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„Protecting Authenticity in the Face of Tourism at the
Heritage Site of Hallstatt: The Case of the Austrian town
and its Replica in China“

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ABBREVIATIONS

- 1.0 UNESCO – United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization**
- 2.0 ICOMOS – International Council on Monuments and Sites**
- 3.0 WTO – World Tourism Organization**
- 4.0 ANTO - Austrian National Tourist Office**
- 5.0 WHC – World Heritage Committee**
- 6.0 OUV – Outstanding Universal Value (in regards to UNESCO’s criteria)**
- 7.0 INC. – Incorporation**

ABSTRACT - ENGLISH

The field of tourism research has received much attention from scholars regarding authenticity, the protection of heritage sites and the industry's effects in the globalized age; however not many studies exist related to the relationship between replication and authenticity in heritage tourism, especially regarding the Austrian town of Hallstatt and framing its recent clone in China as an example of staged authenticity. The purpose of this study was to analyze the globalized heritage tourism industry, the marketing of heritage tourism destinations, the increasing trend of duplicating monuments and sites and its effects on the industry and the concept of authenticity, methods and measures regarding the protecting of authenticity in the tourism sphere, all in relation to Hallstatt and its replica. Using staged authenticity as a point of analysis and qualitative research of international media reports, official organizational and governmental documents and previous scholarly articles, the principal conclusions were that the replica of Hallstatt does not decrease or threaten the authenticity of the original and the replica acts as a promotional tool and a form of protection if viewed from the perspective of staged authenticity. However, more research needs to be conducted in relation to future planned copies and replications.

Zusammenfassung – Deutsch

Im Bereich der Tourismusforschung wurde der Schwerpunkt in der Vergangenheit viel auf Authentizität, Denkmalschutz und die Folgen der Industrialisierung auf das Weltkulturerbe in einer globalisierten Welt gelegt. Doch nur wenige Beiträge haben sich bisher mit der Beziehung zwischen Replikation und Authentizität von Weltkulturerbe beschäftigt, vor allem mit dem österreichischen Beispiel von Hallstatt und der Replikation des Dorfes in China. Diese Studie befasst sich mit dem Thema der inszenierten Replikation von Hallstatt in einem globalen Kontext, das Marketing der Tourismusindustrie, die zunehmende Tendenz der Replikation von Weltkulturerbe, wie auch das Konzept der Authentizität und den Methoden der Regulierung des Weltkulturerbetourismus. Die zentrale Theorie der Studie basiert auf dem Konzept der inszenierten Authentizität, und stützt sich auf internationale Medienberichte, Regierungsdokumente, Gesetze und relevante Studien als Quellen. Die Schlussfolgerung dieser Arbeit ist, dass die Authentizität von Hallstatt in Österreich nicht durch das Bestehen der chinesischen Hallstatt gefährdet ist. Im Gegensatz zu den Vermutungen zeigt diese Recherche, dass die Replikation einen zusätzlichen Fokus auf das österreichische Hallstatt wirft und zur Erhaltung des Dorfes beitragen kann. Dennoch muss noch viel bezüglich zukünftig geplanter Replikationen in der ganzen Welt recherchiert werden.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE.....	8
1.0 Introduction.....	8
1.1 Argument and Structure	9
1.3 Methods and Motivations.....	10
1.4 Research Questions	11
1.5 Theoretical Framework	12
1.5.1 Authenticity.....	12
1.5.2 Staged Authenticity.....	15
CHAPTER TWO – THE HERITAGE TOURISM INDUSTRY	20
2.1 The Rise of the Heritage Tourism Industry and Globalization’s Impact	20
2.2 The Heritage Industry in Austria and the Influence of UNESCO sites	23
2.3 The Touristic Image of Austria and Hallstatt Promoted Globally	25
2.4 The Transformation and Marketing of a Site into a Destination	29
2.5 History of Tourism and Tourism Promotion in Hallstatt	32
2.6 Hallstatt’s World Heritage Status Designation	36
2.7 The Perception of Heritage as a Commodity	38
CHAPTER THREE – AUTHENTICITY IN TOURISM AND THE EFFECTS OF REPLICATION	43
3.1 The Trend of Authenticity in the Heritage Tourism Industry	43
3.2 The Changing Perceptions of Authenticity in the Face of Increased Tourism	46
3.3 UNESCO’s Concept of Authenticity	48
3.4 Reasons for Replicating Towns, Monuments and Sites	50
3.5 The Effect of Replication and Copying on the Concept of Authenticity	54
3.6 The Replica of Hallstatt in China	57
3.7 China’s Other Examples of Replica Towns and Monuments	59
3.8 Non-Chinese Replications around the World.....	60
3.9 Using Replication as a Form of Touristic Site Promotion	62
3.10 The Concept of a Town, Monument or Site Being a Brand.....	66

CHAPTER FOUR - PROTECTING AUTHENTICITY IN HERITAGE TOURISM	69
4.1 International and Domestic Treaties Protecting Heritage.....	69
4.2 Threats to the Perception of Authenticity in Tourism.....	73
4.3 Bodies Responsible for Protecting Tangible Heritage.....	77
4.4 Community Involvement in Heritage Protection Process.....	79
4.5 Community Involvement in Hallstatt's Heritage Protection	81
4.5 The Concept of Staged Authenticity as a Form of Protection	82
4.6 The Limitations of Copyright Protection at Heritage Sites.....	84
4.7 The Tension Between Global Tourism and Retaining Authenticity.....	88
CHAPTER FIVE – CONCLUSION AND SCOPE FOR MORE RESEARCH	92
5.1 Conclusion.....	92
5.2 Limitations and Scope for More Research.....	94
Bibliography	97
APPENDIX.....	107

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

Boating across the water towards the Austrian town of Hallstatt evokes feelings of wonder, amazement and awe at the sight of picturesque buildings glistening against the backdrop of the towering Dachstein mountain range. Thousands of tourists walk along the town's cobblestone streets, gaze at the Hallstatter See and hike in the surrounding mountains each year. Upon strolling Hallstatt's lanes, climbing countless of stairs and passing the delicate balustrades of homes and iron-gated entrances to churches, many tourists wish that they could take home a piece of the town for themselves. The majority of tourists have to settle for postcards and trinkets. However, a few tourists went further. A small souvenir would not satisfy, so they drew up plans to construct a full-size replica of the town on the other side of the globe - approximately 8,905 kilometers away.

In 2011 an ambitious Chinese firm announced plans to build a replica of the Austrian town in Guangdong province, much to the surprise of local residents and dozens of global media publications. A year later construction was finished; an Austrian delegation complete with the mayor of Hallstatt arrived for the opening ceremony and announced that the clone was actually a gift in disguise, for it would be a beneficial promotional tool for the original. Though it would seem that this situation was exclusive, more and more monuments, heritage sites and portions of towns are being replicated elsewhere. The case of Hallstatt and other places being copied brings attention to the greater over-arching dilemma of balancing the rise of globalized tourism against the need to protect authenticity. Challenges and opportunities surrounding authenticity arise with the influence of globalized heritage tourism, including the World Heritage Committee's effectiveness in protecting its designated sites and the increasing trend of marketers and tourism producers promoting authenticity to satisfy tourists' demands. The Hallstatt replica in China, theoretically a form of staged authenticity, has in fact acted as a tourism motivator and promoter for the Austrian town. The case

has proven that authenticity is still en vogue and that imitation, as the saying goes, is the sincerest form of flattery. The attention caused Hallstatt to become a household name.

The effects of staged authenticity triggered by the commodification of Hallstatt by its not-so-authentic clone in China have provided economic benefits to the town. This could be perceived as a form of protection in the sense that it provides a separation from the original while also providing tourists with a deeper appreciation and yearning for the authentic. In other words the hypothesis argues that the rise of the heritage tourism industry has increasingly commoditized heritage and place, evoking challenges in protecting the authenticity of a place and increasingly creating a sense of staged authenticity, which in turn has created positive influences and effects, as shown by the ‘trend-setting’ village of Hallstatt, Austria.

1.1 Argument and Structure

The hypothesis will be proven through arguments presented in the three chapters and summarized in the conclusion. Chapter two focuses on the rise of the heritage tourism industry, especially heritage tourism images promoted in regards to Austria and Hallstatt and how these touristic images and the transformation of a site into a tourist destination affect and symbolize the commodification of heritage. The history of tourism and the promotion of the heritage tourism industry, especially in Hallstatt, will be discussed for the purposes of analyzing the process and effects of commodification. Finally, the relationship between replication and commodification will be discussed in order to perceive how these concepts affect one another.

Chapter three will focus on issues of authenticity in relation to tourism and replication that is, the formation of replicas and copies. The increasing industry trend of using authenticity as a tourism motivator will be analyzed, while the changing perception of authenticity in relation to tourism will be discussed in order to understand how commodification affects the concept. The

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), as an authority figure on the concept of authenticity, will be called upon to provide comparison to objective authenticity. The second part of the chapter will emphasize the creation of replicas and their different reasons for production. Replication's effect on authenticity and its use as a tourism promoter will be analyzed following an **expose** on the Chinese replica of Hallstatt and the global trend of copying monuments, towns or neighborhood sections of towns, be they heritage protected or not. Finally, the idea of neighborhoods, towns or monuments becoming brands will be analyzed, in connection with the effects of commodification and tourism promotion.

Chapter four will highlight methods and measures in protecting authenticity starting with comparing and contrasting treaties related to protecting heritage, discussing bodies responsible for protecting heritage and preserving authenticity and the necessity of having all stakeholders and civil discourse being a part of the protection process, also in relation to Hallstatt. Finally the concept of copyright will be analyzed in its relation to the case and whether or not it can be considered a form of protection.

1.3 Methods and Motivations

A 2012 article featured in *Foreign Policy* magazine by Jack Carlson¹ detailing the rise of replica towns in China, with a focus on Hallstatt and its clone, sparked investigative motivation to research and analyze the topic further. The topic seemed relevant, abstract and unusual, yet related to ideas not often discussed or deliberated in the contemporary sphere of life. Research was qualitative in nature and was primarily document analysis-based, as no quantitative measures were undertaken nor was any empirical experiment conducted.

¹ Carlson, Jack. "China's Copycat Cities." *Foreign Policy*, November 29, 2012.

Theoretical ideas revolving around authenticity and staged authenticity were discussed in the literature pertaining to the impacts and effects of tourism on local communities, tourism promotion, protective measures and issues of replication. Studies conducted by national offices dedicated to tourism and international organizations of UNESCO and International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) related to heritage tourism were consulted, as was the work of well-known scholars in the fields of tourism studies, cultural heritage and the new trend of replicating towns and monuments. Media reports of the Hallstatt replica and other replicas as well as community opinions regarding the replicas as included in the media reports were utilized. Statistics on tourism numbers in Hallstatt and Austria and ideas from researchers who study future predictions, known as futurologists, were also taken into account. Observations were also made during a preliminary trip to the town of Hallstatt and while scrutinizing photographic and video evidence of the Chinese replica. Much independent analysis was conducted especially as non-modern theories were applied to comparably new topics, due to the modernity and novelty of the overall topic at hand.

1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions coincide with the case of Hallstatt and its clone and the larger and wider framework of the global heritage industry, commodification, authenticity and its protection.

- Can a local heritage site become a site of global heritage and meaning? (In other words, can everything be owned or have value to everyone?)
- How can staging the authenticity of a site allow it to retain a sense of heritage and aid in protecting the original?

- What are the implications of copying towns or neighborhoods for the future, as seen from analysis of the present?

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Theories involved in the arguments are primarily the objective notion of authenticity as well as the concept of staged authenticity as defined and discussed below.

1.5.1 Authenticity

Before the concept of authenticity became the subject of debate and discussion in the tourism research sphere, the realms of philosophy and psychology analyzed the concept with questions related to identity, individuality and meaning-making.² Authenticity became a prime figure in tourism literature and research much later, however, beginning in the early 1970s with the scholar Dean MacCannell who emphasized and evolved the objective notion of authenticity.³ In the tourism field, authenticity has traditionally been viewed in relation to the objects and activities of interest that the tourists have traveled to observe and view. Objective authenticity refers to the authenticity of the original and is concerned with tourists' perception of a toured object, whether tourists perceive it to be authentic or not.⁴ This approach focuses on the originality of objects and places that provide genuine touristic experiences for those who are able to perceive and identify the authenticating signs. Linked traditionally to the museum context of establishing the authenticity of an object in an exhibition display, an objective or absolute criterion is used to judge and perceive any object's authenticity. Objective authenticity deliberates whether an object is genuine or fake⁵ and is

² Carol J. Steiner and Yvette Reisinger. "Understanding Existential Authenticity." *Annals of Tourism Research* 33(2) (2006): p.305.

³ Dean MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings," *American Journal of Sociology*.

⁴ Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience." *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(2) (1999):355.

⁵ Melanie K. Smith, *Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies ed. 2*. New York City: Routledge, 2009.

additionally related to the perspective of authenticity identified in the Nara Document of Authenticity.⁶ Emphasis is placed on the integrity and originality of the object or place and the context in which it was created. Objective authenticity has been criticized for emphasizing an absolute measure and being inflexible.

The other object-centered form of authenticity is constructive, which is often perceived as being less critical of touristic modifications and changes. Having evolved in the postmodern period, the concept of constructive authenticity developed by Erik Cohen describes authenticity as being constructed in terms of points of view, beliefs perspectives, expectations, imagery, preferences and powers by tourists or tourism producers.⁷ Emphasis is placed on the object and on the discourse surrounding it.⁸ Objects and places have a socially constructed authenticity dependent on the object and the interpreter. In this case, advertisements and promotional tools by tourism organizers and producers feature heavily in the perception of authenticity. Authenticity is claimed or developed by one party and consequently reinforced and accepted or rejected by others.⁹ Referring back to the more flexible notion of the constructive concept, Cohen believed that cultures and societies are not frozen in time but are instead dynamic and changing; he emphasized that the inauthentic can become authentic with time, leading to his notion of emergent authenticity, which emphasizes authenticity as being a negotiable and not an absolute concept.¹⁰ Objective and, less often, constructive authenticity have been applied to heritage tourism due to its relation with object-based authenticity.

A third form of authenticity evolved later in the postmodern era with the work of sociologist Ning Wang. Existential authenticity differs from the previous two in the sense that it is activity-

⁶ Milena Ivanovic, *Cultural Tourism*. Cape Town: Juta Academic, 2008.

⁷ Ivanovic, 2008.

⁸ Erik Cohen, "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 15 (1988): p. 380.

⁹ Cohen, 1988, p.381.

¹⁰ Ibid., 1988.

based and is not related to the authenticity of objects. Tourist activity is seen as an enabler of authentic experiences. Tourists experience authenticity not due to the objects themselves but because they are engaged in activities that signal a departure from their daily lives.¹¹ This existential state of being, housed in the individual, is activated with the transition process of tourism.¹²

Tourism, in relation to this more subjective concept, is not perceived as corrupting or an aspect of commodification but rather as a natural way of being. Tourists participating actively rather than just observing are more likely to perceive and experience an existential form of authenticity. For example in the case of a cultural dance performance performed by the hosts, existential authenticity is felt and perceived when hosts and tourists feel special while dancing together since this is active participation and engagement. This concept enforces and highlights the notion of authentic experiences rather than authentic objects.

For the purposes of this academic study the concept of objective authenticity will be highlighted and emphasized the most, although constructive authenticity will also be referenced, to a lesser extent, since these two concepts strongly relate to heritage tourism. Objective authenticity will be utilized in relation to the more specific concept of staged authenticity, to UNESCO's perceptions of authenticity and in relation to the processes of the commodification of heritage. Constructive authenticity is also compared to staged authenticity, to a lesser degree, and also to the marketing and promotion of tourism and in describing the trend of authenticity in such promotional activities. Existential authenticity is only minutely identified in comparing the trends of tourists yearning for authentic experiences. Overall objective authenticity is the most heavily featured and relied-upon concept of authenticity.

¹¹ Wang, 1999.

¹² Ivanovic, 2008.

1.5.2 Staged Authenticity

The concept of staged authenticity was formulated in 1973 by American scholar Dean MacCannell and although its origins are forty years old, the theory is still being used today for analysis of touristic issues. MacCannell himself expanded on the preliminary ideas of Erving Goffman, primarily his concept of a back region and a front region creating a division in social establishments. Goffman utilized the example of a back region being an area where members retire and relax and have a space to prepare for future performances, such as a kitchen or boiler room, whereas the front region is where the social performance takes place, such as a parlor.¹³ Goffman distinguished the roles of members as being those who perform and those who are performed to. The back region, therefore, allows for concealment. Goffman further stated that under certain conditions it is difficult to separate front and back regions and that sometimes they are transformed into each other.

MacCannell applied the concept of back and front regions to a touristic setting, translating back and front regions to back and front stages. Additionally the concept was expanded by adding five phases. The first phase is Goffman's back region, the social space tourists attempt to overcome in MacCannell's perspective.¹⁴ The second phase is the touristic front stage, or region that has been decorated to resemble a back region, such as a seafood restaurant decorated with hanging fish nets. The third phase is the front stage, which has been completely reorganized to resemble the back region. The fourth phase is the back region being open to outsiders, such as a magazine **expose** revealing the private doings of the rich and famous. The fifth phase involves the back region being cleaned up or altered because tourists are permitted an occasional glimpse. Phase six is Goffman's back region, which is also the motivational force that drives touristic consciousness. The second through the fifth stage are still inauthentic and are staged to resemble authenticity, even the fifth

¹³ MacCannell, 1973, p. 595.

¹⁴ Ibid., 1973.

one. Front and back regions are treated as ideal poles on a continuum; these poles are linked by a series of front regions decorated to resemble back regions.

MacCannell, coining the term ‘staged authenticity’, adapted the concept to tourism where the front stage defines spaces manipulated and managed to accommodate tourists. The back stages are spaces where private and everyday lives of locals are given priority.¹⁵ Back stages emphasize the upmost experience because they present the authenticity of local life that tourists seek to experience, in MacCannell’s perspective. However, tourists instead encounter front regions that are staged for touristic entertainment and the basic reasons of touristic commodification. For tourists, the back stage is the ultimate goal that it is rarely, if ever, reached.¹⁶ There is, however, a possibility to break through all the phases, in fulfillment of reaching the final back stage. Furthermore, just as Goffman stated, the divisions between the back and front stages in tourism can be clearly visible but sometimes the lines are blurred. Although in elaborating the concept of staged authenticity MacCannell primarily used examples of cultural performances or the creation of cultural art products, the front and back stages can also be related to the staging of buildings and monuments.

Since MacCannell believed and emphasized an objective perspective of authenticity, his concept of staged authenticity acknowledges that the experiences of tourists in the front stage cannot be considered authentic even if the tourists themselves might believe they have achieved such experiences. In MacCannell’s perspective the quest for authenticity drives the tourist, much like the desire for an authentic religious pilgrimage. Since tourists are already in the touristic space they must search for and demand authenticity. As tourists embark on the quest for authenticity of originals they consequently become victims of staged authenticity.¹⁷ Therefore their experiences are not authentic. MacCannell further emphasized that commodification in tourism often results in

¹⁵ Peter Robinson, Sine Heitmann, and Peter U. C. Dieke. *Research Themes for Tourism*. Oxfordshire, UK: CAB International, 2011.

