourism and culture is being redefined as we identified many types of research that were implemented in this context (for example., Chen et al., 2018; Chiao et al., 2018; Chianeh et al. 2018; Io, 2018; Libang et al., 2018; Tiberghien, 2018; Tiberghien et al., 2018; Vinodan & Meera, 2018; Yang, 2018; Yu et al., 2018; Wei, Qian, & Sun, 2018, Wijayanti & Damanik, 2018). The aim of the research was mainly to identify the definitions of cultural tourism as they appear in the most recent publications in this field, to see what the prevailing definitions of cultural tourism are, and to explore whether any older definitions occur in these articles. The scope of this research is limited in the sense that it focuses merely on recent publications, unable to provide a wholesome perspective on such a

broad term as 'cultural tourism'. However, looking at the dilemma from another perspective, we managed to obtain insight into fresh cultural tourism perspectives.

It has to be noted, however, that a definition of the term 'cultural tourism' was not provided in many cases. It was used in the context of research as if its meaning was self-explanatory. Those authors who did explain the term provided definitions from many possible angles. Some were placed in the context of tourism management, while the prevailing ones were approached from the perspective of culture. On the one hand, this can be assigned to the fact that cultural tourism is indeed a broad and multi-faced concept, but on the other hand, the reason for this might be that most of the research papers in our survey were site-specific, allowing cultural tourism to appear in its many taxonomies. Since currently there is no adequate or universally accepted definition of this term and the field of cultural tourism is expected to continue to expand (unwto, 2018), the definitional challenges are also bound to continue. Specifically, the interest in tourism has been growing since the 1980s due to the general growth in travel, the heritage boom (Hewison, 1987, in Richards, 2018) and the identification of cultural tourism as a form of tourism that can help conserving culture as well as contribute to economic growth. Since the 1990s, cultural tourism has been orienting itself towards mass markets and has begun to fragment into many niches (Richards, 2018); there has also been intense growth in academic research.

However, how do the continuous growth of research and the diversity of definitions affect the field of cultural tourism? A number of articles with the keyword 'cultural tourism' were actually dealing with its subfields and sometimes a term defining of the subfield, such as 'heritage tourism' was used interchangeably with the term 'cultural tourism'.

Might both the further growth and the fragmentation affect the understanding of the concept of cultural tourism as an umbrella term? Due to this multi-faced characteristic of cultural tourism, we also encountered authors who listed the term cultural tourism in keywords but failed to define it. This could also be assigned to the fact that cultural tourism has become a buzzword among tourism academics that is perhaps no longer needed to be specifically defined, even though there has not yet been a universally accepted definition of it (Dolničar, 2002).

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Looking for a Relationship with the Sea: Urban-Scape and Cosmopolitan Memories in Contemporary Odessa

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The sea is not quite on the radar of social science. However, things change when the sea and the land touch each other and the sea resonates in living social relations. In some cases, the encounters with the sea take place in the form of embodied imagination processes that bring about productive dissonances. My research aims to unveil the frictions between dissonant embodied imaginations of local citizens and tourists in an exceptional 'landscape of dreams': the post-cosmopolitan port-city of Odessa. In 2008–2010 I carried out field-work with interviews and surveys aimed at comparing the ways maritime imperial legacies were exploited in Trieste and Odessa. After almost a decade, I was back 'in the pearl of the Black Sea' with the intention of carrying out a more in-depth investigation of the relationship between tourism and the exploitation of cosmopolitan memories in this post-socialist port city of Ukraine. My data are a combination of secondary statistics, ethnographic work, and first-hand qualitative accounts, both audio-visual and interviews, collected from April 2017 to June 2018, here including a two-week period spent in Odessa. After a preliminary elaboration of data, I am persuaded that the tourist relations in contemporary Odessa are oriented by the double endeavour of both hosts and guests looking for a special relationship with the sea. The sea and the waterside work both as privileged viewpoints for urban spectators (both tourists and residents) and a necessary *medium* to establish a relationship with the city and its multicultural past.

Keywords: Odessa, cosmopolitanism, sea, tourism, urban-scape
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Theoretical Background

Does it make sense to speak of 'resonance of the sea' in terms of cultural tourism? And how to study it?

The oceans cover almost two thirds of our planet's surface and remain among the less measured, less organised, and less socialised spaces on earth (Latour, 2005). However, while natural science has been exploring both the abyss and the surface of the sea for a long time, nowadays archaeology, geography, history, and cultural studies have started a sort of 'blue turn' (Mentz, 2009). Social science, however, is still lagging (Cocco, 2014; Hannigan, 2017) and continues to experience a terrestrial bias and a land-locked dominating theoretical paradigm (Peters, 2010; Ballinger, 2013). As a result, sociologists and anthropologists can rarely explain and understand the ocean space but, even more importantly, cannot share a theoretical frame that includes the sea in the understanding of society.

The sea remains for many a heterotopia *par excellence* (Foucalt, 1984), the place of pure wilderness (Corbin, 1994; Davis, 1997) and the space of extra-sociality by default (Helmreich, 2011, pp. 135–136).

However, the sea is also a rich repository of legends, stories, symbols, and images that shape the mental images of the majority of people on earth, although most of them do not ever have a direct experience of the sea in their lives, other than beach vacations and short trips on ferries.

However, things can change in those places where the sea and the land come together, that is to say at the interface of land and sea. There, the sea possibly becomes part of society and more legible social relations with the sea take place. As Philip Steinberg reminds us, the sea is not 'just' a social construction but also a material, physical and emotional relationship. If it is true that human encounters with the sea are, by necessity, spaced and partial, it must also be said that different types of relationship with the sea can be established. From the shore of the sea, like a swimmer; from the deck of a boat, like a sailor, passenger, or scientist; from the surface, like an aquatic athlete or a surfer; even from the depths, like a scuba or deep-sea diver. All these relationships create different 'seascapes' that originate both in mental representations and in physical incarnations, as the senses, movements and emotions are part of the interaction with the material environment and, to a certain extent, they shape it. In other words, the meetings with the sea are 'living relationships' (Picken, 2015) replete with feelings and sensations, which, in the end, affect both the social representations of the sea and the moral values associated with them (from the respect of the environment to professional ethics). However, all human relationships with the sea capture only a fraction of its complex materiality and, therefore, the partial nature of our encounters with the ocean necessarily creates something that we could call 'ontological gaps', because 'the unrepresentable becomes the unrecognized and the unrecognized becomes the unthinkable' (Steinberg, 2013, pp. 156–157).

Accordingly, to better grasp the nature of social relations with the sea, we refer to the notion of an 'embodied imagination' as a new form of social imagination that involves bodily mediated relations with the environment. In recent years, this originally psychoanalytical (Bosnak, 2007) notion has been revived by a number of research works for different purposes.

In some cases, it functions as a methodological tool to recover phenomenological and existential perspectives, with the intent of analysing the contrast between tourism imaginaries and realities (Andrews, 2017, pp. 32–33). Differently, the embodied tourist imagination might explain the tourist enactment in cultural heritage performances and shed light on the co-construction of the story-scape in historical commemoration (Chronis, 2005). An especially interesting development comes from the anthropologist Laviolette, who explores the connections between adventurous pleasure, moral responsibility, and environmental awareness from the point of view of the anthropology of emotions and social phenomenology (Laviolette, 2011). Principally, Laviolette focuses on the knowledge produced through action and bodily understanding in those types of leisure and recreational activities in which danger and an adventurous spirit play an important role. Specifically, he suggests an alternative to a basic cognitive or physiological reading of the work of imagination by stressing the socially productive outcome of mobility and risk taking. In other words, he combines the activity and the imaginary to describe body's interactions with the landscape it moves through and its adaptation to contingencies (Laviolette, 2011, pp. 2–9). Thus, senses, movements, emotions are phenomenologically bound to the social construction of cultural contents, environmental feelings or territorial identities. Laviolette investigates the cases of British Cornwall and New Zealand, where identity making is linked to hazardous leisure activities such as extreme surfing and cliff jumping. However, the same assumptions may work in other areas and for different types of maritime-based leisure activities such as the embodiment of an Adriatic seascape by the boating people yachting across the sea (Cocco, 2018). The combined results of both a survey carried out with pleasure boaters and an ethnographic investigation of selected Adriatic marinas show that the yachters' performance often replicates a model of maritime circulation and trans-Adriatic connectivity that used to be a historically established paradigm of regional mobility. However, the fieldwork also shows how such a re-enactment of the Adriatic seascape is not following contemporary pre-established and

'made on land' cultural-political patterns. Nor does it represent the conscious re-evocation of a European trans-border maritime region, perhaps along the desires of both nostalgic intellectuals or politically inspired spatial planners.

Methodology

Following the above, my research question is to understand to what extent the inconsistencies and the frictions between the embodied imagination of the sea and the land-based social construction of maritime space can spark some productive dissonance that deserves to be researched. Particularly, frictions and dissonances between maritime brands/images created 'on land', either for political gains or tourist consumption (or, often, for both), and the everyday life encounters with the sea have inspired a research action that aims to compare tourism policies and city branding strategies in frontier maritime cities. Namely, those former multi-ethnic, imperial hubs once imbued with the cosmopolitan ethos and trade-oriented mentality are now struggling to find a place both in the globalised geo-economy and in the culturally homogenising narratives of the nation-states. In 2008–2010, I carried out fieldwork with interviews and survey aimed at comparing the ways maritime imperial legacies were exploited in Trieste and Odessa. After almost a decade, I was back 'in the pearl of the Black Sea' with the intention to carry out a deeper investigation of the relationship between tourism and the exploitation of cosmopolitan memories in this post-socialist port-city of Ukraine.

Meanwhile, many things have changed in Odessa and in Ukraine: in 2014, the Ukrainian crisis crept into the city, and violent riots broke out between pro-Russian and pro-Ukrainian groups. As a consequence, 40 people died, and buildings were burned, among which was a government one (De Frank, 2014). However, most of all, memories of violence and massacres along ethnic-political lines re-emerged from the city's complex history, setting ghosts of the pogrom and urban guerrilla free to stand along and coexist with Odessa's mythology of tolerance and transnationalism (Sicher, 2015, p. 234). Barricades, shooting and window-breaking looked like a dangerous remem-

brance of the gloomy autumn days of 1905. Moreover, to many observers, the burst of violence in this Russian-speaking maritime city that politically distanced itself from any separatism meant the end of the story. As a matter of fact, the eruption of violence far from the Russian borders, in a site linked to Imperial Russia but comfortably outside present-day Russia, could have set the stage for an irreversible spreading of civil war that would eventually break the entire country apart. However, things proved to be different, and Odessa resisted the poisonous consequences of ethnic violence that can painfully destroy multi-cultural settings, as happened in Sarajevo.

In contrast, in Odessa, the story has been, at least up to now, different, thanks perhaps to a long record of Odessites of getting their history wrong, which is not a bad thing all the time (King, 2014). Alternatively, perhaps because the history of Odessa never changes (Starobin, 2014), making this country within a country an irredeemable land where Jewish-blended humour and *joi-de-vivre* would always be a potent antibody against such political threats. Somehow like in post-Yugoslav Istria, the local identity seems to represent a successful mimetic alternative to a compulsory national self-determination process, which conflates culture and politics in one exclusive existential option (Cocco, 2010). Accordingly, 'odessity' (Schlör, 2011) is a state of mind: a choice that does not force you to choose; it is an experience of the sense of place (Richardson, 2008, p. 20) and a claim to belong to an *ante-litteram* modernity, expressed by the alliance between enlightened absolutism and diasporic communities of traders and artists, well before the time of nations and nationalisms. In other words, a landscape of dreams, still engraved in the city's neoclassical and art nouveau buildings, as opposed to the inescapable harshness of both contemporary politics and ethnic fault-lines.

This is why the memories related to maritime imageries and the multicultural imperial narratives are often re-evoked with nostalgia and staged in different ways (especially in the historical centre) since the 1990s: but always in compliance with the present-day political guidelines (i.e., nation-state-framed historical accounts). Thus, the working hypothesis of this

work is that the relationship between hosts and guests in Odessa is often fraught with ambivalences and frictions, with particular reference to the sea as a source of narratives, symbols, and customs staged for tourist consumption.

In particular, while tourists struggle to fit together cosmopolitan memories and national narratives, the local population does not necessarily share the official cosmopolitan identity the way it is staged: on the contrary, the encounter with the tourist 'other' are tarnished by discrimination and suspicion, especially when the other is 'non-European', and the encounter has sexual implications between male foreigners and local women. The goal of exploring the dynamics of tourist encounters in Odessa is coincident with the many attempts of both hosts and guests to look for a relationship with the sea. This is true firstly for the people of Odessa that try to embrace tourism development through images based on their cosmopolitan maritime heritage, which should relocate themselves in the post-communist world and strengthen their sense of identity.

Secondly, the relation with the sea is searched by visitors that are heading to the city both for memory tours and for the attractiveness of its women, which stands out in the picture of a lively port-city with alleged promiscuous habits. As a matter of fact, the sea as a symbol of both cosmopolitanism and moral relaxation is part of multiple, intersecting narratives that aim at different goals: from the ethnic-national representation of a maritime and Mediterranean nation as opposed to the (backward) continental neighbours to the local, urban identity supported by the persistence of imperial legacies as opposed to the nation-state homogenising cultural trends. So, if Ukrainian nation-building can take advantage of a maritime, cosmopolitan reading of Odessa's past (vis-à-vis Russia), then, from the urban perspective, an identity specific to Odessa (*Odessity,* as many inhabitants call it) is often embraced as an alternative to the Ukrainian one. Also, many traditional ethnonational groups living in Odessa, such as Greeks or Jews but also Italians or Germans, can revive their specific identities in the contemporary urban-scape by exploiting the cosmopolitan narrative of a once thriving maritime port

city made of traders and artists. Truly, the same cosmopolitan multinational memories that are staged as the city's cultural heritage throughout the urban-scape is exploited and appropriated by different actors with somewhat conflicting purposes. Accordingly, my research work aims to discuss the above-mentioned issue by focusing on the analysis of tourism policies that exploit the material and symbolic importance of the maritime legacies of the city and play upon mythologies dating back to the time when the city was a cosmopolitan maritime outpost of the Russian empires. Now, it is true that in the age of the empire, the multi-ethnic population of Odessa, with special regards to the diaspora as an agent of civic progress, impersonated the gist of the multicultural imperial idea through its cosmopolitan flavour, economic prosperity and religious tolerance. However, the contemporary situation is far different, and local decision-makers try to turn these cosmopolitan imageries into factors of tourism development but often do not frame their actions within the changed economic and geopolitical contexts. Eventually, tourists are often puzzled by the experience of Odessa because they could be misled by a somewhat mythical interpretation of the social relationships at the time of the empires and tend to misunderstand the present reality of ethnic and national relations in the city. The encounter with the hosts reveals a different reality, made of ethnic discrimination, mistrust, and widespread disconnection between the present political and socio-economic conditions on one side, and the celebrated cosmopolitan urban heritage on the other.

Research Goals

Therefore, I shall discuss the abovementioned frictions and ambivalences that haunt the tourist relations in Odessa through the results of an ongoing investigation that is reaching its final stage. My data are a combination of secondary statistics, ethnographic work and first-hand qualitative accounts, both audio-visual and interviews, collected from April 2017 to June 2018, here included a two-weeks period spent in Odessa. After a preliminary elaboration of data, I am persuaded that the tourist relations in contemporary Odessa are oriented by the double endeavour of both hosts and

guests looking for a relationship with the sea. The latter is staged as a natural and historical frontier of the city especially in sites such as beaches, piers and harbours. Thus, the sea and its cosmopolitan memories ought to be explored and rediscovered – perhaps with nostalgia – by locals and visitors in order to reconnect one's (tourist) experience with the multicultural urban heritage which is materialized in the cityscape: monuments, parks, buildings, squares, etc. However, how does this expectation resonate with the everyday practices and encounters of the Odessa people with the visitors/tourists in a sea-shaped context? What are the frictions and ambivalences, and how are they managed? We know that landscapes, and monuments within them, are actively produced and planned by artists and political authorities to provide citizens and visitors places for both interaction and reflection, often following a moral agenda (Hametz, 2014, p. 138). Thus, the effect of the city on people's minds, both on the mental cliché and cognitive perception, depends on the way the staged cosmopolitan past is affecting the mental images experienced by visitors and citizens: for instance, through the architectural outlook of the historical city core that is meaningfully located by the sea (15–16) and through the monuments dedicated to city founders, local artists and imperial authorities, which are the elements of the spatial identity of the city. The aesthetically valuable images of the port-city as seen from the sea, among which are the Primorsky Boulevard and the Potemkin stairways, suggests that the sea and the waterside work as privileged viewpoints for urban spectators (both tourists and residents) to establish a relationship with the city and its multicultural past. Just like in post-imperial Trieste (Ballinger, 2003; Treleani, 2009; Schlipphacke, 2014), nostalgia for the golden time of the empire is often recurring against the uncertainty of the present. Odessa, once the mythical Southern Palmyra of Russia, turns to its all-European elite cultural heritage of opera, ballet, coffee houses and cosmopolitan, artistic vocations to stage its transnational cultural and economic identity both for tourist and domestic consumption. However, this is when dissonances emerge and reveal more contemporary fears and contradictions.

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Jewish Tourism in Berlin and Germany's Public Repentance for the Holocaust

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For generations, members of the Jewish diaspora boycotted German products and would not have dreamed of stepping foot within the borders of a nation that murdered six million of their people. Today, however, American Jews are no less likely to visit Germany than non-Jewish Americans are, and thousands of Israeli Jews live in Berlin. My research asks how the German government and private tourism industries approach Jewish tourism in Berlin and assesses how Jewish visitors respond to the experience of visiting Berlin. During the summer of 2018, I interviewed four tour guides and numerous tourists, observed people's interaction with the city's Holocaust memorials and other Jewish sites, partook in Jewish-themed tours, and conducted a 'netnography' of analysing over ten thousand TripAdvisor reviews. This qualitative research showed that while many Jews express apprehension about visiting Germany and experience emotional turmoil on site, the abundant memorials and museums dedicated to the Holocaust convince most Jewish tourists that the nation is dedicated to educating and reminding its people about Germany's past crimes and committed to repairing their relationship with the global Jewish community. The trips have the effect of both strengthening tourists' Jewish identity and allowing them to reconcile their people's traumatic history with the current German nation. The article provides a brief analysis of Germany's post-war marketing directed at foreign Jews, describes the Jewish-related sites in Berlin, and reveals the responses of Jewish tourists in Berlin before presenting its conclusions.

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Introduction

For generations, members of the Jewish diaspora boycotted German products and would not have dreamed of stepping foot within the borders of a nation that murdered six million of their people. Today, however, American Jews are no less likely to visit Germany than non-Jewish Americans are, and thousands of Israeli Jews live in Berlin (Podoshen, 2006). As the generation of Holocaust survivors has died, an increasing number of Jews enter Germany on business trips, Holocaust pilgrimages, or as tourists, and have faced the trial of reconciling their relationship with a re-unified German nation. The German government has made great efforts to attract foreign Jewish tourists, and tour purveyors market unique opportunities for that population.

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Berlin and assesses how Jewish visitors respond to the experience of visiting Berlin. During the summer of 2018, I interviewed four tour guides and numerous tourists, observed people's interaction with the city's Holocaust memorials and other Jewish sites, partook in Jewish-themed tours, and conducted a 'netnography' of analysing thousands of TripAdvisor reviews. I limited the study to Berlin, as it was considered the heart of the Nazi beast and would be more likely to force visitors to confront the nation's past. This qualitative research showed that while many Jews express apprehension about visiting Germany and experience emotional struggles on site, the abundant memorials and museums dedicated to the Holocaust convince most Jewish tourists that the nation is dedicated to educating and reminding its people about Germany's past crimes and committed to repairing their relationship with the global Jewish community. The trips have the effect of both strengthening tourists' Jewish identity and allowing them to reconcile their people's traumatic history with the current German nation. This article provides a brief analysis of Germany's postwar marketing directed at foreign Jews, describes the Jewish-related sites in Berlin, and reveals the responses of Jewish tourists in Berlin before presenting its conclusions.

For many Jews, visiting Germany was simply out of the question until about a generation ago. In *My Germany: A Jewish Writer Returns to the World his Parents Escaped,* Lev Raphael (2009, p. 53) recalled that 'the idea of ever going to Germany was too overwhelming and frightening to contemplate for long' Taught that Germany's success was built off wealth plundered from Jews, he thought that the country 'wasn't just a graveyard, it was a gigantic thieves' warehouse [. . .]. Anywhere I turned in that country, I might face something that had belonged to a murdered relative' (p. 4). He was raised to loathe the country and everything it produced. The children of Holocaust survivors frequently withhold their tourist or other funds from the country that wronged them as an act of 'restored equity' (Podoshen, 2006).

During an interview, Yoav Sapir, who offers private tours of Jewish Berlin, observed that 'being Jewish' for a long time meant *not* going to Germany, but now

that many people have gone for one reason or another-business travel or a European tour that includes stops in Germany-many Jews visit, contrary to historical apprehension. Assessing the current nation personally has become a religious act. The 'pilgrimage,' as Sapir called it, helps the individual affirm his Jewish identity and reconcile life-long anxieties about the nation. However, while numerous Jews express apprehension at visiting Germany in their travel narratives, online reviews, and private interviews, those individuals almost uniformly conclude that Germans are acknowledging their past atrocities and erecting such an abundance of memorials and education centres that future generations cannot be unaware of that past.

