CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM: THE NEW GRAND TOUR?

Michael Hall and Heather Zeppel

To the world of tourism, the arts bring style, culture, beauty, and a sense of continuity of living. They interpret cultural change, convert sound to music, turn colour and language into painting and theatre. In commercial terms, the arts revitalize the tourism product, sharpen its market appeal, give new meaning to national character, and permit much tighter sales and promotional efforts. Simply stated, the arts, as an element of tourism, improve the product and strengthen its appeal, making tourism saleable.

For the arts, tourism can bring the vitality needed to draw upon new audiences, improve attendance, and open up the marketplace. Moving into the mainstream of tourism can attract an array of new partners who can provide promotional funds, fresh promotional skills, and a whole new distribution system. New sources of funding, new revenue opportunities, and programmed attendance revenues must be found to sustain a growing and vital arts community, and tourism can provide this important source of planned revenue. The benefits to both are obvious (Johnson 1983, p. 14).

Introduction

Culture, heritage and the arts have long contributed to the appeal of tourist destinations.

However, in recent years 'culture' has been rediscovered as a major marketing tool to attract those travellers seeking a personally rewarding and enriching tourist experience. Therefore, the diversity of cultural attractions and their popular appeal has made cultural and heritage tourism a major area of growth in the special interest tourism market. The present paper will examine this culturally-based travel trend by providing an overview of the field of cultural and heritage tourism. Specific matters that will be addressed include the nature of the special interest travel market, an historical review of the Grand Tour, the general characteristics of cultural tourists, the strategies adopted in marketing cultural tourism and the management difficulties which can arise in the development of cultural and heritage tourism.

Special interest tourism

The growth of special interest tourism is the outcome of the development of new styles of leisure and tourism which have led to increasing segmentation and specialisation within the tourism market. Special interest tourism is a type of travel quite distinct from that of organised mass tourism. 'Special interest travel is travel for people who are going somewhere because they have a particular interest that can be pursued in a particular region or at a specific destination. It is the hub around which the total travel experience is planned and developed' (Read 1980, p. 195). In special interest tourism 'the traveller's motivation and decision making is primarily determined by a special interest' (Hall 1989a, p. 2). Activities pursued in special interest tourism include adventure travel, education, sports events, hobbies, arts festivals and other cultural events. 'Special interest tourism may be characterised by the tourist's search for novel, authentic, and quality tourist experiences; and by the tourism industry's provision of such experiences' (Hall 1989a, p. 2). Special interest travel has also been labelled as REAL travel: 'Travel with only four additives. That travel would be REWARDING; it would be ENRICHING; it would be ADVENTURE-SOME; and it would be a LEARNING experience' (Read 1980, p. 202).

Special interest tourism is a growing domestic and international travel market (World Tourism Organisation 1986; Weiler & Hall forthcoming). An indication of the rise of the special interest tourism market is demonstrated by the growth of periodicals such as the Speciality Travel Index, which provides a comprehensive coverage of 'thousands of unusual travel opportunities worldwide'. Table 1 records the rankings of the number of advertisers of particular activities on a worldwide basis in the 1988 issues of the Speciality Travel Index.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank Activity</th>
<th>Spring/Summer 1988 Issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yacht Charter Sailing (354)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cultural Expeditions (302)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bicycle Touring (286)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>River Rafting (282)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Scuba Snorkelling (272)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Hiking (265)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nature Trips (258)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Trekking (244)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Photography (184)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Fishing (180)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank Activity</th>
<th>Fall/Winter 1988 Issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yacht Charter Sailing (385)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cultural Expeditions (362)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Scuba Snorkelling (282)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Trekking (274)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nature Trips (271)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>River Rafting (262)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Hiking (241)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bicycle Touring (239)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Photography (216)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Safari Gameviewing (202)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Historic Environment VII 3 & 4 (1990)
Cultural and heritage tourism

The term cultural tourism 'encompasses historical sites, arts and craft fairs and festivals, museums of all kinds, the performing arts and the visual arts' and other heritage sites which tourists visit in pursuit of cultural experiences (Tighe 1986, p. 2). Visiting Aboriginal art sites, special events such as ethnic festivals, and the re-enactment of historically significant moments are also part of cultural and heritage tourism (Hall & Zeppelin forthcoming). 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, travel to study nature, folklore or art or pilgrimages' (Secretary General, World Tourism Organisation 1985). Cultural tourism is experiential tourism based on being involved in and stimulated by the performing arts, visual arts and festivals. Heritage tourism, whether in the form of visiting preferred landscapes, historic sites, buildings or monuments, is also experiential tourism in the sense of seeking an encounter with nature or feeling part of the history of a place.

The Grand Tour

Cultural motivations for travel have been a significant factor in tourism since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Grand Tour was a journey made to the principal cities and classical sites of interest in western Europe by the wealthy social elite of England for culture, education and pleasure. The Grand Tour followed a distinct travel circuit in western Europe, involving 'a visit to Paris and the court at Versailles, then to the classical antiquities of the lower Rhone Valley followed by a tour of the cities of northern Italy, including Turin, Milan and Venice. Florence, Rome and Naples formed the climax to the tour and the return to Britain was generally made through Germany, down the Rhine and across the Low Countries' (Towner 1985, p. 301).