¹⁶ MacCannell, 1973

¹⁷ Ibid. , 1973.

staged and surrogate authenticity and has the ability to destroy the objective authenticity of local products and customs.¹⁸

In later decades the concept of staged authenticity was reformulated when a shift emerged in the perception of authenticity as not being objective. Postmodern theorists, such as Erik Cohen, became less concerned with the authenticity of the original. Whereas modern tourist scholars such as MacCannell proclaimed the quest for authenticity, postmodern researchers believe that authenticity for tourists is more of a playful search or an aesthetic enjoyment of surfaces, meaning that the quest for authenticity is not a necessity for tourists and is more of an added benefit.¹⁹ Postmodernists also believe that tourists become more reflexive on the impact of tourism upon fragile host communities and come to either accept or not be highly bothered by a lack of original authenticity. Staged authenticity therefore aids in protecting a toured culture and community from being disturbed since it acts as a substitute for the original and thus keeps tourists out of a, usually, fragile toured culture and community.²⁰ Modern technology has also made inauthentic products appear more authentic. Furthermore, Cohen used MacCannell's conclusions to structure, in his opinion, a more realistic model of staged authenticity combining a social action perspective to highlight four different relationships between setting and perception. The first relationship signifies the setting as authentic and real and tourists recognizing the authenticity as such.²¹ The second relationship highlights a real setting but tourists are suspicious of its authenticity and believe it to be staged. The third relationship highlights a staged setting that tourists believe to be authentic. Finally, the fourth relationship signifies a staged setting and the tourists recognizing its inauthenticity.²²

¹⁸ Robinson et al., 2011.

¹⁹ Wang, 1999.

²⁰ Cohen, 1988.

²¹ Robinson et al., 2011.

²² Ibid., 2011.

In this perspective, staged authenticity still signifies a distinction between the authentic and inauthentic in tourist settings, but emphasis is put on the varying and diverse reactions of tourists to test these levels of authenticity. Though modern and postmodern perspectives differ in regards to the emphasis on the quest for authenticity, the concept of staged authenticity still exists. Staged authenticity can act as a form of protection to the original authentic customs, performances and communities.²³ Depending on the perspective, the quest of authenticity leads tourists to search for the original having been displeased or dissatisfied by staged versions. The commodification of tourism and commodification of heritage can and often leads to the creation of staged authenticity. Finally the concept can be applied to buildings, monuments and towns, such as the case of Hallstatt and its clone in China, and not only performances, cultural traditions or the creation of cultural arts and crafts.

²³ Cohen, 1988.

CHAPTER TWO – THE HERITAGE TOURISM INDUSTRY

2.1 The Rise of the Heritage Tourism Industry and Globalization's Impact

Tourism is currently the world's largest industry and is predicted to grow even larger, with 1.6 billion cross-border trips and excursions predicted by 2020, according to the World Trade Organization.²⁴ Even in the post-September 11 era, it continues to increase by 5 percent each year.²⁵ Heritage tourism is a faction of this overall industry and is seen as its fastest-growing segment. Originating in the era of medieval pilgrimages and visits to sites of mystical and spiritual heritage importance, the concept of visiting heritage sites expanded and was popularized in the mid-1800s with the Grand Tour, which is one of the earliest known examples of pre-packaged and mass-produced cultural tours of Europe.²⁶ Upper-class European intellectuals, usually men, would take a Grand Tour during which they visited cultural legacies of classical antiquity and the Renaissance. During the twentieth century, and especially over the last fifty years, the growth of heritage tourism has been largely attributed to the growth of the tourism industry as a whole. Travel is no longer dependent on the old economy's infrastructure consisting of airline seats, hotel beds or travel agency's offices. The new flexible economy allows local culture and society, education and information and communication technology to become part of the tourism value chain.

Several factors, however, have more specifically contributed to its growth, including increased levels of education and the media's representation of heritage (either monuments or other people's lifestyles), the high status attached to heritage tourism in society as well as a growing desire to learn something new while on holiday.²⁷ A majority of contemporary tourist attractions and destinations in the world are based on elements of cultural heritage, as tourists yearn to experience

²⁴ Dallen J. Timothy, *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: An Introduction*. North York, Ontario: Channel View Publications, 2011.

²⁵ Michael A. Di Giovine, *The Heritage-scape: UNESCO, World Heritage, and Tourism*. Lanham, Maryland, USA: Lexington Books, 2009.

²⁶ Timothy, 2011.

²⁷ Timothy Dallen and Stephen Boyd, *Heritage Tourism*. Harlow, England: Prentice Hall, 2003

the atmosphere of a heritage site and a culture or are motivated by nostalgia or curiosity.

Additionally, expenditure on cultural attractions in terms of public funding and admission revenues has been increasing during recent years. This in turn has increased budgets for heritage conservation, which has prompted an increase of designated historic sites and monuments being opened to the public. Though most countries do not tabulate data related to heritage tourism due to the difficulties of measuring or differentiating it from other forms of tourism, the World Tourism Organization suggests that approximately half of all international trips taken each year involve visits to cultural heritage sites²⁸.

The growth of foreign tourism and the importance of heritage to that industry is an expression of the existence of a common global heritage as the property of all peoples. Every international tourist is asserting the existence of a world heritage and the right of global access to it.²⁹ Swarbrooke argues that this specific type of tourism is based on heritage insofar as heritage is the core of the product that is offered and the main motivating factor for the consumer. This tourism type is based on the view that heritage is only heritage in tourism terms when it is of interest to, and accessible to, tourists.³⁰ It includes industrial archeology, stately homes, art galleries and museums, battlefields, castles, cathedrals, historic waterways, and ancient and prehistoric sites.³¹ Globalization, or the process by which the ever tightening network of ties that cut across national political boundaries connects communities into a single, interdependent whole- a shrinking world in which local differences are steadily eroded and subsumed within a massive global social order, has created larger tourism markets, increased accessibility and promotion of sites and has greatly increased the customer base, especially in the era of globalized Internet communication.³²

²⁸ Timothy and Boyd, 2003.

²⁹ Smith, 2009.

³⁰ John Swarbrooke, "*The future of the past: Heritage tourism into the 21st century.*" In *Tourism: The State of the Art*, edited by A.V. Seaton. (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1994), p. 223.

³¹ Robinson et al., 2011

³² Ibid., 2011.

Globalization also increases deterritorialization of a site, due to it no longer belonging solely to the local community but also to the international sphere. However, this does not mean that such a site is decontextualized, since it will always possess a distinct set of traits that are dependent upon the social scripts in which it is found.³³ Heritage destinations worldwide have to adapt to the homogenizing trends of global tourism, but, at the same time, they have to commoditize their local distinctiveness in order to compete with other destinations.³⁴ Globalization, with tourism as its major agent, acts as a catalyst to the process of the past becoming iconized as a symbol for national identification and in touristic terms, as a unique sight.³⁵ The rise of the heritage tourism industry has turned intangible and tangible heritage into a commodity. In an increasingly globalized world, there is a growing desire and willingness to establish local difference.

Although UNESCO did not coin the term ‘heritage,’ and though it was not the caretaker of its meaning or its associated ideas, it is difficult to dispute that UNESCO is the global-level instrument which mobilizes resources, reproduces dominant arguments and rationales, establishes program agendas and policies and dispenses status surrounding the conservation and preservation of the ‘heritage’ concept.³⁶ UNESCO’s idea of a World Heritage List is not new. Various precursor listings have been compiled over the ages to catalogue the most spectacular natural and cultural heritage in the world. One of the first known inventories was the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, based on guidebooks popular among European sightseers to Hellenic sights.³⁷ The inscription of heritage sites on the World Heritage List elevates them to the status of global icon and national treasure, with all the political and financial support that this entails. The quest for World Heritage Site status appears to be growing considering that the number of applications from national

³³ Di Giovine, 2009.

³⁴ Sophia Labadi and Colin Long. *Heritage and Globalisation*. New York City: Routledge, 2010.

³⁵ Labadi and Long, 2010.

³⁶ Labadi and Long, 2010.

³⁷ Smith, 2009.

governments has multiplied and that the number of registered sites increased at a rate of approximately 7 per year in the last three decades. Though inscription on the World Heritage list does have positive benefits of increased aid with conservation and management, the list has been criticized as being a touristic marketing ploy, brand and as fodder for “things to see before you die” coffee table books.³⁸ The World Heritage List has also been criticized and accused of re-badging monuments and sites already objectified and commoditized at the national or regional level. The organization itself has admitted that a significant increase in visitors is not inevitable following inscription onto the list.³⁹ However, this is additionally dependent on the marketing of the site and its approach to access. One of the major benefits of a site making it onto the list is the recognition that often translates into tourism income from a proliferation of travel websites and publications, as well as heightened interest, which business agencies are certainly well aware of as heritage sites are increasingly being commercialized through tourism development, putting them in an even brighter spotlight.⁴⁰

2.2 The Heritage Industry in Austria and the Influence of UNESCO sites

Cultural tourism is one of the trends of the Austrian tourism market and is being used as a ‘Unique Selling Proposition’.⁴¹ Domestic Austrian tourists travel primarily for the purposes of culture and sightseeing, holiday and recreational leave, in order of highest percentage.⁴² Austria’s position of being a year-round tourism country can be used as an advantage against competitors. The cultural sector in Austria has shown a striking development and growth over the last twenty

³⁸ Elizabeth Betsy Keough, "Heritage in Peril: A Critique of UNESCO's World Heritage Program." *Washington University Global Studies Law Review* 10(3) (2011): 597, <http://digitalcommons.law.wustl.edu/globalstudies/vol10/iss3/5/>.

³⁹ Labadi and Long, 2010.

⁴⁰ Ean Lee, "World Heritage site status: boon or bane?." *International Institute for Asian Studies: The Newsletter* (54) (2010): 5, http://old.iias.asia/files/IIAS_NI.54_06070809.pdf.

⁴¹ AWS Arbeitsgemeinschaft Wirtschaft und Schule, Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Arbeit (BMWA), and Wirtschaftskammer Österreich, *Medienpaket "Tourismus & Freizeitwirtschaft"* (Wien, 2008), 40.

⁴² Martin Legat, Hildegund Roch-Kospach, Daniela Maria Schwarz, "Touristic Potential of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in Austria", Universität Linz, 2010. <http://www.die-schwarz.at/studie2010/STUDIE2010.pdf>.

years, with some statistical tourism numbers having doubled or even tripled over that time span. Cultural heritage tourism is thus one of the most important sectors of the tourism economy, associated with high levels of investment.⁴³ As of 2008, 75 percent of international and domestic cultural tourists visited to experience the holiday sights, 42 percent visited museums, 30 percent visited local events and 17 percent were attracted to festivals and concerts and 14 percent described themselves as cultural holiday makers⁴⁴. The main motivations for touring Austria were to experience the townscape, landscape, beauty and cultural sights and events in addition to experiencing the emotional atmosphere of the area, and nostalgia.⁴⁵

Though the amount of investment dedicated to cultural tourism in Austria is relatively small in comparison with the overall tourism market, the investment share is increasing along with the number of cultural tourists who flock to the country each year. Cultural tourists also embark on the shortest vacation stays in comparison to health or sports tourists. The abundant mixture of natural and cultural attractions is the specific feature of Austrian heritage tourism that marketers want to promote more heavily.⁴⁶ The main urban centers of Vienna and Salzburg currently host the largest numbers of cultural tourists, with travels to destinations outside urban areas being more of an additional offer.

The top tourist attractions are mostly in Vienna and Salzburg, highlighting the dominance of cultural tourism in these cities in addition to their accessibility for international tourists. The top touristic regions visited in Austria, in order of highest visitors, include Salzburg and its surroundings, Vienna, Zillertal, Burgenland, Katschberg, Salzkammergut, Zell am See Kaprun, the Vienna Woods and Obertauern, emphasizing the importance and influence of recreational and sports tourism in the

⁴³ Regionalmanagement Burgenland GmbH and kreativ labor uckermark, *Neue Wege im Kulturtourismus*, by Roman Wappl and Olivia Schubert, 2008. http://www.kreativwirtschaft.net/media/file/832_Leitfaden_Kulturtourismus.pdf

⁴⁴ Regionalmanagement Burgenland GmbH and kreativ labor uckermark, 2008.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 2008.

⁴⁶ Bundesministeriums für Wirtschaft und Arbeit (BMWA) and uma information technology GmbH (UMA), *Kulturelles Erbe und Wirtschaft in Österreich*, (Wien, 2007), 30. http://www.uma.at/files/downloads/Kulturelles-Erbe_und_Wirtschaft_uma.pdf

country as well.⁴⁷ However, the boom is still clearly urban tourism and the two cities reflect the reputation of Austria as a center for cultural tourism. Other cultural tourism products offered by Austria also includes Imperial Austria, the umbrella brand of historical heritage.⁴⁸

Austria is home to eight World Heritage cultural sites, including the historic centers of Graz, Salzburg and Vienna, the palace of Schronbrunn, the Ferto Neusiedlersee Cultural Landscape and the Wachau Cultural Landscape, the Semmering Railway, Prehistoric Pile dwellings around the Alps and of course the Hallstatt-Dachstein Salzkammergut Cultural Landscape. The number of Austrian sites is small by European standards, due to Austria signing the World Heritage Convention later, in 1992.⁴⁹ All eight of these sights are important assets in the competitive tourism market, particularly for cultural tourism and promotional purposes. However, until recently there has not been a strong correlation between inscription and a high increase in tourists, possibly due to the fact that many of these sites, such as the Palace of Schronbrunn and the historic center of Vienna, already attracted high yields of tourists. Inscription on the World Heritage List was just an additional benefit.⁵⁰ As stated previously, the UNESCO status has been highly utilized and strategized in promoting these Austrian sites, especially Hallstatt.

2.3 The Touristic Image of Austria and Hallstatt Promoted Globally

Selling a country to consumers necessitates the construction of a national image and conversely as John Urry argues, “identity almost everywhere has to be produced partly out of the images constructed for tourists.”⁵¹ Constructing images, stemming from a country’s resources of natural beauty or cultural heritage, usually involves a generalization of a nation’s identity in order to

⁴⁷ AWS, BMWa and WKTO, 2008.

⁴⁸ Regionalmanagement Burgenland GmbH and kreativ labor uckermark, 2008.

⁴⁹ BMWa and UMA, 2007.

⁵⁰ BMWa and UMA, 2007.

⁵¹ John K. Walton, *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*. North York, Ontario, Canada: Channel View Publications, 2005.

entice visitors and portrays a more mystical rather than a historical reality. One of the most common images associated with Austria is the “The Sound of Music”; other images include old buildings⁵², castles, villages, museums, Mozart, classical music, festivals and Christmas markets. The popular film “The Sound of Music” set forth an optimistic vision that foreigners thought or hoped symbolized Austria. Though the film utilized symbols of Austria’s natural and cultural beauty, including traditional dress, a more mystical rather than a historical reality was depicted. Similarly other tourism posters and advertisements utilized in the decades following WWII portrayed provincial identity, depicting women wearing dirndls standing by a lake framed by mountains to symbolize the whole country and its inhabitants.⁵³ Though many Austrians perceive such images, especially from the film, as fake, inauthentic and as a performance for tourists⁵⁴, visitors were and are still enticed. Enticement of visitors involves the generalization of national identity.

The traditional images of the triptych of mountains, meadows and Mozart may not be perceived as effective portrayals of the country by Austrians. However, these images aided in creating a lasting impression of Austria as a place of natural beauty in winter and summer. For most people, the abiding image of Austria is its scenic countryside of lakes and mountains and its reputation as a major winter sports destination. In recent years the traditional perception of Austria in tourism advertisements and literature has been utilized and modernized, showcasing the country as a place of relaxation amongst natural beauty and cultural charm. Though there was a paradox of representing Austria in tourist literature as deeply traditional, historical and eternal yet simultaneously modern and forward-looking, it also suggests that the old Austria could blend

⁵² Lisa Marie Assante, "Identifying optimal communication mix for strategic destination image formation: a case study of Austria." *Journal of Management and Marketing Research* 14 (2012): 1-15.

⁵³ Walton, 2005.

⁵⁴ Gundolf Graml, "'The Hills Are Alive...': Sound of Music Tourism and the Performative Construction of Places." *Women in German Yearbook: Feminist Studies in German Literature & Culture* 21 (2005): 192-214.

seamlessly with the new.⁵⁵ The Austrian National Tourist Office (ANTO) is the country's tourism marketing organization, supported by the government and economic chambers. It operates 33 offices worldwide to carry out marketing activities in 61 countries.⁵⁶ Tourism accounts for 5.6 percent of Austrian GDP, with over 18 million tourists arriving in 2011.⁵⁷ Travel to and within Austria has deep roots, traceable at least as far back as trade and pilgrimage in the Middle Ages. From 1840 until WWI, the tourist trade grew on average between 2 and 5 percent per year. Close links between hiking and tourism existed from the outset of the Austrian tourist industry. The expansion of the railway network, popularity of health spas and the development of alpine sports increased tourism. Nowadays, the "Holidays in Austria" brand encourages year-round tourism for both domestic and international markets, primarily utilizing outdoor recreation and culture. The brand, which has the tagline of "Arrive and Revive"⁵⁸, presents the country in three respects⁵⁹: a blend of tradition and modernity, which forms an unusual relationship, chiefly as a diversity of cultures; an Austrian style of life depicted as a warm attitude towards guests and as welcoming and gracious hosts; and varied topography and climatic conditions favorable to leisure activities. According to the brand and its campaign, tourists want to experience the unfamiliar, by experiencing a new culture, learning new things and relaxing physically and mentally⁶⁰.

Though the brand still utilizes images of nature and scenery extensively, it seems to be a more realistic portrayal than the images used in the traditional advertisements years ago. Newer depictions of Austria's touristic image are modern and less mystical in comparison to the age of provincial identity and "The Sound of Music", though they are cherry-picked and exemplified to

⁵⁵ Walton, 2005.

⁵⁶ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Tourism in OECD Countries 2008: Trends and Policies*. Paris: OECD Publishing, 2008.

⁵⁷ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Tourism in OECD Countries 2012: Trends and Policies*. Paris: OECD Publishing, 2012.

⁵⁸ Austrian National Tourist Office, "The Holidays in Austria Brand." (2012): 1-18.

⁵⁹ Austrian National Tourist Office, 2012.

⁶⁰ Assante, 2012.

best represent the country and entice more visitors, especially from overseas. The practice of commodifying heritage, cultural and natural, is still occurring but in a more subtle way. Additionally the traditional triptych of images and the modern touristic portrayal is still a fragmented performance⁶¹, especially in regards to detailing qualities and traits of countrymen for tourism purposes. A more subtle version of staged authenticity occurs when such images are fragmented and utilized to depict the whole.

