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Tourism versus Identity
Globalization and Tradition

This article discusses the question of identity through the globalized emergence of tourism. Tourism is a result of an unavoidable cultural contact with positive and negative effects. A contact of two different identities, that of tourist and the host, can bring numerous changes to the local community, but can also affect the tourists' interpretation of the destination. Here we can frequently encounter stereotypes, questioning of authenticity and invented traditions. Dangers hidden in these phenomena, if not recognized and eliminated, can have extremely negative influence on various aspects of tourist business (economic, social, cultural, and psychological). The research which was conducted in 1999 in Croatia, on the topic of tourism as a factor of change, proved some of the theoretical hypotheses and pointed to the possible guidelines, i.e. the important role of ethnography in creation of the tourist image of a local destination.

Key words: culture, tourism, identity, globalization, tradition, stereotypes, authenticity, ethnography.

Introduction

Cultural contact, an integral part of tourism, is an exceptional opportunity to get to know a country different from one's own. The results of this contact, i.e. the identities which are emphasized or created during it, are the issues which are given special attention in the last twenty years of a more systematic academic approach to cultural tourism which was the result of the increased influence of globalization.

Cultural identity defines a man's position in the world. Both a local inhabitant and a tourist are aware of their own identity, and from their meeting, new identities are potentially created. This meeting can renew links with traditional roots, i.e. with the

past, but also introduce new knowledge on different cultures, and is an expression of modernity. The tourist usually has a privileged position in this contact, because he/she has what the others don't have: freedom of travel, free time and financial superiority.

Generally, in scientific and professional publications the prevalent opinion is that tourism creates a harmony of cultures, but very few evidence support that theory (*Tourism and Culture: Rethinking the Mix,* 1999). However, an increased number of texts see tourism as a site of cultural conflicts (Boissevain 1997; Robinson 1999). The typology of these conflicts, according to Robinson, is the following:

• conflict tourist – host
• conflict international tourist agencies – receptive country
• conflict from bad advertising
• conflict between different sectors in the receptive country

The most evident conflict arises from the relation tourist-host, and the reason for this partly lies in the basic differences in the goals of the two sides. While a tourist is on vacation, the host is working. While a tourist arrives with great expectations, many hosts do not know what to expect.

The second source of conflict arises from the relations between the economically strong investors and international tourist industry and the host country. Tourism can turn local culture into commodity, so that a number of religious and ethnic rituals and festivals decreases/increases or adjusts to the tastes and expectations of the tourists, resulting in a reconstructed ethnicity (not necessarily), or, more drastically, in the rejection of tourism as an economic potential of a local community.

Part of the conflict stems from the fact that the 'packaging' of culture starts long before the actual visit to the cultural location. Cultures are reduced to the two-dimensional world presented in shiny brochures showing idyllic locations and, generally, reduce the distinctive cultures to superficial and replaceable narrations.

Furthermore, a conflict between different sectors in the receptive country is also present. For example, local population working in tourist industry can have different goals from the population engaging in agriculture in the same community. Even though economic sectors are frequently linked, in other words, they participate in tourism and benefit from it, a conflict can exist. Namely, the workers in tourism in developing countries generally have higher incomes than other members of the community and the access to these jobs can be restricted to specific social or ethnic groups (Robinson 1999:22).

The ideal model of the 'tourist-host' contact is frequently disturbed by the imbalance between the rich visitors and the poor local population. Tourism, in the same time, can cause disturbance and dissatisfaction in everyday life of local population when priority is given to infrastructures and functions intended for the tourists. Cultural shock is augmented also by the difference in the living standards of the guests and

hosts, and can even present a threat to cultural identities. Tourism, therefore, can be a means of transport of this threat or, on the other hand, can help communities strengthen their own cultural identities and give others the opportunity to learn more about them.

In order to study socio-cultural aspects of tourism, we have to take into account all the participants in tourism. In cultural contact it is important to differentiate: local population and their culture, tourists and tourist culture (common to majority of tourists), residual culture (unique to every tourist market), workers in tourism (providing services for tourists and working as the middlemen between the host and guest population) and their managerial and business culture, etc. (Brown & Jafari 190:80). Tourism mixed people and cultures, forms and strengths unique to every individual local community, i.e. the tourists, and better understanding of these cultures will enable us to realize that tourism is a factor of change in the community and outside of it.

Discussions about local and tourist culture are frequently centered on the question which culture wins and how one affects the other. However, both local and tourist cultures have to be analyzed in reference to residual culture which, in that case, can explain that tourists coming from different cultures behave differently (Jafari 1987:157). It is frequently assumed that the culture which tourists 'bring' with them on vacation, is their own culture, i.e., the culture of the country they are coming from, and that the culture they are in contact with is the culture of the country/state they are visiting. This simplified image can lead to the creation of stereotypes which will be discussed later.

Behavior of all the participants in a tourist process can be described by the term 'tourist culture'. This means that a tourist will before, during and after his/her travel behave in accordance with the tourist culture. Tourist worker, tour guide, clerk in a tourist agency or a waiter, for example, will act every day as if they are on a vacation, in accordance with the tourist culture. The behavior of a tourist worker or a waiter is determined by the presence of tourists, which, in turn, shapes their behavior. The same waiter might behave differently in the absence of tourists; actually, maybe the need for this job would not exist at all, since it is necessitated by tourism.

Identity of tourists

Universal tourist identity does not exist as a formula according to which we could determine his/her behavior in every given moment in the period of duration of the tourist voyage, i.e. staying in the chosen destination. Furthermore, there isn't a formula according to which we could equate the identities of all the tourists. However, most scientists agree that the identity of tourists is changed, i.e. determined by the tourist process (Boissevain 1997; Jafari 1987; MacCannell 1998). Tourists are, therefore, frequently compared with the participants in a carnival. In other words, a tour-

ist hides a part of his/her 'old' identity and behavior and accepts a 'new', temporary identity while he/she is on a vacation (Boissevain 1997:4). This 'new' identity is also called a 'changed consciousness' (Jafari 1987:157), and it is suggested that tourists become tourists primarily because their experiences on vacation differ from their routine (MacCannell, according to Boniface 1998:747). The allusion is here to the quality of difference (from everyday life) which tourists expect when on vacation.