The desire to experience at first hand classical antiquities and the social and cultural artifacts of the Renaissance provided the initial motivation for the Grand Tour. Italy, in particular, and also France, provided most of the ancient sites, classical antiquities and important cities which the classical Grand Tour traveller wished to experience. Paris and Rome dominated the Grand Tour from the mid seventeenth century onwards, reflecting their importance as the most influential political, artistic and cultural centres in western Europe. During the later romantic Grand Tour, in the nineteenth century, scenic tourism became a more dominant motive for travelling in western Europe. ‘The sites of classical antiquities and Renaissance treasures still dominated the pattern, but tourists were more concerned with the picturesque aspects of ruins and the emotional effects of scenes on their own feelings’ (Towner 1985, p. 314) and the importance of experiencing the sublime. This shift in travel motives from acquiring culture and education to that of enjoying scenery can be equated with the fact that the rapidly developing middle classes from England increasingly dominated the Grand Tour from about the 1780s onwards (Feifer 1985).

However, as with any tourism product the Grand Tour in its traditional form had a limited life-cycle. The once fashionable and genteel Grand Tour evolved into a mass tourism experience in the nineteenth century through the onset of cheaper forms of transport, social and economic change, and the commercialisation of travel.

The concept of the Grand Tour, based on cultural, artistic, educational and scenic motives, is still an important factor in the travel market today. The Australian ‘Grand Tour’ comprises visiting Ayers Rock, The Great Barrier Reef and the Sydney Opera House. Of these three big attractions, ‘Sydney Opera House is the most popular place in Australia for tourists, attracting almost half of all international tourists’ (Australia Council 1989, p. 18). In terms of cultural and heritage tourism, the capital cities in each Australian State and Territory offer a mini ‘grand tour’ of cultural centres, museums, art galleries and historic buildings as well as participation in regular arts festivals. The basic aim of such travel is to experience the arts, culture, heritage and history of a destination within a compact and well defined system of heritage presentation.

Motives for cultural tourism

There are a number of aesthetic, intellectual, emotional and psychological factors motivating tourists to seek out and enjoy cultural experiences (Fig 1). Visitors to art galleries are seeking to encounter beauty, authenticity, uniqueness and exclusiveness. The individual visitor becomes involved in the often

Historic Environment VII 3 & 4 (1990)
solemn contemplation of art works and the encounter creates a very personal aesthetic experience. In contrast, visitors to museums are seeking discovery, novelty, diversity and knowledge. Museums are information centres which primarily offer a learning experience, often with interactive displays (such as the Powerhouse Museum in Sydney). Visitors to historic houses, Aboriginal art sites and other heritage sites are seeking to experience authenticity (or what is perceived as authenticity), atmosphere and ambience. Heritage sites can also convey a sense of place and bring to visitors an awareness of the historical context of an area. However, visitors to performing arts events are seeking a more emotional experience and an escape from the everyday world. 'Audiences seek to satisfy many needs in part at least through consumption of these cultural products' (Hughes 1987, p. 209). Through participation in arts, culture and heritage individuals can seek to escape the routines of everyday life and improve their social status and self image. As Hughes (1987, p. 212) commented, special cultural and artistic experiences 'are sources of arousal to compensate for the deficiencies of ordinary life'.

**Who are the cultural tourists?**

Arts audience profile studies in the United States of America have identified the general characteristics of culture patrons in terms of demographic factors such as income, occupation and education and psychographic variables such as lifestyle factors and lifestyle groups (National Research Centre for the Arts 1975;
National Endowment for the Arts 1981; Fitzhugh 1983; Johnson 1983; Horowitz 1985; Tighe 1985). According to Tighe (1985, pp. 241-242) arts audiences in the USA are composed largely of individuals who are professionals or managers with college or graduate school education and who earn higher than average incomes. Frequent attendees are even more "up scale". In addition, psychographic analysis revealed that culture patrons were 'hedonistic (wanting to look attractive, interested in travelling, enjoying good meals) and cosmopolitan (liking big cities and liberal ideas)' (Tighe 1985, p. 238). Culture patrons are outgoing, adventurous people who actively seek new experiences to enjoy (National Endowment for the Arts 1981). The frequent arts attender is an adventurous person willing to take risks, an active pleasure-seeker, a young adult tapering toward late middle age, college-educated, a professional or manager, and a resident of an urban or suburban area' (Tighe 1985, p. 238).

Studies of museum attendance indicated that some 500 million people visited museums in the USA in 1978. By comparison, all of the professional basketball, football and baseball games attracted (80 million) spectators in 1978' (Kimche nd, p. 6). The studies show that 43 per cent of visitors went to science museums, 24 per cent to history museums and 14 per cent visited art museums (Kimche nd, p. 5). An examination of the museum audience revealed that museums generally had a younger, less well-educated and lower-income market (DiMaggio, Useem & Brown 1978). According to Tighe (1985) the audience profile was probably a reflection of both the range of museums (art, history and science) and the non-existence or low-cost of admission fees, a conclusion that has also been reported in British studies of museum attendance (Capstick 1985).

Visiting historic houses and heritage sites has become a popular tourist activity in America. Visitor attendance at historic sites in the United States had a 25 per cent to 30 per cent growth per year during 1982-84 (Mawson 1984, p. 2). A visitor survey conducted by the US National Trust for Historic Preservation 'showed that almost 70% of the visitors are female; 40% are aged between 21 and 35 (a younger-than-expected group); and 80% to 90% have college degrees' (Tighe 1985, p. 244).