While substantial bodies of scholarship examine the dark tourism of visiting the remains of Nazi death camps, the most extensive research on Jewish tourism to such sites focuses on sites in Poland (Feldman, 2008; Kugelmass, 1992; Kugelmass, 1995; Reynolds, 2018; for a detailed literature review, see Podoshen, 2017). Critique of so-called Holocaust tourism has come from many directions, but one of the primary criticisms is that it ignores hundreds of years of innovative, robust Jewish communities. Israel's March of the Living tour, which sends Israeli, American, and other teenagers to witness the death camps in Poland, has been accused of deliberately ignoring the history and contemporary lives of Polish Jews in order to fuel nationalistic aims (Feldman, 2008; Lehrer, 2013). Fruitful approaches to dark tourism include discussions of certain locations as sites of conscience that can teach lessons to visitors (Ševčenko, 2011), though Brigitte Sion (2017) argues that 'death tourism' has largely replaced Jewish memorial pilgrimage in Europe. In comparison to Jewish travel to former Soviet bloc countries, Jewish tourism in Berlin has attracted minimal scholarly attention (Brown, 2015; Coles, 2004; Gruber, 2002; Leshem, 2013; Podoshen, 2006).

Germany's Approach to 'Jewish' Tourism
Germany has taken a particular interest in catering to foreign Jewish tourists. In the 1980s, the German National Tourist Office published the first edition of its now-lengthy brochure *Germany for the Jewish Traveler* for Jewish American tourists. According to the

most recent edition, the first 'received worldwide acclaim and not a trace of the criticism that some feared.' Brigit Sion (2010, p. 248) writes that the 1997 edition 'simultaneously promotes and sanitises Holocaust memory in its effort to attract Jews who have a deep aversion to Germany, but who might be willing to make a Holocaust-themed trip.' This targeted marketing was one of several initiatives to attract interest groups, such as LGBT travellers and outdoor enthusiasts. The Tourist Office mailed copies of the 2000 edition to 3,600 American rabbis, extolling the attractions of forty-five German cities (Coles, 2004). The current brochure's 'Welcome to Germany' page uses typical promotional language, describing 'exquisite villages', a 'wealth of cultural attractions', 'glorious architecture', and 'world-class fashion.' It then explains how leaders remade Germany after WWII and forged close relations with Israel.

Contrary to Holocaust education centres and memorials throughout the country, which provide ample evidence and explanations based on the historical record, it expresses bewilderment at how such a thing could have occurred in a world-renowned civilisation, depicting the Nazi era as an anomalous flaw in an otherwise brilliant tapestry. Konrad Adenauer's 1951 meeting with David Ben Gurion is used as evidence to show that 'a new generation of Germans deserved the opportunity to demonstrate that a better future was possible.' It also employs a quotation from a Jewish scholar to persuade readers that visiting Germany today demonstrates the Nazi's failure and recognises the good work of the 'other Germany' to deal with its past. This approach of telling Jews that they should feel obligated to visit Germany is atypical of the language used in all other government publications, which openly acknowledge Nazi crimes, explain how the country has worked to overcome them, and humbly invites foreign Jews to judge that progress for themselves.

For example, a section for Jewish travellers on the official national tourism website begins:

Even though we are decades removed from World War II, the crimes committed against the Jewish People during the Nazi regime re-

tain a singular identity in the annals of horror. Today's Germany is home to the third-largest Jewish community in Western Europe, indeed the only European Jewish community that is growing rather than shrinking. Visiting today's Germany is a lesson in how a nation has sought to come to terms with a devastating legacy. After the war, a dedicated number of Germans were at the forefront of a movement to begin the long road, not only of atonement and redress, but towards the building of a new Germany. It is in this spirit that we are honoured to convey a special invitation to the Jews of the world to visit our country. As we do so, it would be naïve not to recognise that for many, contemplating a visit to Germany may never be without a mixture of emotions.

Its 'Jewish Traveler from A to Z' menu allows consumers to select one of dozens of cities (and former concentration camps), read a brief, but detailed history of Jewish life in that region and a description of its Jewish-related sites. The page for each city does not shy away from listing connections to medieval pogroms or the Nazi period, but also describes the current community and provides, when possible, contact information for the town's Jewish community organisations. In a 2002 collaborative programme with the Israeli tourist bureau, Lufthansa, and the TAL Travel company, the German Tourist Office planned 'joint visits' to Germany and Israel for American Jews (Coles, 2004). While not focused on tourism specifically, the 'About Germany' section of the German Embassy in the United States's website features four topics, one of which is 'Jewish Life in Modern Germany and Historic Responsibility.' Seemingly out of place alongside the broad categories of business, international relations, and education, it shows how much this issue is at the forefront of German public relations. In this vein, the German Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy works with Action Reconciliation Service for Peace and German Jewish organisations to sponsor 250 young Jewish Americans to visit Germany each year through Germany Close Up: American Jews Meet Modern Germany. A related programme has sent

young Germans to volunteer in the US for nearly fifty years, seeking to strengthen relationships with American Jews.

The differences between these statements and that of the *Germany for the Jewish Traveler* brochure are stark. Particularly incongruous are the latter's defensive and evasive statements and the gracious acknowledgement of guilt and promises for the future on the tourist and embassy websites. Admittedly, the sincerity of these organisations cannot be measured-all seek financial gains through international commerce and tourism-but the gesture is likely appreciated by some and may smooth the way for apprehensive Jewish tourists. However, while the guides I interviewed were aware of the government's attempts to mend this relationship, not a single tourist I spoke to had encountered these publications or websites. When I informed Jewish tourists of this rhetoric during our interviews, it confirmed their existing impression that Germany was heavily invested in changing its reputation with the Jewish community.

Berlin's Holocaust and Jewish-Themed Sites

Berlin offers numerous sites for visitors interested in Jewish history and culture and the Holocaust, and I observed visitors at every site during the summer of 2018. Due to its central location, most visitors to Berlin will encounter the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe and a smaller percentage also explore its underground information centre, though long wait times and its discrete entrance may deter casual or rushed visitors. The less-centrally located Jewish Museum attracts hundreds of thousands of visitors each year, in no small part due to Liebeskind's architecture, famous for physical voids that represent the missing elements of European Jewish culture. Throughout the city, observant visitors will notice *Stolpersteinen,* metal 'stumbling stones' inscribed with information about Holocaust victims who lived or worked at the sites of these small but powerful memorials. For under $20, Insider Tours offers a walking tour (available in English or Hebrew) of numerous sites in the Scheunenviertel, the old Jewish quarter. Participants hear about the origins of the Jewish community in Berlin; the sacrifices of Jewish soldiers during WWI; a description of the thriving

intellectual community prior to WWII marked by the monument at Moses Mendelssohn's house, the Altes Synagogue, and the house of Regina Jonas, often considered to be the first female rabbi; and several sites related to the Holocaust. The tour visits Otto Weidt's Workshop for the Blind, a Jewish cemetery, the site of a Jewish high school, the Missing House memorial, and the Rosenstrasse Monument, which honours gentile women who successfully protested the arrest of their Jewish husbands. The tour ends at the security-bedecked Neue Synagogue. It is not an active house of worship, and Berlin's other synagogues are not open to the public. The city's three largest tour companies also offer daily excursions to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, an hour train ride from the city centre. Less frequented Holocaust memorials include the Trains to Life-Trains to Death Kindertransport memorial at Friedrichstrasse, the camp memorial at Wittenbergplatz, the Weissensee Cemetery, Steglitz's Mirrored Wall Memorial, Platform 17 in Gruenewald, the Places of Memory in Bavarianplatz, the House of the Wannsee Conference, and numerous markers at the sites of former synagogues, some of which were destroyed on Kristallnacht. In addition to these memorials, fifteen Sites of Remembrance, educational centres that teach about specific aspects of the Holocaust, can be found in the larger Berlin-Brandenburg region. Many of the city's other tourist sites, like the history and technology museums, incorporate information about Jewish culture and the Holocaust. Additionally, several private guides help visitors of German Jewish heritage find the sites related to their ancestors. However, whether tourists have genealogical ties to Germany or not, the nation plays a looming role in collective Jewish memory.

Several guidebooks assist Jewish tourists in Germany. Ben Frank (2018) has published four editions of his *Travel Guide to Jewish Europe,* which frames itself as 'a perfect companion for those seeking their roots in Europe or for those searching for places where relatives and friends once lived.' Reminding readers that Jewish history in the lands that constitute present-day Germany long predate the formation of that state, Billie Ann Lopez and Peter Hirsch's (1998) *Traveler's Guide to Jewish Germany* also lists 'roots' tourists as

one of their primary audiences. Barkan (2016) provides specialised information in *Berlin for Jews: A Twenty-First-Century Companion.* The Jewish Museum's gift shop sells several additional books on Jewish Berlin, but only one is translated into English for foreign travellers.

Five guides offer private tours of Jewish Berlin for foreign Jewish tourists. Over email exchanges and during in-person interviews, these guides said that tourists choose their services for a more personalised experience, for insight to Berlin's Jewish community, and, frequently, because they feel more comfortable facing Berlin, a city that causes extreme anxiety for some, alongside an informed Jewish companion. While the guides all visit the sites listed above, they present Jewish Berlin in different ways. The website of private guide Eyal Roth, for example, tells a solely devastating narrative of persecution and destruction of the Jewish people from their earliest settlement in the area in an essay titled 'Early Jewish Settlement in Berlin: A Somewhat Depressing Chronicle,' followed by explanations of several memorials and the destruction they commemorate. The subtitle of his regular Jewish heritage tour is 'A Walk Through a Lost World.'

In contrast, Nadav Gablinger emphasises the revitalised Jewish community and offers additional tours about contemporary Jewish and Israeli life in Berlin. This reveals an agenda of presenting Jewish Berlin from a more positive perspective, but he and others are still subject to the interests of their clients. Few tourists request those neighbourhood tours but ask their guides many personal questions about their lives as Jews in Berlin. Yoav and Natalie Sapir counter both perspectives by not dwelling on negative experiences or revitalisation but try to correct what their website describes as a 'common misconception (or hype) about our Jewish community that supposedly has been "revived."' They argue that not only is the total population less than a tenth of its pre-war status, but the vast majority of Jews in Berlin are immigrants or the children of immigrants. Most do not speak German as their native tongue, and most are not Reform Jews, characteristics of the pre-war community. Indeed, nearly all of the private and group tour guides are immigrants or sojourners; most of the private guides

specialising in Jewish tours are Israeli, and the larger companies hire several Israeli guides for tours of Jewish Berlin and Sachsenhausen. The Jüdishe Gemeinde zu Berlin, the umbrella Jewish organisation in Berlin, and the Sapirs describe these current residents as 'Jews in Germany' rather than 'German Jews.'

The Jewish-related destinations in Berlin are overwhelmingly memorials of one type or another. Very few provide information about Jewish history or contemporary culture. Nearly all other sites are part of Germany's *Vergangenheitsbewältigung.* Sometimes translated as 'memory work', this term refers to Germany's efforts to grapple with the atrocities committed by their former government and populous. The most significant Jewish sites are of relatively recent origin. The Jewish Museum opened in 2001, and the central monument near the Tiergarten was completed in 2005. These projects took decades of planning and debate, stalled in no small part by the city and nation's post-war division and subsequent reunification in 1990. Ruth Gruber (2002) argues that the suffering of the Holocaust was 'universalised' and equated with all other wartime difficulties until the 1980s, when public critique and official commemoration of Holocaust victims became more common. The Neue Synagogue hosts a poorly-advertised exhibit that offers information about a pre-war Jewish community and, if visitors are not overwhelmed by its Holocaust memorials and exhibits and architecture, the Jewish Museum offers an exhibition on Jewish culture. The latter, a state-owned museum, has fought to demonstrate that it is not simply a museum of the Holocaust, as people might presume. An early marketing campaign depicted surprising images, like a split coconut revealing a halved orange inside, with the tagline *Nicht das, was Sie erwarten* (Not what you were expecting). It was one of nine 'quasi-surreal' images placed on 2,500 billboards throughout the country in 2005 (Chametzky, 2008). Though it sought to advertise that it was not yet another Holocaust centre, due to renovations, all exhibits about Jewish culture were closed for renovation during my research in 2018. Insider Tours' Jewish Berlin tour goes into the greatest detail about the notable past of Jewish communities in Berlin. In general, Berlin's sites of Jewish interest tell visitors far

more about Germany, its methods of coping with past crimes, and perhaps its public relations agenda than it does about Jewish culture or tradition.

Visitor Experiences

I assessed visitor experience through netnography and on-site interviews and observations. My netnographic data included over 10,000 TripAdvisor reviews of private guides, group tours, and sites, in addition to the comments displayed on the websites of private tour guides and companies. While netnographic data has certain drawbacks (see Mkono, 2012; Podoshen & Hunt, 2011) and the guide Yoav Sapir said that only about half of his clients post reviews, this approach allowed me to access thousands of reviews in multiple languages stretching back to 2008.

Based on TripAdvisor reviews, people seek Jewish aspects of Berlin for a variety of reasons. Many tourists feel the need to be a witness to genocide, while others seek family roots. Aware that Jewish life is an important part of Berlin history, many Jews and non-Jews choose to engage private guides or join group tours to learn more about these issues and related sites. Several reviews admit discomfort at engaging in 'atrocity tourism', as a man from Glasgow described a tour of Sachsenhausen. Another wrote:

> I am a bit ambivalent about tours like this since I find it hard to reconcile tourism with what happened in a camp like this. I would also like to congratulate [the guide] on the sensitivity with which he dealt with this difficult balance between tourism, history and memorial. At appropriate intervals, he took time to remind us what we were seeing and about the people these things had happened to. I particularly appreciated the respectful manner in which he related the events here to events beyond WW2 and its aftermath.

The hundreds of reviews for the Jewish Quarter walks and Sachsenhausen day trips offered by Insider Tours (IT) and Original Berlin Walks (OBW) are overwhelmingly positive, averaging (by rounding) 5/5. 92 per cent of reviewers describe the tours as excellent.

Three reviewers on OBW's Sachsenhausen trip identified themselves as the children of Holocaust survivors who felt uneasy about taking a group tour to such a personally sensitive location but unanimously commended the guides' sensitivity and the value of the experience.

Reviews on TripAdvisor recount several successful 'roots' pilgrimages, and I learned more from the guides themselves. A woman from Maine wrote,

> Yoav took us to places that directly impacted my family. I learned so much I didn't know before. We stood on Platform 17 at Grunewald Station where 386 deportations from Berlin took place. I cannot imagine a more chilling experience. We learned and saw so much more that touched my soul. Words cannot alone express how extraordinary our tour with Yoav was.

Based on Sapir's help, she discovered two surviving second cousins in London during her Berlin visit. A Jewish tourist from Seattle also appreciated how Sapir gave him 'a better sense of [his] German heritage.' In an interview, Sapir said that the number of genealogical tours is slowly growing, but he had still only led four such tours in the past year.

Berlin's tour guides caution their customers to be prepared for difficult emotions, whether touring Sachsenhausen concentration camp or walking the streets of the old Jewish Quarter and advertise their ability to help visitors work through these experiences. Eyal Roth advertises that the tour might 'provoke an emotional response and it's my job to facilitate this and give space for it within the tour.' Similarly, in the revised edition of *Jewish Heritage Travel: A Guide to East-Central Europe,* author Ruth Gruber (1994, p. 3) warns that 'Jews and non-Jews alike who visit the places described in this book should be prepared to deal with a maelstrom of emotions.' As Erica Lehrer (2013, p. 15) wrote in her study of Jewish tourism in Krakow, even themed tours are 'often quite the opposite of package tourism. They are opportunities for unpacking baggage long carried but rarely examined.' TripAdvisor reviews suggest that the private guides in Berlin do this successfully. Milk and Honey Tours, a

company offering international Jewish-themed tours, posts comments from past customers that complement the guides' 'sensitive and compassionate' approach and their ability to make a 'rather "difficult" experience into something that we would have not missed for the world.' Another guest wrote:

> I am writing to say how good it was to spend time with you in Berlin. My experience was so varied and complicated. Being able to talk with you and share some of the emotional impact was of tremendous value to me. Your thoughtful planning and knowledge showed me things I would not have learned about and your openness and honesty allowed me to speak honestly, which was a great relief. I was experiencing distress that I could not otherwise discuss. So, thank you for the many ways you offered a safe harbor.

Yoav Sapir claimed that his job was to accommodate those emotional experiences. He believes that the sites themselves are less important for visitors than the conversations he facilitates and his perspective as an Israeli Jew living in Berlin.

Some tourists respond to their experience with political statements. Sapir observed that American Jews frequently make analogies between Nazi horrors and the political climate of the United States under Donald Trump's presidency. His clients respond with, 'That's just what's happening in my country!' when he describes the increasing anti-Semitism of the 1930s. Sapir believes that Jewish American tourists come to 'reinforce their political identity', whether that be liberal or conservative. While conservative Jews offer sympathy regarding anti-Semitic acts perpetrated by Muslim refugees, believing Germans and Americans face that same threat, others praise Germany's open refugee policy, understanding it as penance for the Holocaust. I observed that some guides did not hesitate to share their political views, even when they contrasted with those of their clients, but one guide, requesting anonymity, said that s/he tries to stay apolitical and let tourists believe that their assumptions about her/his views are correct. Sapir said that he re-

ceives many questions, particularly from Americans, about his political views on Israel, Germany, and the refugee crisis. Other Jewish guides made similar statements and, on the tours I took, Jewish customers acted more interested in contemporary personal experiences and perspectives than learning about Jewish heritage. When my Israeli Insider Tours guide, Orit Arfa, promoted her autobiographical erotic novel of falling for a German man, at least half of the people on our tour wrote down the title after taking no notes and few photographs during the tour.

The identity of the guide made a notable difference to several reviewers. Multiple TripAdvisor reviews expressed tourists' initial dismay or disappointment that their guide for a Jewish-themed tour was not Jewish (though most are). All guides I encountered and interviewed identified themselves as Jewish online and in person. For travellers with sufficient financial resources, hiring a private guide-with an assurance of their Jewish identity-can be an attractive alternative. The guide Sue Arns states her Jewish identity and that of her driver at the top of numerous pages of her simple website. The first FAQ is 'Are you Jewish?' to which she answers, 'Yes, both of us are Jewish. Many of our clients think it is easier to be guided by a Jewish guide in Germany. And we agree.'

Numerous reviews of Eyal Roth and the Sapirs mention that having a Jewish guide made hearing these stories and grappling with the difficult history easier and more valuable. One praised the value of hearing stories from a child of survivors, while another wrote that Sapir's 'Israeli and Jewish background created a sense of trust and interest from our behalf, while his thorough interest in our Jewish history brought about a personal bond.' Reviewers who expressed apprehension of visiting Germany and Berlin complimented the guides' ability to, as a Jewish woman from Santa Monica wrote, 'gently ease me into a place where I could absorb the past, present, and future of Jewish Berlin.' Another wrote, 'I'm not sure I could have done it without Natalie.' A Jewish couple from Fort Lauderdale confessed to guide Sue Arns, 'As you know, we had been reluctant to visit Germany and especially Berlin, but we are so very glad we did and had you both show us your city. It is truly amazing, and we ap-

preciated your sharing it with us.' A couple from Minneapolis responded similarly. One visitor to Berlin on a Milk and Honey tour wrote, 'I still can't believe I let my foot fall onto German soil, and I credit the positive experience to you, your expertise and mostly to your warmth and enthusiasm. There are so many things that are just now filtering into my consciousness and a million things I'd like to see again or explore more [...] perhaps, someday.' Reviews of both private and group tours emphasise the key role their guide played in their experience.

Conclusions

Studies of Armenian diaspora tourism to Turkey offer a helpful comparative context for examining Jewish tourism to Germany. In both cases, a government regime committed genocide against a minority population several generations ago. Most home villages and extended family are gone. Turan and Bakalian (2015, p. 173) argue that diaspora 'pilgrimage nurtures the Armenian diaspora by preserving and reimagining its identity.' They view it as a rite of passage that fosters *communitas*. A similar experience transpires in Germany, where Jewish travellers enter a nation that permanently changed the diaspora community. It reinforces their identity as Jews, and for some, their political identity as well. Turan and Bakalian argue that physically viewing the land and meeting its people (and realising that they are not wholly evil) can heal psychological wounds for the children and grandchildren of survivors. This healing phenomenon is substantiated by people like Lev Raphael who confronted the 'German ghosts' that haunted his childhood (45) and recent travellers who 'felt more complete' and could accept the past more easily after visiting Germany. Turan and Bakalian also described the surprising, and not always welcome, attachment Armenians felt toward the people and landscape of Anatolia. Raphael and others report similar feelings, unexpectedly developing deep attachments to Germany, especially Berlin.

Travelling to Germany, particularly Berlin, becomes a religious ritual of reconciliation for many Jews. Kugelmass (1994, p. 175) calls the experience a 'secular ritual' and describes how it 'confirms who they are as

Jews.' While he believes such travel is shallower than a pilgrimage, he agrees that the experiences appropriate many of its elements, such as liminality and its power to change individual lives. Yoav Sapir invoked the religious language of pilgrimage during our interview as well. He believes that visiting Berlin and seeing how Germans have dealt with their nation's past atrocities is a significant religious act that relates to and affects their identity as Jews. Kugelmass (1994, p. 176) quotes a grandson of survivors who said upon visiting Birkenau, 'I am reborn, in my present life. As witness, not as survivor.' Cohen (1992, pp. 58–59) concludes that the functional aspect of pilgrimage 'not only recreates and revitalises the individual but also reinforces his commitment to basic cultural values; he is restituted to, and reconciled with, his role and position in society.' This occurs among foreign Jews who travel to Berlin, face the nightmares of their people's past, and manage to reconcile the Nazi terror with the Germany of today. During a Jewish Berlin walking tour, a 73-year-old Canadian Jew confided to me why he decided to visit Berlin after avoided the country for his entire life. Brought up with considerable anti-German sentiments-his father fought in World War 11, and his mother survived the London Blitz, he credited Canadian tolerance for his ability to forgive the current nation, but also expressed his satisfaction that the country had reconciled its past without forgetting it.