Many informal definitions ascribe to tourism the characteristics of an 'escape from reality'. Travels were guided by the motif of escape from ordinary, mundane, from routine, and hence the identity of tourist was parallel to that premise. Tourism as an 'escape from reality' rapidly developed during the 1950ies, i.e., during the peak of mass tourism, but this type of characterization of traveling was noticed in the period which preceded the real tourist travels, when they were not so frequent. And hence in the 16th century Michel de Montaigne noted: 'To those who ask me why I travel so much, I usually say that I know what I'm running from, but that I don't know what I'm after.' (De Montaigne, from *Tourism and Culture: Rethinking the Mix* 1999:44).

This new identity a tourist accepts during his/her vacation, allows him/her to act more freely: he/she can be rude, drunk, aggressive. He/she dresses up casually and drives fast. 'Mitigating circumstance' in this situation for the tourist is the function of mask which gives him/her anonymity since the local population does not know the 'normal' person. Hence the tourist can hide his/her everyday status and temporarily become someone else. Therefore his/her behavior frequently becomes extravagant, if not illegal (Boissevain 1997:4). As a consequence, such aggressive behavior of a tourist, can offend local population accustomed to their daily routines and tradition. Tourists' unusual clothing and weakened inhibitions usually come together with the behavior which, at home, would be totally unacceptable. Because of all that, many tourists are not always a desirable part of migratory population in a local community, but it often, since it is financial dependant on their presence, has to deal with this kind of tourist behavior and even comply with their, often bizarre, wishes and needs. Tourists bring with them crowds, disturbances, traffic jams, difficult water and food supply, etc., and dissatisfaction by the crowd of tourists is more frequently felt in locations where the mass of tourists is disproportional to local population. Situation is generally even worse if tourist destination is a scarcely populated, peripheral, location.

Among tourist workers and researchers of tourist sector, there are frequent discussions on who is to blame that tourism went in the wrong direction. Some blame the uncontrolled development of industry, some irresponsible investors, some corrupted bureaucrats, too big a division between rich and poor, and some blame tourists, particularly foreign. It is often true that tourists are inclined to cultural insensitivity when outside of their own immediate surroundings; they want to pay as little as possible and hence break taboos without any sensitivity, and local population cashes in on their weaknesses (since they are financially dependant on tourist market, they are trying to sell everything they can, alluding to the tourists' ignorance). This opens up the subject of autochthony in tourism, i.e., the justification for the use of tradition, which will be discussed later.

Identity of local population

Changing of one's own identity in a tourist process is not reserved only for tourists. Local population, especially those working in service trade, acts differently, which is determined by the presence of tourists. It is often the case that this presence conditions the ideal presentation of the location, destination, which usually does not correspond with reality. The identities of tourists and local population in a tourist process are inseparable, because changes on both sides are mutually dependant. Hence, the above described, changed identity of tourists often has a double influence:

1. stimulates certain positive characteristics in the behavior of the local population: promotes self-respect, pride, self-confidence and solidarity between local population; or

2. provokes protests because of the presence of tourists: leads to feelings of boredom, opposition and even hatred towards tourists.

Automatically, a number of binary oppositions is formed:

- us and them
- hosts and guests
- visited and visitors
- insiders and outsiders

The positive aspects of the contact for local population are seen in the feelings of pride, enrichment through cultural diversities and rediscovering as well as preserving one's own (frequently forgotten) identity and tradition. Forgotten knowledge about one's own roots and pride on one's own heritage, can often thank tourism their re-usage and preservation. In that way, tourism gets an important role in the preservation of heritage.

As far as the negative aspect of the contact in tourist process are concerned, a general opinion is that mass tourism strengthens the identity of the host, and dehumanizes the visitors by making them appear faceless and replaceable in the eyes of the local population, and transforms traditional hospitality to servility. Certain reactions of the local population are also familiar, such as the increased prices of the products related to tourism, including services. The usual reaction to this situation is evident in the distorted values, such as frauds, higher prices for tourists, rudeness, indifference. The division on insiders and outsiders is very dynamic. In most of the countries this division is legitimized, and so the accommodation prices are higher for tourists from foreign countries, and lower for tourist from the destination country. The formation of prices can be done on the level of specific hotels, a destination or can simply be state-politics. Often this policy does not have anything to do with hostility toward tourists, but is linked to the possibility of quicker and easier earnings with as little work as possible.

Economic dependence on tourism provokes certain frustrations among local population which, besides the above mentioned reactions, frequently result in the avoid-

ance of tourists. We can frequently find separated spaces for tourists (overcrowded beaches, pizza places, etc.) and for local population (inaccessible beaches or even the avoidance of swimming during the summer, special bars, etc.). Above that, tourists are often the objects of ridicule (stupid, unresourceful, naïve), which brings a certain self-confirmation and dignity to local population. From the unequal position of the two sides which are coming into contact during a tourist process, some commonplace elements appeared that became the main characteristics of mass tourism during its peak-years.

Stereotypes

One Spanish journalist said that a tourist is a child of the 20th century who travels to revive his/her own prejudices (*Tourism and Culture: Rethinking the Mix* 1999:33). Ignorance about the 'Other' and the human need to turn this ignorance to knowledge, which is frequently completely unfounded, and happens before or during the contact of the two communities of different cultures, is the process of creating stereotypes. The relationship between the tourists and local population is temporary and unequal, and any social relation which is transitory, superficial and unequal is a nest of deceit, exploitation, distrust, dishonesty and creation of stereotypes (MacCannell 1984:387-388).

Some researches characterized tourism as one of the most effective tools for dissemination of social and cultural models of the industrialized countries, and, hence, as a powerful means of domination and exploitation. Therefore, international tourism functions in the same way as mass media; the spending of foreigners, in fact, presents a model of spending of the industrialized countries. Such model can be doubly negative: first, it partly opposes national identity and secondly, it presents a partial and distorted image of industrialized countries themselves, of specific social classes, forms of behavior and, actually of lives of the people coming from these countries. This is a double-sided production of illusions: tourists receive the distorted image of local population and local population of the visitors from the 'rich' countries (Ascher 1985:12-13).

