

Kalyan Bhandari

Touristification of cultural resources: A case study of Robert Burns

Abstract

Tourism and cultural heritage complement each other. Cultural heritage when coupled with tourism gives it commercial viability that, if successfully executed, could be a strong marker in country's national iconography presented to tourists. The case of Robert Burns, Scotland's national poet, shows he is a national icon who now serves to the interest of both tourism and national identity. His literary genius and immense popularity has made him a strong marker of Scottish cultural identity, which now draws significant visitors to the places of his association. In Scotland, it is the image of Robert Burns which attracts tourist rather than his works of literary creativity alone. The aims of the paper is to see how his popularity as a tourism product has led to commercial realization amongst places associated with Burns - markedly the two towns Dumfries and Ayr - where objects, artefacts, and exhibits are rearranged to present it to meet the expectation and taste of visiting tourists. It also looks how this has led to 'touristify' Burns wherein more Burns are (re)created for the attraction of tourists, and has made him more of an item for consumption to tourists, than effectively only a cultural resource.

Keywords:

identity; cultural heritage; literary tourism; Robert Burns; Scotland

Introduction

Tourism, heritage and identity are interrelated concepts. Heritage and identity is an important resource that profoundly defines the nature of cultural tourism. One of the important cultural heritages that Scotland possesses is of Robert Burns, its best-known poet and a prolific composer, writing about 400 songs during his short life of 37 years. Robert Burns wrote in the language of Scots long after the Treaty of Union of 1707 and strongly asserted Scottish national aspirations. Due to Robert Burns' assertion on the aspect of nationhood in his literary works he is also a national icon for Scots, both within and outwith Scotland.

Over the years, with the growing sense of Scottish national consciousness, Robert Burns has slowly metamorphosed from a Romantic poet into an iconic heritage. Robert Burns himself is an attraction and has emerged as a unique selling point of Scottish tourism and receives a mention in all forms of tourism literature. In Scotland, Robert Burns is the most copiously used cultural icon, surpassing his literary value to a strong symbol of Scottish identity and is presented as a commodity for consumption to tourists. A government report in 2005 said Robert Burns is worth nearly £160 million to

Kalyan Bhandari, PhD Student at the University of Glasgow, United Kingdom
E-mail: K_bhandari@hotmail.com

Scotland's economy (The Scottish Government News, 2005). Another report, 'The Burns Journey' prepared for Scottish Enterprise has identified 77 monuments (commemorative 'assets') relating to Burns spread throughout Scotland and furthermore proposed proper 'branding' of Burns as a product (Tourism Resources Company, 2006). This fact highlights his 'touristic' value. This paper is divided into two parts. The first section looks at how Robert Burns despite being a cultural heritage, surpasses literary values to transform into an aesthetic tourism product. In the second section it will see how this 'touristification' or 'commodification' has impacted, if at all, on the 'authenticity' of the places associated with him. The aspect of commodification and authenticity is examined through case studies at two literary tourism sites - Ayr and Dumfries – which principally promote themselves as a tourism destination under the Burns banner.

This paper is based on secondary resources to see the growth of Robert Burns as a iconic figure. The extent of 'touristification', in the latter section of the paper is examined with the help of primary data surveyed from the sites in Dumfries and Ayr. For this, Burns sites in those places were visited and presentation of exhibits and artefacts; and promotional literatures at these places were examined. Interviews were carried out with the custodian at these places. Information received was then analysed with the help of other secondary resources on the subject.