Similarly, Basu (2007, p. 221) acknowledges that pilgrimages to one's roots become 'personal therapeutic acts, influenced as much by popular psychology as more institutionalised ritual practices-' Along those lines, tourist Evie Woolstone, a child of German Jewish refugees and client of guide Sue Arns, expressed a common perception that 'it did feel as though Berlin was trying to atone for its guilty past [...] I am glad that I went but throughout felt slightly unsettled by the fact of actually being in Germany and all the emotions that this entailed.'

Germany's *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* looms so heavily in Berlin that focusing on anything but the nation's response to the atrocities is difficult. Over 5,000 Stolpersteine dot the sidewalks of Berlin; the blocks surrounding Bavarianplatz are replete with dozens of signs detailing race legislation; the memorial to

murdered Jews is vast and complemented by nearby memorials dedicated to politicians and other Germans who fought against the Nazis, murdered Sinti and Roma, people murdered for having physical or mental disabilities, and murdered homosexuals. Plaques commemorating the sites of former synagogues far outnumber active religious sites or Jewish organisations. Opportunities to learn about the influential communities of German Jews who once lived in Berlin are scarce, and few tourists request tours about contemporary Jewish life. These performances of guilt and repentance have the power to overwhelm the atrocities themselves. The subject of German guilt and Germany's production of public memory and memorialisation dominated the weeks I spent visiting sites and interviewing guides and tourists, not sorrow or thoughtful contemplation about the loss of life and destruction of a community. My research supports Sapir's theory that Germany's installation of memorials to the Holocaust in recent decades, particularly those in Berlin, directly contributes to foreign Jews' increasing acceptance of the country. While the origins of these memorials are as diverse and unique as their forms, the visitors I spoke with tend to read the memorials as a formally organised and coordinated display of national guilt and repentance.

Berlin is in an admittedly difficult position. Promoting a thriving Jewish culture (either contemporary or pre-war) would be seen by some as an attempt to gloss over past crimes. Moreover, while some Jews will refuse to set foot on German soil, others who show hesitancy are frequently convinced by the plethora of memorials that Germany is making clear efforts to educate its citizens about the nation's mistakes and showing penance by devoting resources to those ends and supporting relatively open policies toward refugees today. How Germans feel about wartime crimes or the ubiquity of memorials is unclear to the casual visitor, particularly to the Jewish visitor who chooses a Jewish, and most likely Israeli, guide, but at least two messages conveyed by the sheer mass of monuments is clear: Germany wants to appear repentant and is making concerted efforts to educate its populace about these crimes. While German officials enact penance through the construction of memorials and museums to the

Jews of Europe, they are, through the same act, also earning the tourist money of and perhaps reconciliation with foreign Jewish communities. My research showed that online reviews, personal interviews, and autobiographical works from Jewish visitors to Berlin are overwhelmingly positive. While some attribute their trip's success to the sensitivity of their Jewish guide, others articulate that they have personally reconciled their fear and anger related to Nazi Germany with the nation today.

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The Influence of an International Festival on Visitors' Attitudes toward Diverse Cultures

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Interacting with people from other countries can enhance our knowledge of cultural diversity and provide an international perspective. There are many ways of enhancing cultural understanding, one of which is attending international festivals. While research on festivals is fast growing, visitors' attitudes toward diverse cultures is a relatively unexplored subject. This study used a visitor attitude scale to investigate visitors' behavioural, cognitive, and/or affective components of diversity attitudes. The research focused on measuring visitation frequency, stay-time at the event, similar event participation, cultural interest, and overseas travel experience contributing to any observed differences in visitors' attitudes. The visitors' intention to travel overseas after attending this festival was also investigated. A total of 195 visitors were surveyed on site at an international festival in a Midwestern city in the US, with 176 providing usable data. The findings suggest that international festivals play an important role in improving visitors' awareness, appreciation, and acceptance of diverse cultures. Specifically, visitation frequency, the time spent at the event, and personal interest in cultures have significant influence on attitudes. These findings have implications for future researchers and event organisers.

Keywords: international festivals, ethnic groups, visitor attitude, diverse cultures
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Introduction

In this era of globalisation, there are more opportunities to meet many ethnic groups in our daily lives, whether in schools, in the workplace, in the private sector, or in government. Interacting with people from other countries can enhance our knowledge of cultural diversity and provide us with an international perspective (Allport, 1954). However, conflicts may happen due to the misunderstanding of cultural differences (Berry, 2005). Cross-cultural interaction and commu-

nication can increase awareness of similarities and differences so that people can better appreciate and respect each other (Berry, 2005).

There are many ways of enhancing cultural understanding, including travelling overseas, visiting museums, attending cultural events, etc. Travel abroad may be the most direct way of interacting with different cultures; however, travel is not available for everyone. Fortunately, there are increasing numbers of multicultural activities in which people can participate.

For example, Indianapolis is the 12th largest city in the United States and has several cultural festivals throughout the year, including Brazil Carnival, Italian Street Festival, Indiana Latino Expo, Indiana Black Expo, Greek Fest, Irish Fest, German Fest, and others. Among those festivals, the oldest and largest ethnic celebration in central Indiana is the annual INDY International Festival.

The INDY International Festival has taken place since 1976. For the past few decades, the Nationalities Council of Indiana, a non-profit organisation composed of several ethnic groups has had a mission to promote cultural and ethnic activities, to increase communication, cultural exchange among people of all nationalities, races, and cultures, and to support the cultural and ethnic activities of their member groups and other organisations. The INDY International Festival is the signature event of the Nationalities Council of Indiana. It fully demonstrates the value of the Nationalities Council of Indiana, displays Indiana's ethnic diversity, celebrates unique ethnic traditions, and encourages cultural exchange.

The INDY International Festival can be classified as a one-time, recurring event with a particular theme each year (e.g., the theme for 2017 was visual arts around the world) that people can participate in, learn from, and enjoy. Every year, the INDY International Festival includes a variety of events, such as a parade of nations, street painting, continuous ethnic music and dance by local and national performing groups, and Culture Booths where Indiana residents can learn and connect with other national heritages. At the same time, the festival provides authentic foods and handicrafts that Indiana residents can sample from around the world.

The INDY International Festival has been through many changes. It started as a street festival organised by the partnership of the International Center and Nationalities Council of Indiana (hereafter NCI). Since most members of NCI are volunteers and only a few national groups are large enough to be self-supported, NCI had been working with a promotion company on the INDY International Festival. However, 2014 was the last year of their contract. It was a new beginning for NCI to run this event without the support of the promotion company in 2015.

The INDY International Festival is a four-day event on one weekend in November. Although it is an open-for-public event, it also sets aside specific times only for schools. Schools within a radius of 100 miles can apply for special school hours at the event. At least 200 schools have had field trips to the INDY International Festival. There were approximately 6,000 to 10,000 students and 10,000 adults, totalling 20,000–25,000 visitors each year. 15–20% were repeat visitors, and 80% were first-time attendees.

Purpose of the Study

Very limited research has been conducted examining the visitors' attitudes toward diverse cultures in a festival setting. With the growing interest and enthusiasm for cultural festival events and the lack of information regarding visitors' attitudes and acceptance of cultural diversity, an in-depth analysis was thought to be necessary. Therefore, the purpose of the study was to examine the influence of the INDY International Festival on visitors' attitudes toward diverse cultures. Attempts were made to determine the extent to which visitors' visitation frequency, stay-time at the event, similar event participation, cultural interest, and overseas travel experience contributed to any observed differences, as would be indicated by the visitor attitude scale. Also, the visitors' intention to travel overseas after attending this festival was investigated. Specifically, the study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. Does attending the international festival in relation to visitation frequencies, visitors' personal interests, and past travelling experiences influence visitors' attitudes toward diverse cultures?

2. Does attending the international festival motivate visitors to travel overseas? How well do the three measures of control (visitor attitude scale, visitation frequency, stay-time at the event) predict visitors' intention to travel abroad after attending this festival?

Hypotheses

The study was designed to test the following null hypotheses:

H1 *There is no significant difference between first-time and repeat visitors with their attitude (UDO) scores.*

H2 *There is no correlation between stay-time at the event and visitors' attitude (UDO) scores.*

H3 *There is no significant difference between visitors in relation to their past experiences in participating in international events and their attitude (UDO) scores.*

H4 *There is no correlation between visitors' cultural interests and their attitude (UDO) scores.*

H5 *There is no significant difference between visitors in relation to their overseas travel experiences and their attitude (UDO) scores.*

H6 *Visitors' intention to travel overseas after attending the festival are not affected by their attitude (UDO) scores, visitation frequency, and stay-time at the event.*

Literature Review

This section provides a review of literature related to the construct of Universal Diverse Orientation (UDO) that was adopted by this research. Next, the Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale that was developed to measure UDO is discussed. Finally, this section presents a review of festival research.

Universal Diverse Orientation and Miville-Guzman
Universality-Diversity Scale
As human beings, we are alike in many ways yet different from each other. Knowing the similarity and differences between us can make our interactions with each other more effective. This common understanding of

each other would break down barriers between people from a variety of cultural backgrounds (Vontress, 1979).

Universal-Diversity Orientation (hereafter UDO) is a construct the was developed and defined by Miville et al. (1999) as 'an attitude toward all other persons that is inclusive yet differentiating in that similarities and differences are both recognised and accepted; the shared experience of being human results in a sense of connectedness with people and is associated with a plurality or diversity of interactions with others' (p. 292). Simply stated, UDO describes an attitude of awareness, acceptance, connectedness and appreciation of both similarities (i.e., commonality of being human) and differences (i.e., diverse cultural factors such as race, gender, religion, and age) among people (Fuertes, Miville, Mohr, Sedlacek, & Gretchen, 2000). UDO reflects cognitive, behavioural, and affective components of social attitudes, which yielded three factors of UDO value: Diversity of Contact, seeking the opportunities to interact with diverse social groups; Relativistic Appreciation, revealing the recognition of similarities and differences between diverse populations; and Comfort with Others, expressing a sense of connection with members of diverse cultures.

Meanwhile, Miville et al. (1999) created the Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale (M-GUDS) to measure the level of UDO as well as those three individual components of UDO. The M-GUDS is a 45-item questionnaire with items that are rated on a 6-point continuum (1 = strongly disagree, 6 = strongly agree). The scale yields a total score as well as scores from three 15-item subscales. Reliability (i.e., internal consistency and stability) and validity (i.e., construct) of the M-GUDS have been assessed and evaluated through much research. A higher score indicates a higher level of UDO.

In a series of studies (Miville et al., 1999), the M-GUDS was proved to have high levels of reliability internally (all correlations were approximately 0.90 and subscales were intercorrelated above 0.75) and significantly correlated with a number of other scales. The M-GUDS was found to be significantly and positively correlated with the Contact, Pseudo-Independence and Autonomy subscales of the White Racial Identity

Attitude Scale (wrias) and negatively correlated with the Disintegration and Reintegration of the wrias and the Dogmatism Scale and the Homophobia Scale as well. The Perspective Taking and Empathic Concern subscales of the Empathy Scale were found to be significantly and positively correlated with the m-guds. Also, the m-guds were positively correlated with healthy narcissism as Healthy Grandiose Self and Healthy Idealised Parental Image subscales of the Inventory of Self Psychology as well as the attitudes toward feminism and androgyny. The results indicated that udo, as measured by the m-guds, is consistent internally and over time, and is significantly related to social attitudes on racial identity, gender (feminism), sexual orientation (homophobia), and some aspects of personality functioning as healthy narcissism.

Fuertes et al. (2000) concluded that 'udo is best conceptualized as a unidimensional construct with behavioral, cognitive and affective components, rather than a multidimensional construct with three distinct but interrelated domains' (p. 158). Later, a 15-item m-guds, Short Form (m-guds-s) was developed (Fuertes et al., 2000). The Short Form is conceptually similar to the original m-guds. The scores on the Short Form were adequately reliable and valid, and that presents some advantages over the original scale. First, the m-guds-s is shorter and can be quickly administered. The positive correlation between long and short forms indicated that the short form measures udo as significantly as the long form. Second, the factor structure and scale relationship was more clarified. Third, the m-guds-s allowed udo analysis using subscale scores. The evidence suggested that subscale scores measured distinct aspects of udo yet differently predicted diversity-related attitudes and behaviours.

Due to the development of the tourism industry and the increasing discussion on cultural interaction, the researcher hopes that Indiana residents can better understand and appreciate different cultures through participation in international festivals. Although m-guds is mostly used in the field of psychology and counselling, it can be tested in event study to evaluate visitors' attitudes toward diverse cultures in festival settings. For the purpose of this study, the researcher

adapted the 15-item Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale, Short Form (Fuertes et al., 2000) and modified the items to adapt them more appropriately for this particular event. The three-factor diversity attitudes measure structure: (a) Diversity of Contact – visitors' interest in participating in diverse cultural activities; (b) Relativistic Appreciation – the impact of diverse cultural activities on self-understanding and personal growth; (c) Comfort with Differences – visitors' degree of comfort with individuals from diverse cultures, to test their level of Universal-Diverse Orientation (udo), which refers to visitors' attitudes in recognising and accepting differences and similarities in others was used.

Three items were developed for each subscale (nine items total). The reliabilities of the nine-item udo measure, as well as the three subscales, were high. This study explored relationships between event visitation frequency, stay-time at the event, personal cultural interest, overseas travel experiences, travel intention, and udo overall and by the three subscales separately. This will allow the research to determine whether the relationships found are due to behavioural, cognitive, and/or affective components of diversity attitudes.

Festival Research

The United States is a nation of immigrants which means people often come into contact with people of different races in daily life. Such interactions have both positive and negative impacts. Generally speaking, people living in metropolitan areas such as New York and Chicago may have high levels of diversity awareness and acceptance because of the cultural diversity of cities (Zukin, 1998). According to the contact theory developed by Allport (1954), under certain conditions, interpersonal contact is a way to reduce prejudice as well as increase understanding and appreciation between different groups.

People can enhance their cultural understanding in many different ways including travelling overseas, visiting museums, attending cultural events, etc. (Chang, 2006; Falk & Foutz, 2007). In this research, 'international' and 'multicultural' are interchangeable terms. The definition of a multicultural festival can be varied, from different researchers' points of view. Based

on a combination of Duffy (2005) and McClinchey's (2008) definitions, multicultural festivals are 'public, multicultural-themed celebrations at which multi-ethnic people – including both ethnic minorities and members of dominant population – have an extraordinary as well as mutually beneficial experience' (Lee, Arcodia, & Lee, 2012, p. 95). Multicultural festivals create a themed environment for people to feel cultural authenticity, to engage with others, to learn new things, to observe the similarities and differences among ethnic groups in a leisurely way. A previous study has indicated several characteristics of multicultural festivals, including social interaction, cultural celebration, cultural identity and expression (Lee et al., 2012). Studies indicated that multicultural festivals provide a place for ethnic minority groups to recall their memories and experiences of where they are originally from, and to express and share their culture with the public through festival activities. Festivals not only foster cultural acceptance within the community but also generate interaction between minorities and the dominant population, which can reduce prejudice and conflicts in society as well as promote social harmony (Lee et al., 2012).

With the growth of event tourism as an academic field, research focusing on festivals has been increasing. People today demand higher event quality and content. Event organisers need to consider not only the cultural value of festivals but also visitors' needs. Visitors have personal motivations to visit festivals (Uysal, Gahan, & Martin, 1993; Nicholson & Pearce, 2001; Lee, Lee, & Wicks, 2004; Li & Petrick, 2006; Wamwara-Mbugua & Cornwell, 2009; Lee, Arcodia, & Lee, 2012; Kim, Savinovic, & Brown, 2013). Many festival studies emphasised the importance of visitors' motivation. Visitors' motivation can vary from person to person, from event to event, and even from ethnicity to ethnicity. Many researchers have developed their own theoretical frameworks of motivation study and identified several motivations. Among festival studies, some common motivations can be identified, including family togetherness, socialisation, escape, novelty, uniqueness, excitement, entertainment, education, attraction, cultural exploration, curiosity, entertainment, and others (Uysal et al., 1993; Nichol-

son & Pearce, 2001; Lee, Lee, & Wicks, 2004; Li & Petrick, 2006; Wamwara-Mbugua & Cornwell, 2009; Lee, Arcodia, & Lee, 2012; Kim et al., 2013). Motives can be different for different types of events (Crompton & McKay, 1997). For example, people attending food festivals are more likely to be motivated by novelty. Furthermore, everyone has their own perspective and expectation of the events that they are going to visit. Personal characteristics such as age, gender, income level, and education would cause motivational differences (Tkaczynski & Toh, 2014; Wooten & Norman, 2007). Women and people with higher educational background tend to be knowledge-seeking while visiting cultural festivals.

Multicultural festivals are different from other single-focus festivals such as the Greek festival or the Irish festival; visitors may have multiple motivations when visiting a multicultural festival. Among various motivations, cultural exploration was identified as the most important motivation for a multicultural festival (Chang, 2006; Lee et al., 2012). However, for those visitors whose culture is presented in a multicultural festival and those whose culture is not presented, their motivations are slightly different. Those whose cultures were not presented were more likely to seek connections of previous life experience, family or friends of a different cultural origin, and their personal interest in a multicultural festival. In contrast, those whose cultures were presented were more likely to celebrate their own cultural traditions (Huang & Lee, 2015).

Because event organisers hope that festivals will not be a one-time event but a sustainable one, understanding visitors' motivations is necessary. To maintain a recurring festival, keeping those repeat visitors is the key. Repeat visitors not only spend more money in the festival, but also stay longer, are more likely to return, and possibly recommend the festivals to others (Shani, Rivera, & Hara, 2009). As a result, understanding visitors' motivations is crucial for event organisers to build effective marketing strategies and meet the needs of festival visitors.

In addition to encouraging visitors to return, event organisers should consider the amount of time spent at the festival. One applicable study by Falk (1982) focused on the time spent at a museum as a measure

of visitor behaviour. The research divided visitors into two categories: 'window shoppers' and 'serious shoppers.' The 'window shoppers' go to a museum to pass the time in a leisurely way. They try to see as many exhibitions as they can in the shortest amount of time. Therefore, good displays, clear access and space, and signage are important to them. In contrast, the 'serious shoppers' come with a purpose; they know what they want to see and they will spend time on a particular exhibition. Nevertheless, a 'window shopper' can turn into 'serious shopper.' If they discover something interesting, they will spend more time than they originally planned and may come back again. In conclusion, the time a visitor spends is an important factor that contributed to his/her behaviour (Falk, 1982). Therefore, it could be assumed that visitors' behaviour and even their attitudes can be changed after spending more time at the festival. Visitors may be attracted to the festival by different motivations, but the content that the festival provided can influence their behaviour.

Although many studies discuss the benefits that festivals bring to the community, research specifically on the values and benefits gained from festivals on the personal level remains limited. Visitor benefits in the festival context are defined as 'the ultimate value that people place on what they believe they have gained from observation or participation in activities provided by a festival' (Lee et al., 2012, p. 335). Having a comprehensive understanding of visitor benefits allows event organisers to evaluate the effectiveness of festivals. Such effectiveness could be an indicator of what the event offers, how the event programme and activities are executed, and what the event experience means to visitors. In terms of the benefits gained from attending festivals, a group of researchers using several benefit scales to test the outcome identified four key factors: social, cognitive, transformational, and affective benefits (Lee et al., 2012). The test results showed transformational benefit was the greatest benefit that visitors gained from attending a multicultural festival. In museum studies, 'transformational' was defined as discarding old ways of thinking, exploring new ideas and concepts (Soren, 2009), developing new attitudes, appreciation, and beliefs (Lord, 2007). There-

fore, festivals have the potential to change visitors' attitudes and give them a positive perspective on different cultures.

The majority of the reviewed publications on festival study focus on marketers' perspectives. At the individual level, many of the resources emphasised visitor motivations, along with the festival visitors' satisfaction and behavioural intentions, but few studies have discussed the value and benefits gained from attending international festivals. Moreover, attitude and behavioural changes after the event have rarely been discussed.

In this study, the researcher intends to determine if the visitors' attitude toward diverse cultures would be influenced after attending the INDY International Festival. Due to a lack of relevant research, the researcher adopted the construct of Universal-Diversity Orientation from the psychological field and modified the items of M-GUDS-S to examine visitors' attitudes toward diverse culture.

Methodology

An on-site survey was conducted. The samples of the study were attendees of the 38th Annual INDY International Festival, which lasted four days. Participants were approached via convenience sampling on site at various times. Due to the objective of examining attitudes of visitors towards diverse culture in this study, the researcher tried to approach subjects from different races to survey. The researcher collected 195 surveys of which 176 had usable data.

The research instrument was designed to test the visitors' attitude toward diverse culture based on the construct of Universal-Diverse Orientation (UDO) and the development of the Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale, Short Form (M-GUDS-S) by Miville et al. (1999). The questionnaire can be seen in Appendix B and consisted of three parts: (a) 9-item questionnaire adapted from M-GUDS-S; (b) 11-item questionnaire of past experience at the event and other culture-related experience; and (c) 8-item questionnaire of included demographic variables.