Audience surveys at arts festivals in the United States revealed both the drawing power of various festivals and the type of festival attender. For example, the Spoleto Festival in Charleston, South Carolina which began in 1977, averages over 125 performing arts events a year and had an attendance in 1985 of 85,000 people (Tighe 1985). A 1984 survey of the Spoleto Festival audience established that of the Festival attendees 75 per cent were aged 35 or older (51 per cent aged 50 or older); 37.8 per cent earned more than US$50,000; 37 per cent were from outside South Carolina and Georgia and of the visitors. 86.9 per cent came specifically for the Festival (Spoleto Festival nd). Cultural tourists at arts festivals tend to be 'up scale' – they are mature aged, high income earning professionals who are willing to travel to attend major cultural events.

Cultural and heritage tourism are an important aspect of the Canadian tourist economy (Grossman 1980, Performing Arts 1980). A Canadian travel survey found that visiting historic and cultural attractions accounted for 29 per cent of Canadian tourism spending in the early 1970s (Galt 1974). This amount was greater than the sum total of what Canadians spent on leisure pastimes such as boating, hunting, skiing and attending sports events (Canadian Heritage 1982). A more recent account of the significance of cultural tourism in Canada is indicated in a study of the economic impact of three arts festivals in southern Ontario: the Shakespearean Festival at Stratford, the Blyth Festival at Blyth and the Shaw Festival at Niagara-on-the-Lake (Wall & Mitchell 1989). The Shakespearean Festival and the Shaw Festival are well established cultural events (the 1985 attendance figures being 487,100 and 227,488 respectively) which have an audience with a high income and occupational status and a substantial proportion of international tourists. Expenditures by the festival organisations and visitors to the festivals make an important economic contribution to the local economy of the host region. Furthermore, the festivals have a positive social impact in terms of resident self-esteem and lifestyle. As Wall and Mitchell (1989, p. 140) observed: 'The festivals both benefit from and contribute to the ambience of their communities'.

Canadian folk festivals, particularly ethnic festivals, serve to attract tourists from specific cultural and interest groups. For example, the Ukrainian community at Dauphin in Manitoba, a town of about 9,000 inhabitants, hosts an annual Ukrainian festival which attracts 60,000 visitors, 70 per cent of which come from outside the area. A Scottish festival in Nova Scotia, an international gathering of Clans and Highland Games, attracts 60 per cent of visitors from outside the Province, 35 per cent of these coming from America. The Folklorama Festival in Winnipeg, Manitoba, held over the first two weeks of August, attracts half a million participants. In a 1986 survey, 8.8 per cent of the Folklorama visitors were from America while 7.3 per cent were international visitors from other countries (Pelletier 1988).

A specific study has also been made in Canada on the characteristics, reactions and economic impacts of visitors to the special Tutankhamun exhibition while it was on display at the Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto (Wall & Knapper 1981). The 'Treasures of Tutankhamun' exhibition, which contained 55 artifacts from the tomb of Tutankhamun, was on display
in Toronto during November and December in 1979 and attracted 780,187 visitors. The survey results showed that 'the majority of visitors to the Tutankhamun exhibition were aged between 20 and 49 years of age (62 per cent), with an average of 38.5 years. The majority (62 per cent) were married and were well educated (52 per cent had at least some university education). More females than males attended the exhibition' (Wall & Knapper 1981, p.15).

This corresponds with other studies of visitors to cultural attractions in Canada which are attended more by females and the well educated (Schliwen 1977). Similarly, in Britain, art gallery visitation is more frequent among the better educated, the young and those in higher level occupations (Emmet, Shaw & Usherwood 1980). Nearly all the visitors surveyed at the Tutankhamun exhibition in Toronto had visited an art gallery before, with an average of two visits over the preceding 12 months, but 38 per cent had not been to the Art Gallery of Ontario in the previous 12 months. A total of 43.3 per cent of the exhibition visitors were residents of Toronto, while of the out-of-town visitors to Toronto, 86 per cent came primarily to see the Tutankhamun exhibition. Many local visitors to the Tutankhamun exhibition were also patrons of other cultural activities in the city of Toronto, with visiting the theatre (including plays and operas), the Royal Ontario Museum and Planetarium and Art Galleries being the most popular activities. Visitors were also surveyed for their aesthetic perception and emotional response to the exhibition. Visitor reactions to the Tutankhamun exhibition gave the ranked responses of the exhibition being educational, colourful, satisfying, well displayed, meaningful and inspiring. 'Art museum visitors regard education as a particularly important function of art museums' (Wall & Knapper 1981, p. 90). Visitors also recorded that the most striking aspects of the artifacts in the exhibition were their craftsmanship, beauty, age, authenticity and value. Visitors to the Tutankhamun exhibition obtained a high degree of personal aesthetic satisfaction, with 55.3 per cent of the visitors surveyed indicating that they would visit the Art Gallery of Ontario again in the near future (Wall & Knapper 1981).