Tourism, culture and identity

This paper begins by providing a brief overview on the relevant literature, first, on cultural tourism and identity, and literary tourism; and in the second section, on the debate of commodification and authenticity. This is because the first part of the paper looks into touristification of Burns and its link with identity construction and the second part focuses on its corresponding impact on authenticity. A number of studies over the last thirty years have focused on the interplay between tourism, heritage and identity (Macleod, 2004; Palmer, 2005; Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Abram, Waldren & Macleod, 1997; McCrone, Morris & Kiely, 1995; Ousby, 1990; Hewison, 1987). Since the beginning of tourism as a separate academic subject after the 1960s (Jenkins, 1999), it has been able to draw an immense attention and interest from anthropologists (Nash & Smith, 1991), most of whom have viewed tourism as a worldwide social phenomenon, and thus culture has assumed an important place within these studies (Macleod, 2004; Nash, 2001; Cohen, 1988). Studies have found that tourism in some cases contributes towards group status mobility and preserves the identity of a cultural group, if those identities are markers of tourist attention (Rekom & Go, 2006). It has been an important force of empowerment to the local communities by fostering identity and pride achieved through the political and economic power brought about by the commodification of their cultural identity (Cole, 2007). Though cultural and heritage resources should not be seen as solely serving to the tourism industry (Hall, 1994), heritage tourism reminds people of their core traditions and enables them to visualise their cultural and historic roots (Palmer, 2005). Cultural festivals for example, are based on traditions and features that are created through the process of reconstruction of regional history and heritage, and particular traditions and culture are selected over others, and those that are selected reflect the ideology of dominant group (Jeong & Santos, 2004).

Meethan (2001) acknowledges that the possession of a heritage is a necessary component of the nation state as it serves a didactic purpose in educating or fostering a sense of nationhood and belonging. This is also reiterated by Macdonald (1997) who has observed that the development of a heritage centre on the Scottish island of Skye was

much to do with creating a sense of regional and local identity as it was about tourism. This view is also shared by Orbasli (2000), who opines that for the tourist industry, history has become a product that can be marketed, sold and recreated and identification with a cultural object often evokes feelings of ownership and belonging.

These studies suggest that cultural resource is an important component of identity making for a nation. For the people from outside the nation, or to visitors, cultural resources give an immediate image to identify the destination with. And for its own nationals, cultural resources are an integral part associated with the sense of identity and belongingness. The first section below will see how this applies in the case of Robert Burns in Scotland.

LITERARY TOURISM

Though literary tourism gained much attention in the recent times, it has remained an influential factor since the evolutionary phase of modern nation-state (see Watson, 2006 on early literary tourism). Smith (1991) while looking into the origin of nationalism says that 'Literary medievalism', in eighteenth century played a major part in reconstruction of community's history and culture. The movement of 'literary medievalism' was so much of influence that intellectuals from each emergent nation started to 'rediscover' and 'review' it as objectifications of the underlying values and culture of each nation, which strengthened the emerging consciousness of each nation's ethnic background and hence its ethnic nationalism Smith (1991, pp. 88-89). Interestingly, this started in Scotland with the cult of Ossian poems. The Ossian phenomenon was one of the first instances of 'literary tourism', bringing tourist to places apparently mentioned by Ossian, and seemingly touched by the magic associated with his mystical vision of the Celtic past. (Squire, 1994, cited in Inglis & Holmes, 2003).

What started as a cult for literary achievement has in the modern times given rise to literary tourism and remains no longer confined within a territorial population of single country. Squire (1994) views literary tourism as 'places celebrated for associations with books or authors.' But literary tourism for her is not simply a function of 'literary' influence, but a medium through which a range of cultural meanings and values may be communicated. She has shown in her case study of Beatrix Potter how it has become part of wider symbolic system and recalling their 'fantasies' and 'imagined memories' of their childhood (Squire, 1994). It, however, does not remain limited to this. Different sites may have different appeal. For some the entertainment aim is dominant and the site is essentially interpreted as a tourist place, for others the 'heritage' site may be modified or 'antiqued' to increase its entertainment value (Herbert, 2003). Furthermore, Herbert (2003) believes there may be other kinds of messages, political, nationalistic, cultural, or materialistic, that interpretation seeks to convey to visitors.

For Herbert (2003) literary places are the products of associations between places and writers, they are later constructed as tourist attractions. Visitors to literary places, according to him, are motivated four reasons. First because of places' connection with the writers' life, second being drawn by the settings for novels, third because of places' capacity of acting as a catalyst of memoirs or hold an ideal or image and finally due to some event in the writer's life.