There were several differences between the scale items in this research and original M-GUDS-S. The original 15-item M-GUDS-S can be seen in Table 1. The

Table 1   The Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale-Short Form

Aspect	Item
Diversity of Contact	1. I would like to join an organization that emphasizes getting to know people from different countries. 2. I would like to go to dances that feature music from other countries. 3. I often listen to the music of other cultures. 4. I am interested in learning about the many cultures that have existed in this world. 5. I attend events where I might get to know people from different racial backgrounds.
Relativistic Appreciation	1. Persons with disabilities can teach me things I could not learn elsewhere. 2. I can best understand someone after I get to know how he/she is both similar and different from me. 3. Knowing how a person differs from me greatly enhances our friendship. 4. In getting to know someone, I like knowing both how he/she differs from me and is similar to me. 5. Knowing about the different experiences of other people helps me understand my own problems better.
Comfort With Differences	1. Getting to know someone of another race is generally an uncomfortable experience for me. 2. I am only at ease with people of my own race. 3. It's really hard for me to feel close to a person form another race. 4. It is very important that a friend agrees with me on most issues. 5. I often feel irritated by persons of a different race.

Table 2   Modified m-guds-s Items

Aspect	Item
Diversity of Contact	1. Helps me know more people from different countries. 2. Makes me more interested in trying different foods from other countries. 3. Makes me more interested in learning about different cultures.
Relativistic Appreciation	4. Teaches me more things that I could not learn elsewhere. 5. Helps me best understand someone by knowing how he/she is similar to and different from me. 6. Increases my self-understanding by knowing other people's cultural background.
Comfort with Differences	7. Makes me feel a sense of kinship with persons from different ethnic group. 8. Makes me become comfortable getting to know people from different countries. 9. Makes me become more empathetic after knowing more people of different races.

scale in this research was modified from the original and reduced from fifteen to nine items because a few items from the original did not pertain to the population and geographical site of the study. For example, 'I would like to go to dances that feature music from other countries (Diversity of Contact),' 'Persons with disabilities can teach me things I could not learn elsewhere (Relativistic Appreciation),' and 'It is very important that a friend agrees with me on most issues (Comfort with Differences)' do not fit quite right in this study; therefore, the researcher eliminated these few items from the original. It was the first time the m-guds-s was used in an event study. In order to suit the research objectives, the researcher rephrased the items and reduced the original m-guds-s from five to three items per aspect. Items are rated on a 6-point Likert type scale, ranging from 1 for 'strongly disagree' to 6 for 'strongly agree.' Higher scores on the m-guds-s reflect higher levels of udo. In addition to being a reliable scale, the reliability of the m-guds-s has been tested and found to be 0.90. Table 2 displayed the m-guds-s items as they pertain to three aspects of udo.

The study analysed several factors influencing the udo scores including visitation frequencies, length of stay during the visit, interests in culture, and past international travelling experience. In order to obtain the demographic data of festival visitors, the following

Table 3 Respondent Profile

Variable	Group	N	%
Gender	Male	82	47.1
	Female	92	52.9
	Total	174	100
Age	18–28	47	27.6
	29–38	49	28.8
	39–48	34	20.0
	49–58	21	12.4
	59+	19	11.2
	Total	170	100
Marital Status	Single	77	44.8
	Married	80	46.5
	Divorced/Partnered	12	7.0
	Widowed	3	1.7
	Total	172	100
Education	High School	19	11.2
	College	95	55.9
	Post-Graduate	56	32.9
	Total	170	100
Race	Caucasian	113	65.3
	African American	11	6.4
	Hispanic	7	4.0
	Asian/Pacific Islander	30	17.3
	Others	12	6.9
	Total	173	100

questions were asked: (1) gender; (2) age; (3) marital status; (4) race; (5) education; (6) annual household income before taxes; (7) employment status; (8) residence zip code.

Results

Descriptive Profile of the Respondents

Overview of item frequencies and descriptive statistics permitted assurance of accuracy across all questionnaire items. Upon further review, input errors were identified and corrected. In total, 195 questionnaires were collected from visitors to the INDY International Festival, with 176 (90%) questionnaires usable. The de-

Table 3 Continued

Variable	Group	N	%
Annual Household Income	Less than $25,000	31	19.5
	$25,001–$50,000	50	31.4
	$50,001–$100,000	53	33.3
	$100,000+	25	15.7
	Total	159	100
Employment Status	Employed	132	77.2
	Unemployed	12	7.0
	Retired	13	7.6
	Others	14	8.2
	Total	171	100

Table 4 Correlations among Modified M-GUDS-S Full Scale and Subscales

Scale/subscale	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(1) Diversity of Contact	–			
(2) Relativistic Apprec.	0.578**	–		
(3) Comfort With Diff.	0.685**	0.696**	–	
(4) UDO Full Scale	0.839**	0.874**	0.915**	–

mographic characteristics of the participants are presented in Table 3. This table demonstrated that the gender distribution of festival visitors was quite even, with 82 male (47.1%) and 92 female (52.9%). The age groups that recorded the highest attendance at the festival were the 18-to-28 age group (27.6%) and the 29-to-38 age group (28.8%). Marital status single (44.8%) and married (46.5%) were quite even. For the education level of respondents, over half of the respondents (55.9%) had a college education, and 56 (32.9%) were post-graduate. In terms of race, the majority of respondents were Caucasian (65.3%), with 17.3% Asians and Pacific Islanders. The annual household income of respondents was between the range of $25,001 to $50,000 (31.4%) and $50,001 to $100,000 (33.3%). Most of the respondents were employed (77.2%).

The Visitor Attitude Scale

The Visitor Attitude Scale in this research was adopted from the original 15-item M-GUDS-S by Miville et al.

Table 5   Means and Standard Deviations of the Items

Items	Mean	SD
Makes me more interested in trying different foods from other countries (DC)	5.39	0.771
Makes me more interested in learning about different cultures (DC)	5.37	0.767
Helps me know more people from different countries (DC)	5.11	0.810
Makes me feel a sense of kinship with persons from different ethnic group (CD)	5.09	0.861
Makes me become more empathetic after knowing more people of different races (CD)	5.03	0.935
Helps me best understand someone by knowing how he/she is similar to and different from me (RA)	5.03	0.845
Makes me become comfortable getting to know people from different countries (CD)	4.99	0.956
Increases my self-understanding by knowing other people's cultural background (RA)	4.96	0.858
Teaches me more things that I could not learn elsewhere (RA)	4.90	0.895

Notes DC – Diversity of Contact, CD – Comfort with Differences, RA – Relativistic Appreciation. $N = 176$.

Table 6   Results of *t*-Tests and Descriptive Statistics of Full Scores and Subscale Scores by Visitation Frequency

Outcome	First-time visitors			Repeat visitors			Sig.	*t*	DF
	Mean	SD	*n*	Mean	SD	*n*			
Diversity of Contact	5.18	0.61	91	5.40	0.61	85	0.018*	−2.391	174
Relativistic Appreciation	4.80	0.81	91	5.14	0.65	85	0.003**	−3.044	174
Comfort with Difference	4.90	0.87	91	5.18	0.69	85	0.018*	−2.380	174
Universal-Diverse Orientation	4.96	0.67	91	5.24	0.56	85	0.003**	−2.988	174

Notes   * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ (two-tailed).

(2000) and reduced from five to three items per subscale. The reliability of all items as well as three subscales was tested using Cronbach's alpha. Cronbach's alpha for the 9-item UDO measure was 0.90, whereas coefficient alphas for the subscales were 0.70, 0.84, and 0.84, for diversity of contact, relativistic appreciation, and comfort with difference, respectively. Subscales were found to be significantly inter-correlated with each other as well as with the full scale (Table 4).

Table 5 provided the mean scores of the M-GUDS-S items in descending order. The M-GUDS-S were measured on a 6-point Likert type scale with 1 synonymous with 'strongly disagree,' 2 synonymous with 'disagree,' 3 synonymous with 'disagree a little bit,' 4 synonymous with 'agree a little bit,' 5 synonymous with 'agree,' and 6 synonymous with 'strongly agree.'

The mean scores of items were between 4.9 to 5.39. The average score of all items was 5.1. The two items with the highest means measuring visitor attitudes were 'Item 2: Makes me more interested in trying different foods from other countries' (M = 5.39) and 'Item 3: makes me more interested in learning about different cultures' (M = 5.37), which were both located in the subscale of diversity of contact. In contrast, the two items with the lowest mean were 'Item 4: teaches me more things that I could not learn elsewhere' (4.90) and 'Item 6: increases my self-understanding by knowing other people's cultural background' (4.96), both located in the subscale of relativistic appreciation. The average scores of three subscales were 5.29 (Diversity of Contact), 4.96 (Relativistic Appreciation), and 5.03 (Comfort with Difference).

Testing of Hypothesis 1

From the usable data ($N = 176$), 91 respondents were first-time visitors (51.7%) with 85 repeat visitors (48.3%). An independent-samples *t*-test was conducted to examine whether there was a significant difference be-

Table 7   Correlations among Modified M-GUDS-S Full Scores and Subscale Scores with Visitation Frequency

Item	Visitation Frequency
Visitation Frequency	–
Diversity of Contact	0.155*
Relativistic Appreciation	0.228**
Comfort with Difference	0.163*
Universal-diverse Orientation	0.209**

Notes   * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ (two-tailed).

Table 8   Correlations among Modified M-GUDS-S Full Scores and Subscale Scores with Stay-Time

Item	Stay-Time
Stay-time	–
Diversity of Contact	0.176*
Relativistic Appreciation	0.218**
Comfort with Difference	0.195*
Universal-diverse Orientation	0.224**

Notes   * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ (two-tailed).

Table 9   Results of *t*-Tests and Descriptive Statistics of Full Scores and Subscale Scores by International Event Experience

Outcome	(1)			(2)			Sig.	*t*	DF
	Mean	SD	*n*	Mean	SD	*n*			
Diversity of Contact	5.11	0.71	66	5.40	0.52	97	0.004**	−2.905	112
Relativistic Appreciation	4.80	0.78	66	5.03	0.73	97	0.055	−1.936	161
Comfort with Difference	4.88	0.87	66	5.15	0.72	97	0.028*	−2.212	161
Universal-Diverse Orientation	4.93	0.69	66	5.20	0.57	97	0.008**	−2.696	161

Notes   (1) Didn't attend any international event. (2) Attended at least one international event in the last three years. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ (two-tailed).

tween first-time and repeat visitors in relation to their overall UDO scores and each subscale. Table 6 revealed a significant difference in average UDO scores between first-time visitors (M = 4.96, SD = 0.67) and repeat visitors (M = 5.24, SD = 0.56; *t* (174) = −2.988, *p* = 0.003, two-tailed). The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference = −0.28, 95% CI: −0.47 to −0.10) was small (*eta²* = 0.049). There were also significant differences in the three subscales: Diversity of Contact (*p* = 0.018), Relativistic Appreciation (*p* = 0.003), and Comfort with Difference (*p* = 0.018).

In addition, the relationship between the numerical data of visitation frequencies and UDO scores were conducted by Pearson correlation analyses. A modest, positive correlation was found between visitation frequency and UDO scores (*r* = 0.21, *p* = 0.008). Moreover, visitation frequencies were positively correlated with each subscale: Diversity of Contact (*r* = 0.16, *p* = 0.049), Relativistic Appreciation (*r* = 0.23, *p* = 0.003), and Comfort with Difference (*r* = 0.16, *p* = 0.037) (Table 7).

Table 10   Correlations among Modified M-GUDS-S Full Score and Subscale Scores with Cultural Interest

Item	Cultural Interest
Cultural Interest	–
DOC	0.547**
RA	0.380**
CWD	0.437**
UDO	0.510**

Notes   * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ (two-tailed).

Testing of Hypothesis 2

The relationship between visitors' UDO scores and their stay-time at the event was investigated using the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. There was a positive significant correlation between the two variables, *r* = 0.22, *n* = 172, *p* = 0.003, with high levels of UDO scores associated with long stay-time at the event (Table 8).

Moreover, stay-time was also positively correlated

Table 11   Results of *t*-Tests and Descriptive Statistics of Full Scores and Subscale Scores by Oversea Travel Experience

Outcome	Have traveled overseas			Never traveled overseas			Sig.	*t*	DF
	Mean	SD	*n*	Mean	SD	*n*			
Diversity of Contact	5.30	0.62	140	5.26	0.64	36	0.742	0.330	174
Relativistic Appreciation	4.96	0.76	140	4.97	0.73	36	0.929	−0.090	174
Comfort with Difference	5.01	0.81	140	5.12	0.75	36	0.469	−0.726	174
Universal-Diverse Orientation	5.09	0.64	140	5.12	0.61	36	0.817	−0.231	174

Notes   * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ (two-tailed).

with each subscale: Diversity of Contact ($r = 0.18$, $p = 0.021$), Relativistic Appreciation ($r = 0.22$, $p = 0.004$), and Comfort with Difference ($r = 0.20$, $p = 0.01$).

Testing of Hypothesis 3

An independent samples *t*-test was conducted to examine whether there was a significant difference between respondents who did not attend any international events (group 1, $N = 66$, 40%) and those who had attended at least one international event in the previous three years (group 2, $N = 97$, 60%). There was a significant difference in UDO scores for group 1 (M = 4.93, SD = 0.69) and group 2 (M = 5.20, SD = 0.57; t (161) = −2.696, $p = 0.008$, two-tailed). The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference = −0.27, 95% CI: −0.46 to −0.07) was small ($eta^2 = 0.043$).

There were also significant differences in two subscales: Diversity of Contact ($p = 0.004$) and Comfort with Difference ($p = 0.028$), excluding Relativistic Appreciation ($p = 0.055$) (Table 9).

Testing of Hypothesis 4

The relationship between visitors' UDO scores and their cultural interest was investigated using the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. There was a strong, positive correlation between the two variables, $r = 0.51$, $n = 176$, $p < 0.001$, with high levels of cultural interest associated with high levels of UDO scores.

Also, the Pearson correlation coefficient is positive on each subscale: Diversity of Contact ($r = 0.55$, $p < 0.001$), Relativistic Appreciation ($r = 0.38$, $p < 0.001$), and Comfort with Difference ($r = 0.44$, $p < 0.001$) respectively (Table 10).

Testing of Hypothesis 5

An independent samples *t*-test was conducted to examine whether there was a significant difference between respondents who had travelled overseas (Group 1, $N = 140$, 80%) and those who had never travelled overseas (Group 2, $N = 36$, 20%). There was no significant difference in UDO scores for group 1 (M = 5.09, SD = 0.64) and group 2 (M = 5.12, SD = 0.61; t (174) = −0.231, $p = 0.817$, two-tailed). There were also no significant differences in the three subscales: Diversity of Contact ($p = 0.742$), Relativistic Appreciation ($p = 0.929$), and Comfort with Difference ($p = 0.469$) (Table 11).

Testing of Hypothesis 6

A multiple linear regression was calculated to predict visitors' intention to travel overseas after attending this festival based upon their average UDO scores, visitation frequency, and stay-time at the event. In conducting the regression analysis, the variable of 'Overseas travel intention' served as the dependent variable, while three factors (UDO scores, visitation frequency and stay-time at the event) were used as the independent variables.

Preliminary analyses were performed to ensure there was no violation of the assumption of normality, linearity and multicollinearity. As illustrated in Table 12, a significant regression equation was found ($F = 18.74$, $p < 0.0001$), with an R^2 of 0.252, which means that 25.2% of the total variance in the dependent variable can be explained by the variables in the model. The degree of variable collinearity is considered acceptable with the variance inflation (VIF) less than 10. Visitors' intention to travel is equal to 0.889 + 0.709

Table 12   Overseas Travel Intention after Attending
the Festival

Model	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Regression	30.946	3	10.315	18.740	0.000
Residual	85.318	155	0.550		
Total	116.264	158			

Notes   Column headings are as follows: (1) sum of squares, (2) degrees of freedom, (3) mean square, (4) *F*, (5) significance. $R = 0.516$, $R^2 = 0.266$, adjusted $R^2 = 0.252$

Table 13   Variables in the Equation

Variable	*B*	*Beta*	*t*	Sig.
Constant	0.899		1.867	0.064
udo	0.709	0.530	7.421	0.000
Stay-time	−0.066	−0.162	−2.216	0.028
vf	−0.005	−0.022	−0.305	0.761

Notes   Dependent variable: Overseas travel intention after attending the festival.

(udo) – 0.005 (visitation frequency) – 0.066 (stay-time at the event) (Table 13).

Discussions

Using a quantitative approach, this paper explored the indy International Festival visitors' attitudes toward diverse cultures and compared the differences between groups in relation to their visitation frequencies to this particular festival, past experiences in participating in international events, and overseas travel experiences. In addition, the relationship between stay-time at the event, personal, cultural interest and attitude scores were tested. Moreover, overseas travel intentions after attending this event were analysed.

Demographic data revealed several items worthy of note. The previous cultural event study concluded that gender, age, education, and income are some of the personal characteristics that influence motivations to attend multicultural festivals (Tkaczynski & Toh, 2014). In this research, respondents were near equally distributed across each gender, with 82 male (47.1%) and 92 female (52.9%). Although the proportion of gender difference is not large here, it is obvious that females are more likely to be drawn into cultural

events. Over half of the respondents were between the ages of 18 to 30 (56.4%); 151 respondents (88.8%) indicated that they had either some college education or a post-graduate degree. These two demographic factors indicated that the majority of visitors were highly educated young adults. It indicated that cultural events are more attractive to visitors who have high educational backgrounds. The findings showed the annual household income of respondents were between the range of \$25,001 to \$50,000 (31.4%) and \$50,001 to \$100,000 (33.3%). Although it was concluded in other research that income was an indicator influencing visitors' decision to attend cultural events (Tkaczynski & Toh, 2014), it is uncertain whether those with high or low income would participate in cultural events more often. More research needs to be done in order to find the rationale for this argument. Based on the record of the United States Census Bureau (2014), more than 80% of Indiana residents were White, and only 2.1% were Asians/Pacific Islanders. The result of this research included 65.3% Caucasian respondents and 17.3% Asians and Pacific Islanders respondents. The reason that the high percentage of Asians/Pacific Islanders attended this festival may be caused by their cultures' representation at the festival. Those whose cultures have presented would feel connections and have a sense of cultural self-esteem (Huang & Lee, 2015).

The scale that tested visitors' attitudes in this study was adapted from m-guds, Short Form (Fuertes et al., 2000). The present findings suggested the scale has good reliability and validity and can be used successfully to measure visitors' attitudes toward diverse cultures in the festival setting. The average score of all respondents was 5.1 on the 6-point Likert type scale. Visitors as a whole had high attitude scores. The average score of three subscales were 5.29 (Diversity of Contact), 4.96 (Relativistic Appreciation), and 5.03 (Comfort with Difference) respectively. The mean scores of each item were between 4.9 to 5.39. The item with the highest score was 'Makes me more interested in trying different foods from other countries (Diversity of Contact)' (5.39).

In contrast, the item with the lowest score was 'Teaches me more things that I could not learn else-

where (Relativistic Appreciation)' (4.90). Respondents' attitude scores on the subscale of Diversity of Contact were comparatively higher than the other two sub-scales. It revealed that this festival successfully created a comfortable interaction environment for visitors to learn and to try new things from different cultures. However, the scores on the subscale of Relativistic Appreciation were lower; this does not mean that the festival is not helpful in this aspect of attitudes. The results may be affected by how the researcher stated the questions and respondents' understanding of it.

In order to answer the research questions, six hypotheses were analysed. Differences were found between first-time visitors (51.7%) and repeat visitors (48.3%). Repeat visitors have higher attitude scores (M = 5.24) than first visitors (M = 4.96) as well as on each subscale. In addition, stay-time at the event was positive and significantly correlated to visitors' attitude scores ($r = 0.22$, $p = 0.003$). It is said that the more time spent at the festival and the more often visitors come, the better the understanding of cultural differences (Falk, 1982). With a longer period of exploration and involvement in the festival, visitors developed more in-depth understanding and appreciation for different cultures.

According to several motivation studies, cultural exploration was identified as the most important motivation to attend multicultural festivals (Crompton & McKay, 1997; Chang, 2006; Lee et al., 2012). The findings of this study showed that visitors' cultural interest in visiting ethnic festivals and museums was positive and significantly correlated to visitors' attitude scores ($r = 0.51$, $p < 0.001$). Differences were also found between those who had participated in international events in the previous three years than those who had not. Those who have participated in international events in the previous three years have higher attitude scores (M = 5.20) than those who had not participated in any international events (M = 4.93). It indicated that people who have interest in cultures would pay more attention to cultural events and their attitudes toward diversity are likely more positive than those who do not have an interest in cultures. Significant results were also seen on two subscales: Diversity of Contact and Comfort with Difference, ex-

cluding the subscale of Relativistic Appreciation. The reason that Relativistic Appreciation is not significant for this particular group may be because those who have interest in cultures already have basic understanding of diverse cultures from their past experiences. They do not necessarily expect this particular festival to teach them something they cannot learn elsewhere. Compared with their past experiences, this festival was not beneficial on the aspect of Relativistic Appreciation.

In this study, visitors were asked about their overseas travel experience and were divided into two groups: one who had overseas travel experience and the other who had not travelled overseas. It was assumed that positive attitudes toward diverse cultures would be stronger after attending this festival in those with overseas travel experience than those who do not have the experience. However, there was no significant difference in UDO scores between those who have overseas travel experience (M = 5.09) and those who have not (M = 5.12). One possible reason for there being no statistical significance may lie in the small size of the never-been-overseas group. In the present study, only 36 participants (20%) had never travelled overseas. Moreover, another possible reason may be that this festival does not give them much more to see than their experience in other countries. Therefore, it is unable to find a definitive answer from this study. Finally, this study analysed if attending this festival could increase visitors' overseas travel intention. A significant regression was found (F = 18.74, $p < 0.0001$), with an R^2 of 0.252. Visitors' intention to travel is equal to 0.889 + 0.709 (UDO) – 0.005 (visitation frequency) – 0.066 (stay-time at the event). However, 25.2% of the total variance is not strong. There may be some related variables that were not included in the study.