The Australian situation

In Australia, there is a general lack of research and tourism market data on the utilisation of cultural facilities by international and domestic visitors. 'Detailed and rigorous cultural statistics are scarce. The many gaps identified in (The Arts: Some Australian Data) highlight the huge task facing arts and cultural authorities in developing a comprehensive set of statistical information about cultural life in Australia' (Australia Council 1989, p. v). In responding to this situation, the Australia Council has initiated several visitor surveys to ascertain the extent of tourist participation in cultural activities. The Australia Council negotiated with the Australian Tourism Commission to include two questions on the arts in its regular International Visitor Survey. These show the annual numbers and percentages of international visitors attending galleries, museums and performing arts events in Australia. To supplement this basic information, the Australia Council also conducted a survey to measure the frequency and motivations of attendance at cultural venues. The report summarising the results of this survey will shortly be available from the Australia Council (Spring, J. 1990, pers. comm., 23 February ).

Further insights into the drawing power of cultural tourism in Australia are contained in the 1988 International Visitor Survey conducted by the Bureau of Tourism Research. In Sydney, 51 per cent of overseas tourists went to the Opera House, 43.9 per cent to the Rocks Area and 13.4 per cent went to the Museum/Art Gallery of NSW (NSW Tourism Commission 1989). 'Apart from Sydney itself, the Sydney Opera House generated the most interest, especially by the Japanese tourists, where 87.3% of them visited this site, followed by 62.3% of Canadian visitors’ (NSW Tourism Commission 1989, p. 118). In addition, the Survey identified the percentage of various international tourists, by nationality, who visited the major cultural and heritage attractions in Australia (Table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Attraction</th>
<th>Nationalities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Sydney Opera House</td>
<td>Japan (93%), Scandinavia (86%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>Museum Art Gallery of NSW</td>
<td>Scandinavia (34%), Germany (28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>Museum of Victoria</td>
<td>Malaysia (30%), UK, Ireland (27%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>National Gallery of Victoria</td>
<td>Scandinavia (29%), Netherlands (28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>Captain Cook’s Cottage, Fitzroy Gardens</td>
<td>Japan (70%), Singapore (41%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>Sovereign Hill at Ballarat</td>
<td>UK, Ireland (26%), Malaysia (23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>State Museum/Constitution Museum/Art Gallery</td>
<td>UK, Ireland (46%), Hong Kong (42%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WA</td>
<td>Pioneer World/Elizabethan Village</td>
<td>Singapore (24%), Hong Kong (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>Port Arthur</td>
<td>Scandinavia (79%), France (76%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>Richmond Historic Township</td>
<td>Japan (95%), Malaysia (56%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>National Gallery</td>
<td>Scandinavia (48%), Singapore (47%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td>War Memorial</td>
<td>Note Other Countries (56%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>Ayers Rock</td>
<td>Japan (86%), Hong Kong (82%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>Kakadu National Park</td>
<td>Japan (97%), Switzerland (88%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Italy (53%), Switzerland &amp; Germany (46%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: International Visitor Survey 1988, Bureau of Tourism Research, Canberra.
The survey results illustrate the propensity of various international tourist groups to visit cultural and heritage attractions in Australia. The Japanese place a high priority on visiting attractions such as Ayers Rock, the Sydney Opera House, the Australian War Memorial and also historic venues such as Captain Cook's Cottage in Victoria and Richmond Historic Township in Tasmania. Visitors from Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong also exhibit this preference for visiting historical attractions, including Pioneer World/Elizabethan Village in Western Australia and museums in South Australia and Victoria. However, very little information is available about cultural participation by domestic tourists in Australia. The lack of local market research is such that 'no comprehensive data have been collected on domestic tourist attendance at arts events and facilities, nor information on their interests, motivation or other characteristics' (Spring 1988, p. 350). In order to correct this situation, the Australia Council is seeking to include some questions on the arts in the Domestic Tourism Monitor and to undertake a pilot study in an Australian capital city to survey the attendance of domestic tourists at arts events (Spring, J. 1990, pers. comm., 23 February). In addition, the statistical advisory group of the Cultural Minister's Council has recommended that the Australian Bureau of Statistics have a separate industry category for the collection of statistics on the products and services provided by the culture-leisure industry (Images 1988).

In South Australia, economic studies have been conducted on the impact of the Adelaide Festival of Arts (Brokensha & Tonks 1985; McDonald 1988). In March 1988, a total of 3083 interstate and overseas visitors and 5685 country visitors are estimated to have come to Adelaide principally to attend the Festival (McDonald 1988, p. 50). At the Festival, 29 per cent of the box office takings came from non-Adelaide residents and 60 per cent of the interstate visitors came from Victoria (McDonald 1988; Lloyd 1989). Adelaide Festival visitors spend more and stay longer than other tourists in the city. They spend 86 per cent more on their stay than all other visitors, including Grand Prix visitors. Interstate Festival visitors alone spend 17.5 per cent more than typical interstate visitors each day and also stay far longer (more than 11 nights on average). The 1988 impact study demonstrated that South Australia received an estimated economic benefit of nearly $3 million as a result of staging the Adelaide Festival. A more detailed survey of the 1990 Adelaide Festival and Festival Fringe is now being conducted by the Centre for South Australian Economic Studies. The current survey involves 20,000 questionnaires and represents the largest arts survey of its type carried out in Australia. Survey results on the economic impact and the popularity of the arts at the 1990 Adelaide Festival are expected to be available in June 1990 (Brinkworth 1990).