Various scholars have tried to typify literary tourism (Butler, 1986; Herbert, 2003). Herbert (2003) has come up with four typology of literary places. First is the literary places take the form of small museums or collections based in a house formally occupied by a writer where some element of the original dwelling have usually been preserved and there are artefacts that can be dated to the author. Second type of literary

place is that which arises purely from the imagined world of the writer. Third, is the regional literary places like Catherine Cookson country, Bronte Country etc. Many of these labels are used as part of a promotional or marketing exercise for the tourist industry with the aim of attracting more visitors. Places will actively use their association with a writer as part of their place promotion, often incorporating the literary connection with a logo. And fourth type of literary places is the associated with a festival of celebration of literature or with an exceptional promotion of books and literature.

GROWTH OF ROBERT BURNS AS A SCOTTISH TOURISM IDENTITY

The following paragraphs focuses on what Robert Burns means to Scotland. It will also examine what factors have contributed to make Burns one of the foremost cultural icon of Scottish identity working in favour of tourism. At first, it begins with a very brief biography of Robert Burns. Robert Burns was born on 25 January 1759 in Alloway, two miles south of Ayr, Scotland. He is Scotland's best-known poet and was a prolific composer, writing about 400 songs during his short life, though the extent of his authorship is still unknown. He produced his first poem at 15, and continued to write, while unsuccessfully trying his luck in agriculture, but did not publish until 1786, when he produced *Poems*, chiefly in the Scottish dialect. The work was a best seller and at the death of his fiancée, he changed his plans and travelled throughout Scotland, settling in Edinburgh. There he edited a multi-volume compendium of folk songs, *The Scots Musical Museum*. Burns included more than 150 of his own works in this collection, as well as over 100 to another collection, George Thomson's *A Select Collection of Scottish Airs*, begun in 1793. Upon his marriage to Jean Armour, already mother of four of his children, he left Edinburgh to attempt farming and met with no more success than before. In 1789, he abandoned agriculture altogether and began work as an excise officer. He contracted rheumatic fever and died five years later in Dumfries.

Robert Burns had a brief life, but his early death at the age of 37 amidst popularity drove people to the scenes associated with the poet and were visited and grieved over. Upward of 20 thousand people witnessed Burns funeral procession, when he was finally laid to rest amidst gun salutes in St. Michael's Churchyard in Dumfries. Enthusiasts came to see the places and landscapes linked to events of Burns life. His enduring popularity during the time of his life and after death led to growth of visitors in the early nineteenth century to the places associated with him. Burns' birthplace and its environs were developed with astonishing speed than any of his contemporaries (Watson, 2006).

The growth and spread of Robert Burns across Scotland might be attributed to the emerging quest of Scottish cultural identity. Simpson (1994) recognizes this. 'Since the Union of 1707, when Scots had felt the need to prove their right to cultural partnership with English. In Burns they found their great poet' (1994, p. xvi). Furthermore, this was also reiterated by the language he chose to write. 'He wrote in the language of a sovereign Scotland almost two hundred years after the Union of Crowns of 1603' (McGuirk, 1994, pp. 60-61). This may be seen through the nationalistic lenses as his writings bolstered the idea of Scottish nationhood. Robert Burns, in this sense, assumed a political role to be a legacy for nationalistic fervours of Scots to claim their authority over their past. Thus, place associated with the Robert Burns also meant as homage to the Scots to reiterate their sense of nationhood. This could be more understood from the fact Burns Night is almost a second national day, celebrated on 25 January with Burns suppers around the world, and considered more widely observed than the official national day, Saint Andrew's Day. Lindsay (1994) acknowledges this political and poetical appeal of Burns,

'Burns must therefore be considered a political as well as poetical figure, at any rate so far as Scotland is concerned. For his work more than the work of any other single person has kept Scotland in mind of her ancient nationhood, traditions and identity, throughout more than a century and half of relentless buffeting towards that spiritual oblivion which total submersion in the culture and way of life of England or America must inevitably mean' (1994, p. 343).