Conclusions
This study aimed to determine if attending international festivals can improve visitors' attitudes toward diverse cultures. Several practical implications of the study could be useful to event organisers and even other multicultural organisations or communities hosting multicultural festivals. The findings of the study reflect that Indiana residents who attended

this international festival have high attitude scores. Those who have high educational background may have encountered people from different ethnic groups in school or in the workplace. Their educational path gives them more opportunities to interact with different cultures, and it makes them have a different perspective on cultural diversity.

Moreover, for those who have an interest in cultural events and museums, their motivation in attending the festival was more purposeful. They only seek specific exhibits that interest them. If the festival can meet their needs, they will stay longer and perhaps visit again. International festivals play an important role in cultivating visitors' awareness, acceptance, and appreciative attitudes toward diverse cultures; understanding the levels of attitudes reveals the importance that international events can have and suggests how better to organise festivals for various groups of visitors.

This research has produced some significant findings. However, it is not without its limitations. The INDY International Festival is positioning itself to be the largest ethnic celebration in Indiana. While they are eager to promote cultural diversity in the city, it is difficult to evaluate if the festival is delivering their message to the visitors. Therefore, this study provides useful information on the visitors' profile. With the visitors' profile information, it would be easier to find target groups and consider ways to keep the groups the festival already have and attract different types of groups at the same time. Furthermore, without knowing visitor' attitudes toward diverse cultures before attending the festival, it is difficult to know if visitors' attitudes have changed because of the festival. In order to have an anticipated outcome, this study should be replicated each year at the festival.

Recommendations

Since it was a preliminary test on attitudes in the festival setting, further research is needed to explore the nuances of this study. The study could be replicated with a different group of visitors who go to the same event to determine if the results are similar. Since the INDY International Festival, where this study was conducted, is an annual local event in Indianapolis, a replication of the current study that compares vari-

ous groups of visitors for each year would be powerful. A focus could be on exploring issues of age differences, racial differences, educational differences, etc. Additionally, comparing the results of the attitudes with other cultural events assessments would be useful. Other cultural events have equal contribution to promoting diversity. However, too many similar activities and events may dilute the crowd. If public sectors can integrate resources of local communities and organisations to utilise and share resources effectively, the contribution of cultural events would be more notable.

A central focus of this research addresses the missions of many multicultural events: to display cultural and ethnic diversity, increase communication, and encourage cultural exchange. As is evident in this research, a well-designed international festival could be an effective instrument. In an era of globalisation, multicultural events must make a significant impact for the society. Event organisers must find ways to develop educational, interactive, and amusing activities and programmes for local communities to embrace similarities and differences in our society.

The study has made two contributions. Theoretically, this study put forth measurement strategies that are more reflective as to what visitor's attitudes toward diverse cultures are when visiting multicultural festivals. Practically, the findings of this study will benefit central Indiana and other communities considering that international or so-called multicultural festivals play an important role in the tourism industry today. Festivals not only benefit the community economically but also psychologically. The greater demand for well-organised multicultural festivals justifies the need for more effective, accurate, quantifiable data. Thus, event organisers that consult the data derived from the results of this study will be able to organise events more efficiently and effectively.

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Tea for Tourists: Cultural Capital, Representation, and Borrowing in the Tea Culture of Mainland China and Taiwan

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Tea is arguably one of the most widely consumed beverages in the world. It has been imbued with diverse medicinal, cultural, and symbolic characteristics. Tea plays a significant role in the construction of contemporary national and regional identities that are, in turn, presented and represented for tourists in the form of tea houses, museums, tea trails, guided tours, and tea tastings. Based on ethnographic participant observation in Shanghai, Hangzhou, Taipei, and Pinglin, this paper tackles a comparative analysis of tea culture as used and represented in cultural tourism, focusing on the identity narratives of specialised tea museums, tea houses, and tea markets to trace cultural representations and flows of contemporary cultural borrowing in the art of tea.

Keywords: tea culture, tourism, China, Taiwan, cultural capital
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Introduction

One day when Pooh Bear had nothing else to do, he thought he would do something, so he went round to Piglet's house to see what Piglet was doing. It was still snowing as he stumped over the white forest track, and he expected to find Piglet warming his toes in front of his fire, but to his surprise he saw that the door was open, and the more he looked inside the more Piglet wasn't there.

A. A. Milne, *The House at Pooh Corner*

When the mind is clear one can sip tea, when the spirit is at ease one can talk of aspiration.

Old Chinese Saying

One winter afternoon, several decades ago, when Twining's tea was considered a privilege, if not a luxury, a friend asked me to tea. There were no teahouses in Ljubljana at the time, so the partaking of tea took place at home. His was an old apartment with squeaky wood floors and high ceiling, and china teaware that went with the décor. A small group of friends and acquaintances tended to meet in each other's houses for tea and talk during their study years. It was a particular gathering of 'us', the tea drinkers, against 'them', the coffee drinkers, a self-ascribed identity marker with the airs that went with it. On that particular afternoon, waiting for tea to be prepared, I recall picking up a book and opening it at random – the passage of Pooh looking for Piglet jumped out at me and, with laughter, Pooh has stayed with me ever since.

Finding myself in Shanghai in the spring of 2018, I was reminded of Pooh's predicament vividly. Looking forward to tasting a variety of Chinese green tea and expecting to find tea served in teapots, I entered the breakfast room in the hotel on the morning after arrival. More than fifteen cooked dishes were prepared and elegantly laid out, but no green tea. There

were a coffee machine and two low-grade black Lipton tea bags sitting in water in a glass pitcher without being removed. The more I looked, the more the green tea was not there. Bewildered, I finally asked the staff, and they shrugged: no green tea. The same occurred among the tea fields in Hangzhou. When asked in a hotel why there was no green tea, the staff answered with a solemn expression: 'Tourists drink coffee'. Though tea is arguably one of the most widely consumed beverages in the world, and it would appear improbable not to find it right there from where it originates, in the middle of tea plantations, the reality of a tourist in a hotel in China at present appears to be . . . no green tea.

Tea is an acquired taste. It took decades of tea drinking to slowly learn about the art of tea, from tea bags to loose-leaf tea, from boiling water, to the nuances of temperature, from black to light colours, fragrance and taste, from British mugs to Chinese and Japanese small teacups, from clay to porcelain, from functionality to ritual. Tea is also an idiosyncratic taste (Figure 1). Both acquired and idiosyncratic tastes fit into Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital in two of the three proposed forms. The most explicit is the embodied form of cultural capital, the accumulation of which depends on the individual and her investment of time and effort. In that sense, it corresponds to the skill of preparing tea, the *Gong fu chá – Gong fu or Kung fu,* meaning to make something with an effort, in our case *chá.* Not just pouring boiling water over a teabag but employ the accumulated knowledge in order to have the best result in tea preparation. Effort entails a personal cost of invested time, '*On paie de sa personne*' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 244) as well as socially constructed '*libido sciendi.*' The outcome is a symbolic value that cannot be directly transmitted like economic capital or, indeed, an objectified form of cultural capital that can be defined only in relation to the embodied cultural capital. The objectified form may be both material and symbolic. In material form, it can be transmitted to the next generation; in our case, for instance, that would mean the teaware; in contrast, the symbolic part may be transmitted only partially as knowledge or appreciation but not as skill, effort, or time.

Tea is a commodity with a complex, even exciting

Figure 1   Objectified Cultural Capital: *Gong fu chá* Tray, Teapot, Teacups, Tea Pitcher, Teaspoon and a Tea Friend from Taipei, Shanghai, Hong Kong and Tokyo

history and global impact. It has been imbued with diverse medicinal, cultural, and symbolic characteristics. It has only recently attracted the somewhat narrow attention of tourism scholars.

Based on ethnographic participant observation and informal interviews in Shanghai, Hangzhou, Taipei, and Pinglin, this paper tackles a comparative analysis of tea culture as used and represented in cultural tourism, focusing on narratives of specialised tea museums, tea houses, and tea ceremonies in order to trace cultural representations and flows of contemporary cultural borrowing in the art of tea.

Lacking knowledge of the Chinese language, my research heavily depended on local interpreters. Hopefully, an acquired embodied cultural capital of the art of tea may have helped to mitigate that unfortunate handicap to a certain extent.

Not a believer in the deep analytical value of adjective tourism(s), I am not interested in defining 'tea tourism' in this paper but rather tackle tea within tourism contexts. In order to do so, I first introduce a short historical overview of tea, followed by basic descriptions of tea classifications before engaging in topics of tea and tourism.

Tea History: A Short Overview

> Drinking tea over time strengthens thought.
> Hua Tuo, *Dissertation on Foods*

Tea in China is firmly set in the mythological past.

Figure 2   Evolution of Chinese Characters Depicting Tea,
China National Tea Museum, Hangzhou

Regardless of the type and style of writing, popular (Wang, 2013), semi-academic (Tong, 2010; Saberi, 2010), academic (Benn, 2015; Han, 2007), all accounts of the history of tea in China tend to start with the Shen Nong (also transliterated as Shennong), a mythical ruler, heroic and cultural figure who was supposed to rule between 2737 and 2697 BCE. He is alleged to have discovered the beneficial effects of tea by chance, when one day the wind blew a leaf into his cup of hot water. Referred to as a *Divine Husbandman,* a father of agriculture and herbal medicine, he is portrayed with a transparent stomach that enabled him to see which ingested plants were beneficial and which not. In the *Pinglin* tea museum in Taiwan, he appears as an animated figure that serves as a prop for tourist guides.

The mythological past may turn out to be more tangible than previously thought. Namely, the Chinese archaeologists are engaged in numerous excavations that may, as they did in the past, reveal material culture once considered mythological, the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties being cases in point (Saje, 2015). Shen Nong may thus appear one day out of mythology, but perhaps not quite with a transparent stomach. Tracing the history of tea is complicated by the fact that before the 7th century there was no single unambiguous character to denote tea or indeed tea culture. There were diverse characters that may or may not have explicitly referred to tea but included other beverages as well (Figure 2). The cultivation of tea in China is usually traced to the mountainous southwest of Sichuan and Yunnan, regionally limited and quite unknown in other parts of today's China.

It was not before the Tang dynasty (7th–10th century) that the *chá* character was introduced and has since then been used to describe tea as a plant and a beverage. It was also in the Tang dynasty that the first official book on tea was written around 780, by Lu Yu, entitled *Chá Jing,* usually transliterated as *The Classic*

Figure 3   Statue of Yu Lu at the Tea Market in Shanghai

of Tea. Lu Yu is celebrated as the 'sage of tea' or even the 'god of tea' (Tong, 2010). His statues are found at tea museums and tea markets. He is portrayed in good spirits, holding a cup of tea and a scroll with the teapot and a rock placed at his feet (Figure 3).

His three-volume book on tea consists of the writing on the origin and characteristics of tea, production and tools, preparation, and utensils. It also includes anecdotes, legends, fables, and recipes. Lu Yu effectively mixed historical accounts with literature that flourished in Tang dynasty and established the connection between the art of tea and the arts including calligraphy, which is being revitalised at present in public displays as well as in university curriculums (Figure 4).

The period has also produced an extensive body of tea poetry that may be read as historical and ethnographic data on the production, consumption, material culture and art of tea. One of the most famous poems is the *Seven Bowls of Tea* by Lu Tong who is considered to be the second sage of tea, after Lu Yu. He describes the effect of the seven brews of tea on
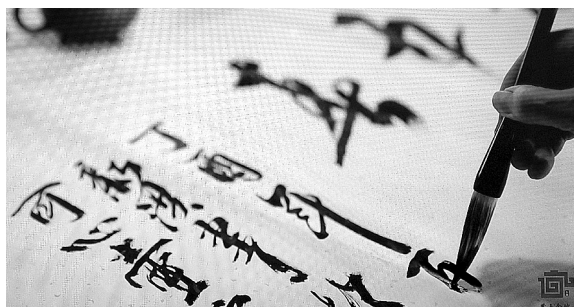
Figure 4   Tea and Calligraphy: Video Presentation
at Shanghai Tea Market

his body, thoughts, emotions, and attitudes, following Taoist imagery (Benn, 2015, 14).

In the 9th century, tea was introduced to Korea and from there to Japan, where it initially attracted little attention. However, three centuries later Japan adopted tea. In a time of the Song dynasty (10th–13th century), sophisticated new rules were introduced into the art of tea, and it is from this period that the Japanese *Cha No Yu* ritual was developed and elaborated on.

In the Ming dynasty (14th–17th century), compressed tea was banned, and loose leaf tea was prepared in a bowl (*gaiwan*) or a pot, thus underlying the importance of utensils. The whole new economy of teapot production stems from this period. During the 17th and 18th centuries, tea came to Taiwan with several waves of Han Chinese settlers; yet it was not until the 19th century that tea was produced on a larger scale.

Tea was introduced to Europe in the 17th century by Portuguese and Dutch traders. The styles of production and processing remained a closely guarded secret in China throughout Qing dynasty up to 1850s, when the situation changed dramatically.

In 1848, a Scottish gardener and botanist, Robert Fortune was sent to the interior of China by the East India Company as a plant hunter and a spy with a sole mission of bringing back specimens and seeds of tea plant together with detailed notes on tea production and processing. He was disguised as a mandarin supposedly coming from beyond the Great Wall (Rose, 2010). He negotiated with the Chinese intermediaries from the areas where tea was produced. The outcome of his mission – successful from the point of view of

the British Empire – shifted the relationship between China and Britain and not only reshaped the map of tea production from China to India, which was part of the British Empire at the time but plunged China into a great economic crisis. The Chinese production of tea did not truly recover until a century later.

In the 20th century, there were several ruptures that influenced the tea culture in mainland China. The most devastating was the period of the *Great Leap Forward* in the 1960s, when not only the production of tea plummeted, but material culture in the form of tea houses also disappeared to a great extent. The Cultural Revolution also saw the further erosion of tea culture although production itself picked up at the time (Han, 2007). In the late 1970s and through the 1980s, there was the rapid growth of tea production along with the re-established tea houses, new tea museums, markets, and shops – many of them designed to cater to tourists. Currently, China is once again the largest tea producer in the world due to changes in the global market.

In Taiwan, the period from the early 1970s was marked by the changed international position of the island that was no longer a member of the UN. At that period tea production was re-orientated towards a domestic consumption with a focus on the high-grade tea, teaware design and tea houses. The period marks a start in the complex process of forming a new identity referred to as Taiwanisation, which is an ongoing process marked by a transition from a civic identity towards an ethnic one that includes de-Sinicisation.

What's in a Name?

The tea plant, either a tree or a bush, belongs to the *Camellia* family and is classified as *Camellia sinensis* with two varieties that are commercially produced: *Camelia sinensis* from China and *Camellia sinensis assamica* from India.

Names for tea – as plant or beverage – in most languages stem either from the Mandarin Chinese *chá* or *t'e* from an Amoy dialect of southern Fujian via the Malay *teh.* The difference in adopted names reflects the historic trade routes and influences. In the early 17th century, The Dutch East India Company was the main importer of tea thus spreading the *thee* to the most of Western Europe with the notable exception of

Portugal where the *cha* was adopted by way of Macao. In the 16th century, before the Dutch transmission, the expression for tea in English was a version of the Mandarin *chaa, cha, tcha* (see https://www.etymonline .com/). The Mandarin version also travelled overland to eastern countries.

- Dutch: *thee*
- English: *tea*
- French: *thé*
- Spanish: *té*
- German: *tee*
- Portuguese: *chá*
- Russian: *chai*
- Slovenian: *čaj*
- Turkish: *çay*
- Persian: *cha*
- Greek: *tsai*
- Arabic: *shay*

In everyday use, the word 'tea' does not necessarily refer to *Camellia sinensis* but is more broadly used to include numerous varieties of herb infusions that, strictly speaking, should not be referred to as 'tea'. This standpoint is considered purist by some authors (Ellis, Coulton, & Mauger, 2015). Be that as it may, in this paper, we consider tea in its pure form or in a fusion form as in contemporary bubble tea or cheese tea prepared by any variety of *Camellia sinensis sinensis* or *sinensis assamica.*

Historically, herb infusions or *tisanes* were considered medicinal beverages and were not equated with tea. It was the invention of the teabag that opened the door to different forms of production, perception, and consumption that eventually led to the name of 'tea' being widened to include herb and fruit infusions. Teabags were invented in the usa at the beginning of the 20th century while in Britain Tetley adopted them half a century later only to be met with an initially 'frosty reception' (Ellis et al., 2015, p. 264). However, they quickly picked up the pace, and other tea companies were forced to follow suit. Teabags marked a new period of standardisation for mass production in which low grade and low quality equalled high profits. It also marked the changed social structure of tea

drinking. From the communal, sharing of tea in a teapot it increasingly turned into an individual 'one bag per mug' occasion. The teabag also meant the predictable taste – always the same – ordinary – a reversal as it were of pure tea for which taste marked its distinction.

Tea Classifications and Grading
Varieties of tea by colour are the result of different production procedures. Contemporary classification usually includes distinction by fermentation, shape, baking, and season. Fermentation is an expression borrowed from wine production and is, in fact, a misnomer (Needham, 2000). The process that plucked tea leaves undergo is one of oxidation, not fermentation. The only exception is Chinese *Pu Er* tea, which is subjected to natural fermentation by *Aspergillus niger,* a yeast bacterium that thrives in warm, damp, and ventilated environments. Natural fermentation takes up to five years. In most contemporary *Pu Er* production, the process is artificially accelerated from 45 to 90 days (Zhang, 2014).

The shape of tea, such as string, sphere, flat or rolled depends on the processing. Baking is the application of heat to the plucked leaves, which may come from natural sun heat or several varieties of artificial heat. There is no set season for tea plucking; it depends on the region or even the individual tea garden. It may be plucked just once a year for a few days or four or more times a year. It depends, much like wine, on the complex concept of *terroir,*[1] though this pays little or no role in the official grading of tea quality. There is no unified tea grading system. In China, tea is graded by numbers, with one being the highest grade. Grades are determined according to the shape of the leaves. i.e., the same shape, same size leaves are of high grade, at the bottom is dust which goes into teabags. In addition, tea may be graded by the name of the garden or the mountain where it is produced, such as the

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[1] Several expressions in Chinese are transliterated as terroir. They are usually divided in three groups, one reffering to micro-climate, soil, geology, the other to style of production and preparation, the third to history, tradition, folklore and political framework (Chan, 2012).

Lion grade of the *Long Jing* (Dragon Well) green tea from the Lion Peak mountain in Hangzhou (Figure 5). In addition, the so-called historical tribute teas – teas that have been given to emperors as tribute each season and are included in historical books on tea – are considered of high grade, *Long Jing* being one example.

Japanese grading is determined by the season of plucking while grading in Taiwan includes appearance, aroma and flavour, thus making taste to account for the 60% of the grade. In Taiwan, the systematic efforts to produce, maintain and promote high-grade tea – particularly oolong – started (as already mentioned) in the early 1970s and established a network of both large and small producers.

The international prices of Japanese and Taiwanese teas tend to be significantly higher than the Chinese ones, though there are some exceptions, like *Da Hong Pao*, one of the most expensive oolong teas in the world with original trees from the Ming dynasty in the area of the Wuyi Mountain, one of the iconic cultural spots infused with legends, stories and beliefs (Xiao, 2017). In the case of *Da Hong Pao*, the name itself influences the price while the quality that a tourist attempts to establish must be through tea tasting, as there are many varieties with the same name.

Tea and Tourism

In a seminal work on tea and tourism, Jolliffe (2007 p. 250) proposed a set of objectives for a research agenda including understanding tea cultures and traditions in relation to tourism and cultural change, the study of tea tourism products, demographics of tea tourists, their motivation and experience, studies of natural tea destinations, preservation of tea material culture, and sustainable tea tourism projects of various kinds. After the literature review in English, it appears that such broad objectives are as yet far from being met although there are some indications that tea research is alive and strong in the Chinese language (Benn, 2015) though it is not clear to what extent it includes tourism. In English, research on tea is scattered at best (Xiao, 2017; Writer, 2013; Mezcua Lopez, 2013; Zhang, 2016) and some essential ethnographic work has been done by the same scholar (Zhang, 2014, 2018a, 2018b) and

Figure 5
Lions Grade
of Spring 2018
Long Jing Tea

addresses tourism only tangentially. The abovementioned 2007 edited volume perhaps already indicated the shortage of relevant researchers by including four contributions by editor herself in addition to two that she co-authored. Two other authors also contributed or co-authored two articles each. To my knowledge, there was no other edited volume or monograph published exclusively on tea and tourism after that. It appears to remain an under-researched area.

Based on a relatively short ethnographic participant observation in China and Taiwan that was connected to a topical conference and Erasmus teaching, a few observations on contemporary tea culture are offered in the present paper. Conducting research in mainland China and Taiwan without the command of the language is (as already noted) bound to be of limited degree. Either one needs a mediator and interpreter or is reduced to body language and observation. Where possible, I have relied on interpreters, particularly in tea markets.

Tea Museums

Two tea museums, both constructed in the 1990s, are observed in comparison. The one in mainland China was visited in May 2018, the one in Taiwan in March

Figure 6   China National Tea Museum, Hangzhou

2013. In 1991, the National Tea Museum was opened in Hangzhou, among fields of the revered *Long Jing* green tea. This is the UNESCO world heritage area of West Lake, where culture and particularly poetry is sedimented and mixed with the art of tea practices from different historical periods (Dewar & Li, 2007).