In 1989, the Australia Council conducted its second census of Australia's public art galleries. 'Attendance figures were collected from 121 public art galleries and art museums. The total number of attendances at these galleries in 1987-88 was 6.54 million' (Australia Council 1989, p. 52). Art gallery attendances for each State and Territory were Victoria (1.70m), NSW (1.37m), Queensland (1.09m), ACT (0.74m), WA (0.63m), SA (0.55m), Tasmania (0.28m), and the Northern Territory (0.18m). The 1987 census of 114 galleries in Australia revealed that the total number of attendances in 1986-87 was 5.55 million. There was a substantial growth in art gallery attendance over the two year period from 1986 to 1988, with nearly a million extra visitors to the many public art galleries (state, national, metropolitan and regional) in Australia (Australia Council 1989). Museum visitation in Australia is also a major leisure time activity. 'Recent statistics suggest that a visit to a cultural institution is as popular to the average Australian as attending a football game. It is estimated that museums alone have attracted some twelve million visits annually. Major museums reach up to thirty-two per cent of the domestic population annually and up to fifty per cent of the population over five years' (Holding 1989, p. 7). Therefore, the popularity of visiting art galleries and museums in Australia would seem to indicate a new found awareness and public interest in cultural matters.

Renewed interest in heritage

The growth in cultural and heritage tourism can be attributed to an increasing awareness of heritage, greater affluence, more leisure time, greater mobility, increased access to the arts and as a reaction to the demands of modern society. Indeed, it is no coincidence that the development of cultural tourism in Australia runs directly parallel with the growth of the heritage and nature conservation movements (Hall 1988). In the latter part of the twentieth century, the buildings and lifestyles of urban, westernised nations have become uniformly similar. Such countries are now re-examining their own culture and heritage in order to develop a sense of uniqueness and individual identity for each city, region and place. In rediscovering heritage, people are looking back with a certain nostalgia at the way things used to be. 'This increased emphasis on retrospection, whether due to a psychological need for continuity, the desire to transcend contemporary experience, or the urge to know one's roots, characteristically leads to some form of appreciation and concern for the past' (Konrad 1982, p. 412). Heritage sites provide the focus for this psychological motive in travelling. This exploration of culture and heritage is a travel activity now open to all classes of people to enjoy. 'The past belongs to
everyone: the need to return home, to recall the view, to refresh a memory, to trace a heritage, is universal and essential’ (Lovethal 1981, p. 236).

In Australia, the celebration of the Bicentennial in 1988 encouraged a greater awareness of both Aboriginal and European heritage. ‘Our cultural heritage is something of which we should be proud, because it gives us Australians a sense of identity’ (Donovan 1988, p. 191). People within Australia are now, more than ever, seeking to identify with the varied aspects of Australian culture and heritage. ‘Visits to sites of cultural and historical significance are a particular feature of domestic tourism’ (Department of the Arts, Sport, the Environment, Tourism and Territories 1988, pp. 80-81). The growth in Aboriginal arts, in particular, reflects both the emergence and assertion of Aboriginal culture, heritage and identity in contemporary Australian society and the desire by both Australian and overseas visitors to experience indigenous Australian culture.

Overseas visitors who come to ‘experience’ Australia are seeking to enjoy not only the scenery but also increasingly the arts and culture as well. For example, the 1986 International Visitor Survey showed that 29 per cent of overseas tourists visited museums and art galleries, 19 per cent visited outdoor folk museums or historic parks, and 16 per cent attended live theatre and music performances (Industries Assistance Commission 1989). Such tourists have a desire to be involved in cultural experiences in order to learn and be enriched by heritage encounters on their travels. The Secretary General of the World Tourism Organisation has noted ‘the increasing emphasis on cultural travel and communication between cultures’ and that ‘the integration of tourism with the social and cultural environment and the promotion of an “adult tourist” more interested in cultural values, seems likely to lead to a climate in which the cultural content of most forms of tourism will increase’ (1985, pp. 21, 25). In keeping with this trend, Australia’s cultural and heritage assets will increasingly be recognised and promoted as enriching and educational tourism experiences.

Marketing cultural tourism

The growing importance of cultural and heritage tourism in the special interest tourism market has been recognised in both Victoria and South Australia with the development of cultural tourism strategies. The Victorian cultural tourism strategy aimed to focus on ‘the research and development of itineraries for study and special interest tours based on the cultural assets of Victoria. The goal of the strategy will be for Victoria to become the Australian leader and effective owners of tourism based on study tours inbound from the U.S. to Australia within 5 years’ (Dunstan 1987, p. 8). The Victorian cultural tourism strategy, by targeting overseas study tour groups, is intent on building up a better image of Victoria as a perceived cultural tourism destination by the overseas travel market, particularly the United States of America. In this strategy, assumptions are made about Victoria’s competitive advantages for developing cultural tourism. For example, the historical heritage of Melbourne; that Victoria is a compact state with easily accessible cultural and heritage attractions and that ‘Victoria is not associated with the “ocker” stereotypes of Paul Hogan and is thus in the best position to promote itself as a cultural centre’ (Dunstan 1987, p. 9). The Victorian cultural tourism strategy seeks to reposition Victoria as the ‘Creative State’. The strategy concentrates on the U.S. market because of the difficulty in establishing Victoria as the creative state within Australia, especially in relation to Sydney, acknowledged as the leading market rival. The local benefits of implementing the cultural tourism strategy were also regarded as having significant social benefits for Victoria, including the creation of an attitude of confidence by Victorians in their culture and the possibility of a new cultural resurgence (Dunstan 1987). However, the strategy did not elaborate on how this revival of interest in Victoria’s culture and heritage was to be achieved at the local level.