Burns' political role can be attributed to flexibility in interpretation of his works. This malleability of Burns to be interpreted from socialist perspective in the twentieth century and credence to laissez-faire liberalism throughout nineteenth century made it possible as a figure venerated for so long (Finlay, 1997). David McCrone (2001) reiterates this point and has concluded that the longevity of 'lad o' pairs' myth owes much to the fact that it can be appropriated for ideological use by both the left and the right, Unionists and nationalist (McCrone, 2001).

Burns' iconic stature was bolstered by this combination of poetic and political colours. 'Both popular appreciation and academic study of Burns have been coloured by the fact that Burns rapidly became a mythological figure, an icon' (Simpson 1994, p. xv). McGuirk (1994) considers Robert Burns as the Elvis Presley in two senses,

'... in the strong component of class- nostalgia in the foundation of his cult and in the way his icon, even during his life but increasingly after his death, was so often detached from his actual body of work. And if Burns was their Elvis Scotland was (with Switzerland) the Victorians' theme park, their Disney World.' (1994, p. 55).

'Almost any scene connected with his birth, life or death became a shrine for literary tourists for whom, by 1851, the one who does not visit them is considered deficient in taste' (Gold & Gold, 1995, p. 64). Visitors thronging to the places of Burns' association transformed him from an iconic poet to a visitor attraction through the construction of monuments erected with an eye to attracting visitors, making people less interested in his poetry than in his legendary properties (Lindsay, 1994). In the case of Burns it was the three factors Herbert (2003) considered as motivations for visitors. Burns places could attract visitors first, because of its 'connection with him', second, these places had the capacity to act as a catalyst of memoirs or hold an ideal or image and thirdly, because of important event that took place in those places.

The subsequent result is; Robert Burns now is an important marker of Scottish cultural identity. The opening of Scottish parliament on July 1 1999 was marked by rendition of a radical song by Burns. The website of World Burns Club (2008) notes,

'Robert Burns is one of the most famous characters in Scottish Cultural History. His importance is immense, not only in terms of his fascinating story and his work. . . . but as a living tradition, carried from generation to generation throughout the World. Everyone, everywhere, who joins in the celebration of Scotland, Scottish Heritage or Scottish Culture, will witness references to Robert Burns.'

Tourism tends to use iconic images for its benefit. Tourism businesses and marketing organizations are prone to capitalize on the name of a writer associated with an area in order to develop tourism activities in the area and to sell specific products and services (Butler, 1986, cited in Tetley & Bramwell, 2002). Thus, none of the tourism literature on Scotland skips mention of Robert Burns. 'He is omnipresent in our commercial iconography' (Noble 1994, p. 167). Though there is no dearth of literature on the life and works of Robert Burns his growth as a cultural commodity is not extensively

pursued. But what is clearly visible is that in Scotland Robert Burns is not confined within his writings or literary circles but far more manifested as a tourism product. As a tourism destination Scotland possesses an image and identity that bears allegiance to the Robert Burns, which hardly any other single historical personality does anywhere else.

An example of Robert Burns being a marketable brand can be realized from the fact that there is a hair cutting salon by the name of Robert Burns in Dumfries, in the same house where he as an excise officer stayed for a brief period. A web site of one of the pubs in Dumfries states, 'Established in 1610, The Globe Inn, Dumfries has long been associated with Robert Burns, Scotland's national poet (The Globe Inn, 2008). Similarly a guest house in Dumfries, Ferintosh promotes Dumfries and its historical ties to Robert Burns. It says 'we continue our tradition of hosting an Annual Burns Supper complete with piper, lavish spread of Scottish foods, and a whisky tasting contest'.

These three examples are testimony to the fact that businesses are continuing to vie on Burns' appeal. It is seen that Robert Burns is a cultural tourism product who also serves to the nationalistic fervours of Scots alike. But his touristic role is more visible than his literary personality because of tourism's gaining prominence in economic sphere of Scotland. In the following section we will now see, whether this transformation of Burns as an object for tourism has posed a significant threat to his authenticity.