While there is no singular linear history of tea in China, or indeed of China itself, there are different periods, diverse schools and practices, numerous changes and ruptures, the official discourse is increasingly stressing the national narrative of 5000 years of uninterrupted 'everlasting' history. A short, broad and vague, though the decidedly friendly description of tea history that glosses over the hegemonic discourse is offered on the introductory wooden panel in the China national tea museum in Hangzhou, opened in 1991, and reads as follows:

Tea is one of China's major contributions to mankind and world civilisation. China is the origin of the tea tree and the first country to discover and use tea. The tea industry and tea culture started from the drinking of tea. Over thousands of years, as the custom of drinking tea penetrated more and more deeply into Chinese people's lives, tea culture has been steadily enriched and developed as part of the age-old national culture and a gem of traditional oriental culture. Today, as a worldwide beverage, tea serves as a tie of deep affection between the Chinese and people in other parts of the world (Figure 6).

The museum collection is divided into several houses each with its themes and topics. Despite the all-encompassing essentialism at the beginning of the museum's historical explanations (mentioned above),

there is a comprehensive overview of the historical styles, customs and ritual uses of tea among different ethnic groups presented in writing, material culture, installations, and videos. All written explanations are transliterated to English while the staff, polite and friendly, do not communicate in English with a noted exception of a very young boy of ten or so, who was able to explain in fluent English, the background of the teaware on display and for sale in one of the houses. It was however quite easy to do a self-guided tour while three buses of Italian tourist visiting at the same time had their own guide who spoke Italian. Tea tasting was offered to groups of Chinese families and appeared to be much more informal than at tea markets. Another tea tasting for larger groups of guided tourists was offered in a tent at the edge of the museum. Tea was presented in large glasses and brewed several times by simply adding more water from the kettle. The *gong fu chá* way of preparing tea is not suitable for large groups unless there are numerous demonstrators or tea masters present at the same time.

After a short reflection, I decided not to participate in a group tasting, taking advice from the famous Song dynasty calligrapher Cai Xiang, who, in 1051, wrote *A Record of Tea* or *Cha Lu* (Tong, 2010). In the book, he makes the following observation on the number of people partaking in tea: 'The fewer guests when drinking tea, the better. A crowd of guests is noisy, and noise detracts from the elegance of the occasion. Drinking tea alone is serenity, with two guests is superior, with three or four is interesting, with five or six is extensive and with seven or eight is an imposition' (Wang, 2013, p. 62). It is a timely reflection on the well-recorded tension in tourism of how to balance the number of tourists with sources and resources to offer meaningful experience to all involved. Is there a holistic, long-term view of tea tasting?

The Pinglin tea museum in Taiwan was opened in 1997 and is located by the Beishi River, in New Taipei city, an hour's drive out of Taipei, under the mountains were green and oolong tea is produced. At the time of the visit, I was the only visitor, so the staff was very engaged in my well-being though none of them spoke English. While the history is comparably presented to the one in Hangzhou with some nuanced
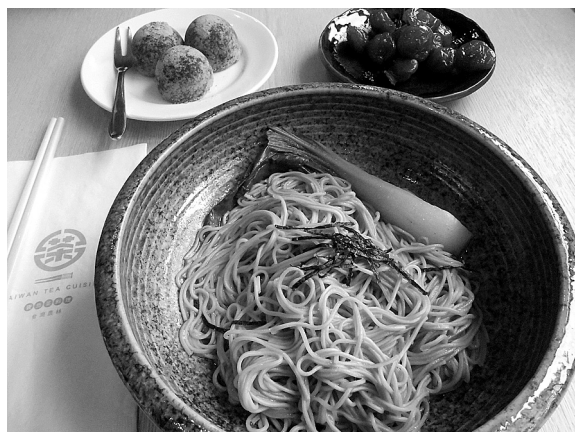
Figure 7   Food Served with Tea, Teahouse at Pinglin Tea
Museum Taiwan

differences, particularly on the importance of quality teaware and proper preparation of tea, the focus of presentation that is also laid out in several buildings is mainly on Taiwanese tea culture and particularly on the local ethnography of tea – with narratives and visual material on several generations of the same family tea producers in Pinglin. At the time, one of the rooms was entirely dedicated to sensory experience – the sound, sight, smell, and taste of tea. In one of the buildings, there was a tearoom with open windows to the river on the one side and the inner garden with water so the sound of water, essential to all Taiwanese teahouses may be heard along with soft traditional music. The *gong fu cha* was prepared for me with the food of the midday (Figure 7). The tea food menu was changed in accordance to the time of day, so one dish cannot be served all day long. The demonstrator who performed *gong fu cha* explained that with high quality tea the locals did not like to pour the first water over the teapot but prefer to be economical and mix the first and the second brew. I agreed that this was a sensible thing to do, so she poured me a mix. Before I left, she packed the remaining tea and offered me the whole box, which I then drank sparingly at home over the course of several months as the smell, colour, and taste would vividly bring back the entire experience.

In her comparative research on mainland China and Taiwan, Zhang (2018a) tackles the complex concept of authenticity and transnational flow and ex-

change of the art of tea. In mainland China, the Taiwanese art of tea is sometimes regarded as the more 'authentic' since it was not subjected to the period of the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution. The supposed 'authenticity' of the Taiwanese practices are only recently being perceived as of value with the process of revitalisation of cultural practices in mainland China, that are being in no small way influenced by tourist demands that search for 'authentic' experiences.

The process of flow in cultural borrowing, however, is subject to shifting rules, perceptions, and practices, both in traditional *gong fu chá* as well as in contemporary designer teahouses frequented mainly by the young urban population.

Tea Markets and Tea Houses

> A bowl of tea, seeing the nature of mountain and river, seeing inner peace, and the boundless creative possibility therein.
>
> Wistaria Teahouse, Taipei

> The Chinese invented tea 5,000 years ago, but they didn't do anything aside from pour hot water and drink it. But we can do so many wonderful things with Chinese tea. Nobody would ever think that cheese, mango, and strawberries would go with Chinese jasmine tea – this is only the tip of the iceberg.
>
> Flamingo Bloom teahouse, Hong Kong

In tea markets, one is able to engage with a variety of traders who may also be producers or are part of the family engaged in tea production. Tea tasting at the market is a standard occurrence and vendors are well prepared to offer several types of tea in quick sequence (Figure 8). The main difference in tea tasting in markets and tea houses is that at the market one needs to be persuaded to buy tea while in that tea house one has already bought it; therefore, an atmosphere of pressure and expectation is present in tea market, which renders tea tasting less complex and enjoyable. It is, after all, a process of negotiation (though of course, some might enjoy precisely that).

Figure 8   Tea Tasting at Shanghai Tea Market: Three Types
of Tea Prepared in *gaiwan*

Figure 9   Selection of Teaware at Shanghai Tea Market

In contrast, markets offer wide selections of teaware that is only sparingly available if at all in tea houses. Tea is offered in a teaware shop, and although it is not possible to choose the type of tea, the experience is much less hurried than the one of buying tea (Figure 9).

In the fao's most recent report on the tea production and consumption (2018), tea production is set to increase 2.2% annually with green tea production in-

creasing even more at a rate of 7.5% mainly due to the promotion of its health benefits. In stressing health aspects, tea is in a sense coming back to its beginning, whether mythical or real, when it was perceived as a plant and beverage mainly used for health reasons. The argument of health speaks both to the 'pure' as well as 'fusion' tea drinkers.

Two distinctive trends were noted during the ethnographic research. First the revitalisation and re-invention of the 'traditional' teahouses with the complex borrowing and fusion styles in interior design and particularly in teaware and the new designer tea houses that cater to urban young generations such as the chain brand heytea (Figure 10). heytea was established in 2012 in Guangdong and became a great success after opening its first shop in Shanghai. Young people were prepared to stand in line for five hours or more to obtain a fashionable tea product. heytea serves mainly cheese tea *zhī shì chá* that was re-developed from the Taiwanese, cheese tea which in turn represents a second generation of Taiwanese bubble tea – a milk tea with tapioca pearls, considered a *xiaochi,* part of Taiwanese street food culture with global popularity (Okrožnik, 2018). Great attention is paid to the design of heytea tea houses, less so to tea quality. It appears that matters little whether it is a low grade or medium grade tea, that goes into *zhī shì cháas* the other ingredients, fruit, salty cheese, mask the original taste of pure tea. Fusion beverages are given colourful names such as *Gold Phoenix, Red Jade,* or *Green Beauty,* in a way following the tradition of established tea names, like *Dragon Well (Long Jing)* and a *Red Robe (Da Hong Pao),* although these come infused with mythological narratives (Su & Hong, 2017).

The fusion beverage of heytea is exported to Hong Kong, Singapore, and the usa (Springer, 2017). The flows of cultural borrowing are intertwined but with diverse aims. In mainland China, they support the emerging young urban lifestyle while in Taiwan they appear to mark an identity distinction.

It would be incorrect to assume that there is a clear age divide between traditional and new tea houses. Young people in Taiwan are regular visitors of tea houses, where they can partake in pure or fusion tea; the same goes for all generations enjoying bubble tea

Figure 10   HEYTEA Chain Teahouse, Hangzhou

Figure 11
Da Hong Pao in
Contemporary
Container

and cheese tea as part of street food culture. In small tea houses in Tianzifang, the old part of Shanghai, young designers are selling high-grade tea in fashionable packages (Figure 11).

Tea Presentations at ITB Berlin

Based on seven years of observation at ITB (Internationale Tourismus-Börse Berlin), arguably the largest tourism trade fair in the world, tea plays no significant role in the tourism promotion of tea-producing countries, although it is served at different stalls, most consistently at the stall of Sri Lanka. When it engages in offering tea, Japan does so with a degree of sophistication that arguably stems from the most complex and complicated tea ritual in the world. Tea is served as part of hospitality in porcelain teacups, observing the respect of the guests by rotating the cup before handing it to the guest. The Taiwan stand makes tea a non-complicated happy occasion with laughter, serving it in small porcelain cups with a logo (Figure 12).

China occupies a much larger space at ITB, yet there appears little space for tea. It was served last year in transparent plastic cups and, while tea of good qual-
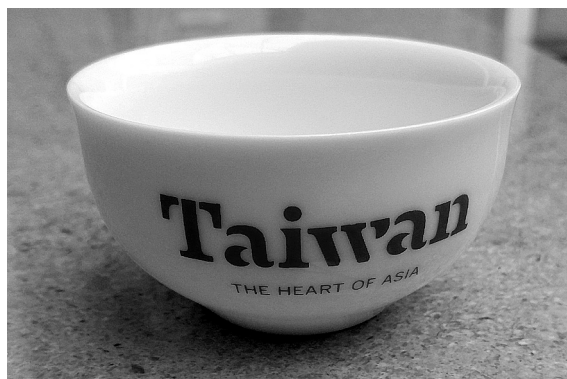

Figure 12   Porcelain Cup Offered to the Author at ITB

ity, it was served with indifference, perhaps in line with the notion that Europeans simply drink coffee.

Conclusions

> Tea encapsulates the spirit of hills and streams, it rids the heart of misery and melancholy, it revives the soul and calms the mind, but most people are unaware of these merits.
>
> Zhao Ji, *On Tea*

Due to numerous historical ruptures, there is no one single history of tea, nor is there one canonical art of tea. Contemporary cultural borrowing includes Japanese and Taiwanese tea masters teaching the mainland Chinese the art of tea: the art that was introduced in China, forgotten, re-invented, and reassembled. The current art of tea is an invented tradition with historical Chinese, Japanese, Taiwanese, British, Indian and other cultural elements. In the context of tourism and tea, there is much to be researched, such as contested processes of national identity and cultural heritage construction mediated by tourism discourse, research of embodied and sensory experience in tourism, tea as an edible chronotope and cultural marker, art and design, language and image, power and responsible tourism. The contemporary local, national, and global trends of young generations that include uses of tradition and heritage in newly shaped urban lifestyles also offer a new and potentially exciting research topic. Tea as a plant, a beverage, a symbol, heritage, experience and process should be further researched from multidisciplinary standpoints in order to expand the theoretical and applied knowledge of cultural tourism *inter alia*.

Acknowledgements

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Anthropological Portrait of a Home Turned Into a Tourist Resource

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This article presents a part of research conducted on Radunica, a street located in Split, Croatia. Its primary purpose is to present and name the processes that took place in the local community, specifically the connection and the dynamics of changes caused by the tourist activities of the locals. The goal is to show how emotional attachment to home and the usage of it as a resource for profit influences and changes everyday life in the community. Through open-ended interviews, participation, observation, and a phenomenological approach, I have found that tourist activities in Radunica, alongside the financial gain as the most beneficial effect of tourism, are significantly changing the everyday life and culture of the locals by altering the notion and emotional connection to one's home. In this manner, the sustainability of local communities becomes questionable, and collateral damage is also done to tourist activity. The main premise is that tourism is not a negative force that ruins communities, but that it can and should be designed and controlled, so it serves the local community and not vice versa. The goal of this article is not to present the positive or negative influences of tourism but to raise awareness about some deficiencies of tourist activities in local communities and to look in the direction of solutions.

Introduction

Since 2004, a small street named Radunica, located east of the city centre of Split, which is the largest city in the Dalmatia region of Croatia, has gradually become a very popular tourist destination. With every new tourist season, Radunica gains more features of a typical tourist settlement, which is causing many changes in the everyday life and culture of its inhabitants. The tourist activity is realised mainly through renovations of old Mediterranean stone houses and the process of turning them into suitable apartments for tourists, with charming Mediterranean detail. Before 2004, tourism and the presence of tourists in Radunica was rare and sporadic. Not many locals were renting their homes or parts of their homes to tourist until the extensive expansion of the tourist activity. Nowadays, most of the houses in Radunica are rental spaces, or at least one or more storeys inside houses are turned into apartments for tourists. Tourist activity has become a massive and significant part of the everyday lives of the local community.

The implications of these tourist activities of local inhabitants have been the subject of my ongoing research since 2013. Through the anthropological lens, I have been studying various materialisations and manifestations of tourism in the local community of Radunica for the previous five years. However, here I will be taking a closer look at the process and results of making one's home a tourist resource. My goal is contouring the main characteristics of the changes that

took place in Radunica for the (roughly) last fifteen years.

The street of Radunica is known as a *kaleta* in Split; the word *kala* or *kaleta* in the dialect of the region of Dalmatia means a small and narrow street. Its primary and predominant characteristic is Mediterranean architecture, which implies ancient stone houses and gardens with Mediterranean vegetation. Radunica is the central street of the Lučac neighbourhood, which is one of the first neighbourhoods that were constructed outside of the historical city centre, Diocletian's Palace, which was built during the reign of the Roman Emperor Diocletian in the 4th century AD The earliest historical documents found about the Lučac neighbourhood date back to the 13th century AD (Kečkemet, 1986). Therefore, Mediterranean historical heritage alongside the geographical position of Split on the coast of the Adriatic Sea are the main characteristics and leitmotivs used in the development of Split as a tourist destination.[2] Radunica with its convenient micro-location adjacent to the city centre, its old stone architectural heritage, and the entrepreneurial actions of its inhabitants quickly gained significant success within the tourist industry as a desirable location for self-catering apartment rental. The theoretical base for comprehension of the factors that contributed to changes that took place in the small local community of Radunica is the understanding of a city as a continual process (Low, 2006).

I grew up in Radunica, but with every new visit I realised that it was inevitably changing, and this process was defined and determined by the industry of tourism. At the beginning of my research, this realisation came as an obstacle, as I felt that tourism had invaded my home. It took some time to distance myself from that feeling. The process of balancing between myself as a *child of my neighbourhood* and myself as an anthropologist was challenging and an ongoing learning experience. I heard everything that was said, felt and understood it as one of the locals, while

I was simultaneously re-evaluating, rationalising, and translating everything found into an anthropological discourse. Thus, the theoretical framework of this research is installed in auto-cultural defamiliarisation, a process of estrangement from the personal (Gulin Zrnić, 2006). However, early on I decided not to make a dichotomy between the experience I had in Radunica as my home and Radunica as the field of my study, with the goal of not subordinating my work to the ostensible ideal of objectivity. Instead, I decided to balance between Geertz's (2010) 'experiences-near' and 'experiences-distant', shifting these terms back and forth in an attempt to understand Radunica as both a home and a research field. I have then looked at these new processes of change that were motivated by the tourist activity of the locals through the lens of the anthropology of space and place, or more precisely through the concept of social production and the social construction of space (Low, 2006b). The social production of space presented by Low includes social, economic, ideological, and technological factors that result in the creation of material surroundings. The social construction of space refers to the real transformation of space through social interactions, feelings, memories, usage of the space or conversations that project certain meanings (Low, 2006b). This perspective allowed me to focus on specific processes and changes in the notion of Radunica as a home and tourist settlement.

Methodology

To gather data, I used different methods of research. The first was an observation of social interactions between locals and participation in different jobs related to the rental of apartments to tourists. I also used the method of open-ended face-to-face and telephone interviews with various locals of Radunica who have connections to tourism. Since most of their activities in the first years of operating as tourist workers formed a part of the informal economy, I had many problems finding individuals who would be willing to talk to me. The mere fact that I was discovering locations and their connection with the informal economy made most of the locals unwilling to cooperate with me.

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[2] Not only Split used this strategy. In fact, Croatia's official slogan for the international tourism campaign for fifteen years used to be 'Croatia – the Mediterranean as it once was' until it was replaced with 'Croatia – full of life' in 2015.

In addition to these two methods, I used a phenomenological approach, researching through praxis, the physical senses, working as a host, and communicating with tourists, being in the street and in the tourist apartments, serving as a translator, an interior decorator of tourist apartments, photographer and a cleaning lady. I was basically doing everything I could as one of the local hosts. With the locals, I shared their private time, listening to the challenges they were dealing with as tourist hosts. The fact that I am from Radunica gave me an opportunity to use the location of my family home as an observing point for the interactions that took place in the street. I used my private memories as well as written notes before commencing with interviews and before researching the theoretical findings of other authors. Overall, this is a qualitative study immersed in the anthropology of space and place, auto-anthropology, and the anthropology of tourism.

Touristification of Radunica

Here, I will be describing interconnected factors that enabled the touristification of Radunica. Touristification is the process that transforms a place through the presence of many tourists and saturation with tourist facilities, which becomes visible through changes of the spatial, social, economic, and cultural characteristics of a place (Vojnović, 2016, p. 45).

The city of Split had a tradition of transit tourism in Yugoslavia, so in terms of private tourist accommodation, its potential was not fully developed by today's standards. In the early 2000s, Croatia started to invest more in the development of tourism. This period was a post-war time in Croatia, and the beginning of a bad economic situation for many Croats who were losing their jobs or retired with small pensions that could not adequately support themselves. With the global economic crisis, tourism became an opportunity to solve financial difficulties in the years that followed. As Croatia was becoming more attractive to tourists, the lack of accommodation in Split became evident. Very quickly, the city was losing the label of a transit city and was becoming a popular tourist destination.

In 2004, the (mostly informal) tourist activity star-

ted to gain power when the locals organised collaboration *intra muros* by dividing roles of hosts and gatherers[3] between themselves. The first group owned apartments, and the later was going to the main bus station to find tourists that were looking for accommodation. Gatherers would walk with them back to Radunica, helping to carry their bags. The host would then pay the gatherer 30% of what he was making. Radunica started being used as a resource and was developed into a tourist product. Due to tourism demands, neighbourly relationships became monetised and ran by the logic of profit (Šurán, 2016). Radunica turned into a place of the collision of the formal and informal economies,[4] a place of financial exchange, a place of creation of a tourist product and formation of new social-business relationships.

When asking about the motives and causes for participating in tourist activities, most of the answers I received from locals showed that renting to tourists was, in fact, a strategy of survival (Rubić, 2013). 'It was a pure necessity, for the love of God, only to survive,' said Bili summing up the motives of many other locals at the beginning of their tourist activities. However, the answer to the question about why somebody's home became a tourist resource is not that simple. The influence of the global industry of tourism, especially the demand of tourists to experience something new and different than their usual life was a crucial inducement that merged with the fact that, in the first decade of the 21st century, Croatia was a new player on the global level of the tourism industry.

Boissevain (2008, p. 26) explains the need for a tourist to experience something different and authentic, to learn about someone else's heritage, to observe

[3] In Croatian, they were called *iznajmljivači* and *sakupljači* in Radunica. *Sakupljači* or gatherers were also called 'the ones that look for tourists', 'the ones that go to the station', 'the ones who pick-up tourists'.
[4] The shift of the tourist activity from informal to (mostly) formal economy was a consequence of the frequent tourist inspections and sanctions of the authorities. The process of turning businesses legal became accelerated in 2007. As a consequence, in the years that followed, the role of gatherers stopped being a necessity and was replaced by advertising platforms, such as www.airbnb.com and www.booking.com.

the Other from up close. For almost 15 years, Croatia was advertised as 'The Mediterranean as it once was', emphasising exactly the fact that it still was not exploited by the tourist industry nor overcrowded with tourists. Simultaneously, Croatia was reclaiming the undiscovered Mediterranean part of its identity as the *right* one (cf. Škrbić Alempijević, 2012). These factors influenced the locals of Radunica, making them aware that their home could have value in the tourist market. According to Simmel (1978, in Appadurai, 1986, p. 3), value is not an inherent property of objects; it is a judgment made about them by subjects. This creates space between the desire and enjoyment that is overcome through economic exchange (Simmel, 1978, in Appadurai, 1986). Under the influence of the global market, locals realised that their way of life, the location of their home, the Mediterranean heritage and architecture, their history and culture, in fact, are desirable merchandise that could improve their economic standard significantly. That was what occurred in 2003 and 2004 when a few locals started the process of turning their homes into tourist resources. Soon this praxis expanded to massive proportions. It all started with the hosts and the gatherers, and profit was the only criteria that made this transformation worthwhile to them. The awareness of desirability of these types of locations was quickly materialised in Radunica in two ways. First in the form of 'apartmanisation' and later through the aestheticisation of Radunica. Mrki, a local host, gives an example of apartmanisation, a phenomenon of saturating place with rental property for tourists:

> Everything is rented out before it was just extra space, but now every single hovel, every garage, every basement, every possible business space, storage, stores, everything was reorganised and turned into a bedroom. […] anything that they could, they turned into apartment and rooms. They throw in two or three beds, they build in a shower, put in a toilet and that is it.