When individuals cross cultural borders through face-to-face interactions, they rely on stereotypes which they posses of one another, so as to 'frame' the structure of interaction. According to a claim by Evans-Pritchard, be it correct or false, stereotypes of others are firm, resistant and well-spread, and are an integral part of the cultural contact in which they serve as a kind of a cultural translation, even though, in fact, they are dynamic and experimental. However, without them, we could not anticipate the behavior of the others. Every communication act is a form of translation, since the receiver has to decode the message of the sender, by adjusting it and placing it in one's own cultural frames. It is natural that human beings rationalize the 'Other' in the way which seems efficient to them, and hence exactly because of this prone-

ness to ideological mistakes, difficult to recognize their functional meaning. But taking a moral standpoint when it comes to stereotypes, should not prevent us in the research of the integral roles stereotypes play in the tourist process (Evans-Pritchard 1989:102). It is quite customary that people think in stereotypes, and the task of the experts is to recognize these stereotypes and to mark them as such.

But not all stereotypes are equal in their intensity: stereotypes local population has of the tourists are not as dangerous as the stereotypes tourists have of local population. Tourists are tourists only for a couple of weeks per year and they can return home, while local population is an integral part of their community for the rest of their lives. Analyzed in this way, the effect which local population achieves by treating all the tourists as more or less the same, can not be compared with the effect the tourists can achieve with local population (primitive, traditional, closed-up, exotic). For minorities, ethnic branding can be devastating; the stereotypes of majority towards minorities are generally oppressive; colonialism is evidence that stereotypes achieved political/racial connotations through expressing domination of stronger, majority nation and oppressing the weaker, minority nations. Furthermore, the stereotypes minorities have about majority population usually make them stronger; small local community strengthens its pride and identity through observing other, different people through stereotypes. The frequent negative characterization of tourists stems from there.

By studying how these two processes are occurring in a tourist arena, we can learn a lot about the communicational aspects of tourism, and these findings can significantly improve the relationship tourist-local inhabitant in both directions.

Results of interaction of cultural heritage and tourism

Heritage is marked by the element of stability and continuity. However, if we analyze the relationship between tourism and heritage more deeply, we can see that tourism changes this perception of heritage. Since tourism is not static, but rather dynamic, it affects the tradition itself, as well as heritage and culture. In certain communities tradition is often changed because of tourism; it is invented or created. Modern society forces people to create their own traditions, and one of the most prominent modern traditions is tourism (Richards 1996:263).

Cultural heritage speaks about the tradition of cultural landscape, about the tradition of life in a certain region, about tradition of technological and organizational forms. This tradition is inherited only by living in a certain community. It receives and amalgamates influences, and, at the end, it contributes to a more complete image of national identity based on cultural identity. All that came, that survived or was preserved on a territory in which the culture of one nation lived, belongs to that culture. And culture knows no borders. It has no national borders because cultural identity can cover a significantly wider region than the one which is limited by borders of

one nation. Culture of humankind is not simply a physical sum of national cultures. Specificities of national cultures are only contributions to the wider, world, culture. Tradition of one nation and one region includes all this; belonging to wider cultural circles and civilizations which lived, created and developed in this region through the whole history (Maroević 1986:57). Therefore, a cultural tradition of a region, community or a nation is a result of similar interactions in the past, and in the present.

A contact between al least two communities exists, or existed in the past, but we are often unaware of its results. The relationship between cultural heritage and tourism is dynamic and changes continually, and encompasses both opportunities for development and threats to it. Today tourism is one of the most powerful modern traditions, according to Richards, i.e. the most powerful tool with which we an influence tradition. It is a chance for contact of different nations and cultures, and since it is economically almost always desirable for local community, the community will often do everything to 'lure' the tourists and keep them there. Therefore we are often the witnesses of 're-modeling' of local tradition, with the purpose of tourist promotion.

Examples of the changes of tradition are present all over the world, but exist in our country, too. So, for example, some locations on the Adriatic coast have, if not invented, then significantly changed the tradition: in the towns of Novi Vinodolski and Senj carnivals are organized during the summer. This event is linked to liturgical calendar and, in accordance to it, it is celebrated during the winter and has a specific role before the Lent, i.e. the time when people are supposed to restrain from excessive eating and drinking. In the summer, carnival loses this function, but gets a new one, a tourist function. Next example comes from Toscana, a famous Italian tourist region. In the last twenty years, many local communities organized a large number of public festivals which, allegedly, were celebrated in this region from the Middle Ages. This Medieval tradition reveals a choice of life style the local community made, a kind of adjustment of history which would present a spirit of Toscana, and this is invention of tradition (Clemente 1997:148).

Hence, tradition, heritage and culture change in accordance with the tourist needs. What is the share of 'authenticity' in the changed culture caused by tourism is a question which should be answered specifically for each case. We should aim at more original forms of tradition so as to present the more authentic tradition of receptive country. Authenticity and originality of the presentation of tradition in tourism will ensure the high-quality tourist offer to the receptive country and will make it different from the others.

We can frequently observe, however, that traditional offer aims at 'modernization' due to tourism. Then we are talking about examples of interpretation, borrowing or invention of tradition, which can have negative effects for the receptive country, because it relies on traditions which are not lived in this region, are foreign or belong to no one, are completely new and invented.

Changing of tradition is a characteristic of our time, and whether this phenomenon is positive or negative, we can conclude only on case to case bases, through its appli-

cation. Curiosity of future research is the share of creativity involved in the invention of tradition in relation to the exact presentation of what is offered in tourism.

Authenticity

The change tourism brings to traditional heritage of a local community opens up a new chapter in the research of tourism: the question of authenticity of tourist offer. Many argue for the 'quality' of tourism based on the authentic life of community, their customs and products, i.e. everything that a community can offer to tourism. Since society is not static, but prone to modifications and changes, we can not expect from any community to preserve complete authenticity of life. We have to ask the question what authenticity is and where are its limits, as well as who can decide what is authentic? Many think that the community itself is the most competent to make that decision; if a society feels good in its (non)authenticity, it might be difficult to insist on any kind of change. All the phenomena which a community accepts or rejects, are products of society and period in which this community exists, and it is often unfounded to consider something a 'quality' product, just by using authenticity as the only criteria. However, there are examples of completely distorted presentations of tradition which are often results of imported customs, and there are those which have no traditional or artistic value, but are just plain kitsch.