Commodification and authenticity in tourism

Researches have shown increasing domination of economic importance gained by cultural resources over other roles. 'The political roles of culture as representing and enforcing national ideologies and particular hierarchies of power together with its social roles as entertainment and as a form of communal intellectual glue, while still present, have been overtaken by centrality in economic life.' (Robinson & Smith, 2006, p. 3). Heritage management is seen as a tool for its preservation through cultural tourism. The process of *heritagization* converts cultural resources into products for consumption (Inglis & Holmes, 2003). Smith (2003, p. 98) also argues that the development of the cultural tourism industry has exacerbated the commodification of heritage, and the 'heritagisation' of the past, has also led to an increase of interest in the histories and heritage of regional, ethnic, indigenous and other previously marginalized groups. Because the heritage tourism product is fashioned by tourism, the aspect of commoditisation features strongly within the experiences of tourists, experiences that are also influenced by the product base, issues and outcomes (Timothy & Boyd, 2003).

Authenticity in tourism has remained central to the debate primarily linked with the commodification associated with it. The debate over authenticity was raised by MacCannell (1978) in his book *The Tourist*. Challenging Boorstin's (1961) contention that tourists want superficial contrived experiences MacCannell argued that tourists are always in search of authentic experience. In order to explain this he borrowed Goffman's (1959) terms of front and back regions, and argued front stage to be what is normally presented to tourist while tourist are constantly seeking the back stage, to which tourists are instead presented with staged back region.

Cohen (1988) believes commoditization does not necessarily destroy meaning of the culture but instead help acquire new meaning; sometimes forcing old meaning to remain salient. '(M)ass tourism does not succeed because it is a colossal deception, but because most tourist entertain concepts of 'authenticity' which are much looser than those entertained by intellectuals and experts' (Cohen, 1988). Cole (2007) also views

commodification positively and believes it brings identity and pride to the local marginalized groups. She suggests the strategic use of tourism and its power provides an identity.

This paper will now look into the extent of commodification and its corresponding effect in the two touristic sites associated with Robert Burns in Scotland.

DUMFRIES

Dumfries is a small town situated in the South-west of Scotland near the border with England. Robert Burns spent the latter part of his life, first as a farmer in Ellisland farm which is 6 miles away from the town, and then as an excise officer living in the town. Most of his later poems were written here and it is also the place where the poet died and was finally laid to rest. Tourism in Dumfries considerably revolves round Burns life. The core centre of the town has a statue dedicated to Burns, which was erected in 1882 and the town centre is a vehicle free zone. Within this vehicle free zone sits the Midsteeple, currently under renovation, where the poet's body was kept until his final funeral procession. The road within this vehicle free zone is paved. Additionally there are other places of the poet's patronage. Through the middle of the town flows the river Nith over which spans a thirteenth century bridge, now reserved for pedestrians. These restoration efforts of the town can be taken as an attempt to maintain its authenticity that reaffirm its claim to Burns. There is a half an hour walking trail recommended that starts from the Robert Burns Centre along these routes to the town centre and Burns house finally to conclude at the point of start. For the purpose of this paper we look into two sites which are principally promoted to Burns enthusiasts – Burns House and the Robert Burns Centre.

Robert Burns lived the last few years of his life in Burns house, which is now a museum and has exhibits related to him, confirming to the first Herbert's (2003) first typology identified earlier. In an effort to keep its 'periodic' authenticity intact, about 50-meters of road approaching the house is stone paved and façade of the house is kept to its mediaeval form. The ground floor of the house has two rooms. One is also used as information cum souvenir shop. This room also displays some of Burns' manuscripts of his songs. Interestingly, as per the staff stationed there one of the manuscripts on display is not the real one by Burns, which was discovered later to be a copy, but still remains in display without any notification, making the visitors believe it to be the one by Burns himself. The first floor has two bedrooms and a small study room, which Burns occupied. A box bed is exhibited which does not correlate to a nearby drawing and description of Burns actual bedroom that has no box bed. Most of the other exhibits the tables; chairs were not used by Burns but they are the representation of Burns period rather than his possession. Similarly, the desk and chair at Burns study room is not the one used by Burns there but borrowed from one of his friend's house where he had spent his few days. There is no information to suggest the house was later renovated. A guided tour of Burns mausoleum, which is a two minute walk away, is available upon advance notice, free of charge. The Mausoleum itself is a replacement to the original Burns grave. The original grave which lies about 50-feet west of the current Mausoleum was found inappropriate by Burns enthusiasts, who then raised sufficient funds globally to build the Mausoleum completed in 1815, where his grave was later relocated amidst much fanfare (Watson, 2006).