In contrast to Victoria, the South Australian cultural tourism strategy concentrates on promoting the cultural assets of the state mainly to the local tourism market. The South Australian option has been to move up to a ‘speciality position’ in the tourism market place by promoting the ‘complementary imagery of festivals, events, lifestyle, hospitality, graciousness, charm, heritage, culture and friendly character’ (South Australian Tourism Development Board 1987a, p. 13). The tourism development principles adopted in South Australia include enhancing the cultural, man-made and natural heritage, ensuring authenticity and integrity in the tourism experience and providing opportunities for memorable experiences with emphasis on involvement and learning (South Australian Tourism Development Board 1987a). The State’s Aboriginal heritage, in particular, is now playing an important role in the development of cultural tourism in South Australia. The Ngurungi exhibition at the South Australian Museum, the contemporary Aboriginal artworks on display at the Art Gallery of South Australia and the development of Aboriginal heritage-based tourist attractions such as the Tandanya Aboriginal Cultural Institute in Adelaide all allow visitors to experience Aboriginal art and culture (Department for the Arts 1989).

The South Australian cultural tourism strategy intends to work on developing the State’s own authentic cultural values and heritage assets. The strategy is aimed at the intra-state traveller as this is the main
visitor segment of the South Australian tourism market. In 1985-86, some 2.7 million out of 3.7 million travellers in South Australia were South Australians enjoying their own State (South Australian Tourism Development Board 1987b, p. 4). The South Australian cultural tourism strategy has provided 'a focus for efforts to market and interpret South Australia in a way that can only be positive, both for South Australians themselves and for visitors' (Hannaford 1989, p. 15). The 'bottom up' approach taken in actively promoting cultural and heritage tourism in South Australia ensures that not only will the local community benefit in terms of being involved in art, heritage and culture but so too will the interstate and overseas visitors who have come to experience the lifestyle, scenery, heritage and culture of South Australia, the 'Festival State'.

Maximising market returns
Cultural and heritage tourism forms an important part of the European travel market. The parts of Europe that are the strongest continual drawcards for visitors are not those that have purpose-built tourist developments, 'they are the places that have stayed true to themselves and have presented their own culture with pride and dignity' (Leader-Elliot quoted in Hannaford 1989, p. 15). The cultural and artistic attractions of Europe are strongly promoted to the American cultural tourist market. To assist in the marketing of cultural tourism, the European Travel Commission (ETC) undertook a market segmentation survey of 2,500 Americans, half of whom had previously been to Europe and half of whom had not. The survey identified the values, attitudes, needs and expectations of both the potential and experienced American tourists to Europe. The experienced travellers showed greater interest in cultural motives for going to Europe, with "half of the travellers citing 'seeing art exhibitions, paintings and sculpture' as an important reason for going to Europe' (Berrol nd, p. 2). A total of 80 per cent of these experienced travellers then subsequently visited museums and art galleries on their next trip to Europe (Berrol nd). The American 'Classic Culture Seeker' preferred European tour options which featured historical sites, castles and art (Stevens 1986). Clearly, culture and the arts are a major part of the attraction of Europe for American travellers. Cultural tourists represent an important segment of the American market for travel to Europe, with 35 per cent of these being experienced travellers returning to Europe for another visit (Berrol nd).

In response to the ETC's market segmentation survey and the need to encourage American tourists to stay longer than the average 1.5 days before leaving to see the rest of Europe, Holland developed the 'Culture Card' which was purchased by visitors and used to enter a variety of museums and also to obtain guaran-

teed seats at performing arts events (Valenstein nd). Of the Culture Card purchasers 38 per cent were between 25 and 44, and were better-educated and had a higher income than the United States average. Furthermore, 'a majority of the Culture Card buyers were visiting Holland for the first time, and they stayed between six and 14 days. Of the Culture Card holders 87% used the card for art museums and 36% for history museums; and the majority went four or more times during their stay' (Tighe 1985, p. 241). The success of Holland's Culture Card clearly shows that countries, cities and regions can attract and retain additional tourists by boosting the cultural image of a destination.

Many cities in the United States have recognised the local benefits to be gained from developing cultural and heritage tourism. 'Baltimore, for instance, has used ethnic fairs, a city-wide festival, and redevelopment of its theatre district as methods of improving the city's image among its own residents and then attracting tourists. Other cities such as San Antonio, Texas; San Francisco; and Boston have also used the arts as a means of promoting themselves as destinations' (Tighe 1985, p. 250). Cities may stage arts festivals both to generate economic benefits and also to create a desirable cultural image (Hall 1989b, 1989c; U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development nd). The Spoleto Festival, held annually in the city of Charleston, South Carolina, does not appear to be justified from an economic standpoint but is staged because the city seeks to maintain a desirable image as a cultured destination (Wang & Gitelson 1988). The importance of creating a positive city image has recently been seen in the South Australian Department of Tourism's promotion of Adelaide as a prime cultural destination, just prior to the staging of the internationally recognised 16th Biennial Adelaide Festival of Arts (1-18 March, 1990). Full colour advertisements have appeared in major magazines showing ballet dancers in a variety of cultural settings with the caption 'Adelaide. More culture per kilometre'. The text for this advertisement attempts to create an image of Adelaide as a desirable cultural destination by emphasising the city's historical architecture, sculpture, fine arts, galleries, museums, festivals, performing arts, Aboriginal culture, theatre, music, and restaurants.