Hallstatt, with its high monument density, has itself been promoted in tourist guides such as Fodors⁶² and Lonely Planet⁶³ as the “epitome of the image of Austria” and as “picturesque” and the “traditionally beautiful.” The theme of authenticity has been identified as a key motivator for tourists and also a key selling point, especially for the growing market from various Asian countries. The image of authenticity, preserved by the town’s protected location between tall mountains and an expansive lake, relates to the traditional image of Austria and entices visitors, leaving a memorable impression. Themes related to the Hallstatt and Salzkammergut brand include active holidays, sports and adventure, Austrian tradition, including holiday events, carnivals and the Corpus Christi procession on the lake, nature and water tourism, culture and World Heritage. Authenticity is still a high brand identity, especially since tourists in Upper Austria consider it to be of high importance, with 73 percent agreeing that it is strongly important, in comparison to entertainment, convenience and action.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Graml, 2005.

⁶² Eugene Fodor, *Fodor's Europe*. New York City: Fodor's Travel Publications, 1983.

⁶³ Marc Llewellyn, "Digging up the past" *The Sydney Morning Herald*, March 1, 2009, Destinations, <http://www.smh.com.au/travel/digging-up-the-past-20090226-8iwh.html>

⁶⁴ John Kepler and Dagmar Bezchlebová, "Tourist development in Hallstatt compared to Cesky Krumlov." *Institute of Social and Economic History, University of Linz*, (2012): 1-68, <http://www.ckrumlov.cz/hallstatt/obsah.html>

2.4 The Transformation and Marketing of a Site into a Destination

Tourism, as stated previously, is also about the creation and reconstruction of geographic landscapes as distinctive touristic destinations through manipulations of history and culture. Though heritage tourism can be seen as a supply-driven concept with attractions, relics and other tourist products, its perception as a demand-driven concept, centered on interactive consumption and visitor perceptions and motivations for visiting a site, is a more typical. Transforming a site into a persuasive destination and tourist attraction is an essential component of establishing a successful long-term economic product. Broadcasting and marketing images of potential destinations generates a set of expectations about a place before it is actually experienced, determining a destination's potential for satisfaction.⁶⁵ A destination's image is a major pull attraction and it is argued that the actual qualities of a destination do not attract visitors as much as images of those qualities do, for these images meet the needs, expectations and motivations of individuals.⁶⁶ Places have become vital in the global economy and marketers turn places into images - a place's images are the sum of ideas and impressions that people have of that place, a simplification of a larger number of associations. A brand of a place accounts for the considerations and characteristics of the actual place, but also meant to attract the consumer. An effective place brand inspires the visitor's imagination.⁶⁷ The narratives and images associated with the destination become an important determining factor of the values of places that customers would want to enjoy and therefore factor in their decision making in regards to their financial willingness to travel to which destinations. Consumers prefer products that deliver meaningful experiences and provide a sense of place and emotional attachment.⁶⁸ In order to

⁶⁵ Mike Robinson, "Tourism encounters: inter-and-intra cultural conflicts and the world's largest industry," in *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage*, edited by Nezar AlSayyad, (London: Routledge, 2001), 52

⁶⁶ K. Fields, "Demand for gastronomy tourism products: motivational factors." In *Tourism and Gastronomy*, edited by A.M. Hjalager and G. Richard, (London: Routledge, 2002), 40.

⁶⁷ Britta Timm Knudsen and Anne Marit Waade . *Re-Investing Authenticity: Tourism, Place and Emotions*. Bristol, UK: Channel View Publications, 2010.

⁶⁸ Deepak Chhabra, *Sustainable Marketing of Cultural and Heritage Tourism*. New York City: Routledge, 2010.

generate more satisfaction, a positive image must be created in accordance with the place itself and its competitors. This process becomes easier with a site that already has a long social or cultural history that evokes a positive image. Additionally, creating a tourist attraction from an already established heritage area is easier than producing a touristic attraction from scratch. History, heritage and culture have been embedded through education and the arts and the media, and are therefore likely to have a significant impact on the perception of places. Care needs to be taken in maintaining and developing an already established positive image.⁶⁹ Heritage itself has become a branding and marketing concept over recent years as demand has grown. Heritage attractions are increasingly being separated from their original settings, as the market is expanding the number of attractions and placing heritage labels on existing sites such as rivers or railways in order to create new demand.⁷⁰ A successful heritage attraction possesses an appeal that stretches beyond the local community, is valued by tourists and is interesting and unique enough to provide subsequent reasons to visit. The majority of heritage sites are marketed as iconic markers of a local area, country, region or even continent, in addition to highlighting virtues of a particular ideology or simulating pride in national history.⁷¹

Every destination - an area of visitor appeal that offers accommodation, attractions and supporting services - evolved from a single attraction capable of pulling tourists to an area. Supporting services develop in response to a growing number of tourists visiting the primary attraction, leading to a diversified destination as newer attractions and facilities are created to attract new markets to the destination.⁷² Once a destination stops evolving, it either slips into decline, the number of tourists remains the same or the destination introduces new products and rejuvenates

⁶⁹ Graham Hankinson, "The brand images of tourism destinations: a study of the saliency of organic images." *Journal of Product & Brand Management* 13(1) (2004): 13.

⁷⁰ Chhbra, 2010.

⁷¹ Ivanovic, 2008.

⁷² Hankinson, 2004, 12.

itself.⁷³ The rejuvenation of a destination can be achieved by using a place in an entirely different way, providing different facilities or by attracting new market segments.⁷⁴ Different tactics are used to transform heritage assets into destinations, such as mythologizing the site, creating a narrative, emphasizing its ‘uniqueness’ or ‘otherness’, showcasing a direct link from the past to the present or portraying it as triumphant or as a spectacle.⁷⁵ Future tactics of promoting tourists to a destination will likely involve creative and innovative strategies, as sites depend more on tourism and less on public funds for survival even as sites increasingly compete with other destinations such as entertainment theme parks modeled on heritage.

The World Heritage label has also become a branding device in itself. Monuments and heritage sites are pulled out of their traditionally understood social-cultural environment and re-contextualized by isolating them in the heritage-scape. These sites and monuments are further idealized to better represent the qualities advocated by the heritage scape and are finally re-integrated and ascribed validity and value.⁷⁶ World Heritage sites are costumed and contextualized to fit the part they are supposed to play, in accordance with the organizational narrative. Some argue that historic preservation initiatives, as a type of physical enhancement, are one kind of costume whereas branding of sites via titles, signage and symbolic markers is another.⁷⁷ Once a heritage site becomes a tourist attraction and destination, through successful promotion and with the aid of World Heritage designation, it is transported to the global stage.⁷⁸ Once on the global stage, more possibilities, opportunities, awareness and increasing tourism numbers propel it to the global spotlight, aiding it in becoming a global product. A destination promoting unique and exclusive differences will additionally appeal to tourists seeking unique and authentic elements of a culture or heritage;

⁷³ Hankinson., 2004, 13.

⁷⁴ Milena Ivanovic, P.S. Khunou, N. Reynish, R. Pawson, and L. Tseane. *Fresh Perspectives: Tourism Development*. Cape Town: Pearson Education, 2009

⁷⁵ Ivanovic, 2008.

⁷⁶ Di Giovine, 2009

⁷⁷ Di Giovine, 2009

⁷⁸ Ivanovic et al., 2009.

marketing a site's differences to other sites along with its main motivational attractors will be beneficial in regards to tourism numbers.⁷⁹

2.5 History of Tourism and Tourism Promotion in Hallstatt

Though it is one of the oldest continuously inhabited towns of Europe, Hallstatt only became a tourist destination in the mid-1800s. The town's historical origins in the salt industry eventually led to its progression as a center for domestic tourism. Salt production was conducted in the region as early as the Middle Bronze Age, in the late second millennium B.C., when natural brine was captured in vessels and evaporated.⁸⁰ Active trade ushered the progression of a highly developed culture. Salt production in the world's first salt mine increased throughout the centuries, bearing rich rewards for the arts and architecture in Hallstatt, which officially became a market town in 1311. In 1494 a patent by Emperor Maximilian 1 granted Hallstatt additional market town rights, specified marketing regulations and conferred a coat-of-arms on the town.⁸¹ Cultural traditions that still keep hold in the present, such as the annual Corpus Christi procession, were first introduced in the 1600s. From the early 19th century, Hallstatt and its technical mining installation were a popular destination for day trips by spa visitors and summer guests from the nearby town of Bad Ischl. By the mid-century the local tourist industry was growing. Several facilities were built, such as the first hotel in 1855, brine baths in the 1860s and a line steamer for passengers traveling along the lake in 1862, to accommodate and attract longer staying guests.⁸² Salt production was discontinued in 1846. Where once the economic and cultural development of the Salzkammergut region and Hallstatt had been driven by salt, its decline went hand in hand with the development of a new cultural and economic factor, based once again on a natural resource, but this time in its aesthetic dimension.

⁷⁹ Fields, 2002, 39.

⁸⁰ Republik Österreich, *Hallstatt: UNESCO World Heritage Application*. Vienna, 1996.

⁸¹ Republik Österreich, 1996.

⁸² Ibid., 1996.

The institution of Sommerfrische or summer holiday flourished in Hallstatt towards the end of the 19th century. More hotels were built, villas were added and an archeological museum was opened in 1889.⁸³ Hallstatt and the surrounding Salzkammergut region was a popular summer holiday destination due to the abundance of relaxing and beautiful nature. The Dachstein Mountains attracted visitors to the region's alpine setting, in addition to spurring public attention. Peter Gappmayr's first ascent of the Dachstein massif in 1832 and a visit by Archduke Charles to Hallstatt in 1812 helped spread the fame of the region.⁸⁴

Artists, writers and poets also promoted the region during what was to be called the Biedermeier period. Landscape paintings by Franz Steinfeld, the first painter to explore the motifs of the Salzkammergut and Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller, who produced fifteen paintings inspired by Hallstatt, promoted the town and natural area as a prime destination for recreation and relaxation.⁸⁵ Other painters of the Biedermeier period, including Jacob Rudolf, Franz Alt, Ernst Welker, Friedrich Gauermann, Franz Reinhold and Thomas Ender, chose specific motifs and patterns perceived the iconic ideal and chosen like a brand name. These compulsory motifs were constantly described, painted and gazed at. Hallstatt was observed and constructed as a triad, with the lake in the front, backed by the timber forest and hovering above the waterfall roaring over the rock faces.⁸⁶ These painters also sought contrasts and the balance between beauty and terror. Later on, a new phase of Austrian impressionist painters, such as Emil Jakob Schindler, further promoted the area with a new mood. Court painters were also inspired by the town and region, as it became the royal summer destination for the Hapsburgs. Archduke Johann was the first of the imperial family to visit the region, followed by Emperor Francis Joseph who visited Hallstatt every summer.⁸⁷ He and his

⁸³ ICOMOS, *Advisory Body Evaluation: Hallstatt Dachstein (Austria)*, 1997.

⁸⁴ Republik Österreich, 1996.

⁸⁵ Republik Österreich, 1996.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 1996.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 1996.

wife Sisi even journeyed there for an engagement excursion in 1853. The Hapsburg's official summer capital was the nearby town of Bad Ischl, known for its health spas. Therefore excursions to Hallstatt were common. Other royal visitors included the Queen of the Netherlands, Emperor Maximilian and the King of Siam.

In addition to court painters, the royal family was accompanied by writers, scholars and poets, who prepared the intellectual ground for future painters and visitors. From the early 19th century a new wave of books described journeys and excursions in the region, gave recommendations on how to achieve aesthetic pleasure, commended views and described motifs for painters and portrayed picturesque areas as being especially profitable for tourists and artists alike. Adalbert Stifter's novella *Der Bergkristall* makes direct reference to Hallstatt and Dachstein glaciers, erecting a lasting monument to Hallstatt in world literature.⁸⁸ Travel writers such as Joseph August Schultes, Archduke's Johann's secretary, Franz Satori, the explorer Friedrich Simony and German writer Wilhelm Raabe and dramatic and eloquent poets such as Franz Grillparzer, Johann Nestroy, Carl Zuckmayer and Nikolaus Lenau all described Hallstatt's beauty.⁸⁹ Their words attracted popular figures of the day to the region, such as Agatha Christie, Marlene Dietrich and Alexander Girardi, further promoting the area.⁹⁰ It was only after the introduction of facilities based on local salt mining products, the selection of Bad Ischl as the summer residence of the imperial family and the development in terms of traffic, transport and accommodation, that tourism began to evolve.

Presently, the town of Hallstatt received approximately 800,000 visitors in the last year, according to a statement by the mayor.⁹¹ The town and the Salzkammergut region have focused their services on the themes of world heritage in addition to hiking, biking and alpine and winter sports,

⁸⁸ Republik Österreich, 1996.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 1996.

⁹⁰ "Visitors in Hallstatt" Hallstatt.net. <http://www.hallstatt.net/about-hallstatt/themenweg-hallstatt-en-US/zu-gast-in-hallstatt-en-US/> (accessed July 23, 2013).

⁹¹ "Xeroxed Village: Chinese Secretly Copy Austrian UNESCO Town." *Der Spiegel Online*, June 16, 2011, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/xeroxed-village-chinese-secretly-copy-austrian-unesco-town-a-768754.html>

according to the region's tourism director Pamela Binder.⁹² Reliance on these themes can be observed in print and online advertisements, with the majority of the imagery reflecting hikers and outdoor enthusiasts amongst the wide backdrop of the Dachstein Mountains and the lake below. The salt mine is the most popular attraction in the town. The World Heritage status and symbol is also heavily promoted online and included in print advertisements as a sign of prestige; the website even utilizes the phrase "the most precious legacy of the world is for everyone" on several pages.⁹³ Authenticity is also utilized as a prime motivator for visiting the town, and as a key selling point⁹⁴. Identity and social atmosphere are essential values for the inner and outer vision of the town and region and they enrich the cultural and natural heritage with its uniqueness.⁹⁵ Authenticity is also used as a selling point to the growing Asian market and traditional images of Austrian winter scenes and motifs are juxtaposed and utilized in Hallstatt advertisements for this market.⁹⁶ The majority of Asian tourists are from China but some also hail from Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. Signs and information notices translated in Chinese characters have also been observed in various shops and cafes in the town.

Additionally the tourism sector of Hallstatt utilized the fallout from the Chinese duplication incident for promoting the town. The Austrian town is highlighted as 'the original,' with the official tourism website prominently utilizing the phrase "*Hallstatt-Das Original. Millionenfach fotografiert – einmal kopiert – nie erreicht*" or loosely translated⁹⁷ as "The Original Hallstatt. Photographed a Million Times. Copied Once. But Never Equaled," highlighting that although a physical copy and

⁹² Austria Presse Agentur, "Salzkammergut-Tourismus trotz Mure in Hallstatt optimistisch" *Der Standard*, June 20, 2013, <http://derstandard.at/1371170084477/Salzkammergut-Tourismus-trotz-Mure-in-Hallstatt-optimistisch>.

⁹³ "Hallstatt: Your holiday place in Austria" Hallstatt.net. <http://www.hallstatt.net/about-hallstatt/themenweg-hallstatt-en-US/zu-gast-in-hallstatt-en-US/> (accessed July 23, 2013).

⁹⁴ *Der Standard*, June 20 2013.

⁹⁵ Kepler and Bezchlebová, 2012.

⁹⁶ Christoph Weiemair, "Mure war indirekt eine Werbung" *Kurier*, July 7, 2013, <http://kurier.at/chronik/oberoesterreich/hallstatt-mure-war-indirekt-eine-werbung/18.320.574>.

⁹⁷ DAPD News Agency, "Hallstatt-Double: China weiht nachgebautes Alpendorf ein" *Der Spiegel Online*, June 2, 2012, <http://www.spiegel.de/reise/aktuell/hallstatt-kopie-china-eroeffnet-nachbau-eines-oesterreichischen-dorfs-a-836618.html>.

photographic copies may exist, the original town has retained its unique character and nothing will diminish that quality. Furthermore, the official website references the tourism department's idea of the replica being a positive promotional tool by phrasing that "the village Hallstatt is such an unbelievably spectacular place that even the Chinese have created a copy of the ancient salt mine village. But only in the original will you discover this truly unique culture with such a history all in a breath-taking mountain setting."⁹⁸ Authenticity is still a high quality aspect of the promotional Hallstatt tourism product, and the tourism department has striven to utilize an incident that could have been dismissed or refuted into something beneficial. By emphasizing the originality of the town, the perception of it being something special and radiating high quality and being in a group of its own is created for tourists.

2.6 Hallstatt's World Heritage Status Designation

In 1997 the Hallstatt-Dachstein Salzkammergut region was declared to be a World Heritage Site during the 21st World Heritage Committee conference session, a year after the nomination was submitted by Austrian state parties and was further evaluated by ICOMOS.⁹⁹ The site was designated as a cultural landscape. Cultural selection criteria for granting the status hinged on criteria III and IV, proving that the site showcased "unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared" and was an "outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrated a significant stage in human history."¹⁰⁰ Hallstatt-Dachstein Salzkammergut fulfilled these criteria in the nomination dossier by showcasing that humankind "inhabited the valleys in-between the

⁹⁸ Hallstatt.net, accessed July 23, 2013

⁹⁹ "Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut Cultural Landscape" UNESCO World Heritage Centre. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/806> (accessed May 20, 2013).

¹⁰⁰ "The Criteria for Selection" UNESCO World Heritage Centre. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/> (accessed May 20, 2013).

mountains for over three millennia, giving the area prosperity through the salt industry and individuality as a result of a profound association between intensive human activities in the midst of such a largely untamed landscape.”¹⁰¹ Additionally, the alpine region fulfilled the criteria by being an “outstanding example of a natural landscape of great beauty and scientific interest which also contains evidence of fundamental human economic activity continuously evolving, the whole integrated in a harmonious and mutually beneficial manner.”¹⁰² (See Appendix 2) The Advisory Body and the Committee further declared in 2010 that the site had retained its integrity, including all the elements linking it to salt mining and processing, associated timber production, dairy farming and the harmony that attracted 19th century artists and writers, since the site had not suffered at the hands of modern development. World Heritage values of authenticity had also been retained, due to the spatial and material structures that had been maintained to an exceptionally high degree.¹⁰³

According to the nomination dossier, the fact that the great density and quality of the monuments could be preserved until today is due not only to the historical continuity of the mining operation, but also to the naturally limited amount of space suitable for construction due to the town being squeezed in between a lake and enormous mountains.¹⁰⁴ The population itself preserves a sense of historical awareness, actively contributing to the preservation of old material and architectural traditions, which has become a general concern promoted and supported by local, provincial and federal authorities. The dossier finally stated that the town and surrounding region was of global significance not only because of its natural beauty and features, but also due to its archeological heritage and culture which shaped Central Europe.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Republik Österreich, 1996.