The Robert Burns Centre is located on the other side of town across the river Nith and has no connection with the poet as such. It was converted from an eighteenth century watermill and opened in 1986. The centre is a kind of multi-purpose commercial

structure, housing a movie theatre and a restaurant within. There is a small museum of Robert Burns in a portion of the first floor and has a small reception/souvenir shop that sells Burns memorabilia. Visual images are utilised within the centre of the museum to show any connection with the poet and has a few artefacts on display. The centre runs a small Audio-visual presentation on Burns with a nominal charge of £1.60. Though named after Robert Burns, the centre shows little allegiance to Burns but instead is a fine example of use of Robert Burns brand for other commercial activity housed within.

The entrance to both these places is free of charge. As per Dumfries and Galloway Council, total number of visitor to Burns House and Robert Burns Centre in 2007 was 13,130 and 40,587 respectively which is 2.9 and 21 percent increase over the previous year (Visit Scotland 2008). The extent of business generated by Burns souvenir sales cannot be known, as the Council that manages both the properties views it as 'a business as any other business' (personal communication) and thinks it as a breach of commercial confidentiality to make it public.

AYR

Ayr is a town to the west of Scotland. This is the town where William Burnes, Burns' father moved from north east of Scotland in 1751 and where Robert Burns was born in 1759. The town is relatively bigger than Dumfries and lies in close proximity to Glasgow, Scotland's biggest city. Unlike Dumfries, the town does not retain any of its medieval appearances and bears a much modern outlook. It is a sea-side town and receives significantly greater tourists because of its location and approach to nearby airports. Despite being host to Robert Burns' birthplace, the town centre does not seem to portray any indication of this association strongly. In the middle of the town centre lays a Burns statue in a square named after him. At about 2-miles from the town centre is Burns National Heritage Park, wherein lies Burns Cottage and Museum, Burns Monument and Gardens, Kirk Alloway, Auld Brig o'Doon and the Tam o'Shanter Experience. For this essay we will look into artefacts presented at the Cottage, place where Burns was born, and the Museum with collection of poet's artefacts.

The Cottage is the house where Burns was born. The Cottage looks medieval and has thatched rooftop. The outer surrounding of the place is set in a typical old village house. The description inside the Cottage clearly mentions 'in 1993 the Cottage was extensively refurbished', and much of the cottage now is, indeed, rebuilt to make it 'more authentic' over the years (Watson, 2006) and acknowledges it as an indication of the character of the Burns family's first home. The Cottage has four rooms, the Barn, the Byre, the North room and the Kitchen. Much of exhibition is presented in simulation and artefacts are arranged and presented in order to show the periodic authenticity. Every exhibit, displays a written description confirming whether they are originals or not and do not in any way try to portray it to be unfactual. This fact is incredible as the poet spent only seven years of his early life here but still this place does not in any way try to build something up for its promotion or authenticity by any act of fabrication. However, the place's ownership to the poet is strongly made in a 10-minute documentary show 'the Auld Cley Biggin' in the Barn, that concludes with a sentence, 'but it was here that the flame of first poetic genius was kindled.' As a place of birth, Ayr relies more on the Cottage as sacrosanct place to affirm its claim to Burns, to which the above sentence of the documentary is a strong testimony.

Within the same grounds is the Museum, which has a collection of manuscripts and various other artefacts relating to Burns. The presentation of artefacts in the Museum is designed as any typically contemporary museum. As witnessed in the Cottage every

effort to mention the originality of the object is clearly done and nothing is left it to be assumed as original. An example is a punch bowl gifted to the poet by his father-in-law which declares it is a copy of the original held at the British Museum. Strangely, the museum has manuscript with musical note transcribed and a description there says, 'an original sheet of music, with notes by Burns, used for James Johnson's "Scots Musical Museum"'. This is quite contradictory to the fact that Burns could not transcribe his music and always sought someone to do it. Within this museum is a souvenir shop with wide range of Burns imprinted souvenirs.