Moreover, in many cases heritage is interpreted for the consumer, the tourist, to such a degree that a direct link with the artifact or the region which is interpreted frequently does not exist. Authenticity is frequently associated through the exact presentation of the past, through preserved remnants, material or spiritual. However, if authenticity envisaged in this way is linked to tourism, the correct presentation of the past is frequently no longer interesting. In tourism, the remnants of past serve only as a raw material which has to be dug out and used in accordance with the modern attitudes. Time changes and so do attitudes and opinions. To a contemporary tourist the accuracy of the presentation is often not that important, since the authentic presentation could, because of the changes time brings, sometimes even become uninteresting. Hence we are talking about the possibility of interpretation adjusted to new times.

However, certain caution is necessary because the interpretation of tradition is not harmless. Such activities falsify both place and time, all with the aim to make the tourist destination as attractive as possible. Usually the tourist workers, especially those in marketing, who want to attract tourists at any cost, are not thinking about possible negative consequences for local culture. So, frequently, local traditions, life styles and local art are compressed into one time segment and presented in a simple way, appropriate for tourist consumption (Teo and Yeoh 1997:195). Such shaky usage of culture with the purpose of selling a destination can lead to tensions and conflicts if local population feels that their culture and history are inappropriately presented. If

culture is presented as 'authentic', and it is not, this is the compromise to which local inhabitants themselves have to accept. However, if 'authenticating' is coming from tourist workers in marketing, then local population will not understand such cultural product as their own. If the need for this comes from the community itself, then it is the product of this same community and then such 'authenticity' is partly justified.

The problem of authenticity, therefore, gets a new face: authenticity is no longer accredited with static and objectified status, in contrast with incorrect and commercialized tourist attractions, but becomes a complex process of mediations and negotiations between different expectations of the tourists, offer of specific locations, level and size of participation of the visitors in tourist destination, as well as the cultural politics of local communities (Simonicca 1997:137). Local events define a community and present it to the outside world. However, if (almost) every event is transformed into tourist attraction, everyday life will be subordinate to tourism. The separateness of the time of 'events' from 'everyday' time, allows a dynamic interchange between the 'authentic' life and staged attractions.

Scientists from various disciplines deal with the topic of authenticity for a while now, which proves the importance of this topic. It sometimes seems that the authenticity which is used for tourist purposes often does not have a decisive role. On tourist market we can today find a number of the same or quite similar products in various arts of the world which are all branded as 'domestic' products: Marco Polo is sometimes a Croat from the Island of Korčula and sometimes an Italian from Genova; in Croatia we can eat *rožata* or *rozata*, in Great Britain *cream caramel*, in Portugal *pudim flana*, all under the brand of the 'original national dessert'. If the offer is good and satisfies both the tenderers and the consumers, authenticity will not prevail. Each community bakes cakes in the way which feels inherent, domestic, their own, local, folk, national. If the tourist' experience is authentic and the selling of this 'authentic' culture is not opposed to the attitudes of the local population, both sides will be pleased. If the tourist perceives his/her visit as a notable experience, this visit is authentic, regardless of its basis.

Negativistic approach to authenticity in tourism is rather spread, and one of the aspects which are often criticized is the staged authenticity[1]. In Croatia there are several ethno-villages which were built with the tendency towards the development of tourism (Ozalj, Kupčina, for example), but they did not fulfill this function, except maybe Kumrovec, while in some Asian and African countries this phenomenon was transformed into major tourist attractions. Members of local population, who otherwise have contemporary lifestyles, have their jobs, their place and role in society and according to the need they assume the role of witchdoctor, dancer, hunter, gatherer. This staged authenticity allows the tourists to, on specific days, experience the traditional way of life of a tribe. Researches frequently express their concern because of this substitution of the real authenticity with the staged one. Namely, instead of respecting natural qualities of the chosen destination, such as beauty, ancient monu-

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[1] The term commonly used in the related scientific literature.

ments or associations arising from people and culture living in these regions, tourists choose themselves what they consider valuable. Such expectations then function as the market driving force and shape the local surroundings. Culture is 'sold by the kilo', and its consumption becomes an inevitable consequence of the produced, staged, authenticity, designed for tourists (Teo and Yeoh 1997:193). Or, according to Schouten, 'the more a person is trying to find authentic experience, the harder he/she will get to it. Through tourism, authenticity rapidly diminishes' (Schouten 1996: 53-54). Many societies perform dances which were put on stage because of the tourists. These same societies understand these dances today as their own original heritage, and they don't even remember original dances. A comparison can be made with folklore and folklorism. Folklorism has, as s kind of a 'second-hand folklore' started to live the life of folklore. The performers have started to experience folklorisms as original folklore. Even when they know that a festival is not authentic, they will consider it as such, because folklorism stemmed out from the people, people accepted it as something of theirs, invented it or constructed it using folklore as the basis, and hence it is, in a way, authentic.

Strategies of successful tourist development point to the necessity of recognizing local aspirations and needs. Sustainable development of cultural tourism should include not what a tourist might have wanted to see, but what the local community would have wanted to present. Again, in this case we also have to address the question of authenticity, because of the possibility of the false emphasis of the positive characteristics of local community. On the other hand, local cultural products are frequently adjusted to the tourist taste, but there are no doubts in the authenticity of these products.

Authentic culture, therefore, is not the one which remained unchanged, which seems impossible under any conditions, but the one which preserved the possibility of evaluating the appropriateness of its adjustment (Duggan 1997:31). Authenticity is, hence, a dynamic phenomenon.

Negative aspects of interaction

Even though the iteration of culture and tourism undoubtedly results with numerous positive outcomes,[2] we can not avoid the negative ones, and they are the topic of this article.

The typology of the negative effects of the interaction of tourism and the culture of the local community can be done according to the following criteria:

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[2] These outcomes include the income of local population directly involved in the tourist industry: salaries, allowances, profit form tourism and governmental profits in the form of taxes and charges. Indirect outcomes are linked to the needs of those working in the tourist industry. They, in order to perform their business activities, obtain supplies from the producers/re-sellers: food, drink and other products intended for tourist consummation. These effects are the consequence of the increased profit from tourism, which is then again spent on goods and services.