¹⁰² “The Criteria for Selection,” accessed May 20, 2013

¹⁰³ “Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut Cultural Landscape” UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed May 20, 2013

¹⁰⁴ Republik Österreich, 1996.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 1996.

2.7 The Perception of Heritage as a Commodity

Though the populace might not want to perceive it this way, heritage is a commodity; the process of heritage commodification positions cultural themes, expressions and sites as economical products. Its commodification is a byproduct of the tourism industry and the concept of heritage itself and includes the tendency to emphasize a past rather than the evolving complexities of the present.¹⁰⁶ Some state that heritage is history processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, pride, romantic ideas or just simple marketing strategies into a commodity.¹⁰⁷ In the tourism sphere, heritage has become the marketing of history for external consumption by foreign tourists or by the local population, who are encouraged to consider their own country's or region's past as something both familiar and exotic. In this sense, heritage also becomes a nation-constructing component, or it can become commoditized for fear of the past being forgotten.¹⁰⁸ Though heritage is culturally bound and culturally relative, it can be interpreted in various ways by different groups at different times. Further argument states that local culture can be commoditized and turned into an attraction by anyone, without the consent of the participants bound to be expropriated or the locals who will, depending on the location, be exploited.¹⁰⁹ Additionally, heritage in the touristic sense is pliable and flexible because no culture or society can be static, and this flexibility and pliability influences the emergence of new cultural products.¹¹⁰ Though differing perceptions may attribute this to a form of cultural erosion or perceiving something in a new and different form, heritage can be a changing and dynamic concept. New components of the past may become commodities, while certain aspects may be added as others fade away. In this regard, and with the viewpoint of heritage as a commodity,

¹⁰⁶ Fields, 2002

¹⁰⁷ Labadi and Long, 2010.

¹⁰⁸ Robert Shepherd, "Commodification, culture and tourism." *Tourist Studies* 2(2) (2002): p.185

¹⁰⁹ Cohen, 1988.

¹¹⁰ T.C. Chang, "Heritage as a Tourism Commodity: Traversing the Tourist-Local Divide." *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 18(1) (1997): p.49.

heritage is not found but is rather constructed. Disagreements abound as to who has the power to define the meaning of the past and selectively construct it.

As with many phenomena, trends and concepts, there are positive and negative aspects to heritage commodification. Negative aspects primarily relate to the commodification itself and arguments that it leads to decreasing or elimination of the authenticity of a site, object or ritual. Further argument emphasizes that the site, object or ritual can lose its fascination, integrity and beauty, becoming kitsch or losing its spirit after being transformed into a commodity.¹¹¹ Moreover, cultural heritage can be manipulated by employing selective histories, thus potentially leading to the creation of a packaged image or a fake and falsified historical environment simulation process that gained popularity and recognition with Disneyland and has continued with shopping malls, theme parks, residential projects and clone towns.¹¹² Furthermore, manipulating cultural heritage with selective histories adds to the argument that heritage can be extracted and exploited by anybody.

Arguments not in favor state that authenticity is traded for economic well-being. This is especially relevant to particular communities whose sole economic export is tourism. However, knowing that heritage is the contemporary use of the past's interpretation and representation, the actions of the present aid in shaping its preservation, conservation and management in the future. The development of heritage tourism is also associated with conserving traditional arts and buildings, strengthening local communities by providing new forms of employment, contributing to the construction of social improvement facilities for transportation, electricity and recreation and additionally encouraging civic engagement and community pride in historical landmarks and raising the awareness and social value of cultural heritage, if it was not already present or strong.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Labadi and Long, 2010

¹¹² Zeynep Gunay, "Mind the Fakes! Fast Forward Heritageisation in Housing Projects of Istanbul." In *48th ISOCARP Congress*, 1-10.. 2012.

¹¹³ Hall, C. Michael and Alan A. Lew. *Understanding and Managing Tourism Impacts: An Integrated Approach*. New York City: Routledge, 2009, Google eBook.

According to Wang, there are seven factors influencing the demand for heritage-based tourism, which are an increasing awareness of heritage, greater affluence, increased leisure time, mobility and access to the arts, an increasing ability to express individuality through recognition of the historical environment or staged history, a need to go beyond contemporary experiences which tourists often perceive as deficient and demanding, and to meet psychological needs for continuity through an appreciation of family history. Many scholars agree upon the concept of authenticity as a key element in heritage-based tourism¹¹⁴. Such factors align with the elements of experience-based travel, which is now often more valued than the actual destination or even the hard facts of historical reality. Though tourists may choose to travel for the experience or the destination in heritage tourism, the concept of heritage being a commodity, in the touristic sphere, is recognized. The world is a heritage center and people are the shoppers within it.¹¹⁵ Though the populace and certain scholars may perceive more negative than positive aspects to heritage commodification, the notion of heritage as a commodity will not disappear anytime soon. Now, the issue is realizing how to cope with the trend and concept and potentially recognizing the limits of the process of manipulation of heritage for creating selective and falsified histories for tourists, as occurred with the cloned town of Hallstatt. Aspects of commodification, in the touristic sense, exist in the town including souvenir and craft shops selling similar figurines and trinkets and in particular Hallstatt salt, various guided tours and an abundance of hotels, bed and breakfast style accommodations, and restaurants and cafes catering to an increasing amount of tourists, especially in the summer months.¹¹⁶ Local residents offer varying perspectives, both positive and negative, regarding living in a historical touristic town. Economic benefits stemming from tourism are positively received, as are the potential social benefits of having various individuals from global locations sharing their own

¹¹⁴ Wang, 1999.

¹¹⁵ K.T. Walsh, *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the PostModern World*. London: Routledge, 1992

¹¹⁶ "Visitors in Hallstatt," accessed July 23, 2013.

cultural perspectives. Negative aspects of tourism, including overcrowding and possible damage to the environment or vandalism, are expressed by locals as well in living touristic towns.¹¹⁷ Positive attributes have to be emphasized as well however, as the case of Hallstatt renewed pride in the local community and local government.¹¹⁸ Not every town appreciates the honor of being copied although countless numbers of heritage sites and historic towns have been commoditized for the sake of competing for a slice of the global tourism pie. Tourists and locals alike, alongside other stakeholders, will perceive negative and positive attitudes towards commodification and the growth of tourism, which should in itself be deemed as a normal form of expression.

Following the argument that anybody can extract and exploit a particular historical occurrence or incident to build a heritage touristic endeavor, with varying degrees of success, once heritage commodification of an object, craftwork, performance, statue or building takes place, replication and duplication can also occur; copying and replication also exists with any object or any object that is considered to be a product.¹¹⁹ Seeing the economic potential in the original, individuals and organizations are tempted to produce duplicates and replicas, with varying degrees of exactness. Not every product or object is copied; products, objects or sites that are copied however, are usually economically viable in their original form, showcase attributes that are admired and are characteristic in their original form and their original form has the ability to be, at least somewhat, feasibly replicated. The process of creating a copy from an original object, product or something that has been commoditized is not one of certainty or guarantee.¹²⁰ The fact that something has become commoditized does not automatically open the gates for it to become copied, but such a process of copying original products does occur often. It is not a matter of causation, but more of correlation.

¹¹⁷ Ivanovic, 2008.

¹¹⁸ *Der Spiegel Online*, June 16, 2011.

¹¹⁹ William M. Landes and Richard S. Posner. *The Economic Structure of Intellectual Property Law*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003.

¹²⁰ Landes and Posner, 2003.

CHAPTER THREE – AUTHENTICITY IN TOURISM AND THE EFFECTS OF REPLICATION

3.1 The Trend of Authenticity in the Heritage Tourism Industry

Authenticity is a key, if not *the* key, in promoting a heritage site and attracting tourists in the 21st century, and the trend will continue for many decades at least. The search for authenticity at sites and attractions has been a reoccurring theme in describing and attempting to understand the desires of tourists over the last four decades.¹²¹ The experience economy emphasizes orchestrating memorable events for their customers and audience, since memories themselves become the product of the experience. More advanced tourist organizations and businesses charge can charge for the value of the transformation that an experience promises. As this experience economy evolves and matures it emphasizes authenticity because touristic consumers search for real and original experiences instead of products that have an aura or atmosphere of being manufactured, fake or impure.¹²² The quest for authenticity is important for the tourism industry, especially heritage tourism, and is alive in the minds of tourists and tourist managers. Inaccurate narratives regarding a site could have negative impacts on the quality of the visitor experience and perceptions of the heritage venue.¹²³ Due to the increased competition amongst touristic sites providing a range of options for potential tourists, cultural heritage sites must provide authentic experiences with messages based on fact and responsibility in preservation, maintenance, interpretation and marketing of experiences established in documented history.¹²⁴ Others argue that when authenticity at a site is compromised, heritage tourism loses the credibility and what differentiates it from falsified and sanitized replicas and recreated attractions.

¹²¹ Y. Reisinger & Steiner, C. J., Reconceptualizing object authenticity. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(1), (2006), p. 68.

¹²² Yeoman, Ian. *2050 - Tomorrow's Tourism*. Bristol, UK: Channel View Publications, 2012, Google eBook.

¹²³ Yeoman, 2012.

¹²⁴ Cheryl Hargrove, "Authenticity in Cultural Heritage Tourism." *Forum Journal: National Trust for Historic Preservation* 18(1) (2003).

The reasoning behind tourists' quest for authenticity has been discussed and debated much during the past decades. The touristic desire for authenticity relates to consumers seeking new meaning consistent with Maslow's self-actualization theory.¹²⁵ Consumers search for a sense of worth beyond the material as self-fulfillment moves beyond goods and services and towards experiences. Tourists who embark on a holiday identify authentic cultural experiences as being the most important aspect, regardless of age, gender or socio-demographic groupings.¹²⁶ Others argue that tourists search for a connection with something that is real, unsullied and rooted within the destination rather than the virtual, spun, manufactured and mass-produced. Today's tourists are more independent, demand higher-quality and intense experiences and increasingly look for deepening values. With such a perspective, authenticity has to connect with the destination. Additionally, tourists seek an emotional satisfaction with their touristic venue and from their voyages. The tourist valuing and searching for authenticity wants to be able to say, 'I was there,' in relation to a heritage site, having experienced a personal and emotional connection with a real and original place and having enjoyed the sensation of being somewhere where things are real.¹²⁷ Similarly to the trends affecting heritage tourism, the tourist interested in heritage is educated, has traveled the world and wants a better quality of life, all pointing to a desire for the real and original. Other trends affecting the authentic tourist include being part of a global network, ethical consumption, and the experience economy, affluence, individualism, trusting the past, multi-culturalism, time pressures and increased competition amongst touristic destinations.¹²⁸ Polls and surveys related to the importance of authenticity in tourism and heritage tourism are not universal due to the fact that they are conducted at particular touristic sites; however, the concept of

¹²⁵ Yeoman, 2012.

¹²⁶ Yeoman, Ian, Danna Brass and Una McMahon-Beattie. "Current issue in tourism: The authentic tourist." *Tourism Management* 28 (2007): p.1130.

¹²⁷ Yeoman, 2012.

¹²⁸ Yeoman et al., 2007.

authenticity being important or very important to tourists ranks high many surveys, sometimes with 95 percent of respondents deeming authenticity to be important.¹²⁹ Historic architecture, museums and historic objects also rank highly in authenticity perceptions, in comparison to souvenirs or visibly falsified objects and sites.

MacCannell famously stated that all tourists seek authenticity due to the alienating aspects of modern life.¹³⁰ Though post-modernist thinkers disagreed with the concept of all tourists having such a desire or even being conscious of such a desire and also disagree as to whether authenticity is objective or socially-constructed and subjective, in the post-modernist world certain tourists do quest for authenticity, especially in regards to heritage tourism. Although, as Cohen stated, post-modern tourists do not yearn for authenticity but rather for entertaining enjoyment, many post-modernist tourists are also still concerned with identity, meaning, nostalgia, history and values and search for experiences that are engaging, personable and memorable.¹³¹ Nostalgic reactions among visitors at heritage sites correlate to a positive orientation towards the past and feelings of loss for a golden age.¹³² However, post-modern tourists, it is argued, judge authenticity through emotional experiences and not from an intellectual distance. Though disagreement exists regarding the exact motivations for a tourist's desire for the authentic, the concept of such a desire cannot be denied. Moreover, objective authenticity, as developed by MacCannell, is not likely to lose its importance in heritage tourism due to the character of the main resources and the interests of historians, ethnologists and other specialists concerned with the preservation of original forms.¹³³

Authenticity is also a key component to the marketing strategy of heritage tourism and other touristic attractions. Tour operations often organize travel products according to demand; such a

¹²⁹ Hargrove, 2003.

¹³⁰ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1976.

¹³¹ Cohen, 1988.

¹³² Yeomen et al., 2007.

¹³³ Labadi and Long, 2010.

strategy echoes the advertising messages that correlate with the expectations of tourists.¹³⁴ Brand managers utilize authenticity as a central component in the image of the destination, emphasizing its distinction from copies and imitations. This can be perceived from attributes in the brand image that have a spatial-temporal connection to perceived facts. Real links to history and quality of craftsmanship make the destination or brand appear more valuable in the eyes of consumers.¹³⁵ Images of authenticity are thus a worthy investment, financially speaking.¹³⁶ Tourism marketing, however, fuels the simplified black-and-white perception of authenticity and inauthenticity, often because authenticity becomes a stylistic reference that gives value to touristic sites and products.¹³⁷ Marketing authenticity also brings to mind the question of who has the authority to declare that a site or product is authentic. Additionally, the marketing efforts to promote authenticity beg the question of whether authenticity is a higher or lower priority than attracting visitors, generating revenue or providing an entertaining experience.¹³⁸ Overall, the concept of authenticity is valued by tourists, especially tourists involved in heritage tourism. Tourism futurologists such as Ian Yeoman presently argue that the desire for truly authentic and meaningful experiences still drives people to tour certain regions and particular sites of the world.¹³⁹ The trend of authenticity is evolving and growing, coinciding with the trend of utilizing the authenticity concept in tourism marketing.

3.2 The Changing Perceptions of Authenticity in the Face of Increased Tourism

The relationship of authenticity to tourism is similar to two entities in close proximity to each other attempting not to cross each other's lines. As stated previously, the tourism industry is increasing in visitor numbers and in the number of touristic destinations every year. Increased

¹³⁴ Yeoman, 2012.

¹³⁵ Bonita Kolb, *Tourism Marketing for Cities and Towns*. New York City: Routledge, 2006.

¹³⁶ Knudsen et al., 2010.

¹³⁷ Kolb, 2006.

¹³⁸ Wang, 1999.

¹³⁹ Yeoman et al., 2007.

tourism correlates with increased commodification and often standardization, and has often been blamed as the driving force for commodification of local sites or cultural practices.¹⁴⁰ Such commodification can, in turn, lead to staged authenticity and staged experiences. When tourists visit an area to experience a particular culture, the residents often actively attempt to present it in a certain way in order to attract more tourists, leading to staged experiences. Such consequences of increased tourism in an area can be negative, especially in the minds of the local populace. It is commonly argued that increased commodification leads to a loss of authenticity.¹⁴¹ The authenticity is perceived to be lacking in realness and depth in comparison to how the site and how locals functioned before mass tourism expanded, and can be observed in how locals relate to the touristic products being produced. That being said, the touristic concept of authenticity and heritage itself is tied to commodification and is often consumer-defined. Most tourists do not want to experience just a glimpse into the atmosphere of a local site and most tourists do spend time, money and energy utilizing touristic and hospitality services. It is inevitable that the perception of authenticity will change, even at the smallest degree, with some form of increase and influx of tourists and services catering to tourists.

Though it has already been established that increased commodification and the consumer demands of tourists can slowly erode the perceived authenticity of a site, institution or cultural practice, increased tourism has also renewed and strengthened interest in seeking authentic experiences. The search for authenticity can lead cross-cultural communication that promotes understanding between the host and the guest, and an opportunity for visitors to learn about distinct cultures in a personal way.¹⁴² Today, the touristic consumer is directed toward genuine experiences instead of staged ones. Authenticity is becoming a quality criterion customers use in evaluating a site

¹⁴⁰ Smith, 2009.

¹⁴¹ Smith, 2009.

¹⁴² Antonia Besculides, Martha E. Lee, and Peter J. McCormick. "Residents' Perceptions of the Cultural Benefits of Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 29(2) (2002): p. 314.

or touristic product. Authenticity will likely become a part of every tourist's agenda but its degree will differ.¹⁴³ In regards to the local community, tourism can cause the revaluation and strengthening of civic and cultural pride, as stated previously. Although studies do not yet exist regarding the year-to-year transition and transformation of perceptions of authenticity at particular sites and although changing perceptions are difficult to measure, increased tourism commonly does create negative perceptions of authenticity in comparison to how the site and its locals existed before the surge of tourism. However, the negative is often counteracted with a positive and the search for authenticity can be strengthened and renewed in a place that either had a poorly managed touristic management system or by the sheer pursuit of contemporary tourists themselves, searching for authentic experiences.¹⁴⁴ Negative perceptions of tourism can also alert a site's managers or community, thus potentially imposing better policies to prevent the site from being reduced to something that has become completely commoditized.

3.3 UNESCO's Concept of Authenticity

Proving that a potential site has outstanding universal value, authenticity and adequate conservation and management arrangements enables its listing on UNESCO's World Heritage list. UNESCO's concept of authenticity was first mentioned in the Venice Charter of 1965, stating that it was a necessary reason and component of conservation.¹⁴⁵ However, a definition of the concept was not provided. Those involved in writing the Charter shared similar backgrounds and in turn assumptions about the proper response to conservation issues. Authenticity was further expanded upon in the Nara Document of Authenticity in 1994, evoking the importance of cultural diversity as

¹⁴³ Christopher Kronenberg, *Change Management in Tourism: From "old" to "new" Tourism*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag GmbH and Co., 2008.

¹⁴⁴ Besculides et al., 2002.

¹⁴⁵ International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), . "International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter)." (1965): 1-4.

it became clear that the concept varied in every country.¹⁴⁶ Offering a concise definition of authenticity was deemed impossible, especially since certain nations and their respective languages did not even have a word for 'authenticity.' In addition to recognizing that authenticity can change from culture to culture, the document specified that it is rooted in sociocultural contexts and can only be judged within those contexts.¹⁴⁷ However, it was agreed that authenticity depends on the truthfulness, genuineness and credibility of sources of information or attributes, those sources being form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting and spirit and feeling, in accordance to the specific cultural context and its heritage values.¹⁴⁸ In other words, though there is no specific universal definition of authenticity in UNESCO's opinion, properties or sites meet the conditions of authenticity if their heritage values are truthfully expressed through a variety of attributes. A site must satisfy this so-called 'test of authenticity' and be credible to those attributes as a correct presentation of the history it represents. Though the Nara Conference was held in 1994, the World Heritage Committee only updated their Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention with reference to the Nara Document in 2005.¹⁴⁹ Previously, the only attributes listed in the Operational Guidelines were phrased in terms of material, workmanship, design and setting. Additionally, each heritage criteria of the World Heritage Convention relates to a test of authenticity, either referring that the site is genuine and stands on its own merits, that the site is a true representation of the cultural tradition indicated and that the values or ideas are really associated with the site in question. For instance, the tradition of reconstructing and rebuilding a shrine would not be excluded on the grounds that the

¹⁴⁶ International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), . "The Nara Document on Authenticity." (1994): 46-48.