A single entrance fee of £4.00 per adult is charged. Total number of visitors to information centre at Burns National Heritage Park in 2007 was 356,995. This is an increase of 17.9 percent to that of 2006 (Visit Scotland, 2008). The information centre has no entrance fees and does not reflect figures for the Cottage and the Museum which, as informed by the supervisor receives around 60,000-70,000 per annum (personal communication). The extent of the business could not be known because of the obvious reason of confidentiality.

Burns' attractions at Dumfries and Ayr can be classified as the first and third typology of Herbert (2003) sighted previously. In both the place it is museum in his originally located refurbished house that is the central attraction. Both of these places actively use their association with a Burns as part of their place promotion, as per Herbert's (2003) third category, but the places are not regionally integrated as a single destination. But it does substantiate the claim that local authorities use literary tourism to enhance tourism product apart from destination promotion alone (Busby & Hambly, 2000). The various non-original displays in the two literary places make the debate of authenticity in tourism much futile and confirms to Squire's (1993) argument that 'authenticity is a fluid concept that on the basis of different textual readings, individual adapt and re-define to suit their own purposes'. There are enough exhibits in both the places which are later reproduced and introduced keeping in view visitors interests in these places. This affirms with Herbert that 'literary places are no longer accidents of history, sites of a writer's birth or death; they are also social constructions, created, amplified, and promoted to attract visitors' (Herbert, 2001, p. 313, cited in Busby, Brunt & Lund, 2003).

Conclusion

It is evident that, in Scotland, it is the image of Robert Burns which attracts tourist rather than his works of literary creativity. For Scots Robert Burns is a national icon and bolsters Scottish identity through his literary works as well as monumental presence. He is an icon and an important marker of Scottish cultural identity which now draws significant visitors to the places of his association. Scottish tourism has realised this popularity of Robert Burns, which is why Robert Burns is present almost everywhere in monuments, museums and so on. Scotland now has much more Burns than the past. Prominently this has also led to commercial realization amongst places associated with Burns – markedly between Dumfries and Ayr. As a birthplace of the poet, Ayr obviously has a greater claim, receives more visitors and relies more on his birthplace as a sacrosanct place. Dumfries on the other hand realized its Burns association later and has been more forthcoming in presenting itself as an authentic destination with renovation of important periodic buildings and a restoration drive within the town. Efforts by both the places through the restoration and presentation cum interpretation of Burns life, in order to meet the expectations of Burns enthusiasts, have indeed 'touristified' these places.

The 'touristification' of Burns - the process of (re)creating Burns for the attraction of tourists - has, perhaps even ignoring his poetic genius, made him more of an item for consumption to tourists, than effectively only a cultural resource. Thus, things are rearranged to present it to meet the expectation and taste of tourists visiting these areas. This rearrangement of artefacts to make periodic representation confirms to the idea of authenticity as a symbolic construction 'renewed, modified and remade in each generation' (Hoben & Hefner, 1991, p. 23, cited in Wood, 1993). Some of the artefacts presented at Ayer and Dumfries, are not essentially the 'original' ones but only represents the period or are a sheer (re)presentation but has acquired acceptability from the visitors. Also Burns' Mausoleum in Dumfries is a case in point which is a later construction that now outshines the presence of 'original' grave in its neighbourhood. This seems to confirm to the Modernist's idea of viewing tradition as authentic but tradition is itself constructed and assumes acceptance over the period of time as we have seen from the artefacts presented at the two places studied.

Acknowledgement

Travel expense for this study was made available by Research Support Awards, University of Glasgow and Crichton Foundation, Dumfries. Author acknowledges comments received on the another version of this paper at 9th Cambridge Heritage Seminar. Author would like to thank Don Macleod, Isabel Clarke, Taptika Pandey, Angie, Dave, Cathy and the anonymous reviewer for their comments in its earlier draft.

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Submitted: 08/28/2008

Accepted: 10/03/2008