- negative effects on the local community; and
- negative effects on tourists.

The relationship between tourism and local population includes much more complex structures other than business and profit. Questions of the ownership of land, competition between the older and younger generation with applicable systems of values, and there is also a change in lifestyle. Tourism also has, among other things, to deal with the politically sensitive issues, such as, for example, the decision which heritage should be preserved,[3] with the ownership rights or, finally, with the interaction between tourists and local communities and their different social structures and expectations which could lead to misunderstandings and even conflicts.

Tourists often, due to their ignorance of local culture, financial superiority or stereotypes, encourage mass production which can not be characterized as anything else but garbage and kitsch. Whet is specifically worrying from the socio-cultural standpoint is not the production of tourist goods, which is neither more nor less stylish than any other type of good, but the fact that because of these new activities, many traditional crafts are put out of business. Inversion is also frequent: in the big cities in the developing countries, traditional products are sold on markets as luxury goods for the tourists, while local population buys plastic or metal products in shops (Ascher 1985:13-14). Tourism, however, is not the only reason for the disappearance of traditional crafts, it is rather modernization in general.

According to the results of numerous studies which were conducted in the last twenty or so years, most informants see the economic effects of tourism as positive and socio-cultural, legal and environmental effects as negative or neutral. Negative effects ascribed to tourism are:

- commercialization of culture
- promotion of staged authenticity
- causing social conflicts
- inciting cultural paradox
- conflict in values
- misunderstanding, and
- creation of stereotypes.

Furthermore, communities which live on tourism consider tourism (to a lesser extent then in the previous example) to be the cause of the unwanted socio-cultural phenomena such as:

- dissatisfaction with the presence of tourists
- socio-economic dependence

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[3] Heritage which is linked to, for example, colonial or communist period is often considered inappropriate for protection.

- increase in criminal activities
- prostitution, and
- gambling.

These are only some of the results of the studies, but in spite of the existence of these negative effects, a large number of studies generally point to the positive attitudes and support of the tourist industry. It is also possible to conclude that, even though, quantitatively, the number of negative effects is significantly greater, and positive are reduced only to economic profit, very few communities would give up tourism. This is a paradox, but it proves hat the economic aspect is significantly more powerful than other aspects.

Besides that, we also have to mention material damage caused by tourism. These phenomena are usually linked to mass tourism, and the possible damages caused by this type of tourist management are the most painful if done on the objects of material heritage. The history of heritage is full of examples when the owners appointed, to a monumental object, a more profitable function from the one which they could have on the basis of its status of material heritage, even though this could lead to its irreversible destruction (Antolović 1997:145).

Aramberri's provocative concept is also interesting to point out; according to him, cultural tourism can do more damage than mass tourism because of its effect on monuments and locations. In other words, as one location became more famous, it became less interesting, and hence the interest for exotic would move from one attraction to another. Hence, for example, once exotic and attractive bull-fights became less interesting, and were replaced by more distant exotic attractions, such as, for example, sumo fights. In contrast, mass tourists are frequently ghettoized and situated away from the local communities, so as to avoid the damage that they could possible inflict on this culture (Aramberri, from Brown&Jafari 1990:79).

According to this, tourist can simultaneously improve and destroy culture. So as to avoid these negative effects, experts frequently propose education of tourists. Even though it can help in certain cases, we still have to bear in mind that many tourists are not so much going 'to' a vacation, as they are going 'from' their homes or their country so as to escape reality and arrive to the promised h(e)aven. Such tourists have no wish to improve a culture, even though they were pre-warned.

In literature as well as in practice, we deal more often with negative effects of tourism on local population. We rarely research negative effects that local population and their type of management of tourist industry can have on tourists themselves.

Stereotypes, or, in other words, distorted glasses through which local population observes and judges tourist, form a certain image of the visitor. These stereotypical tourists really exist, but this also affects those who are not like that.[4]

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[4] Stereotypes are usually created in such a manner that the most obvious characteristic is taken as a representative characteristic of the general behavior. An informal research the author of this article conducted

On the other hand, the quality of the tourist offer can be significantly weakened, even though the intention was the opposite. In other words, bad or inaccurate information we frequently find in various brochures and which often exaggerate certain characteristics of tourist destination, can have negative effects on the tourist offer. These writings commonly exaggerate the beauty of the location, hospitality of the locals, originality of local cuisine, and describe local tradition as original and deeply rooted. Successful marketing is about simplicity and truthfulness, with carefully chosen epithets. Exaggerations discredit information, and can have negative effects on the tourists and local population. Even though a nicely packaged commercial might attract a tourist, his/her voyage and stay often result with disappointment. Tourist brochures frequently promised things that local community can not fulfill, and hence this kind of commercial again ends up negatively.

Current developmental strategies of successful tourist projects take into account the satisfaction of the tourist and of local community as well as the sustainability of the destination itself. We have already emphasized that the success of tourist planning does not always depend on those who make the plans, but also on the behavior of tourists and willingness of the hosts to accept them.

Research of tourism as a factor of change in local community

Starting from the theoretical premise that tourism brings a number of changes to the receptive destination, a pilot-research on this subject was conducted in 1999 in Croatia. The sample used in the research was occasional (non-representative) and geographically was focused on Istarska, Primorsko-goranska, Ličko-senjska, Zadarsko-kninska, Šibenska, Splitsko-dalmatinska and Dubrovačko-neretvanska County. The main research instrument was a questionnaire which, together with socio-demographic data, consisted of 23 questions (17 multiple choice questions[5] and 6 open questions). The questionnaire covered a number of indicators related to the interaction between tourism and cultural heritage in the local population sample. The questions were divided into six groups covering:

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in 1995, by the method of conducting open interviews with the hotel workers in the towns of Rabac and Labin, showed that they have stereotyped perception of tourists. The results reveled that the 'best' guest was always the Englishman – quiet, decent, moderate and very generous if content by the service. The second best was Italian – not that decent and modest, but noisy partygoer or loud quarreler, but still a regular payer. Third place was reserved for the German – decent, but demanding miser. These three stereotypes show that certain characteristics are not considered to be of the same quality; even though the German might be the quietest and the most modest, this quality does not bring him advantage, because he is too stingy. Hence, we can conclude that the qualities of guests are primarily measured against the amount of money they are ready to give as a prize to their host. The most frequent tourists who visited Croatian during the Homeland War and immediately after it, Checks, Slovaks, Poles and Hungarians, do not fit the image of an ideal tourist.