Heritage management
Tourism is an environmentally dependent industry. The development of cultural and heritage tourism should ideally proceed within a heritage management framework which gives priority to the conservation and preservation of unique heritage resources (Collins 1983; Millar 1989; Wong 1990; Hall forthcoming). The growing popularity of cultural tourism and the expanding heritage industry emphasises the necessity for effective tourism management to protect heritage sites and provide visitor services. In the
private sector, the heritage industry includes the rapidly growing number of tours provided for visitors to experience the natural, cultural and built environments of an area. This industry requires reliable information and guidelines on the promotion and presentation of heritage tours and heritage sites. The operation of historical theme parks by private enterprise should also be reviewed in terms of the authenticity and integrity of the historical tourism experience being offered to visitors.

For example, Sovereign Hill at Ballarat is an historically accurate recreation of an 1850s gold-mining town. The buildings, shops, domestic animals and role playing characters in historical costumes all recreate the working life and atmosphere of a gold-rush town in the period 1851 to 1861. In developing Sovereign Hill, all historical details of the township, gold-rush life, and costumes are researched for historical accuracy by relevant committees of the Ballarat Historical Park Association. ‘Certainly Sovereign Hill is all a good deal cleaner than the historical reality would have been, but it’s a realistic attempt to bring one age to life in another’ (Loh 1989, p. 170). The housekeeping committee, in its endeavour to maintain historical accuracy, inspects Sovereign Hill every two weeks to check that there are no twentieth century anomalies such as biros, cardboard boxes and role playing characters wearing watches in the historical township (Mary Akers, 1990, pers. comm., 2 March).

In the public sector, the management of heritage resources by government agencies has to balance the often conflicting needs of both conservation and tourism. The issues involved in public heritage management include matters of funding, staffing, public access, visitor facilities, heritage presentation and interpretation and the ongoing maintenance of heritage sites. Because heritage resources are irreplaceable, the most critical issue in heritage management is that of conservation. Governments, as the main controllers of heritage resources, need a heritage conservation policy to guide and control tourism development (Trippier 1987). Such a policy should provide guidelines for all heritage tourism developments, whether in the public or private sector. Careful planning is also needed if the quality of the heritage tourism experience is to be maintained (Hall 1974; Graefe & Vaske 1987; Urzell 1989). ‘Long term planning for heritage tourism with an integral, continuing conservation policy is essential in ensuring a quality experience for the visitor at each heritage site’ (Millar 1989, p. 13).

The increasing popularity of cultural and heritage tourism will create yet more heritage management problems which need to be resolved. Coping with the impact of mass tourism at popular heritage sites will lead to management dilemmas of either restricting and regulating access by visitors or of providing yet more visitor amenities and facilities. The pressures of mass tourism can cause structural damage at heritage sites and may lead to visual pollution in the form of traffic, parking areas, signs, crowds and a lowering of levels of visitor satisfaction. Conservation of atmosphere or ambience at heritage sites should also be considered in heritage management. This is important if visitors are to experience the spiritual, spatial and aesthetic qualities of historic buildings, landscapes and other heritage sites.

Visitor surveys conducted by the US National Trust for Historic Preservation have shown that of the daily tour visitors to historic houses, 90 per cent were first time visitors most of whom were there for the ambience rather than an interest in history (Mawson 1984). These studies show that ‘Besides the need to protect the scarce heritage resources in our custody, there is also a need to respect them. It is not something that we should devalue, particularly in the pursuit of the tourist dollar’ (Donovan 1988, p. 91). Another aspect of management is gaining the necessary funding in order to properly care for heritage sites. Many government agencies which manage heritage resources are implementing a user pays policy, where visitors are paying for access to national parks, museums and special exhibitions at art galleries (Stevens 1986). An alternative approach is that of cities such as San Francisco and Houston which levy hotel and motel taxes, with a designated portion of the revenues set aside for the arts (Backas 1983). Similarly, in South Australia, a new cultural sponsorship organisation known as Foundation South Australia is funded through a levy on tobacco licensing fees. ‘In 1988-89 the levy provided more than $1 million to cultural programs’ (Department for the Arts 1989, p. 3).

Heritage as a tourism commodity?
The cultural and heritage resources of any country should not be seen as existing solely to serve the needs of the tourism industry. Nevertheless, the heritage market has become such a major part of the tourist economy that in countries such as Britain, ‘heritage is to British tourism what coal is to the National Coal Board’ (Hewison 1988, p. 239). Surveys by the British Tourist Authority consistently show heritage as the main strength in tourism (Capstick 1985; Fowler 1987). In Britain the popularity of cultural and heritage tourism at sites such as Stonehenge, Ironbridge, York Minster and the Lake District has created a thriving business in heritage tourism. However, Cossons (1989, p. 192) has warned that Britain is in danger of becoming ‘locked into a business economy dependent upon heritage tourism’. Similarly, Hewison (1987, 1989) has argued that rather than strengthen Britain’s cultural and economic vitality, museums, art councils, and heritage organisations, by
presenting an idealised image of the past, are contributing to a general social malaise. According to Hughes (1989, p. 97), ‘British culture is seen as just another tourism resource with justification for the arts and heritage residing in their success as tourist attractions’. The danger in achieving such popularity is that heritage resources will come to be consumed like any other commodity. As Cossons (1989, p. 192) has argued, there is a growing opinion ‘that museums and the heritage – as the national estate – exist for the purpose of tourism’. Given this situation in Britain, to what extent are heritage resources already viewed as tourism commodities in Australia?