¹⁴⁷ International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), . "What is OUV? Defining the Outstanding Universal Value of Cultural World Heritage Properties." (2008): 7-99.

¹⁴⁸ Sophia Labadi, *UNESCO, Cultural Heritage, and Outstanding Universal Value: Value-based Analyses of the World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage Conventions*. Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2012.

¹⁴⁹ UNESCO World Heritage Centre, . "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention ." (2012): 1-290.

process is based on genuine cultural values and is not conceived purely as a site presentation to visitors¹⁵⁰.

3.4 Reasons for Replicating Towns, Monuments and Sites

The concept of replicating historic buildings has been practiced since the Romans constructed replicas of Egyptian and Nubian pyramids in Rome following their conquest of Egypt, though this differs from the practice of borrowing and adapting motifs from Greek antiquity.¹⁵¹ Such replication continued into the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe, with replicas of oriental and European historic buildings embellishing parks and gardens, while later World Trade Fairs were prime motivators and hosts of transferred environments to Europe and North America.¹⁵² However, these replicas differed from their post-modern day cousins insofar as current replicas are built to replicate a past (near and far) and to be as authentic to the original as possible during the process.

A replica, defined as a copy, duplicate or reproduction of an object or a work of art, must be the replication of an original and it must copy all its important qualities.¹⁵³ The creation and construction of replicas, varying in degrees of accuracy and authenticity in relation to the original also occurs for a variety of reasons. Replicas of paintings, statues, monuments, buildings, sites or towns are created for preserving and conserving heritage that has been damaged partially or fully or is in danger of being damaged due to visitor pressures at certain sites. For instance, the tomb of Tutankhamen in Luxor, Egypt and the Paleolithic painting-filled caves at Lascaux, France had replicas created nearby in order to save the originals that were being damaged by the presence and

¹⁵⁰ ICOMOS, 1994.

¹⁵¹ Zeynep Aygen, *International Heritage and Historic Building Conservation: Saving the World's Past*. New York City: Routledge, 2013.

¹⁵² Aygen, 2013

¹⁵³ David Lowenthal, "Fabricating Heritage." *History & Memory* 10(1) (1998), 7.

actual breath of visitors.¹⁵⁴ Accidental damaged or intentional vandalism could potentially destroy a valuable original object or site, and so a replica might be considered an appropriate replacement if all other conditions are met, including setting and context and financial standing.¹⁵⁵ Replicas are routinely used in educational institutions or museums for research purposes in the name of preservation and conservation. Replicas are replaceable; the original is not.¹⁵⁶ The concept of heritage is partially about loss and the prospect of loss haunts heritage. In order to not lose the real past, either replicas must be created or such heritage must be protected in the custody of a museum or through other protectionist measures such as conventions or policies.¹⁵⁷ To this end, some argue that objects and sites are valued only if they are threatened or already gone.

Replicas are also constructed for profit-making purposes, entertainment or for a private individual's own use either out of admiration for the original or out of desire to keep an aspect of the original for oneself, similar to how tourists purchase souvenir figurines or snow globes portraying a miniature replica of a place. Such replication has often been criticized as showcasing a lack of innovation. Though the original reason might have been less economically based, the end result is tourism. Such replicas of particular monuments or buildings are often found in theme towns, combining entertainment with giving the local population the ability to see and experience the monument or building without traveling to the original site. Places such as Las Vegas, the EPCOT section of Disney World in Florida, pioneer themed towns in North America and Australia, such as Colonial Williamsburg, or the Dutch-themed theme attraction of Huis Ten Bosch in Japan have an emphasis on tourism and profit-gaining potential, though some were also built for educational purposes, such as pioneer reconstructions, or highlighting historical trade partnerships

¹⁵⁴ Rajan Datar, "Will a mock-up of Tutankhamun's tomb pull in tourists?," BBC Video, 9:15, January 21, 2013, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/fast_track/9786255.stm.

¹⁵⁵ Nina and Graham Williams, "Replicas of Constructions by Naum Gabo: A Statement by the Copyright Holders." *Tate's Online Research Journal* Summer (2007): pp. 2.

¹⁵⁶ Lowenthal, 1998, 10.

¹⁵⁷ Robert Shannan Peckham, *Rethinking Heritage: Cultures and Politics in Europe*. London: I.B. Taurius & Co. Ltd. , 2003.

as in the case of Huis Ten Bosch¹⁵⁸. Regardless, the emphasis on profit and tourism sees heritage in a utilitarian and functional light, such that the settlement or attraction will adapt to the needs of the visitor rather than reflecting the integrity of the original heritage.¹⁵⁹ Copies and reconstructions of past architecture and buildings can also be used for social and political engineering, in supporting ideologies or constructing and molding collective identities. For instance the Skopje 2014 project in Macedonia has been criticized as a nation-building spectacle, where the buildings under construction give the capital the atmosphere of being an inauthentic and counterfeit copy of a European city.¹⁶⁰ The Macedonian government aims to highlight the capital's European history and style. Blurred lines between the distinctions of preservation and entertainment and profit occur when replicas of constructed for seemingly both reasons. For instance, the old city of Sharjah in the United Arab Emirates was reconstructed for the purpose 'of attracting visitors,' Dubai rebuilt several of its souks that were torn down during the rush to modernize in order to please tourists wishing to shop in traditional markets and Singapore reconstructed its traditional central market for tourism purposes as well.¹⁶¹ The public enjoys consuming such artifice and is gamely duped by the producers that revel in deception. Oftentimes the product is the fabrication of heritage.

Experiences of 'elsewhere-ness' and productions of 'otherness' can be constructed by drawing on the virtual capital that consumers and audiences derive from mass-media. The foreign clichés represented in Las Vegas, for example, were created by linking the visual representations the audience had of those particular places. The same way that nobody has ever lived in the past but

¹⁵⁸ Philip Feifan Xie, *Authenticating Ethnic Tourism*. Bristol, UK: Channel View Publications, 2010.

¹⁵⁹ Aygen, 2013

¹⁶⁰ Andrew Graan, "Counterfeiting the Nation? Skopje 2014 and the Politics of Nation Branding in Macedonia." *Cultural Anthropology* 28(1) (2013): p.165, <http://www.culanth.org/supplementals/229-counterfeiting-the-nation-skopje-2014-and-the>.

¹⁶¹ Aygen, 2013

knows what it looked like via visual representations created in the present, replicas of places evoke a similar connection.¹⁶²

The notion of creating replicas for tourism and other-profit gaining incentives has found increased applicability in the Chinese construction and production sphere, aptly named ‘duplicature’ by certain researchers. Many questions and much commentary and analysis have arisen with the rise of China’s ‘copycat’ buildings and architecture; however no official explanation has yet been issued. China is full of copied objects and fake brand-name clothing, electronics, medicine and even plagiarized academic journals. Copying and counterfeiting, termed *shanzhai*, is accepted in Chinese culture and is not perceived negatively, as it tends to be in Western cultures.¹⁶³ However, copying towns and monuments goes further, critics assert; explanations include that such copying reflects China’s obsession with Western tastes or that it is a showcase of China’s global primacy and supremacy, far-reaching influence, and the rising wealth and the wealth of the middle and upper classes. China historically has replicated architecture, palaces and pavilions from surrounding empires and conquered rivals, especially during the Qing dynasty.¹⁶⁴ These contemporary copies, it is argued, do not merely place the country on par with Western powers but suggest that China has mastered and transcended their levels of achievement. The fact that these contemporary copies are primarily residential developments signifies the copying as a form of sophistication, a badge of social prestige that home owners can show off.¹⁶⁵ The Chinese tend to identify their culture with decline and their buildings as highlighting poverty and backwardness, not its newfound glory. Achieving Western standards is seen as a goal of modernization. This is not solely a Chinese phenomenon though. Architecture’s history is filled with empires and people copying each other. Copying

¹⁶² Cornelius Holtorf, *From Stonehenge to Las Vegas: Archaeology as Popular Culture*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2005.

¹⁶³ Bianca Bosker, *Original Copies: Architectural Mimicry in Contemporary China*. Honolulu, HI : University of Hawaii Press, 2013.

¹⁶⁴ Carlson, 2012.

¹⁶⁵ Bosker, 2013.

antiquity and other's architectural styles eventually led to the emergence of new and original forms. As other countries have experienced, imitation of the foreign also eventually led to an appreciation of domestic national culture.¹⁶⁶

3.5 The Effect of Replication and Copying on the Concept of Authenticity

The relationship between the concept of authenticity and replication is complex. Often, the relationship is perceived as a negative one due to the apparent loss of uniqueness. In replicating an object, a plurality of copies is substituted for a unique experience and the authenticity of the original is challenged.¹⁶⁷ In other words, it is argued that the original object's value is diminished. However, authenticity is still a highly valued attribute, in regards to tourism potential and financial profitability as well. Original work is valued because of the originality of the creative process that led to it; the original object or site is infused with the unique essence of the creator. Copies, no matter how detailed or exact in their replication, fail to measure up on these counts.¹⁶⁸ Others argue that replication is not intrinsically negative. The important factor to consider is the different and varying experiential, historical, cultural, environmental and educational depth between the original and its replica.¹⁶⁹ These factors influence the concept and perception of authenticity, and oftentimes copies do not live up to these experiential standards and if they do it is for the reason of preservation. More problematic is when there is a deliberate attempt at deception.¹⁷⁰ Authenticity is derived from the connectedness of the individual to the perceived, everyday world and environment, the processes that created it and the consequence of one's engagement with it.

¹⁶⁶ Oliver Wainwright, "Seeing double: what China's copycat culture means for architecture" *The Guardian*, January 7, 2013, Culture: Art and Design, <http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/architecture-design-blog/2013/jan/07/china-copycat-architecture-seeing-double>.

¹⁶⁷ Ian Russell, *Images, Representations and Heritage: Moving beyond Modern Approaches to Archaeology*. New York City: Springer, 2006, Google eBook.

¹⁶⁸ George Newman and Paul Bloom, "Art and authenticity: The importance of originals in judgments of value." *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 141(3) (2012): p. 560..

¹⁶⁹ Hall and Lew, 2009.

¹⁷⁰ Hall and Lew, 2009.

As stated previously, tourists often enjoy consuming artifice. Some researchers argue that although many present-day consumers are aware of the constructiveness of their ‘authenticity,’ for example knowing that they are not in Italy while sitting at the Bellagio Hotel in Las Vegas, they do not have any objections to such cultural discrepancy.¹⁷¹ Staged authenticity is either enjoyable to them or it does not bother them. Additionally, for many tourists the motivation to travel is in many cases not a genuine experience of foreign lands and their respective histories but rather the realization of pre-conceived dreams and desires and thus a willingness to suspend concerns for the ‘real’.¹⁷² However, other researchers argue that many tourists cannot differentiate between something that is falsified versus authentic. Tourists and visitors experience the aura of authenticity in front of originals to the same extent as they do in front of extremely accurate reproductions, as long as they do not know that those are copies. This is mainly due to a lack of depth in understanding of history and culture,¹⁷³ however if the copy is extremely accurate the likelihood of deception is high. Many tourists however, especially those with a particular inclination to enjoy cultural heritage, are interested in authenticity, implying that the enjoyable aspect of staged authenticity is also a matter of preference.

Oftentimes lines are blurred between the distinctions of replicas and authentic sites and objects, especially in the realm of preservation for future generations and for an object’s survival. Instances of reconstructing the destroyed Old Town of Warsaw using authentic materials and methods while not replacing later additions stemming from a particular moment, in particular choosing to reconstruct the city as it appeared in the 18th century¹⁷⁴, highlight these blurred lines. Such exact replication is often negatively associated with deception, although it does ensure the

¹⁷¹ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd ed. . London: Sage Publications, 2002.

¹⁷² Russell, 2006.

¹⁷³ Xie, 2010.

¹⁷⁴ John Ashworth and J. E. Tunbridge. *The Tourist-historic City: Retrospect and Prospect of Managing the Heritage City*. Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd., 2000.

survival of such heritage sites. However, such preservation is not purposefully deceptive; more often conservationists just want to preserve something to its former glory for the object or site's sake. Additionally, after such preservation has occurred, the site or object is argued to be more authentic than the original due to lack of destruction that is visible on the original, meaning that it is more authentic to its original or beginning state.¹⁷⁵ In other words, the replica is perceived as being more authentic than the authentic original. As Lowenthal states, an original is authentic simply by definition whereas a replicas is made authentic by hard work.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, something that was previously and initially considered to be 'inauthentic' can actually, with the passage of time, become widely perceived as 'authentic,' as in the case of the Neuschwanstein Castle in Germany, which was modeled in 1886 after old Germanic knights' castles and was initially criticized for being kitsch.¹⁷⁷ Just as the importance and demand for authenticity changes, so does the perception of authenticity of something that was initially a replica. Issues such as time and effort dedicated to the preparation of something increase its value in the eyes of the observer, user or consumer; the more authentic the replica is to the original, the more value the observer, user or consumer will attach to it.¹⁷⁸ Greater value might translate into greater financial benefits as well.

Overall, the effect and impact of replication on authenticity, specifically on how a replica impacts the authenticity of the original, evolves and changes with time, the degree of knowledge stemming from the observer and the magnitude of exactness and detail presented in the replica. With extreme detail and weak observation, it becomes increasingly difficult to tell where the genuine ends and the copied or simulated begins. Authenticity, however, is still highly valued. Additionally, the tendency of globalization to produce similar landscapes and spaces in various parts of the globe

¹⁷⁵ Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000.

¹⁷⁶ Lowenthal, 1998.

¹⁷⁷ Bavarian Department for State-owned Palaces (2003). Neuschwanstein Castle Building History [Online]. <http://www.neuschwanstein.de/english/castle/history/> [Accessed August 12 2013].

¹⁷⁸ Aygen, 2010.

has been a concern. Will it make sense for tourists and people to travel in the future once everything appears similar? The fact that inauthentic and mass-produced copies exist can make the actual authentic objects more valuable and desired while on the other hand something can also be desirable because of its inauthenticity or fakeness.¹⁷⁹ The authentic is still desirable, in the touristic sense, as evidenced by the target market of Chinese and other Asiatic communities continue to flock to the Austrian Hallstatt. Though the town has become a touristic destination over the past century, it is still considered to be a prime example of authenticity in the heritage scape and in regards to town-functions in the eyes of tourists and commentators of tourism around the globe.

3.6 The Replica of Hallstatt in China

Media outlets and bloggers around the globe ignited curiosity, disbelief and surprise among readers when it was revealed that a Chinese real estate development firm had plans on building a copy of the Austrian town of Hallstatt in 2011 (see figure 1, appendix 1). Minmetals Land Inc. oversaw the production and completion of the project, totaling to \$940 million.¹⁸⁰ Officials from the firm apparently posed as tourists in the Austrian town, taking photographs and measurements.¹⁸¹ Multiple digital photographs were stitched together to create 3-D architectural models of buildings and statues, and together with those measurements, Minmetals Land Inc. began constructing the Chinese clone, located outside of the southeastern city of Huizhou in the province of Guangdong.¹⁸² One year later the copied town was finished, with an official opening ceremony held in June. The complex is comprised of expensive housing units that serve as weekend getaways or second homes for the newly rich class with other shops and sites in the town are catered also to tourists, such as a

¹⁷⁹ Shepherd, 2002.

¹⁸⁰ *Der Spiegel Online*, June 16, 2011.

¹⁸¹ "Made in China: an Austrian village." *Reuters*, June 5, 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/06/05/china-austria-idUSL3E8H42VJ20120605>

¹⁸² Bethany Bell, "Chinese replica of Austrian village unveiled." *BBC News*, June 5, 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-18327751>

beer house, souvenir shops selling European-style ceramics and cake shops specializing in Austrian-style pastries.¹⁸³ The recreated town is intended to act like a beacon to persuade wealthy investors to purchase vast amounts of still-to-be-completed villas in surrounding areas of the town center.

Included in the town complex are copies of Hallstatt's pastel-colored wooden houses and its church clock tower. The clone of the church has been stripped of religious imagery and symbolism and has instead been turned into an exhibit space, although European-style frescos and paintings remain.¹⁸⁴

The firm additionally recreated the lake surrounding the village, although the Chinese version is fifty times smaller than the original Hallstättersee.¹⁸⁵ Flowers hang from balconies and lampposts, scaling vines cling to certain buildings, Chinese security guards and other staff members walk around in traditional Austrian garb and hidden speakers play sounds of chirping birds, traditional Austrian waltzes or *The Sound of Music* soundtrack. Proving that the last detail was not to be missed, doves were even imported from Austria.¹⁸⁶ Reactions from Chinese tourists have been positive. "The moment I stepped into here, I felt I was in Europe," said 22-year-old Zhu Bin, a Huizhou resident, according to Reuters.¹⁸⁷

Reports from media organizations and video bloggers who have visited the Chinese Hallstatt have detailed the lack of residents strolling around the town. The streets are primarily filled with tourists, staff members and participants of fashion photography shoots, although the atmosphere of desertion is prevalent. However, this is the norm for towns modeled after international locations sprouting in various regions in China, caused by either premature hype leading to a lack of interest, lack of financial backing by owners or feelings of isolation from other urban centers. The physical

¹⁸³ Wade Shephard, "A Visit to Hallstatt, China: An Austrian Village Cloned." *The China Chronicle*, December 12, 2012, <http://thechinachronicle.com/hallstatt-china-austrian-village-replica/>

¹⁸⁴ "Adventures - Hallstatt - Crazy Austrian Village in Guangdong!" YouTube video, 15:04, posted by "laowhy86," Jan 11, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4QSdnhoV_ns

¹⁸⁵ Samuel Medina, "How an Austrian Mountain Village Ended Up in China." *The Atlantic: Cities*, June 8, 2012, <http://www.theatlanticcities.com/design/2012/06/how-austrian-mountain-village-ended-china/2227/>

¹⁸⁶ *The Atlantic: Cities*, June 8, 2012.

¹⁸⁷ *Reuters*, June 5, 2012.

copy itself was created in secret, with Chinese developers posing as tourists a year beforehand while taking photographs and measurements.¹⁸⁸ Plans were revealed to the Austrian village a month before construction began.