[5] Multiple choice questions.

- positive/negative effects of tourism
- identity of tourist/local population
- preservation of intangible cultural heritage
- jobs in tourism
- tourism as a factor of change, and
- attitudes of local population about the tourist location.

This article will analyze only some of the obtained results.

First group of questions which referred to positive and negative effects of tourism was divided into three researched topics.[6] Here we will focus on negative effects of tourism.

The greatest number of respondents (56%) claimed that tourism has no negative effects. 22% of the respondents claimed that it caused negative changes of behavior of the local population, but non of them specified how exactly did their behavior change. 11% of the population opted for environmental pollution, a 6% for the change of traditional life in the inhabitants. Even though the percentage of those who claimed that the traditional life had changed is rather small (6%), it is important to emphasize that the awareness of such change exists. Namely, tourism brings another way of earning money, which in itself is a big change in life. Relatively small number of those who emphasized this change, shows that the respondents do not perceive it in larger numbers, or that they do not want to perceive it, which was confirmed by a question from the group five, which referred to the *respondent's attitude towards new, modern or old things* – only 6% of the respondents opted for traditional items and phenomena.

None of the respondents thought that the quiet family life is lost because of the tourists, which points to the decreased need for traditional life and to the communicability of the inhabitants. Furthermore, there were no respondents who thought that due to the presence of tourists, food supply and supply of other goods is sometimes difficult. High percentage (28%) of respondents pointed to some other negative effects: unresolved question of environment protection (linked to pollution), demographic impact because of the mechanical inflow of labor force, characteristics of mass tourism, devastation of locations, traffic jams, possible rise of criminal activities, drug trafficking, spread of communicable diseases.

It is a paradox that the mass tourism bothers the inhabitants, even though none of the respondents thought that quiet family life is lost because of tourists. Traditional values are, then, lost to a certain level, maybe because of this new way of earning, but are also respected up to a certain level, when they symbolize the quiet life of a small town.

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[6] These are: 1. the advantages of tourist arrival for the researched location and its population; 2. negative aspects of the arrival of tourism to this location; 3. possible barriers in socializing with the visitors.

Table 1 Negative effects of tourism on a tourist location

a) Environmental pollution	11%
b) Change in behavior of the local population	22%
c) Loss of quiet family life	0%
d) Problems of supply – provisions and other	0%
e) Change of traditional life of the local population	6%
f) No negative effects	56%
g) Other: unresolved question of environment protection, demographic impact because of the mechanical inflow of labor force, characteristics of mass tourism, devastation of locations, traffic jams, possible rise of criminal activities, drug trafficking, spread of communicable diseases	28%

The other group of questions referred to *the identity of local inhabitant/tourist* and *the possible difference in mentality* between these two groups. This article analyses the research results which refer to the nature of differences between local population and tourists.

The greatest number of respondents (56%) think that the nature of differences between these two groups is the most visible in their mentality, customs and education. 18% of the respondents see this difference in the fact that tourists appreciate traditional customs more than local population, and 22% think that tourists love nature more than local population does. Next difference refers to economic inequalities – 17% of the respondents claim that the tourists are richer, have higher living standards, and 11% thinks that the tourists know much better ways of spending their free time. The same percentage (11%) thinks that tourists are more civilized than local population.

Diagram 1
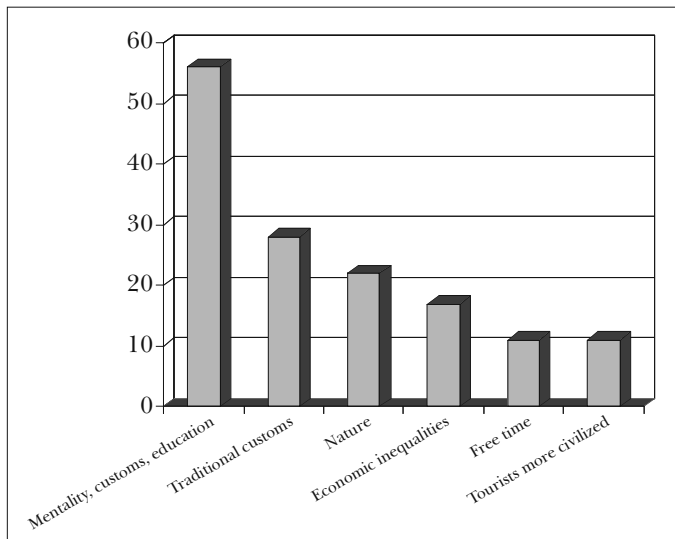
It is interesting to point out that not a single respondent thinks that tourists are acting more freely. Actually, we cannot exclude that as a fact, but the respondents consider other differences more visible. Similarly, not a single respondent singled out another difference, which probably points to the fact that members of local population are adjusted to the presence of tourists and the culture they bring with themselves and so the differences, which might have been greater in the past, are now smaller.

Third group of questions researched the *preservation of intangible cultural heritage*. First we looked at the need for protection of old customs and tradition. The respondents were in this case almost unanimous: 94% answered yes.

Diagram 2 Should the old customs and tradition be preserved?
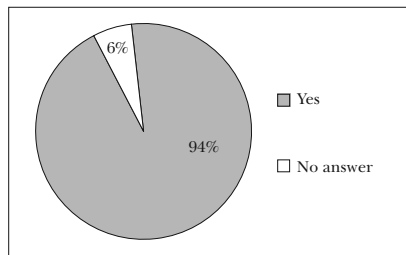
Then we asked them to *name the customs which should be preserved*. We should mention that in this case each respondent chose several possible answers, which confirms the high degree of awareness of the need for preservation of customs. According to the results: 94% of the respondents think that all the customs should be preserved; 28% think that carnivals should be preserved (mostly those coming from the city of Rijeka and other regions famous for carnival tradition); 28% want to preserve different celebrations and festivals (3 respondents added that these celebrations made certain locations recognizable and famous); 22% folk dances; 17% old songs; 17% old dishes and 11% religious customs. Not a single respondent thinks that customs should not be preserved.