Along with the heritage market, the performing and visual arts have also now come to be regarded as an industry. ‘We already have a changed language in which we talk about the arts. We no longer discuss them as expressions of imagination or creativity, we talk about “product”; we are no longer moved by the experiences the arts have to offer, we “consume” them. Culture has become a commodity’ (Hewison 1988, p. 240). For example, the current popularity of Aboriginal art has created a large market for traditional and contemporary Aboriginal art forms to meet the demand for tourist souvenirs, art galleries and private collectors. In becoming a marketable commodity, Aboriginal art has been removed from its traditional social and cultural context. Art forms such as the Papunya Tula paintings of Central Australia are now being produced in large quantities to meet tourist demand. This has led to reduced quality, sameness, and the potential denigration of meaning in the artwork through the commercialisation and trivialisation of important events from the Aboriginal creation period or ‘Dreamtime’ (Hollinshead 1988). Culture and heritage, as expressed through the arts, can be either stimulated or degraded by the impact of tourism (Hughes 1989; Smith 1989). With the advent of mass tourism and its attendant market impact the materials, form and content of much Aboriginal art have become adapted to meeting external tourist demands (Graburn 1984). However, the demands of the tourism industry are such that a universal return to traditional Aboriginal art and cultural forms would be almost impossible and, perhaps from an economic perspective, undesirable.

The role of the corporate sector in promoting and developing cultural tourism in Australia also needs to be considered. The Adelaide Festival of Arts and the Festival of Perth, for example, both rely heavily on private business sponsorship to bring their cultural program of events to the public. Special exhibitions at art galleries are also often sponsored by business companies. In Australia, the amount of corporate funding provided for the arts is quite substantial. ‘A total of 13% of Australian businesses support the arts. The total value of their support is estimated at $37 million per annum. Of this, corporate sponsorship is estimated at $13.9m’ (Roux 1987, p. 16). Businesses regard arts sponsorship as a supplementary marketing tool to reach a target audience, while the public relations aspect creates an up-market corporate image. As with the arts, greater advantage needs to be taken of involving the corporate sector in the development of heritage tourism. For example, Carrick Hill in Adelaide is a Tudor-style manor house with a private art collection, antiques, English gardens and a sculpture park. Carrick Hill was bequeathed to the people of South Australia and it is now maintained by the State government with sponsorship from Santos Ltd. and Channel 10, Adelaide. Carrick Hill is a good example of what can be achieved in terms of providing a quality experience for visitors in the development of cultural and heritage tourism. However, in seeking corporate funding for heritage projects, measures may need to be taken to ensure that heritage attractions do not solely become the vehicles for corporate advertising rather than the authentic experience they were meant to provide.

Conclusions
Cultural and heritage tourism are rapidly becoming integrated into the mainstream tourism market. ‘Thus the middle classes scour the earth in search of new experiences; nature and the past are revived, refurbished and incorporated into the modern world in an orgy of nostalgia’ (Graburn 1984, p. 410). The travel industry is also increasingly recognising the significance of cultural and heritage resources and their marketability. The importance of cultural and heritage tourism in Europe, Britain, America and Canada is supported by detailed market surveys on tourist preferences and participation in arts, culture and heritage. Similar market research is now needed in Australia to identify the nature, extent and potential of the cultural and heritage tourism market. ‘When we know more about the lifestyle, motivation and psychological characteristics of tourists, both international and domestic, their socio-economic circumstances and education levels, the tourist and arts industries can better plan, expand, or modify their programs, anticipate and measure trends’ (Spring 1988, p. 352). However, caution must be applied if cultural and heritage tourism are to be heavily promoted as a new industry. Without effective management, the pressures of mass tourism can lead to the exploitation and degradation of irreplaceable heritage resources. The protection and conservation of cultural and heritage assets must be balanced with suitable levels of tourist use along with sensible and appropriate development projects. As Johnson (1983, p. 14) has recognised:

A partnership in the marketplace does not mean a surrender of principles or standards. The tourism industry can profit greatly from an alliance with the arts, and the arts, in turn, can

Historic Environment VII 3 & 4 (1990)
enter the real world of the marketplace in a controlled and careful manner, benefiting from its commercial strengths while surrendering neither quality nor freedom.

To better meet the growing tourist demand for experiencing culture and heritage, closer links are being established between government and commercial sectors while public cultural institutions, such as museums and art galleries, are adopting a more commercial approach in their management. Therefore, the challenge to tourism and cultural organisations and heritage management agencies is the development of effective marketing and management strategies to direct and control the growing popularity of cultural and heritage tourism in a manner which preserves the resource and maximises the economic, social and cultural returns to host and guest alike.

References

Berrol, E. nd, Culture and the Arts as a Motive for American Travel to Europe, American Council on the Arts, New York.


Department of the Arts, Sport, the Environment, Tourism and the Territories 1988, Directions for Tourism: A Discussion Paper, AGPS, Canberra.


Feifer, M. 1985, Tourism in History: From Imperial Rome to the Present, Stein and Day, New York.


Secretary General, World Tourism Organisation 1985, The state’s role in protecting and promoting culture as a factor of tourism development and the proper use and exploitation of national cultural heritage of sites and movements for tourism, World Tourism Organisation, Madrid, 28 June.