3.7 China's Other Examples of Replica Towns and Monuments

Though the Chinese clone of Hallstatt has been described as the world's first town replicated on the basis of a single and already existing town, built for the purpose of tourism and real estate development, the phenomenon of towns, neighborhoods and theme parks constructed with inspirations of other worldly locales in mind is not new. The most infamous of these would be Thames Town, a British inspired town in Chengdu near Shanghai, constructed in 2001 during the "One City, Nine Towns" project.¹⁸⁹ Thames Town is a collection of buildings and monuments inspired by Victorian architecture and various locales in Britain. It includes a replica of the gothic Christ Church in Bristol, a fish and chips shop from Dorset and statues of Winston Churchill. Most of the storefronts are facades and not open for businesses and the majority of visitors are participants of wedding and fashion photography shoots. Other theme towns constructed before the project was eventually discontinued due to lack of newfound residents were inspired by the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, Orange County in the United States and Germany, including Anting German Town, constructed in the Bauhaus style.¹⁹⁰ A copy of the French Château de Maisons-Laffitte is found near Beijing and a partial smaller version of Paris, France, complete with a replica of the Eiffel Tower and Parisian townhouses is located near Hangzhou.¹⁹¹ Hangzhou is also the location of Venice Water Town, with canals that are not flooded annually as they are in the original.

¹⁸⁸ *Der Spiegel Online*, June 16, 2011.

¹⁸⁹ Henry Grabar, "Why We Shouldn't Mock the Idea of an Eiffel Tower in Hangzhou." *The Atlantic: Cities*, January 17, 2013, <http://www.theatlanticcities.com/design/2013/01/why-we-shouldnt-mock-idea-eiffel-tower-hangzhou/4396/>

¹⁹⁰ Xifan Yang, "Management Disaster: A German Ghost Town in the Heart of China." *Der Spiegel Online*, October 12, 2011, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/management-disaster-a-german-ghost-town-in-the-heart-of-china-a-791392.html>.

¹⁹¹ *The Atlantic: Cities*, January 17, 2013.

Perhaps the most ambitious project of all is a copy of Manhattan's skyline and financial district being built in Tianjin, northern China. The site, to be completed in 2019, will feature copies of the Rockefeller Center, Lincoln Center and the Hudson River in hopes to becoming the largest single financial center in the world.¹⁹² The Rockefeller Group and other firms involved in constructing buildings and skyscrapers in Manhattan are additionally involved in investment and construction of the copy.¹⁹³ Though the scale and size of these copy towns is impressive and ambitious, the Chinese copy of Hallstatt differs because it was inspired by a single village, whereas these copy towns were based on several towns in the respective countries whose architectural styles were highlighted.

3.8 Non-Chinese Replications around the World

China is not the only country exhibiting and exploring the phenomenon of replicating and recreating architectural styles and towns found elsewhere. In 2008 the city of Dubai and a Dubai entrepreneur behind the project announced a partnership with the French city of Lyons and its mayor to construct its own version of several of the city's neighborhoods, complete with cafes, cinemas and schools. The planned Lyons-Dubai city will feature subsidiaries of Lyon's main museums, a French-language university specializing in international law and fashion, a football training center run by the Olympique Lyonnais and will aim at also reinstituting and recreating the city's atmosphere with boutiques, bistros and cultural places. Though the planned complex, situated on 400 hectares, will aim at recreating the city's architectural and cultural atmosphere and soul, it will not be precisely reproducing its buildings.¹⁹⁴ Jean-Paul Lebas, the French architect in charge of the project even stated that the bistros in Lyons-Dubai City will have the same atmosphere as the bistros

¹⁹² Colleen Kinder, "China's Manhattan Knock-Off." *The Atlantic*, August 4, 2011, <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/08/chinas-manhattan-knock-off/243037/>.

¹⁹³ *The Atlantic*, August 4, 2011.

¹⁹⁴ AFP, "French city Lyon to be rebuilt in Dubai" *Arab Business*, January 6, 2008, Industries, <http://www.arabianbusiness.com/french-city-lyon-be-rebuilt-in-dubai-122317.html>.

in the original.¹⁹⁵ The government of Lyons also hopes that the Lyons-Dubai City will bring investment from the Middle East into their city.¹⁹⁶

Other examples of famous towns or buildings being replicated, usually by wealthy entrepreneurs or real-estate development firms, include the recreation of the Taj Mahal in the Bangladeshi countryside.¹⁹⁷ A wealthy Bangladeshi film-maker financed the project, which was completed in 2009 after seven years of construction, compared to the twenty years it took for the original in India to be built.¹⁹⁸ The film-maker financed the replica for average Banglaeshi tourists who do not have the financial means to travel to India and sent architects to the original for measurements. Reactions in India were negative and authorities even considered suing the Bangladeshi film-maker for copy-right infringement.¹⁹⁹

India itself began a ten year project in 2012 to recreate the famous World Heritage listed Angkor Wat temple, a religious and symbolic icon of Cambodia, in the eastern state of Bihar.²⁰⁰ A private trust has financed the replica project, to be named Virat Angkor Wat Ram, and stated that it will be larger in size, shape and height than the original. However, whereas Cambodia's Angkor Wat is dedicated to the deity of Shiva, the Indian replica will be devoted to the deities of Ram, Ganesh and several others.²⁰¹ The Trust's secretary stated that the Indian version was never meant to be an exact replica and later changed its name to Virat Ramayan temple in order to not upset the people of Cambodia.²⁰² Representatives of the Cambodian government still insist that the construction of the

¹⁹⁵ "Operation Desert Lyons" *The Independent*, March 8, 2008, Middle East News, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/operation-desert-lyons-793166.html>

¹⁹⁶ *The Independent*, March 8, 2008.

¹⁹⁷ Mark Dummett, "Bangladesh to open own Taj Mahal" *BBC News*, December 9, 2008, South Asia, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7772579.stm>

¹⁹⁸ "Bangladeshi builds Taj Mahal replica," YouTube video, 2:43, posted by "Al Jazeera English," October 19, 2009, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=re5xRt6WKCA>.

¹⁹⁹ Al Jazeera English, October 19, 2009.

²⁰⁰ Amarnath Tewary, "India starts Angkor Wat replica in Bihar" *BBC News*, March 5, 2012, Asia, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-india-17259496>.

²⁰¹ *BBC News*, March 5, 2012.

²⁰² Lindsay Murdoch, "Fury at plan for Indian replica of Angkor Wat" *The Sydney Morning Herald*, March 20, 2012, Travel News, <http://www.smh.com.au/travel/travel-news/fury-at-plan-for-indian-replica-of-angkor-wat-20120319-1vfr7.html>

replica is a deliberate attempt to undermine the original's universal value.²⁰³ Other temples recreated elsewhere include the Byodo-In Temple located on the Hawaiian island of O'ahu. Established in 1968, it is a smaller-scale replica of the more than thousand-year old Byodo-In Temple, a World Heritage site from Uji, Japan.²⁰⁴ Though the original was constructed from wood without the use of nails and is still a Buddhist place of worship, the replica is primarily built of concrete and is a non-denominational Buddhist temple. Another example is the Parthenon in Nashville, Tennessee, which serves as the city's art museum. The building and the statue of Athena inside, built for the 1897 Centennial Exposition, are both full-sized replicas of the original from Athens.²⁰⁵ The palace residence of the Queen of the Netherlands was recreated with her permission in the Japanese residential-style resort of Huis Ten Bosch, which has also copied medieval 17th-century Dutch buildings.²⁰⁶ Other famous monuments have been replicated around the globe including several replicas of Stonehenge, in varying degrees of accuracy, the most full-size interpretation of which is near Maryhill in the state of Washington.²⁰⁷ The Eiffel Tower, the Statue of Liberty and Warsaw's statue of Chopin, all have dozens or even hundreds of replicas, once again in various degrees of size, around the world.

3.9 Using Replication as a Form of Touristic Site Promotion

Though the mayor of Austrian Hallstatt and the residents initially seemed upset and slightly offended, as expressed in media interviews, upon realizing their town will be copied in China, the mayor flew a delegation of residents, a five member brass band and town representatives to visit the

²⁰³ *The Sydney Morning Herald*, March 20, 2012.

²⁰⁴ "Valley of the Temples Memorial Park Kahaluu, O'ahu, Hawaii" Byodo-In Temple. <http://www.byodo-in.com/> (accessed June 10, 2013).

²⁰⁵ Metro Government of Nashville & Davidson County, Tennessee, "The Parthenon" Nashville.gov. <http://www.nashville.gov/Parks-and-Recreation/Parthenon.aspx> (accessed June 10, 2013).

²⁰⁶ "About Huis Ten Bosch" Huis Ten Bosch. http://english.huistenbosch.co.jp/about_htb/index.html (accessed June 11, 2013).

²⁰⁷ "Stonehenge Memorial" Maryhill Museum of Art. <http://www.maryhillmuseum.org/2013/visit/at-the-museum/gardens-grounds-and-ranch/stonehenge-memorial> (accessed June 11, 2013).

copy a year later for the official opening and a friendship ceremony. Mayor Scheutz has reiterated that the copycat Chinese town could have a positive effect and that it could be a tourism motor, explaining that the representative delegation introduced visitors to the Chinese Hallstatt to what occurs in the Austrian original all year round.²⁰⁸ The head of the Dachstein-Salzkammergut tourism association, Pamela Binder, also described the clone as a gift and a great advertisement within the Chinese market, stating that visitors from the region are an important source of revenue for the Austrian town.²⁰⁹ The question of whether a copy or replica of a site can be a positive and effective marketing and promotional device is profoundly new. Yet the notion of copying towns and heritage sites and attractions is unlikely to disappear.

Accurate responses to such a question are difficult to attain because research has not been widely conducted on the subject. Additionally utilizing such a concept as potential advertising has not yet been popularized either; current tourism marketing primarily entails the utilization of websites, tourism packages and radio, television, outdoor, print and online advertisements highlighting the unique attributes of a respective area, with the general strategy of increasing awareness among consumers and potential tourists.²¹⁰ However, the analogy and comparison of the knockoff industry and how it relates to the stability of fashion and other products is useful to analyze and predict how a replica of a heritage site or monument can be beneficial to the original. Though counterfeits and knockoffs of popular brands and branded products are illegal and at times are detrimental, many positive effects can stem from these knockoffs, including raising the profile of the original, raising brand awareness, can diversify and open the brand to new markets, if it is distinguishable from the original, and is a benchmark of a brand's health, according to a European

²⁰⁸ *Der Spiegel Online*, June 16, 2011

²⁰⁹ *Der Spiegel Online*, June 16, 2011

²¹⁰ Kolb, 2006.

Union funded study.²¹¹ When the economic climate of a country or an individual's income improves, as occurs with an increasing middle class, sales migrate from the counterfeit to the original.

Knockoffs can also compel the authentic brand owner to protect their projects. Most counterfeit copies are of lower quality, thus facilitating consumers' perceptions in acknowledging their lack of realness and authenticity. Their presence signals their desirability, symbolizing that even those who cannot afford the real thing still want it. It is essentially free advertising for the original product.

Such advertising is not only free but can also be more powerful and sincere due to it stemming from the authentic actions of consumers rather than carefully orchestrated efforts of producers.²¹²

Unintentional copies can act as unintentional advertising. Imitation may also be the quickest route to iconic status.²¹³

Chinese tourists are currently the world's largest spenders on travel, spending \$102 billion on international travel in 2012²¹⁴, a forty percent increase from the previous year. China the largest source market of the Asian region and Austria is the fifth most popular destination of Chinese tourists in Europe. In 2010 there were approximately 270,000 Chinese overnight stays, approximately 380,000 in 2011 and approximately 500,000 in 2012 in Austria.²¹⁵ In regards to Hallstatt, the site experienced a fifty percent increase in hotel bookings in 2012. Chinese tourists have also increased to the site and the Salzkammergut region since the replication incident surfaced 8,7000 Chinese guests visiting in 2011 compared to only 47 in 2005.²¹⁶

²¹¹ David S. Wall and Jo Large. "Jailhouse Frocks: Locating the Public Interest in Policing Counterfeit Luxury Fashion Goods." *British Journal of Criminology* 50(6) (2010).

²¹² Kal Raustiala and Christopher Sprigman, *The Knockoff Economy: How Imitation Sparks Innovation*. New York City: Oxford University Press, 2012.

²¹³ Boskner, 2013.

²¹⁴ World Tourism Organization (WTO). "China - the new number one tourism source market in the world." April 4, 2013, <http://media.unwto.org/en/press-release/2013-04-04/china-new-number-one-tourism-source-market-world>.

²¹⁵ Österreich Werbung. "China Market." 2013. <http://www.austriatourism.com/maerkte/maerkte/markt-china/> (accessed 4 August 2013).

²¹⁶ Guo Jiali, "Austria official endorses Chinese Hallstatt replica" *China.org.cn*, June 11, 2012, http://www.china.org.cn/china/2012-06/11/content_25615847.htm.

The mayor of Hallstatt and representatives from the regional tourist office were correct in stating that a clone of their town is a beneficial marketing and promotional tool. Numbers of Chinese tourists have increased exponentially. Signs in certain souvenir, art and craft shops in the town are translated into Mandarin for tourists.²¹⁷ The international profile and awareness of the Austrian Hallstatt has been raised. Additionally, now the Austrian Hallstatt is able to market itself as ‘the original,’ which has already been witnessed on its website. Such a marketing phrase and tagline accentuates and emphasizes its uniqueness, originality and authenticity, which is something much desired in the tourism realm as previously stated. Due to the secrecy of the clone’s planning and construction, Austrian Hallstatt did not have control over the whole situation.²¹⁸ The mayor and tourism office decided to make the best of the situation by receiving it positively. As previously evidenced, replicas and copies can have positive effects on the original and may actually help promote the original brand and object, if the consumer can distinguish and differentiate the two, which is most often the case. Consumers are persuaded to purchase the original²¹⁹; similarly the fact that Chinese tourism numbers increased provides evidence that more Chinese wanted to ‘consume’ and tour the original Hallstatt. The global media attention surrounding this unique case provided renewed or newfound interest and curiosity in the Austrian village, another form of free promotion. In this case, copies and replicas were used to produce positive outcomes in the name of tourism promotion. Time will tell if this style of tourism promotion will continue to be beneficial in a few years or decades.

²¹⁷ Personal Observation, Trip to Hallstatt, February 11, 2013.

²¹⁸ *Der Spiegel Online*, June 16, 2011.

²¹⁹ Smith, 2009.

3.10 The Concept of a Town, Monument or Site Being a Brand

A product and object can easily be copied and have a knockoff created; an experience, however, cannot.²²⁰ All the attributes associated with heritage sites and monuments, including history and culture, cannot be easily or authentically transported or recreated in a physical clone copy. The example of cloned Hallstatt and previous and future developments of cloned theme towns, monuments and the Lyons-Dubai project are controversial and instigate questions regarding using replicas and copies as promotional instruments but also if a heritage site, town or monument can be transformed into a brand. Can a site or place export or franchise itself?

The tourism industry has transformed, intentionally or unintentionally, heritage sites into commodities.²²¹ As a commodity and product, these sites gain in popularity and interest, especially internationally. Others will eventually want a copy of the product, for varying reasons. Is it better for towns, cities and sites to be in front of this trend of replication and begin marketing their strongest neighborhoods or sections of the town to Chinese or other developers as blueprints? Following this pattern, the across-the-board replication of city neighborhoods could become commonplace around the globe. If copying is inevitable, as it was in the Hallstatt case due to the secrecy behind the planning, would it not be better for the original city, town or site to be in control of the process? In the case of the Lyons-Dubai project, representatives of the city partnered with the Dubai private developer for its construction, with further plans for export and extend its football club, courses from its university and cafes and restaurants in the new location.²²² Can something as elusive as a 'sense of place' be copied and pasted, since Lyons is being copied also for the value of its cultural prestige?²²³ Can the soul or spirit of a city ever be recreated? Since the soul or spirit of a city is

²²⁰ Raustiala and Sprigman, 2012.

²²¹ Chhbra, 2010.

²²² AFP, January 6, 2008.

²²³ AFP, January 6, 2008.

essentially an experience, the possibilities of this happening are slim or non-existent since experiences cannot be replicated.²²⁴

Though this is a highly abstract and relatively new approach, perceiving sites, neighborhoods and towns as brands would be beneficial for their touristic promotion and awareness building, especially since they are already commodities from the touristic point of view. Though at least one replica exists of many heritage sites and monuments around the world, copying to an extreme could also be detrimental to a site and the newfound tourism promotion could backfire with an overabundance of various copies. The over-reproduction of culture, cultural sites and the disembodiment of culture from its everyday context makes it more difficult for the regions that originate those cultural forms to control and exploit them.²²⁵

²²⁴ Raustiala and Sprigman, 2012

²²⁵ Richards, 2011.

CHAPTER FOUR - PROTECTING AUTHENTICITY IN HERITAGE TOURISM

4.1 International and Domestic Treaties Protecting Heritage

In a formal system, protection measures usually include legal instruments, conservation interventions and management systems. An official recognition of a place as a heritage site gives it legal protection and allows government authorities to secure resources for its protection.²²⁶

Conservation intervention initiatives include preservation, restoration, reconstruction and adaptation, and the best intervention is one that protects the most by doing the least. International documents such as legally-binding charters and conventions provide guidelines for protection. In regards to heritage, many laws and policies pertain more specifically to management, reconstruction, preservation and conservation standards and protecting and funding cultural heritage in general, tangible and intangible. The main drivers and reasons for developing culture and tourism policies are for preserving heritage, stimulating economic development and employment in the local area, jump-starting economic regeneration, strengthening tourism, retaining the population and developing and strengthening cultural understanding.²²⁷

International law applicable to cultural property has undergone progress in the past fifty years. Following the destruction of World War II on cultural heritage sites, several international treaties have established protection of cultural heritage property and have also contributed to giving a precise meaning to the concept of 'cultural heritage.' The Hague Convention of 1954, otherwise known as the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, provided a system of general protection of property in the situation of international and domestic

²²⁶ UNESCO and Institute for Tourism Studies (IFT), Macao SAR, . "Cultural Heritage Specialist Guide Training and Certification Programme for UNESCO World Heritage Sites 4th ed.." *A Training Manual for Heritage Guides Core Module* (2007): 1-186. <http://mekongtourism.org/website/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2011/08/core-module-english.pdf>.

²²⁷ Greg Richards, "Cultural tourism trends in Europe: a context for the development of Cultural Routes," *In Impact of European Cultural Routes on SME's innovation and competitiveness*, edited by K. Khovanova-Rubicondo, (Strasbourg, Council of Europe Publishing, 2011), 29.

armed conflict, established a distinctive blue shield symbol marking cultural property, interpreted the destruction of cultural heritage in the event of armed conflict as a war crime²²⁸, and propelled the concept of ‘common heritage of mankind.’ The first time this concept was mentioned was in the preamble of the 1954 Convention²²⁹, strengthening heritage’s universality and interpreting that cultural properties must not be protected only by virtue of their material value, but rather as elements of global interest. The Paris Convention of 1970, also known as the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, had signatories promise legislation preventing the trade in illegally obtained cultural objects. International convention protection has been extended to underwater heritage in addition to intangible cultural heritage²³⁰. In 1972 the World Heritage Convention additionally strengthened and evolved the concept of a common heritage, in identifying and protecting the world’s natural and cultural heritage, stating the responsibility belongs to the international community as a whole, for the sake of present and future generations.²³¹

Out of these international treaties, the World Heritage Convention is the most universal, with 189 signatories. A global movement and international organizations were the primary drivers of the Convention gaining the success that it did. However, as with many treaties, the nation state role remains central because international treaties need to be internalized into municipal and domestic law.²³² The national government has an international responsibility under the Convention and though these obligations can be delegated to state and local governments, the national government is still accountable to international standards upon agreement with the Convention. However,

²²⁸ Craig Forrest, *International Law and the Protection of Cultural Heritage*. New York City: Routledge, 2010.