Table 2 Customs that should be preserved

a) Folk dances	22%
b) Old songs	17%
c) Carnivals	28%
d) All traditional customs	94%
e) Traditional dishes	17%
f) Religious customs	11%
g) Celebrations and festivals: festivities which made certain locations famous and recognizable	28%
h) Should not be preserved	0%
i) Other	0%

Why should old customs and tradition be preserved?, was the next question we asked. 50% of respondents think that they should be preserved because of their aesthetic value. 33%

thinks that traditional customs create a sense of unity, which shows a relatively high degree of awareness on one's own identity. Furthermore, 28% thinks that customs are interesting for tourists, so they are aware of their attractiveness. A small percentage (11%) thinks that customs are good indicators of traditional way of life, in other words that they show the way in which their ancestors lived, even though the reason why the customs should then be preserved was not clearly stated. 6% thinks that customs are good opportunity for entertainment and fun, while 11% thinks that they are pre-requisites for the preservation of identity, a basis for the creation of authentic tourist offer, i.e. they are a part of identity, cultural heritage and that is the reason why their preservation is important. If we add to this the 33% who think that traditional customs create a sense of unity, then we have a high percentage of respondents who are aware of the importance of preservation of customs as a part of identity.

Diagram 3 Why should customs and tradition be preserved?
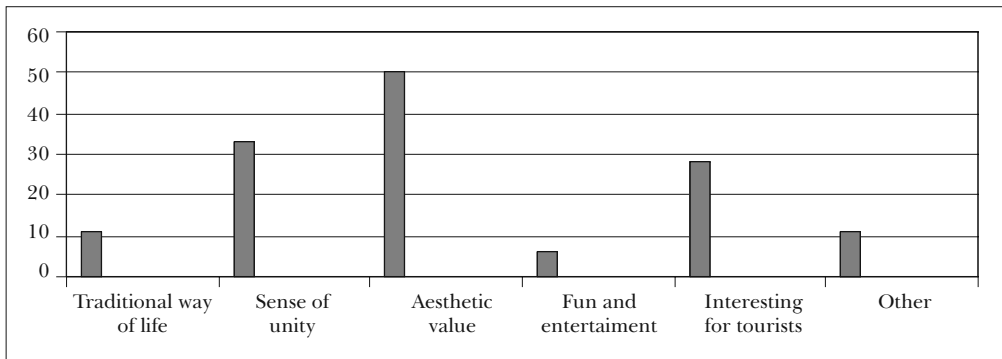
Answers to the question whether the local population supports the renewal of customs were unanimous: 100% of respondents said yes.

Much more varied were the answers about the ways in which local population supports the custom renewal. Since this was an open type question, we could expect that it will result in a number of different answers. It also resulted in difficulties when analyzing data, because a large number of respondents were rather imprecise in their answers. Most answers are related to folklore groups (50%) which organize different festivals, such as dances, folklore performances, entertainment evenings. Specifically mentioned were the donkey race, pulling the rope, football tournament, sailing regatta,[7] playing bowls, harmony-singing and traditional songs (17%), chestnut festival, fishermen's evenings, local festivals (17%) (it wasn't mentioned which festivals), Whit Sunday processions, gastronomic offer (22%), rural life in general.

Besides Whit Sunday processions, two other respondents mentioned renewal of the old religious customs. Some respondents mentioned also the renewal of calendar customs, but they did not specify who and how initiates the renewal of these customs

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[7] This research was not focused on this type of 'customs'.

or which are these customs. One respondent simply replied that the customs are re-newed through their practice.

According to this, traditional customs are renewed mostly through folklore groups and through activities of the tourist offices of specific towns. The locals actively par-ticipate in these customs, but the initiative usually comes from a local institution. Some old, but also modern traditions were singled out – football tournaments, sailing regatta, summer carnivals, rural tourism.

The last question in this group was aimed at finding out *whether custom renewal requires expert help*. 72% of respondents said no, while 33% though that expert help was needed. A significant number of respondents (22%) explained their decision: some think that besides expert help, what is necessary is the willingness of the locals to transfer their experience and knowledge to younger generations; some do not reject the need for expert help, but think that respecting and practicing of the customs on the side of the wider community[8] is more important. Only one respondent explicitly said that experts are not needed, because 'traditional customs are transferred through generations, while experts always introduce something of theirs, whether intentionally or not.'

The obvious problem is, therefore, the willingness of the local population to preserve and practice their customs. They think that an expert is needed, but not essential. In a town or a village, there is usually a person who remembers 'original' customs, but what is missing is the willingness of the wider community to renew them. It is a paradox that 94% of the respondents think that customs should be renewed, but they claim that the locals are not interested.

The fifth group of questions discussed *tourism as a factor of change*. It contained five questions out of which the first one, *do you think that tourism brought change to your com-munity?*, was the most focused one, and such was the result: 83% of the respondents answered 'yes', and 17% said 'no'. Negative answers should be analyzed *cum grano salis*, because other answers of the same respondents reveal that many changes have actually happened, changes which are direct consequence of tourism. The question is only to what extent are the respondents aware of that and whether they ascribe these changes to tourism or to some other factors.

Diagram 4 Did tourism bring change to the local community?

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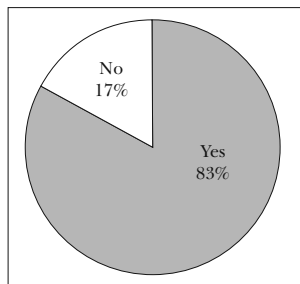
[8] One of the respondents said: 'Actually, what we need is poeple'.

Next open question referred to the *character of change tourism brought to the location*. The answeres are varied, and they can be divided into two groups:

- changes of economic nature; and
- changes of cultural nature.

The results showed the following *changes of economic nature* were mentioned: existential changes, improvement of societal and individual standards of living, market for extensive agricultural production, built infrastructure, hotel building and renewal, better employment possibilities, improvement of transport and roads and other similar changes which are direct or indirect consequence of the rise in economic standard.