The process of excessive apartmanisation is not over; the number of apartments is growing with every new season. During the low season, old stone houses are remodelled into new and attractive apartments. The imperative of attractiveness became important since there was more competition between the locals; once neighbours and friends, they became competitors in the tourist market. Apartmanisation was promptly followed by the process of the aestheticisation of Radunica. The main characteristic of aestheticisation was the 'Mediterraneanisation' of the place, that is, emphasising the idealised and easily recognisable Mediterranean symbols. Apartments and the street were purposely filled with motifs, such as bare stone walls, Mediterranean plants and herbs, photos of antiques, lavender in a vase, lemon trees, seashells on dining tables, old window treatments called *grilje* and *škure* were remodelled, flower pots put on stairs and windows, etc. The goal was to meet the expectations of the ideal Mediterranean place. In contrast, before apartmanisation, the goal of making their home *beautiful* was not carefully thought through; it was not analysed with the objective of being exhibited, judged, and admired by the Other. Before mass tourist activity, Radunica was not *meant* to be attractive. In fact, many villas and exclusive and remodelled apartments were somebody's homes just a few years ago. From the perspective of today's aesthetics, they were in poor condition with a patina of time visible on many walls. Still, the everyday life and interactions of locals in the common space were more vivid, intimate, and active than today. Locals utilised the space more often and freely to socialise; there were many more local businesses that were common spots for social interaction. Now, with profit in mind, the locals used and magnified Mediterranean symbols as an answer to the demands that came from the tourist industry. Mediterranean identity was used as a tool in the process of aestheticisation with the goal of attracting tourists:[5]

> Spend a memorable, pleasant and romantic holiday in the heart of the old town, in the Stonehouse. Authentic accommodation, antique style. Feel the spirit of the Mediterranean! Go to the

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[5] Example of advertising of a property in Radunica, see http://www.adriatic-home.com/Croatia/Split/Radunica/ Apartments-STONE-HOUSE-6120

beach, visit the city's landmarks, visit the monuments, museums, galleries, concerts […] taste the superb Mediterranean cuisine, relax, sleep […] soak up the sun and the culture. Listen to the sound of the waves. Enjoy the beautiful Mediterranean climate, crystal clear sea and warm sands!

Combined, these actions resulted in the commodification of home, where once private and homey characteristics and particularities are turned into objects of trade. Tourists are invited to enter personal domains and share time and space with the local inhabitants. Tourists are seeking leisure, relaxation, and adventure while locals are looking for financial gain from a place they are emotionally attached to, trying to maintain everyday life in new circumstances. The fact that Radunica used to be (only) a home is extremely significant. The effects of the commodification of home are many, as Luči, one of the locals, explains:

Radunica definitely became a tourist settlement. Every house has a sign for a flat, apartment or some kind of hostel. The feeling is a little creepy. On a rare occasion I have a chance to say 'Hi' to someone I know, and sometimes I feel like I am in another city. Before [tourism] I felt better, definitely. I have nothing against the visitors from other countries, but now there are more foreigners than locals.

Everything is done for profit, and that changed good neighbourly relations a lot. I liked it better before. Radunica as a tourist settlement, I mean, that's not my home. […] I mean it will always be my home. I still feel like I belong. I notice that everything is different, but it's still Radunica. I mean it is, and it isn't. When it comes to people, it isn't. For the most part, people have changed. All of that, that tourism, it created a distance between people. It is not as pleasant as before because the relationships are not like before.

As Luči observed, monetised relationships were a product of a rival culture that emerged as a side effect of non-planned tourist activity. Rivalry caused alienation between local inhabitants because their collab-

orations were often unstable and depended on emotional connections. Changes in social relations and interactions were significant and altered everyday life and the habits and culture of locals. For example, the apartmanisation of Radunica caused the disappearance of crafts shops, stores, coffee bars, and other businesses in favour of self-catering apartments for rent. Prices of real estate have risen and are sold almost exclusively for rental purposes, so many people sold their property to move away from tourism, and not many young families are willing or capable of buying a home in these conditions. Just like tourism itself, life in Radunica became seasonal; crowded and loud in spring and summer, quiet and slow during winter and fall. Locals are making personal plans and arranging their lives around the tourist season. With the infrastructure of Radunica transformed, the way locals use space also changed: there are fewer places where people socialise, the street is arranged to look beautiful for the use of tourists, many houses are empty during low season, there are fewer common places since most of the patios and gardens are closed now with fences and hidden for the privacy of tourists. The locals experience Radunica in two overlapping dimensions: as a home and as a tourist settlement. The first one is slowly entering the realms of nostalgia, and its image is fading. Radunica as a tourist settlement is rapidly gaining more power every new tourist season.

Conclusion
All the processes described show that tourism acts as an agent of change (Šurán, 2016, p. 96). Although all the results speak in favour of this conclusion, it is important to realise that tourism is not something as uncontrollable as a force of nature. It can, in fact, be designed and controlled so that it serves the community. Although in the beginning tourism in Radunica was not planned and was informal, today almost all tourist activity forms part of the formal economy and is guided by tourist policies. Still, there seem to be little or no awareness of the possible adverse effects that tourism has on the local community. I do not see tourism as a destructive force *per se,* but I see significant gaps, oversights and negligence in how the politics of tourism in Croatia is mirrored in Radunica.

There is no awareness of the importance of the local community and its culture; there are no actions that would adapt the tourist activities so that they serve the locals. In fact, quite the opposite is happening – the local community serves the industry and is often depending on it. The result is the creation of a tourist settlement that is becoming detrimental to the conception of home. Paradoxically, precisely the way of life of the local communities is a pull factor for the tourists – the attractive features of the ever-desirable authenticity. In this pace of touristification of Radunica, those features are slowly disappearing. So, by neglecting the local community, the damage is simultaneously done to the tourism of Radunica itself. What I mean is, if in some time from now tourists are getting only the experience of living in tourist settlement and not the experience of the life in a local Mediterranean community, it could easily become a push factor for the tourists and endanger the sustainability of tourism. Therefore, I find that it is necessary to find ways that will stop the negative trends in the local community and promote the positive aspects of tourism. Furthermore, the local inhabitants could have an advantage and priority to rent to tourists. This could be mandated by tourist regulatory frameworks and strategies. It could stop the trend of selling property at high prices for rental purposes only, which is the reason that many locals sell their homes and leave Radunica. Young people and families could get tax exemptions when buying a home in areas that are becoming tourist settlements while almost entirely disappearing as domestic neighbourhoods. In this way, Radunica could recover demographically. With more investigation, many more ways could be found that would benefit Croatian society and even enhance tourist offerings and promote sustainability for tourism and for the local community.

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The Interplay between the Verbal and Visual in Outdoor Interpretive Panels

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Outdoor interpretive panels inform visitors about the features of a heritage site and the events and objects they encounter during their visit with the aim of improving their awareness and understanding of the site. In addition to having this educational role, interpretive panels are also regarded as a means of enhancing visitor experience and the quality of natural or cultural heritage sites – especially since the information on these signs is available at all hours and can be accessed by large numbers of visitors. Various disciplines have treated outdoor interpretive panels as communication and a form of product development, highlighting topics such as visitors' use of interpretive panels, strategies for capturing and holding visitors' attention, the effective conceptual design of interpretive panels, their efficiency in educating visitors and enhancing visitor experience, and others. This study will focus on outdoor interpretive panels in natural sites. To deliver their message, interpretive panels combine verbal and visual information. The analysis of the intersemiotic logical relations between them aims to reveal the ways in which the two modes interplay in interpretive panels and create cohesive messages through logical relations.

Keywords: heritage interpretation, outdoor interpretive panels, textual-visual intersemiosis, intersemiotic cohesion, intersemiotic logical relations
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Introduction

Outdoor interpretive panels[6] are a form of non-personal interpretation that most frequently offer textual and visual interpretive contents to visitors in natural and cultural heritage sites. Since interpretive panels do not require an interpreter to share their contents, visitors are free to read them or not. If they decide to read the texts and view the visual materials on display, they can do so in any order they prefer; moreover, they can read all the text and view all the images or only some of them (Ham, 2013; Smaldone, 2013; Ward & Wilkinson, 2006). This freedom of selective reading and viewing, however, may come at a price: visitors may overlook parts of the messages the creators of the

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[6] In the relevant literature, interpretive panels are interchangeably referred to as 'interpretive' or 'interpretation boards', 'signs' or 'signage', or 'wayside exhibits'.

panels intended them to read (Smaldone, 2013; Ward & Wilkinson, 2006). While there is ample literature reporting on the effects of the placement decisions of interpretive panels (Hall, Ham, & Lackey, 2010; Ham, 2013; Light, 1995; Smaldone, 2013) and highlighting the principles for designing effective texts for interpretive displays both in heritage sites (Hall et al., 2010; Ham, 2013; Light, 1995; Smaldone, 2013; Ward & Wilkinson, 2006) and in museums (Fritsch, 2011; Hillier & Tzortzi, 2006; Moser, 2010; Psarra, 2005), little has been said about the interplay between texts and visuals in outdoor interpretive panels. The aim of this paper, therefore, is to address this gap by exploring the intersemiotic relations between the verbal and visual semiotic resources in interpretive panels and their cohesive ties with each other. Using a multimodal approach, this paper will analyse an interpretive panel from a protected nature reserve, the Strunjan Natural Park in Slovenia, in greater detail.

We begin the next section with a brief review of heritage interpretation, outdoor interpretive panels and intersemiosis. The rationale for the choice of methods is then presented as well as the intersemiotic relations found in the outdoor interpretive panel. We conclude the paper with a discussion of the implications of our results.

Heritage Interpretation

While the roots of heritage interpretation have been traced back to the times of storytellers and bards (Brochu & Merriman, 2002) as well as to ancient travel journals and stories told by the first tourist guides 4000 years ago (Silberman, 2013), heritage interpretation as a profession and object of academic inquiry is of a more recent origin. Disciplines such as geography, education, sociology, environmental science, archaeology, museology, and marketing have all contributed to the theories and techniques on which heritage interpretation is based. The diversity in their understandings about the interaction between visitors and heritage sites was partly lost in the 1980s due to standardisation processes that narrowed the focus of heritage interpretation, reducing it mainly to communication and education (Staiff, 2014). This is why Tilden's (1977) heritage interpretation precepts from the 1950s

still resonate with contemporary interpretive practice and more practice-oriented interpretation literature (among others Brochu & Merriman, 2002; Ham, 2013; Ludwig, 2015).

Tilden regards heritage interpretation as '[A]n educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information' (Tilden, 1977, p. 8). His six principles of interpretation are meant to assist interpreters in achieving this goal. They suggest that heritage interpretation should relate its contents to the experience of the visitor, be provocative and adjusted to children when it addresses them as visitors, and interpret heritage as a whole and not only its parts; finally, interpretation is more than information – it is an art that can be taught.

Although Tilden's definition and principles still echo not only in the practice-oriented works suggested above but also in the influential ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (ICIP, 2008), recent years have witnessed more critical views of Tilden's work (Silberman, 2013; Silverman & Ruggles, 2007; Staiff, 2014; Uzzell, 1998). Tilden's approach to heritage interpretation is thus viewed as 'stuck in a rut where *how* has become more important than the *why*' (Uzzell, 1998, p. 12; emphasis in original), or just 'a method of face-to-face communication' (Silberman, 2013, p. 22). Tilden is further criticised for 'separating *heritage interpretation* – as an educational activity for visitors – from interpretation more generally' (Staiff, 2014, p. 34; emphasis in original) and maintaining 'a hierarchical power relationship between the "expert" and the nonexpert, between those with "the knowledge" and those "without the knowledge"' (Staiff, 2014, p. 37). Therefore, it has been suggested that heritage interpretation should be rather approached as a system of representation that aims to facilitate multiple meaning-making as well as meaning-making as a dynamic process (Clarke & Waterton, 2015; Francesconi, 2018; Staiff, 2014).

Outdoor Interpretive Panels

Unlike personal interpretation (e.g., guided tours and walks, demonstrations, talks), in which the interpreter

controls the content, delivery, and order of information presented, interpretive panels communicate through a combination of vivid images and short written texts (Hall et al., 2010; Ham, 2013), and it is the visitors who choose the pace and order of communication when looking at panels, and decide whether to access the information at all or not (Moscardo, Ballantyne, & Hughes, 2007; Smaldone, 2013). Outdoor interpretive panels help improve the visitor experience in places where the constant presence of staff is not convenient or possible, or where other communication media (e.g., audio guides, brochures) are not available (Hall et al., 2010; Hose, 2006; Moscardo et al., 2007). Heritage sites can feature a single interpretive panel or a series of interpretive displays that can be used as a self-guided trail.

Outdoor interpretive panels support visitors' engagement with heritage sites through the 'official message' of the site incorporated in the panels' contents and also through engagement with that which is beyond the panels' discursive contents: the landscape, the sound, smell, movement, etc. (Clarke & Waterton, 2015). This is why interpretive panels are widely regarded as important communication mediators that help direct the interactivity of visitors with heritage sites (Tussyadiah, 2014) and encourage suitable visitor behaviours at sensitive natural sites (Hall et al., 2010; Hose, 2006; Light, 1995).

Interpretive panels are, however, also known for their inflexibility (e.g., they are incapable of adjusting to diverse audiences, they cannot be changed or updated easily) and constant need for care and maintenance (Light, 1995; Moscardo et al., 2007). Research has also shown that some interpretive boards are viewed by many while others by only a handful (Hall et al., 2010; Light, 1995). Besides careful placement of interpretative panels, the vividness of the message and overall design seem to play essential roles in assuring the greater visibility and attractiveness of panels. While visitor interest is enhanced through messages that appeal to visitors' empathy and encourage them to take perspective, or through stories, humour and telegraphic thematic titles (Hall et al., 2010; Smaldone, 2013) or metaphors (Smaldone, 2013), the communication appeal of interpretive panels is also enhanced through design (e.g., background colour, fonts and illustrations, layout) (Hall et al., 2010; Ham, 2013; Moscardo et al., 2007; Smaldone, 2013). The attention-paying behaviour of visitors to heritage sites is further shaped by their purpose of visit (Light, 1995), the various schemas, past experiences, interests (Hall et al., 2010), or the cultural systems (Clarke & Waterton, 2015) visitors bring with them to heritage sites.

Intersemiosis and Justification of Method Choice

Texts targeting tourists tend to exploit more than one semiotic resource to increase their cognitive and emotional effects on the text recipients, i.e., the tourists. There is, however, limited research on intersemiotic relations between the verbal and visual modes in multimodal tourism texts. Following Martinec and Salway's (2005) classification of logico-semantic relations between words and images in static texts, Francesconi (2014) explored the integration of the verbal and visual modes in humorous British postcards often purchased by tourists. She found that the verbal and the visual may exhibit both equal and unequal relative status, the verbal and the visual may be independent of each other or they may complement each other. Using Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) approach to the analysis of multimodal texts, Maci (2007) examined the composition, interrelation, and interaction between the verbal and visual modes on websites and found that the visual mode often stresses the representational character of places while the verbal enhances the interactive and persuasive aspects of communication with tourists. To our knowledge, the relations between the verbal and visual modes in outdoor interpretive panels have not yet been addressed by research, thus justifying our choice of the method a brief overview of findings on intersemiosis in static texts that will follow.

It was Roland Barthes (1977) who started the critical debate on intersemiosis in his analysis of the relations between the visual and verbal in printed advertisements by claiming that the verbal mode dominated the visual one. In recent years, however, the interplay between the visual and verbal semiotic modes has attracted the attention of multimodal discourse analysts too. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) suggested that the use of several semiotic modes may reinforce or

Figure 1   The Interpretive Panel at the Entrance to the Strunjan Natural Park (photo by Šarolta Godnič Vičič)

Figure 2   The View of the Interpretive Panel on the Way Out of the Strunjan Natural Park (photo by Šarolta Godnič Vičič)

complement each other, or be hierarchically ordered. Stöckl (2004), in contrast, suggested that the verbal and the visual modes can be integrated in two ways: first, verbal texts and images are most commonly integrated in ways that allow each mode to use its semiotic potential strategically in order to create a combined meaning, and secondly, the integration of the modes takes place when verbal texts emulate the visual (e.g., typography and layout give verbal texts an image quality). Stöckl further suggested that this complex integration of verbal and visual modes involves mode mixing and mode overlapping.

Meaning between the different semiotic modes in multimodal texts is created on the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunction levels; therefore, intersemiotic relations exist on all three levels (O'Halloran, 2008). The different modes have to create a coherent semantic unit. However, Liu and O'Halloran (2009) warn that the semantic integration of the verbal and visual modes should not be taken for granted: words and images can also merely be placed together. Following Halliday and Hasan (1976) who regard cohesion as a crucial criterion to distinguish text from nontext and thus an essential property of a text, Liu and O'Halloran (2009) suggest that semantic relations between different modalities are realised through intersemiotic cohesive devices and not by the mere linking of the two modes. Liu and O'Halloran thus propose that the semiotic relations between the textual and visual are shown in the intersemiotic texture of multi-

modal texts, which integrates the two modes through intersemiotic cohesion into a coherent whole.

Liu and O'Halloran (2009) further show that the intersemiotic logical relations (ideational metafunction level) between verbal text and images, or between images, or even between verbal text, image and context can be comparative, additive, consequential, or temporal. When visual and linguistic components share a similar experiential meaning, the different modes are a semiotic reformulation of each other, and their logical relations are defined as being Comparative. They are accompanied by the use of intersemiotic cohesive devices, such as correspondence, parallelism, and contextualisation propensity. When one semiotic component adds new information to another component, the verbal and visual parts convey related, but different messages and the logical relation is defined Additive. In contrast, when one semiotic message enables or determines the other, the logical relation is that of Consequence. A subfield of Consequence can be Contingency when the cause carries only the potential to determine a possibility and the effect is not ensured. Temporal logical relations are procedures that are not realised in mere language but are characterised by multimodality when different procedural steps are represented both verbally and visually.

Using Liu and O'Halloran's (2009) classification of intersemiotic logical relations, the present study sets out to explore the ways in which the verbal and the visual modes form a coherent unit in outdoor inter-

Figure 3 The Front Side of the Interpretive Panel (photo by Šarolta Godnič Vičič)

pretive panels in a protected natural area. The analysis of the verbal and visual elements in multimodal texts tends to be detailed; therefore, a single outdoor interpretive panel will be analysed for intersemiotic logical relations. This modest analysis details the intersemiotic logical relations in an outdoor interpretive panel from the Strunjan Natural Park (Slovenia) that is located at one of the entry points to the natural park. It is the last interpretive panel in the series of fifteen panels that provide interpretation to park visitors who start their thematic tour at the park's visitor centre. However, it is the first interpretive display to those who enter the park from the centre of Strunjan (a small settle-

ment). The panel has two sides, and its front is turned towards those who enter the park (Figures 1 and 2).

Findings

The design of the interpretive panel follows the 'Rules on the marking of protected areas of valuable nature features' ('Pravilnik o označevanju zavarovanih območij naravnih vrednot,' 2002), which determine the design and format of interpretive panels in the protected areas of Slovenia: their shapes, sizes and layout, as well as the use of logos and the designations of protected natural areas. As such, the panel under scrutiny resembles interpretive panels found in other natural

Figure 4   The Back Side of the Interpretive Panel (photo by Šarolta Godnič Vičič)

parks around Slovenia. The interpretive panel consists of two sections (one wider and one narrower) joined (or split) by a pole that carries them. They both share the same background colour and a strip of a dark green header that connects both sections into a visually cohesive unit (Figures 3 and 4). There are short texts and various images (illustrations, logos, pictograms, maps) on both sides of the interpretive panel. The texts are presented in three languages: Slovene, Italian (the park is located in a bilingual area of Slovenia where the translation of public texts into Italian is compulsory) and English (often regarded as the *lingua franca* of tourism communication). The texts in different languages are visually marked by different fonts, but these do not give the texts an image quality in the sense suggested by Stöckl (2004).

The individual intersemiotic logical relations found in the front right section of the panel are presented in detail in Table 1 and those in the front left section of the panel in Table 2. Table 3 summarises the intersemiotic logical relations found in the left section of the back side of the interpretive panel and Table 4 those found in the right section. The texts in English translation are used in the tables for ease of understanding.