²²⁹ Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. The Hague, May 14, 1954. 249 U.N.T.S. 40. http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13637&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

²³⁰ Borelli, Silvia and Federico Lenzerini. *Cultural Heritage, Cultural Rights, Cultural Diversity: New Developments in International Law*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2012.

²³¹ Borelli et al., 2012.

²³² Webber Ndoro, Albert Mumma & George Abungu. "Cultural Heritage and the Law: Protecting Immovable Heritage in English Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa." *ICCROM Conservation Studies* 8 (2008), http://www.iccrom.org/pdf/iccrom_ics08_culturalheritageandlaw_en.pdf.

though there are 189 signatories to the Convention, only Australia so far has enacted specific domestic legislation that correlated the powers of the national government with the particular Convention, with their World Heritage Properties Conservation Act.²³³ Austria does mention World Heritage Sites in the 2008 Proclamation of the Federal Chancellor Concerning Cultural and Natural Heritage on the Territory of the Republic of Austria Included in the World Heritage List, however no mention is given regarding preservation or conservation specifics.²³⁴

States, in the case of the World Heritage Convention, are required to adopt policies aiming at giving natural and cultural heritage a function in the life of the community, integrating its protection into planning programs, taking appropriate scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures that identify, protect, conserve, present and rehabilitate heritage in their respective countries, refrain from measures that might damage cultural and natural heritage domestically and that belonging to other parties, and submitting an inventory of properties deemed considerable for the World Heritage List, and help other parties identify their potential World Heritage sites as well.²³⁵ As an aspect of the World Heritage Convention, the World Heritage Committee additionally publishes a list of World Heritage in Danger, enumerating sites threatened by deterioration, large-scale private and public projects, rapid urban development, changes in use of ownership, armed conflict, natural disasters, and each new entry is publicized immediately. Regarding the concept of authenticity, the Convention established the concept of Outstanding Universal Values in relation to choosing specific sites.²³⁶ Authenticity of a site must be protected, reconstruction is only possible with complete and detailed documentation on the original and though the protection guidelines are not precise, the Outstanding Universal Values established a framework of proper standards.

²³³ ICOMOS International Committee on Cultural Tourism, *Tourism at World Heritage Cultural Sites: The Site Manager's Handbook*. Washington D.C.: , 1993

²³⁴ Prahistorische Pahlbauten um die Alpen, . "Prehistoric Pile Dwellings around the Alps." *Management Plan 2.0 1* (2011), http://www.palafittes.org/uploads/media/Volume_I_chapters_5-9.pdf

²³⁵ Webber et al., 2008.

²³⁶ "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention," 2012.

Charters and regional policies have additionally been enacted since the 1920s, the majority of these relating to conservation, restoration and preservation of monuments and ancient buildings and archeological sites.²³⁷ Though the majority of these treaties and charters established the concept of a global heritage, only a select few specifically highlighted the concepts of authenticity and tourism management, such as the Nara Document on Authenticity, which details the importance of cultural diversity in perceiving authenticity, stating that cultural heritage must be considered and judged within the cultural context to which it belongs, and the ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Tourism, which asserts to respect and protect the authenticity and diversity of cultural values in developing and developed regions.²³⁸ As heritage loses some of its local dimension and becomes more of an international concern, through the concept of ‘common heritage of mankind,’ it is essential that international organizations take a larger role in this area.²³⁹ Though the majority of international protection is based on treaty law, the content of which contains few normative provisions and introduces a regime that nation states can enter without taking on international obligations, and soft law instruments adopted by UNESCO, general principles of protecting and conserving heritage of any people for enjoyment have been established²⁴⁰.

Domestic laws vary by country regarding the protection of heritage and cultural policies, but the majority of countries do have such provisions. Austria’s first heritage laws were enacted in 1918 and 1923 to govern export regulations and heritage protection (*Denkmalschutzgesetz*), and have been revised since then. In the 1980s public debate centered on privatization of art and culture forms, as well as sponsorship and patronage. Since the 2000s, there has been greater emphasis on prestige culture, the creative industries and the promotion of economically oriented projects,

²³⁷ Hans-Rudolf Meier, “Vermittlungsdefizite - Ursache gegenwärtiger Akzeptanzprobleme der Denkmalpflege”, in: *Kommunizieren - Partizipieren. Neue Wege der Denkmalvermittlung. Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Nationalkomitees für Denkmalschutz*, 82, 2012, S. 39-48.

²³⁸ Meier, 2012.

²³⁹ Meier, 2012.

²⁴⁰ Forrest, 2010.

presumably for the increase of tourism.²⁴¹ Since Austria is a federal state with relatively independent provinces, responsibilities for cultural matters is given to them; nature and urban zones, such as historical centers, are under their jurisdiction. The Constitution does not mention art and culture explicitly and federal protection exists only for the protection and preservation of monuments, federal theaters and museums and for broadcasting.²⁴² These aspects, as well as the media, arts and other cultural activities, receive public financial support. The preservation of old towns and city centers is legally a provincial responsibility and is enforced by local authorities, with the exception of monuments. The term “monuments and sites” has expanded over the decades in Austria, just as in the sphere of World Heritage. What used to mean a single monument currently signifies a ‘cultural landscape.’²⁴³ A wider area is protected, as with the gardens and parks in Austrian cities now being protected as monuments. The Monuments Protection Law, first enacted in 1923, protects monuments against destruction or alteration in accordance with their traditional appearance or artistic impression²⁴⁴ and prohibits their physical transfer abroad.²⁴⁵ Austria has committed itself to cooperation with UNESCO’s treaties previously mentioned, in addition to the Council of Europe’s European Cultural Convention and the Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society.²⁴⁶

4.2 Threats to the Perception of Authenticity in Tourism

Natural disasters, effects from pollution, armed conflict and war, vandalism, looting, increased and looming urbanization, development pressures and unsustainable mass tourism and mismanagement of heritage tourism sites threaten the sites and their perceived authentic elements.

²⁴¹ Ministry of Culture, Govt. of India, . "Scope of Cultural Policy Profiles ." *The Central Secretariat Library* (2005): . http://www.csl.nic.in/aboutus/cultural_policy_of_the_world.pdf.

²⁴² “Scope of Cultural Policy Profiles,” 2005.

²⁴³ Ivanovic et al., 2009.

²⁴⁴ Meier, 2012.

²⁴⁵ Prahistorische Prahlbauten um die Alpen, 2011.

²⁴⁶ “Scope of Cultural Policy Profiles,” 2005.

Mass tourism in particular often creates tension with the local community and threatens the physical, material and human elements related to sites; For World Heritage Sites the values on which the site was inscribed on are additionally threatened by mass tourism, potentially leading to the trivialization of the site.²⁴⁷ Increased visitor pressure can have severe consequences on a site, especially if the increases are unplanned or escalate too quickly, for many heritage sites were not originally built to handle thousands of tourists. Cultural hostility and resentment towards tourists, common in developing countries, often develops with unsustainable tourism. If the local community is not involved in tourism management guidelines, then resentment is likely to occur. Mass tourism leads to the commodification of culture and heritage in order to facilitate touristic consumption, eventually destroying the authenticity of tourist experiences, as primarily argued by MacCannell.²⁴⁸ However, others argue that commodification is not necessarily destructive to the meaning of authentic cultural products, for it does not lead to complete cultural annihilation. Instead, it preserves the culture insofar as changes have been voluntarily introduced into the mainstream culture by cultural owners. Such postmodernist thinking argues that since many tourists are prepared to accept an inauthentic product and in regards to locals, the old or authentic meanings, associated with a product or site do not necessarily disappear but instead remain salient on a different level for an internal public.²⁴⁹ Granted, the discussion and debate over how much authenticity changes with the influence and impact of mass tourism and in turn, commodification, is dependent on how authenticity is perceived in the first place. That being said, changes to the original authentic site or cultural site do occur, even to the slightest degree, under commodification's influence, as perceptions of authenticity change for certain individuals involved. For instance, locals take on a greater role in the touristic economy or signage and linguistics may change at a site under particular

²⁴⁷ Labadi, 2012.

²⁴⁸ Timothy and Boyd, 2003.

²⁴⁹ Cohen, 1988.

conditions.²⁵⁰ The idea of a threat seems extreme in certain situations, but some damage does occur at sites due to increased commodification. Additionally, the widespread overuse or misuse of the concept of authenticity, especially in regards to marketing purposes, could present a broadness of the concept that threatens to lead it to collapse on itself.²⁵¹ In other words, if everything is described as being authentic nothing - or at least fewer things - will be perceived or seen as authentic.

Popular argument has it that since replicas or copies are considered to be inauthentic, their existence proves that the notion of authenticity exists based on the concept of reciprocity. Furthermore, since replicas and copies are considered to be inauthentic they counteract notions of authenticity. Though perceived as inauthentic, depending on the knowledge and perception of the viewer, their inauthenticity can influence the sustainability of authenticity. The creation of replicas does have safeguarding attributes in relation to the preservation of authenticity of heritage sites and objects. That being said, commodification in itself has a tendency to create inauthentic portrayals, products and sites for tourist consumption, adapting them to touristic needs.²⁵² The construction of replicas can have negative attributes, especially if a replica is built in close vicinity to the original. For instance, over a dozen replica lighthouses ranging in faithfulness to the original are located in Nova Scotia, nearby the original and authentic heritage lighthouses. The local preservationist society introduced new guidelines in attempts to stem the construction of replica lighthouses due to potential threats, such as replica lighthouses diverting money and resources from preserving the original ones. Additionally with this example, replica lighthouses blur the line between reality by undermining the original's authenticity as a heritage attraction, can endanger the sustainability of the authentic attraction, can broadcast false or misleading historical messages and can be disrespectful of

²⁵⁰ Labadi, 2012.

²⁵¹ Chhabra, 2010.

²⁵² Yvette Reisinger, *International Tourism: Cultures and Behavior*. Burlington, MA, USA: Elsevier Inc., 2009.

the cultural significance of the real authentic lighthouses.²⁵³ Moreover, if the replica or copy is painstakingly recreated to mimic the original to the highest degree, authenticity could be a risk due to many individuals not being able to distinguish the difference between the authentic and artificial, according to postmodernists. Difficulty arises in determining whether and when fakes are productive and when they are detrimental.²⁵⁴ Replicas and copies can be perceived as an intrusion depending on the context, degree of exactness and most importantly the perception of the viewer. In relation to copies of heritage sites or heritage attractions, however, the majority of replicas are distinguishable from the original authentic sites.

In response to heritage and authenticity being threatened, the purpose of the World Heritage Convention, was originally to primarily preserve and maintain rare natural and cultural heritage from decay and destruction. Do Austria or developed countries', sites qualify to these principles and are the old cities of Salzburg or Graz really in danger? Is Hallstatt under threat from manmade dangers or natural catastrophe? In another frame for thought, is the continued listing of sites in Austria, or other developed countries, not a case of diluting the aims of the convention?²⁵⁵ Is the idea of replication being a potential threat elitist? Though Hallstatt and other heritage sites in developed countries are, the majority of the time, not under physical threat this does not disregard the potential threats from commodification and its various effects, such as possible loss in meaning of authenticity or pressures from tourists.

²⁵³Nova Scotia Lighthouse Preservation Society, "Guidelines for Construction at Historic Lighthouse Sites" NovaScotia.com. <http://www.nslps.com/ResearchPres/heritage-policy-replicas.aspx> (accessed August 4, 2013).

²⁵⁴ Peter Knight and Jonathan Long. *Fakes and Forgeries*. Buckinghamshire, UK: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2004.

²⁵⁵ Labadi, 2012.

4.3 Bodies Responsible for Protecting Tangible Heritage

Beyond international treaties and domestic laws, preserving authenticity and enacting sustainable tourism and heritage management policies relies on nation states and local sites, with oversight by UNESCO and ICOMOS and aid in funding from the international community, if need be.²⁵⁶ Since 2007, after more organizational restructuring, Austria has had a Federal Ministry for Education, the Arts and Culture. The Federal Monuments Office is responsible for cultural heritage with a primary office in the capital and other offices in all the provinces. Established in 1853, its responsibilities include preservation, restoration, and cataloging immovable cultural heritage of historic buildings, garden architecture, industrial heritage, archeological sites, and heritage lists, in addition to art and property restitution and controlling art exports.²⁵⁷ At the provincial level, cultural responsibilities include promotion of activities to preserve the appearance of villages and towns, annual festivals, folk art and tradition among others. Local level responsibilities, which rest with the city councilor or mayor, and the town's cultural department also includes these responsibilities at the provincial level.²⁵⁸

On an international level, UNESCO and the World Heritage Committee are responsible for protecting heritage sites and their authenticity. Countless non-profit organizations with similar motives operate in domestic countries, with the purpose of conservation and preservation. Organizations that operate internationally, such as the Global Heritage Fund or the World Monuments Fund²⁵⁹, do focus on heritage site protection (World Heritage listed or not); however the majority of their work is in developing nations coping with threats from natural disasters and poor site management accelerated by growing tourism demands, in addition to improving local

²⁵⁶ Lucas Lixinski, *Intangible Cultural Heritage in International Law*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013.

²⁵⁷ Veronika Ratzenböck, "Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe: Austria." *International Database of Cultural Policies by International Federation of Art Councils and Culture Agencies (IFACCA)* (2012): . <http://www.worldcp.org/austria.php?aid=1#>

²⁵⁸ Ratzenbock, 2012.

²⁵⁹ "About Us" The World Monuments Fund. <http://www.wmf.org/content/about-us> (accessed August 2, 2013).

community standards by improving heritage site management.²⁶⁰ This is ultimately a voluntary responsibility, as there is no legal provision for these organizations to do so. Protection of a site, even one not listed as a World Heritage site, is accelerated by the demands and pressures of increased tourism, which can accelerate wear and tear and introduce commercial activities that can be destructive or undesirable. Ill-conceived proposals for restoration and reconstructions by either political or commercial motives need to be met with cautious management.²⁶¹ Protecting authenticity at a local level includes using original building materials, historical stratigraphy, distinguishing new materials from historic so as not to mislead the observer, maintaining the historic fabric and avoiding replacement of the oldest structures, keeping the site in coherence with its setting, and respecting the original meaning and message of the site.²⁶²

Bodies, laws and policies responsible for protecting heritage have the intention of maintaining and protecting the authenticity of a site as well. This is primarily achieved by advancing policies regarding sound heritage management signifying preservation and conservation methods. Such methods maintain the current state of a site or monument in accordance with its historical setting, cultural methods of preservation and materials. The preservation and conservation debate has also signified the importance of going beyond historical and aesthetic appearances. Memorial, associational, symbolic values in addition to values of orientation, identity, scarcity and age should also be held equal in the ensemble of values.²⁶³ Many sites, even those designated as World Heritage, do not adhere or have complications properly adhering to heritage management policies in accordance with the World Heritage Convention or national heritage laws, so complete oversight by the international community and international organizations is not fully possible.²⁶⁴ Local authorities

²⁶⁰ "Global Heritage Fund Mission" The Global Heritage Fund. http://globalheritagefund.org/about_us/ghf_mission (accessed August 3, 2013).

²⁶¹ "Cultural Heritage Specialist Guide Training and Certification Programme for UNESCO World Heritage Sites," 2007

²⁶² Lixinski, 2013.

²⁶³ Meier, 2012.

²⁶⁴ Lixinski, 2013.

and administrations are the primary caretakers of such sites and issues such as corruption or lack of foreseeability impede the protection process, especially in developing countries. Punishment for breaching standards of authenticity protection and maintenance is not often considered to be a high priority, especially in developing countries.²⁶⁵ A place or monument that is designated as a World Heritage site can be put on the endangered list, but much of the damage has already been done. Regardless, though many sites and monuments do adhere to sound preservation and conservation standards, presently there is no international convention or charter prohibiting the replication or copying of heritage sites or monuments.²⁶⁶

4.4 Community Involvement in Heritage Protection Process

Local communities are the direct descendants of those who created heritage sites and historical centers. In the case of living sites, they are the custodians and a supportive community is the best partner in safeguarding heritage, especially sites considered to be cultural heritage landscapes.²⁶⁷ A population can achieve long-term heritage protection when people become involved in their community and work together to create change. The most effective way to garner such support is to share the benefits of the site with the community, which is gained primarily through tourism.²⁶⁸ The 1992 decision by UNESCO to adopt and institute the category of ‘cultural heritage landscapes’ created a fundamental shift in accepting the value of the community and their role and relation to the environment, including aspects such as cultural associations.²⁶⁹ The nomination and inscription process leads to increased awareness and value, presentation, management, improved conservation, renewed pride in heritage and often institutes a revival of traditions in nationally and

²⁶⁵ Lixinski, 2013.

²⁶⁶ Lixinski, 2013.

²⁶⁷ "Cultural Heritage Specialist Guide Training and Certification Programme for UNESCO World Heritage Sites," 2007

²⁶⁸ "Cultural Heritage Specialist Guide Training and Certification Programme for UNESCO World Heritage Sites," 2007

²⁶⁹ Ivanovic, 2008.

internationally proclaimed heritage sites.²⁷⁰ UNESCO's Operational Guidelines regarding World Heritage Sites were also updated in 2004 with the inclusion of local communities, stating that their participation in the nomination process is essential to evoke feelings of shared responsibility with the state party and responsibility for the maintenance of the site. The inclusion and involvement of the local community is still a relatively new concept in the heritage protection process, as its construction, designation and maintenance was previously dictated, and still often is, by experts, such as heritage managers, historians and geologists.²⁷¹ Though these are also stakeholders, the local community inhabits the livable heritage site on a day-to-day basis. Emotional attachment and rational assessments of a site's future additionally drive a community's attitudes toward the site. Positive benefits of having increased heritage tourism for the host community include reciprocity, community pride, tolerance and having a stronger sense of ethnic pride.²⁷²

Though the importance of local community participation has been realized as crucial in planning and maintenance of a heritage site and caring for its authenticity to be kept intact, increased tourism and the global recognition of a site also creates negative effects for local communities from visitor pressures, pollution, infrastructure problems and unrealized expectations. Every site differs from the next. However, many local communities battle with other stakeholders, specifically government officials interested in promoting tourism, regarding the effects on the community and measures for possible solutions, like limiting tourism permits.²⁷³ The pressures of increased media saturation of society and commercialization often inhibit the protection of heritage and a site's authenticity by the local community due to the local community being persuaded by the perceived financial benefits of altering the authentic atmosphere of their living community or traditional acts

²⁷⁰ Jessica Brown, Michael Beresford, and Nora J. Mitchell. *The Protected Landscape Approach: Linking Nature, Culture and Community*. Cambridge, UK: IUCN, 2005.