Changes of cultural nature were the following: improved communication, education, more diverse cultural, entertainment and sports life, renewal of the cities and monuments, changes in hygiene, improved urban sanitation, controlled behavior, changes in relations between people, turning to rural tourism and health food production.

Changes are, therefore, obvious on different levels. The majority of the respondents are aware of these changes, and these results show that the general *attitude towards changes is positive*, which was investigated in more details with the next question. Specifically, 83% of the respondents think that the changes to their local community brought by tourism are positive. Several respondents did not answer this question, and some of them added that the changes can sometimes be negative, but they did not specify what 'negative' means.

In the group of questions which dealt with tourism as a factor of change, we have included the question of *the respondent's attitude towards new, modern, or traditional items and phenomena*. Only 6% opted for old, established order, and 33% accepted the modern world. However, the majority of the respondents (61%) were more careful in their answers and said that it all depends on the character of change – some modern things make life easier, while some older are more solid, firm, stable, etc.

Diagram 5 Attitude towards new, modern, and old
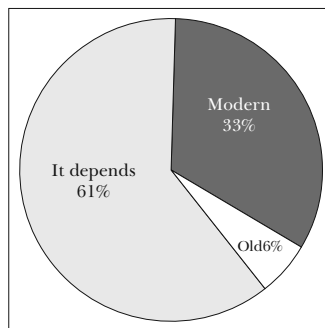
A significant number of respondents support modern novelties which are, to a certain extent, brought by tourism. These refer to improved hygiene and sanitation,

rural tourism and health food, higher level of communication and openness in human contacts, the possible adoption of certain cultural elements of the visitors, and certainly to the building of modern roads and tourist objects.

The answer of the majority of respondents which linked the positive aspects of the old and of the modern phenomena can serve as a model for the design of tourist strategy in its idea to combine the best from all sides.

The weakest result was obtained by the sporadic answers to the last question from this group, which referred to *the changes which were caused exclusively by tourism*, and the aim of which was to question the authenticity of the tourist festivals. It was an open type question and it necessitated further analyses, which could be a reason why the respondents did not answer it or answered incompletely. Most of the answers referred to the 'things which were invented for tourism', but these changes were not specified and the attitude of the respondents was not negative towards these changes. Whether these changes were autochthonous and authentic, was not a concern of the locals. One of the respondents relied in relation to this: 'Depending on how wee see it. Tourism brings company, joy, happiness, wealth.' According to this, these other functions of tourism are more important that the negative effects can then be easily neglected. One respondent said that some customs were lost primarily because of the tourists, because the local population did not perceive them as modern enough.

The following examples illustrate the point:

'All the festivals are 'arranged' for tourists, because the locals claim that they do not need anything.'

'Existing festivals are improved by many accompanying events, just because of the tourists.'

'Tourism did not change much in the town of Sinj, but there are summer festivals which exist because of them.'

'Cultural life is dependant on the tourist season.'

The most interesting answer came from the town of Senj, where summer international carnival 'has been organized since 1967, as an attempt to present the customs of the local population'. It is clear that here we are talking about the invented tradition, since carnivals never happen during the summer. However, this custom slowly adopted characteristics of a tradition, because it has been organized for almost forty years. Even though the respondents were not asked about their attitudes towards these changes, it is clear that the 'wish to present the customs of the local population' reveals a positive attitude towards non-authentic forms of tradition as well.

Hence, the majority of respondents are aware of the changes and 'arranging' of customs for their presentation to tourists. The authenticity of the customs or the period in which they were practiced does not present a great concern to the locals, if they make the tourist happy. The question remains whether the tourist is satisfied with the false presentation and whether he/she knows that it is 'arranged'.

It is important to point out to the awareness, on the part of the respondents, that customs were not lost and monuments were not destroyed exactly because of the tourists. Hence, it was tourism which instigated the locals to think about and preserve their spiritual and material heritage.

Conclusive remarks

The presented part of the research emphasized the positive attitudes towards the changes tourism brings to a local community. The awareness of the differences between the cultures in contact is deeply embedded, and the differences are mostly related to mentality, customs and education. It is generally thought that tourists appreciate traditional customs and natural beauties more, which in turn caused the locals to think about their own tradition and identity as well as the natural heritage. In this way, through indirect education, awareness was raised for the need for preservation of tradition due to its aesthetic, and tourist value. The first step towards the actual preservation of tradition is the awareness of the need for its preservation. The second step refers to the modalities of protection; this research showed that our community is only partly prepared. In other words, it is aware that people are the most important in the protection of heritage, but it is rather negative towards the inclusion of experts. Therefore, we first need to raise awareness in our local communities before we take this step, so that the preservation of tradition would not follow the wrong direction.

The unavoidable cultural contact which occurs during tourist activities emphasized differences and similarities of the identities which meet and which often result in a fusion of specific cultural elements, but also in conflicts, stereotypes and negative consequences for the material heritage. A frequent topic emphasized in cultural research of tourism is the question of authenticity and originality of the cultural products offered in tourism. Tourism, as a contemporary phenomenon, is apparently opposed to heritage as an expression of history and tradition of a nation/location. Presentation of the past in modern times can, however, provide a perfect basis from the creation of cultural-tourist products, especially when supplemented with the current world trends in the development of cultural tourism. Traps set by such symbiosis refer not only to the protection of heritage from material devastation caused by tourism, but also to the protection and presentation of the original products of intangible heritage. Reasons are twofold: the preservation of cultural diversity and original identities and the high quality tourist experience. The role of ethnography is significant, and consists in the identification of the products for tourist market, in evaluation of authenticity of original products and in the good presentation of the products in their original and contextual surroundings. The research discussed in this article shows that tourist experts are not yet aware of the role of ethnologist in the preservation of customs, but that cultural-tourist products are presented non-systematically, without the prior evaluation of authenticity and with the eclectic selection of products. This

leads to the potential danger in the form of the possible loss of original products and customs, the decline in quality of the tourist experience and unorganized cultural-tourist offer. Therefore we think that the education of the workers involved in the tourist process and cooperation with ethnologists as their advisors on an institutional level are prerequisites for the development of the sustainable cultural tourism.

Translated by Tanja Bukovčan