The analysis of the intersemiotic logical relations between the verbal texts and images in the interpre-

Table 1   Intersemiotic Logical Relations on the Front Right Side of the Interpretive Panel

Verbal mode	Visual mode*	Intersemiotic logical relations
Protected area	1	Comparative – abstraction
Strunjan: Portraits of the Sea. Landscape Park Strunjan reveals itself through images that have been moulded by the sea for millennia, that merge to form a natural and cultural heritage given life by the Adriatic and meaning by the local people. Set out along the path to discover the secrets of this unique maritime environment. Get to know and respect this naturally preserved strip of Slovene coast.	2	Comparative – abstraction
A pinch of sea	3	Comparative – generality
A pinch of sea + Image 3	4	Comparative – abstraction
Sea trapped in a lagoon	5	Comparative – generality
Sea trapped in a lagoon + Image 5	4	Comparative – abstraction
A living sea sculpture	6	Comparative – generality
A living sea sculpture + Image 6	4	Comparative – abstraction
Marine life	7	Comparative – generality
Marine life + Image 7	4	Comparative – abstraction
A landscape with an air of sea	8	Comparative – generality
A landscape with an air of sea + Image 8	4	Comparative – abstraction
Landscape Park Strunjan Centre	9	Comparative – abstraction
Landscape Park Strunjan Centre + Image 9	4	Comparative – generality
Footpath – Passage at your own risk Area of the Strunjan Landscape Park Strunjan Stjuža Nature Reserve Strunjan Nature Reserve Strunjan Nature Reserve – core area	10	Comparative – abstraction
Footpath – Passage at your own risk Area of the Strunjan Landscape Park Strunjan Stjuža Nature Reserve Strunjan Nature Reserve Strunjan Nature Reserve – core area + Image 10	4	Comparative – generality

Notes   * See Figure 3.

tive panel revealed that comparative and additive intersemiotic logical relations prevail; however, the ratio between them differs from section to section of the interpretive panel. It seems that the front right section of the panel aims to represent the park by providing an overview of the park's most prominent features and facilities as well as overall spatial orientation in the park. There are strong intersemiotic logical relations between the verbal and images (illustrations of selected places in the park and maps). Some of them form cohesive units that further form new logical relations (e.g., A pinch of sea + Image in Table 1). However, the map in this section also showed a few loose ends: three illustrations of places in the park that are embedded in the map seem independent from the verbal texts and form no intersemiotic logical relations with them. Should a visitor read the text about the pine avenue on the back side of the interpretive panel, one of these images (i.e., the one with the row of pines) would form a logical relation with that text, but this

Table 2   Intersemiotic Logical Relations in the Left Front Part of the Interpretive Panel

Verbal mode	Visual mode*	Intersemiotic logical relations
Strunjan Landscape Park	11	Comparative – abstraction
You are here	12, 13	Additive
26 min	14, 15	Additive
6 min	16, 17	Additive
What can I experience in the park?	18, 19, 20	Additive
What can I do to protect it?	21, 22, 23	Additive
Public Institute Landscape Park Strunjan	24	Comparitive – abstraction
Strunjan 152, 6320 Portorož, +386 (0)8 205 1880, info@parkstrunjan.si, www.parkstrunjan.si	25	Comparitive – abstraction

Notes   * See Figure 3.

Table 3   Intersemiotic Logical Relations in the Left Back Part of the Interpretive Panel

Verbal mode	Visual mode*	Intersemiotic logical relations
Protected area	26	Comparative – abstraction
The Strunjan saltpans are the northernmost and smallest among the Mediterranean saltpans still in operation, where Piran salt has been harvested traditional method for over 700 years.	27	Additive
Stjuža is the only Slovene lagoon, a legacy of natural fish farming of times past. Today it is important for water birds, which come here looking for food, shelter or a nesting site.	28	Additive
The Cliff of Strunjan formed in the sea and remains united with it. It is made up of flysch rock mass, whose exposed, precipitous face is the tallest along the Adriatic.	29	Additive
With its lively flora and fauna, the mosaic of habitats in the park's waters displays the height of the biotic diversity of the Slovene sea.	30	Additive
The favourable Mediterranean climate and flysch substratum created conditions which the local people put to good use, their traditional activities determining the characteristic appearance of the Strunjan Penninsula.	31	Additive
Poti po parku je sofinancirala Krka, tovarna zdravil, d.d., Novo mesto	32	Comparitive – abstraction
Parenzana – The Route of Health and Friendship	33, 34	Comparitive – abstraction

Notes   * See Figure 4.

logical relation seems weaker, less obvious and subject to greater chance.

In addition to reinforcing the identity of the park, the intersemiotic logical relations between the verbal and the visual in the left section of the front side of the interpretive panel also direct visitors' explorations of the park and encourage particular visitor behaviour.

The back side of the interpretive panel mainly aims to provide new information about the heritage aspects of the park and its history. The intersemiotic logical relations between the verbal and the visual are those of Addition. The park's identity is again reinforced with comparative relations of Abstraction (the logo). Information is also provided on a sponsor and visitors on bicycles are given directions. The photo of the pine avenue from the 1950s is slightly vague, but its logical re-

Table 4   Intersemiotic Logical Relations in the Right Back Part of the Interpretive Panel

Verbal mode	Visual mode*	Intersemiotic logical relations
Strunjan Landscape Park	35	Comparative – abstraction
A Stone Pine Welcome. In 1935, the railway line Parenzana connecting the Istrian littoral towns with their hinterland was shut down and its role was taken over by roads. Upon the construction of the main Koper–Izola–Portorož stretch, pine trees were planted alongside. Today, this stone pine avenue of around 110 trees is the longest and best-preserved in Slovenia. In 2004, it was declared a natural monument, part of Landscape Park Strunjan.	36	Additive
Stone pine avenue in the 1950s	36	Comparative – generality
Public Institute Landscape Park Strunjan	37	Comparative – abstraction
Strunjan 152, 6320 Portorož, +386 (0)8 205 1880, info@parkstrunjan.si, www.parkstrunjan.si	38	Comparitive – abstraction

Notes   * See Figure 4.

lation with the text below helps to diminish the photo's vagueness.

Discussion and Conclusions

Outdoor interpretive panels are studied in this paper as multimodal texts. Using Liu and O'Halloran's (2009) framework for intersemiotic logical relations between the verbal and the visual, we aimed to reveal the cohesive ties that connect both modes in outdoor interpretive panels into a cohesive, meaningful unit.

The analysis showed that the prevailing intersemiotic logical relations in interpretive panels are those of Comparison and Addition. Both can be deployed to create representations of the heritage site as space and place, direct the movement and behaviour of visitors, and also reinforce the identity of the park both as a heritage site and as a protected area managed and regulated by park authorities. The intersemiotic logical relations of Addition convey new information about the heritage site that aims to grab visitors' attention and help them form emotional and cognitive attitudes/relations with the park. Furthermore, intersemiotic logical relations of Comparison tend to represent the park in space and raise interest in experiencing the park further by elaborating familiar meanings and reformulating them at different levels of abstraction and generality.

Combinations of Comparative and Additive intersemiotic logical relations can help design outdoor interpretive panels that reflect the various communication aims of interpretive panels. The analysis of the intersemiotic logical relations between the verbal and visual can be a useful tool for teams that design interpretive panels. The analysis not only reveals loose ends between texts and images but also assists in strengthening the cohesive ties between them and creating coherent meanings.

Intersemiotic logical relations between the verbal and visual resources in interpretive panels are not the only cohesive devices in them. Intersemiotic relations also exist on the experiential and textual metafunction levels that should require future attention. The verbal texts and the images seem to have strong cohesive ties not only with each other but also with the extra-discursive features of the context in which interpretive panels are placed. The fact that visitors control the sequence of information, the choice of content and the investment of time, makes the cohesion of the verbal, the visual and context of pivotal importance and worthy of further research.

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Akademski pogled na kulturni turizem
Tina Orel Frank in Zorana Medarić

Kulturni turizem je razmeroma nov termin, o katerem v zadnjih letih poteka veliko razprav. Kljub temu da je predmet veliko empiričnih raziskav, ga je še zmeraj težko opredeliti. Namen pričujoče raziskave je raziskati predvidoma zelo različne poglede strokovnjakov na definiranje kulturnega turizma ter ugotoviti, katere so osrednje »podskupine«, ki so v teoriji opredeljene kot del kulturnega turizma. S tem namenom bomo preučili nedavno objavljene znanstvene prispevke s tega področja in ugotavljali, kako kulturni turizem opredeljujejo strokovnjaki. V prispevku bomo tako iskali podobnosti in razlike med njihovimi definicijami ter njihove poglede na to, katere podskupine lahko opredelimo kot del kulturnega turizma.

Ključne besede: kulturni turizem, analiza definicij, podskupine kulturnega turizma
Academica Turistica, 11(2), 101–110

V iskanju odnosa z morjem: urbana krajina in kozmopolitski spomin v sodobni Odesi
Emilio Cocco

Morje ni povsem na radarju družboslovja. Vendar se stvari spremenijo, ko se morje in kopno dotakneta in morje odmeva v živih družbenih odnosih. V nekaterih primerih se srečanja z morjem odvijajo v obliki utelešenih procesov imaginacije, ki povzročijo produktivne disonance. Moja raziskava želi razkriti trenja med disonantnimi, utelešenimi imaginacijami lokalnih prebivalcev in turistov v izjemni »krajini sanj« – v postkozmopolitskem pristaniškem mestu Odesa. V letih 2008–2010 sem opravil terensko raziskavo z intervjuji in anketami, katere cilj je bila primerjava rabe pomorskih imperialnih zapuščin Trsta in Odese. Po skoraj desetletju sem se vrnil v »biser Črnega morja«, da bi bolj poglobljeno raziskal odnose med turizmom in rabami kozmopolitskega spomina v tem postsocialističnem ukrajinskem pristaniškem mestu. Moji podatki so kombinacija sekundarne statistike, etnografskega dela in kvalitativnih podatkov iz prve roke, tako avdiovizualnih kot intervjujev, zbranih med aprilom 2017 in junijem 2018, vključno z dvotedenskim bivanjem v Odesi. Po preliminarni obdelavi podatkov ugotavljam, da so turistični odnosi v sodobni Odesi pogojeni z dvojnim prizadevanjem tako gostiteljev kot gostov, ki iščejo poseben odnos z morjem. Morje in obrežje služita kot privilegirano razgledišče za urbane gledalce (turiste in prebivalce) in tudi kot nujni posrednik za vzpostavitev odnosa z mestom in njegovo multikulturno preteklostjo.

Ključne besede: Odesa, kozmopolitstvo, morje, turizem, urbana krajina
Academica Turistica, 11(2), 111–116

Judovski turizem v Berlinu in nemška javna pokora za holokavst
Anne M. Blankenship

Skozi generacije so člani judovske diaspore bojkotirali nemške izdelke in ne bi niti v sanjah stopili na tla naroda, ki je umoril šest milijonov njihovih ljudi. Toda danes

ameriški Judje niso nič manj verjetni obiskovalci Nemčije kot nejudovski Američani in v Berlinu živi tisoče izraelskih Judov. Moja raziskava zastavlja vprašanje, kako nemška vlada in zasebna turistična industrija, obravnavata judovski turizem v Berlinu, in ocenjuje odzive judovskih obiskovalcev na njihovo izkušnjo Berlina. Poleti 2018 sem intervjuvala štiri vodnike in številne turiste, opazovala interakcije ljudi z mestnimi spomeniki holokavstu in z drugimi judovskimi prizorišči, sodelovala v vodenih ogledih z judovsko tematiko ter izvedla »netnografsko« analizo več kot deset tisoč ocen na TripAdvisorju. Ta kvalitativna raziskava je pokazala, da je veliko Judov vznemirjenih pred obiskom Nemčije in doživijo čustven pretres na kraju samem, vendar jih množica spomenikov in muzejev, posvečenih holokavstu, povečini prepriča, da je Nemčija privržena izobraževanju in opominjanju prebivalcev na nemške zločine v preteklosti ter zavezana izboljšavi odnosov z globalno judovsko skupnostjo. Potovanja turistov vplivajo na krepitev njihove judovske identitete in obenem omogočajo pomiritev travmatične zgodovinske izkušnje judovskega ljudstva s sodobnim nemškim narodom. Članek ponuja kratko analizo nemškega povojnega trženja, namenjenega nedomačim Judom, opisuje z judovstvom povezane prostore v Berlinu in, pred predstavitvijo sklepov, razkriva odgovore judovskih turistov v Berlinu.

Ključne besede: judovski turizem, Nemčija, Berlin, temačni turizem, holokavst, memorializacija

Vpliv mednarodnega festivala na odnos obiskovalcev do različnih kultur

Yao-Yi Fu, Suosheng Wang, Carina King in Yung-Tsen Chu

Interakcija z ljudmi iz drugih držav lahko razširi naše poznavanje kulturne raznolikosti in nam omogoči mednarodni uvid. Kulturno razumevanje je mogoče razširiti na več načinov, eden izmed njih je udeležba na mednarodnih festivalih. Medtem ko raziskave na področju festivalov hitro naraščajo, je odnos obiskovalcev do različnih kultur relativno manj raziskan. V pričujoči študiji je bila uporabljena lestvica odnosa obiskovalcev za preučevanje vedenjskih, kognitivnih in/ali čustvenih komponent, ki sestavljajo odnos do raznolikosti. Raziskava se je osredotočila na merjenje frekvence obiskov, na dolžino obiska prireditve, na participacijo na podobnih prireditvah, na kulturne interese ter na prekomorske potovalne izkušnje, ki lahko posamezno prispevajo k opazovanim razlikam v odnosu obiskovalcev. Namen obiskovalcev, da se po obisku tega festivala odpravijo na prekomorsko potovanje, je bil ravno tako upoštevan. Anketa je bila izvedena v enem od mest srednjega zahoda zda, na vzorcu 195 obiskovalcev festivala, od tega jih je 176 prispevalo uporabne podatke. Ugotovitve kažejo, da imajo mednarodni festivali pomembno vlogo pri dvigu ozaveščenosti obiskovalcev ter spoštovanju in sprejemanju različnih kultur. Pogostost obiskov, dolžina obiska prireditve in osebni interes za kulture imajo pomemben vpliv na stališča. Te ugotovitve so relevantne za bodoče raziskovalce in organizatorje dogodkov.

Ključne besede: mednarodni festivali, etnične skupine, odnos obiskovalcev, različne kulture

Čaj za turiste: kulturni kapital, reprezentacija in izposoja v čajni kulturi celinske Kitajske in Tajvana
Irena Weber

Čaj je verjetno ena izmed najbolj razširjenih pijač na svetu. Prežeta je z različnimi zdravilnimi, kulturnimi in simbolnimi značilnostmi. Čaj igra pomembno vlogo pri izgradnji sodobnih nacionalnih in regionalnih identitet, ki so za turiste prezentirane in reprezentirane v obliki čajnih hiš, muzejev, čajnih poti, vodenih izletov in degustacije čaja. Na podlagi etnografskega opazovanja z udeležbo v Šanghaju, Hangžuju, Taipeiju in Pinglinu se članek ukvarja s primerjalno analizo čajne kulture, njene rabe in reprezentacije v kulturnem turizmu, s poudarkom na identitetnih naracijah specializiranih čajnih muzejev, čajnih hiš in čajnih tržnic, in sledi kulturnim reprezentacijam ter tokovom sodobne kulturne izposoje v umetnosti čaja.

Ključne besede: kultura čaja, turizem, Kitajska, Tajvan, kulturni kapital
Academica Turistica, 11(2), 143–154

Antropološki portret doma, spremenjenega v turistični vir
Helena Tolić

Članek predstavlja del raziskave, izvedene na Radunici, ulici v Splitu, na Hrvaškem. Njegov glavni namen je predstaviti in poimenovati procese, ki so se odvili v lokalni skupnosti, zlasti povezavo in dinamiko sprememb, ki jih povzročajo turistične dejavnosti domačinov. Cilj je pokazati, kako čustvena navezava na dom in njegova uporaba za vir dobička vplivata na in spreminjata vsakdanje življenje v skupnosti. Na podlagi nestrukturiranih intervjujev, opazovanja z udeležbo in fenomenološkega pristopa sem ugotovila, da turistične dejavnosti na Radunici, poleg finančne koristi kot najugodnejšega učinka turizma, znatno spreminjajo vsakdanje življenje in kulturo domačinov, s tem, ko spreminjajo pojmovanje doma ter čustvene navezanosti na dom. V tem pogledu postane trajnost lokalnih skupnosti vprašljiva, hkrati je turistični dejavnosti povzročena postranska škoda. Glavna predpostavka je, da turizem ni negativna sila, ki uničuje skupnosti, vendar mora biti načrtovan in nadzorovan tako, da služi lokalni skupnosti in ne obratno. Cilj tega članka ni predstaviti pozitivne ali negativne vplive turizma, temveč osvetliti nekatere slabosti turističnih dejavnosti v lokalnih skupnostih in nakazati smeri rešitev.

Ključne besede: turizem, turistična dejavnost, lokalna skupnost, Radunica, ublagovljenje, turistifikacija
Academica Turistica, 11(2), 155–160

Prepletanje besedilnega in slikovnega na primeru interpretacijskih tabel v naravnem parku
Šarolta Godnič Vičič, Nina Lovec in Ljudmila Sinkovič

Interpretacijske table obiskovalce seznanjajo z značilnostmi naravnega parka ter z drugimi vsebinami, s katerimi se srečujejo med obiskom naravne dediščine. Njihov cilj je povečati obiskovalčevo ozaveščenost in razumevanje kraja. Poleg tega, da imajo

izobraževalno vlogo, pripomorejo k boljšemu doživetju obiskovalcev in k večji kakovosti kraja naravne ali kulturne dediščine, zlasti ker so informacije na njih na voljo ves čas in za vse obiskovalce. Interpretacijske table so različne vede obravnavale kot vrsto komunikacije ali vrsto turističnega produkta in pri tem izpostavile vidike njihove uporabe, strategije za privabljanje in zadrževanje pozornosti obiskovalcev, učinkovito konceptualno oblikovanje tabel, njihovo učinkovitost pri izobraževanju in izboljšanju doživetja obiskovalcev. Pričujoči prispevek se osredotoča na interpretacijske table, ki so postavljene v naravnih parkih. Interpretacijske table sporočilo oblikujejo z združevanjem verbalnega (tj. besedila) in vizualnega sporočila (npr. fotografij, zemljevidov, ilustracij). Z analizo intersemiotičnih logičnih odnosov med njimi želimo razkriti načine prepletanja besedilnih in slikovnih elementov interpretacijskih tabel in ustvarjanja kohezivnih vezi z vzpostavljanjem logičnih medsebojnih odnosov.

Ključne besede: interpretacija dediščine, interpretacijske table v naravnem okolju, besedilno-vizualna intersemioza, intersemiotična kohezija, intersemiotične logične vezi

Academica Turistica, 11(2), 161–170

Instructions for Authors

Aim and Scope of the Journal

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Abstract. The authors are obliged to prepare two abstracts – one in English and one (translated) in Slovene language. For foreign authors translation of the abstract into Slovene will be provided.

The content of the abstract should be structured into the following sections: purpose, methods, results, and conclusion. It should only contain the information that appears in the text as well. It should contain no reference to figures, tables and citations published in the main text, and should not exceed 250 words.

Beneath the abstract, the authors should supply appropriate keywords (3–6) in English and in Slovene. For foreign authors the translation of the abstract into Slovene will be provided.

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One author. Tourism innovation specific is mentioned (Brooks, 2010). Thomas (1992) had concluded . . .

Two authors. This result was later contradicted (Swarbrooke & Horner, 2007). Price and Murphy (2000) pointed out . . .

Three to five authors, first citation. Laroche, Bergeron, and Barbaro-Forleo (2001) had found . . . It was also discovered (Salamon, Sokolowski, Haddock, & Tice, 2013) . . .

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Examples of Reference List

Books

American Psychological Association. (2009). *Publication manual of the American Psychological Association* (6th ed.). Washington, DC: Author.

Swarbrooke, J., & Horner, S. (2007). *Consumer behaviour in tourism.* Oxford, England: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Journals

Laroche, M., Bergeron, J., & Barbaro-Forleo, G. (2001). Targeting consumers who are willing to pay more for environmentally friendly products. *Journal of Consumer Marketing, 18*(6), 503–520.

Wolchik, S. A., West, S. G., Sandler, I. N., Tein, J.–Y., Coatsworth, D., Lengua, L., . . . Griffin, W. A. (2000). An experimental evaluation of theory-based mother and mother-child programs for children of divorce. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 68,* 843–856.

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Brooks, A. (2010, 7 July). Building craze threatens to end Lanzarote's biosphere status. *Independent.* Retrieved from http://www.independent.co.uk/environment/nature/building-craze-threatens-to-end-lanzarotes-biosphere-status-2020064.html

Chapters in Books

Poirier, R. A. (2001). A dynamic tourism development model in Tunisia: Policies and prospects. In Y. Aposotolopoulos, P. Loukissas, & L. Leontidou (Eds.), *Mediterranean tourism* (pp. 197–210). London, England: Routledge.

Conference Proceedings

Price, G., & Murphy, P. (2000). The relationship between ecotourism and sustainable development: A critical examination. In M. Ewen (Ed.), CAUTHE *2000: Peak performance in tourism and hospitality research; Proceedings of the Tenth Australian Tourism and Hospitality Research Conference* (pp. 189–202). Bundoora, Australia: La Trobe University.

Paper Presentation

Thomas, J. (1992, July). *Tourism and the environment: An exploration of the willingness to pay of the average visitor.* Paper presented at the conference Tourism in Europe, Durham, England.

Theses and Dissertations

Sedmak, G. (2006). *Pomen avtentičnosti turističnega proizvoda: primer destinacije Piran* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

Working Papers

Salamon, L. M., Sokolowski, S. W., Haddock, M. A., & Tice, H. S. (2013). *The state of global civil society volunteering: Latest findings from the implementation*

of the UN *nonprofitt handbook* (Comparative Non-profit Sector Working Paper No. 49). Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University.

Web Pages

Croatian Bureau of Statistics. (2001). *Census of population, households and dwellings.* Retrieved from http://www.dzs.hr/Eng/censuses/Census2001/census.htm

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