²⁷¹ Lisanne Gibson and John Pendlebury. *Valuing Historic Environments*. Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009.

²⁷² Gibson et al., 2009.

²⁷³ Gibson et al., 2009.

and ways of life for tourists and tourists' needs, such as building kitsch homes that disregard original building materials or following traditional fishing practices for the purpose of entertaining tourists.²⁷⁴ However, the likelihood of these negative aspects occurring also depends on other stakeholders, including governmental representatives, the tourism industry and socio-economic factors. Overall, the protection of a local site's heritage and the initiative to protect its authenticity depends on the positive participation of the local community, in addition to respecting the perspectives of local authorities and various tourism industry representatives.

4.5 Community Involvement in Hallstatt's Heritage Protection

In regards to replicating and copying livable sites and monuments in other regions of the globe, the projects were initiated by private wealthy developers, sometimes with the inclusion of local governmental partners such as in the Lyons-Dubai case.²⁷⁵ More often however, national and local governmental officials were not notified about the projects until construction began, as was the case with Hallstatt. Perhaps more importantly, the local communities of the original sites were either not notified or their opinions were not taken into account during the finalization of the project idea, as was the case with the versions of replicated towns and monuments mentioned previously.²⁷⁶ So far, there have been limited reports or studies of residents' perceptions of having their original towns, cities or places replicated elsewhere, possibly due to the nature of this being a relatively new occurrence. Naturally the inhabitants of a city, heritage or not or world famous or not, all have varying and differing perceptions regarding their emotional and rational connections to the city, positive and negative outlooks regarding the city and opinions regarding their city being

²⁷⁴ Cultural Heritage Specialist Guide Training and Certification Programme for UNESCO World Heritage Sites," 2007

²⁷⁵ Elaine Sciolino, "Smitten by Lyon, a Visitor Tries to Recreate the Magic" *The New York Times*, January 28, 2008, Europe, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/28/world/europe/28lyon.html?n=Top%2fReference%2fTimes%20Topics%2fSubjects%2fT%2fTravel%20and%20Vacations&r=0>.

²⁷⁶ Sciolino, 2008.

marketed as a commodity or being replicated elsewhere. For every resident that is upset, there is another that is either indifferent or has a positive reaction.²⁷⁷ That being said, the voice of the local community should be taken into consideration when planning such a project, not only because the local inhabitants are the caretakers of the original site and primarily have a strong connection with the site, but also for the sake of having an equal and open communication process and for certain local residents to not feel blindsided. Such involvement of the community is crucial in Hallstatt as well, especially in regards to the effects of tourism. Many, even reportedly twenty five percent of the population²⁷⁸, have left the town in the past decades due to the influx of tourists and for some, the difficulties of living in a heritage site that some akin to as living in a museum, a museum filled with wandering and gawking tourists.²⁷⁹ And though initial reaction to the copying of the town was more inclined to irritation and anger, many perceive the incident as a source of pride and honor, in the sense that there town was the only one in the world to be replicated in such detail.

4.5 The Concept of Staged Authenticity as a Form of Protection

Staging authenticity is done to protect and insulate local culture from the impacts of mass tourism. As stated and referenced previously by MacCannell, staging cultural experiences and performances diverts tourists from the authentic local culture and authentic performance, thus relieving pressure upon the authentic and helping in its preservation.²⁸⁰ The staged performance or staged creation is modified, identified and separated for touristic expectations and preferences, sometimes with but usually without the touristic noticing. Additionally, postmodernists like Cohen suggested that sustainable authenticity by justifying copied or contrived authenticity in order to

²⁷⁷ Reuters, Jun 5, 2012

²⁷⁸ Der Standard, June 20, 2013.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., June 20, 2013

²⁸⁰ MacCannell, 1973.

prevent authentic cultures from being destroyed or being overrun by tourism.²⁸¹ It certainly also depends on the view of the individual tourist, as some might be satisfied with staged performances.²⁸² Staged authenticity, also perceived as a form of the commodification of heritage, does have negative attributes depending on the context and situation; negative aspects occur when a community cannot separate the front and back stages or if the degree of separation is too narrow.²⁸³ Such commodification results in members either rejecting their own culture due to not being able to identify with it anymore, having the cultural attributes become frozen and authenticity and meaning of the performance or art form decreasing or becoming non-existent.²⁸⁴ The greater the degree of separation between the front and back regions and the greater the identification of the front region being a commodity, the stronger the degree of protection in regards to staged authenticity.

In the case of the Chinese Hallstatt, the setting is obviously staged judging from photographs taken by tourists and from official media reports. In regards to the constructed front region, a new foreign entity is created as a hybrid in which cultural symbols are mixed and altered; these symbols have no cultural value for the host community or to the community where the front region is located. Tourists, however, see these symbols of the same culture, depending on their degree of experience and knowledge about the original culture.²⁸⁵ As mentioned previously, if the setting is staged, tourists either believe the setting to be authentic or recognize its inauthenticity; this depends on the perception of the tourists, which is affected by education, social networks and the media or personal willingness to accept the inauthentic or authentic.²⁸⁶ Less alienated and therefore

²⁸¹ Ivanovic, 2008.

²⁸² Chris Halewood and Kevin Hannam. "Viking Heritage Tourism: Authenticity and Commodification ." *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(3) (2001): p. 565–580.

²⁸³ MacCannell, 1973.

²⁸⁴ Ivanovic, 2008.

²⁸⁵ Timothy and Boyd, 2003.

²⁸⁶ Robinson et al., 2011.

less concerned individuals, including most rank-and-file tourists, will be content with a much wider and a less rigid criterion of authenticity.²⁸⁷

In regards to the relation between the Chinese and Austrian towns of Hallstatt, the degree of separation between the two is significant not only in terms of geographical and cultural distance but also in regards to differences in the environment surrounding the towns, and intentional yet generalized mix of Austrian symbols presented in the Chinese clone and the atmosphere and air of recent construction present at the Chinese clone.²⁸⁸ Though outer shell of the town is a fairly accurate clone in regards to its construction and layout of the buildings and plazas, the inner dimension is purely staged. Though it is too soon to tell how the clone will exactly affect the Austrian original due to the novelty of the situation, staged authenticity will relieve the original from having to commodify itself more in its original location. Staging authenticity does inflict positive attributes and does act as a form of protection for the present and future in theory and often in practice; such protection occurs especially if the degree of separation between back and front regions is wide enough as to not inflict a loss of meaning and authenticity to the back region.²⁸⁹

4.6 The Limitations of Copyright Protection at Heritage Sites

Copying in architecture has existed for many centuries, when cultures copied and expanded on designs from preceding societies. Beginning in the late 1880s however, copyrights were established in architecture.²⁹⁰ Tangible cultural heritage, including art works and architecture, has various copyright lengths depending on the country origin or where the work was created.

According to the World Intellectual Property Organization, copyrighted work was established with

²⁸⁷ Robinson et al., 2011.

²⁸⁸ *The Atlantic: Cities*, June 8, 2012.

²⁸⁹ MacCannell, 1976.

²⁹⁰ "Summary of the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works (1886)" WIPO. http://www.wipo.int/treaties/en/ip/berne/summary_berne.html (accessed June 11, 2013).

the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works of 1886.²⁹¹ Though there is no universal or international copyright, countries agreeing to the Berne Convention have accepted the existence of copyrights of other nations. This and further recent international conventions and treaties provide protection of an author's or artist's or architect's work during their lifetime and a minimum of fifty years after their death. Many countries of North America and the European Union, including Austria, have extended this term to include seventy years.²⁹² After the seventy year time requirement the art or architectural work, an example of intellectual property, becomes public domain. Within the time period of seventy years or during the author's life, permission needs to be granted for the work to be replicated or copied. Ideas and concepts themselves cannot receive copyright, so therefore the concept of heritage cannot be copyrighted.²⁹³ Additionally, taking a photograph of a building, especially from the visible vantage point of a public space such as a street, sidewalk or plaza does not constitute copyright infringement. Even if the building is private property, such photography is legal and can be freely publicized, a concept known as freedom of panorama.²⁹⁴ Certain countries, including Austria, even allow the interiors of a building to be photographed, if they are publically accessible. Other countries, such as Italy or Greece, do not have freedom of panorama; photographers need to pay money to the copyright owner or the State in order to share photos of monuments located in public spaces.²⁹⁵ In theory this offers a degree of protection; however it is difficult to control. Creating a graphic work depicting a building, such as a drawing or painting, also does not cause infringement. Building new structures based on

²⁹¹ World Intellectual Property Organization, "Understanding Copyright and Related Rights" WIPO Resources. http://www.wipo.int/freepublications/en/intproperty/909/wipo_pub_909.html, (accessed June 11, 2013).

²⁹² WIPO, June 11, 2013.

²⁹³ Justin Sweet and Marc M. Schneier. *Legal Aspects of Architecture, Engineering and the Construction Process*. Stamford, CT, USA: Cengage Learning, 2011.

²⁹⁴ Bryce Clayton Newell. "'Freedom of Panorama: A Comparative Look at International Restrictions on Public Photography.'" *Creighton Law Review* 44 (2011): 405-427.

²⁹⁵ Newell, 408.

photographs or graphic works is legal. However, owners of a building must give their permission for measurements to be taken²⁹⁶, something that did not occur in Hallstatt.

Due to the seventy year limitation, buildings, monuments and sculptures in Hallstatt are listed in the public domain, much like the famous monuments of the Eiffel Tower or Trevi Fountain. However, because copyright does depend on national laws, certain countries have enacted provisions protecting their national heritage.²⁹⁷ For instance, in 2008 Egyptian members of Parliament made a case for establishing a copyright law allowing claims for damages against authors of reproductions of the pyramids, the Sphinx and all other ancient monuments and antiquities. If the replica was deemed to be exact, royalties would have to be paid. However, the law is yet to be adopted due to the sensitive nature of exactness, especially if the interior of the copied building differs from the interior of the original even though the exteriors might be deemed exact.²⁹⁸ Monuments and statues that are still protected under the seventy year limitation do have copies located elsewhere, such as Copenhagen's Little Mermaid statue, which originated in 1913. However, if a local city or town council wants to copy the original, permission and authorization from the creator or the creator's family is required.²⁹⁹ Unauthorized copies either have to pay a licensing fee to the family of the creator or be dismantled. If permission is not granted, a replica cannot be constructed and noticeable variations to the original occur.

Another method of attempting to protect an architectural heritage work is with a trademark. Certain buildings such as the Auditorio de Tenerife in Spain or the spire of the Chrysler Building have their images protected against non-permissible commercial exploitation.³⁰⁰ Tourist photographs

²⁹⁶ Der Spiegel Online, June 16, 2011.

²⁹⁷ Jorge Ortega, "Architecture & copyright controversies." *WIPO Magazine*, September 2011, http://www.wipo.int/wipo_magazine/en/2011/05/article_0004.html#2.

²⁹⁸ "Egypt 'to copyright antiquities'" *BBC News*, December 25, 2007, Middle East, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7160057.stm.

²⁹⁹ Timothy Aepfel, "In a Mermaid Statue, Danes Find Something Rotten in State of Michigan" *The Wall Street Journal*, July 27, 2009, http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB124865622123982685#mod=rss_whats_news_us/

³⁰⁰ *WIPO Magazine*, September 2011.

are permissible of the distinct trademark building or portion of the building, but the individual or firm filing the trademark has the ability to sue individuals or businesses, such as souvenir establishments, using symbol or image on their products.³⁰¹ Trademarks have duration of ten years, but can be renewed essentially making them forever-lasting. However, it is more difficult to obtain a trademark for a building or a portion of the building if it has been publically accessible for a long time and if has been subject to open commercial exploitation by others before, without objection.³⁰²

Historical heritage buildings and monuments, due to the seventy year limit in the majority of countries, can no longer be protected by copyright laws. Trademark laws could protect such buildings but the majority of historical sites have been open to being publically accessible for many years and decades. Though the Egyptian case attempted to legally protect antiquities from exploitation, the nature of exactness would have been difficult to define. Though Hallstatt and other sites are protected by World Heritage Status, this does not guarantee them the right to not be copied, due to the wording of the World Heritage convention. Inscription as a World Heritage site does not change legal status, ownership or management of designated lands. UNESCO has no jurisdiction over the site.³⁰³ Though it would have been courteous to notify the mayor and residents of Hallstatt before construction of the replica began, currently there is no legal precedent prohibiting and preventing such an action. Just as the mayor himself said, Hallstatt has no copyright protection.³⁰⁴

New ideas regarding copyright are always blossoming however; rephrasing the discussion to another level is the concept of perceiving things as having and demanding their own rights,

³⁰¹ David Dunlap, "What Next? A Fee for Looking?" *The New York Times*, August 27, 1998, Design Notebook, <http://www.nytimes.com/1998/08/27/garden/design-notebook-what-next-a-fee-for-looking.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>.

³⁰² Hollander, Jay "Turning Real Property into Intellectual Property" *Hollander and Company, LLC*, 1998, <http://www.hollanderco.com/articles/archived/TurningRealPropertyintoIntellectualProperty.htm>.

³⁰³ World Heritage Center, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage" UNESCO . <http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/> (accessed July 1, 2013).

³⁰⁴ Brigitte Kirchgatterer, "China: Hallstatt-Kopie vor Eröffnung" *Kurier*, May 14, 2012, <http://kurier.at/politik/china-hallstatt-kopie-vor-eroeffnung/787.201>.

including a stake in their own copyright, in variation to the over-encompassing notion of the author having the right to exploit, copy, replicate or duplicate a thing and reap the financial benefits of doing so.³⁰⁵ This new-found idea argues that copying is a means of reproduction in ‘thing-world’ and copyrights must be an aspect for a thing as human rights are for humans. Furthermore,

“Things are haunted by their potential or actual doubles, replicas, simulacra, reproductions and fakes. Architecture evolves in the physical and digital domain as sequences of copies. Gradual differentiations, variations, distortions and mutations occur as things reproduce themselves. This process is not beyond humans, for things to reproduce themselves need humans, just as humans need their physical and technical prostheses.” (See Figure 2 Appendix 2)³⁰⁶

This argument demonstrates that new forums are needed where conflicts of rights could be mediated, possibly and potentially defining copyrights as the rights of the object over and above the rights of its author, achieving a thing-world of inter-objectivity. So far, this is only an idea. This newfound idea and the newfound pattern and seeming trend of replicating sites, monuments, neighborhoods and towns additionally raises the question of whether a site, neighborhood or town has a right to itself.

4.7 The Tension Between Global Tourism and Retaining Authenticity

Globalization has fueled the expansion of the tourism market exponentially over the past years, often creating tension between global and local desires and activities and fueling discussions on how authenticity can be retained and protected with the increase of globalized tourism promotion and the strengthening of the tourism industry. Globalization, it is often argued, leads to standardization and commercialization and translations of local phenomena into global ones. It can also lead to over-development of places, assimilation into the general sphere and artificial and fake

³⁰⁵ “A_schau: Österreichische Architektur im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert.” Architekturzentrum Wien, Museumsplatz 1, 1070 Wien. 5 August 2013.

³⁰⁶ Architekturzentrum Wien, 5 August 2013.

reconstruction.³⁰⁷ Tension exists between retaining a local identity while simultaneously developing more international relationships, often for the purpose of promoting and sustaining the economic and financial viability of a site.³⁰⁸ Though globalization is commonly seen as negative, with its linkages with commercialism, it can give a site and its local community new strength and legitimacy. When globalization is unbridled and unrestrained, it is often perceived as negative or something that devalues a site or experience and devalues its authenticity. However, globalization is also being perceived as something that can intensify the traditional rather than decrease it.³⁰⁹ As a process, it shifts local sites into educational tools for tourists, to learn about the other. Others argue that the globalization of heritage through tourism has led to a greater respect for culture than previously existed.

The tension between retaining authenticity amidst the pressures of global tourism still exists and will especially with the emphasis on heritage destinations adapting themselves to the homogenizing trends of global tourism. Though homogenization exists at particular sites, more sites additionally have to commoditize their local distinctiveness in order to compete with other destinations. The battle for economic viability and also the battle between preservation and the dilution of cultural authenticity showcases the difficulty in protecting the concept of authenticity. Heritage sites, with the aid of global promotion, now provoke various degrees of understanding on a local, national, regional or global scale.³¹⁰ These various scales prove that these sites are no longer just in one sphere. As agents influenced by globalization and examples of global heritage, these sites should ideally have measures of protection and sustainable heritage management plans in order to retain authenticity. Granted, such measures vary depending on context, location and situation. However, measures such as implementing quotas on the amount of visitors and advertisements at

³⁰⁷ Lowenthal, 1998.

³⁰⁸ Halewood and Hannam, 2001.

³⁰⁹ Halewood and Hannam, 2001.

³¹⁰ Labadi and Long, 2010.

the site or mandating accuracy in regards to relations to the historical object or theme at hand strengthen the retention of authenticity.³¹¹

Perhaps, even controversially, staged authenticity could be considered a form of protecting authenticity, considering that the process and effects of globalization are inevitable and that globalization often leads to staged authenticity occurring anyway. Many tourists already accept superficiality of tourism products, performances or sites as long as it aids in protecting the original culture.³¹² Most tourists accept commercialized or staged objects as being authentic as long as they are convinced that these objects were made by members of the ethnic group in question or have traditional designs. Such a comparison can also be attributed to staged authenticity in regards to heritage sites, such as the Chinese clone of Hallstatt. Though the processes of globalization contributed to its creation and though the notion of authenticity was debated in relation to the original, the staged version aids in protecting the authenticity of the original and many tourists visiting the Chinese version accept its superficiality.³¹³ Additionally the staged-authentic replica acts as a protector by showcasing the separation between the two and showcasing the extent of commodification. Tensions between globalization and authenticity will exist in the framework of global tourism and global tourism promotion; however, such tensions can be at least decreased with appropriate protective measures.³¹⁴

³¹¹ Aygen , 2013.

³¹² Cohen, 1988.

³¹³ *China.org.cn*, June 11, 2012.

³¹⁴ Labadi and Long, 2010.

CHAPTER FIVE – CONCLUSION AND SCOPE FOR MORE RESEARCH

5.1 Conclusion

At the turn of the century when the town of Hallstatt decided to emphasize its focus on the tourism industry, the local community and town representatives would never have imagined their picturesque hamlet to be copied half-way across the globe many decades later. Just as the Austrian town's prominence was raised domestically and then in the European sphere in the 19th and early 20th centuries with the slow rise of the tourism industry and preliminary components of promotion, the fact that the town was copied also showcases the heavy influences of the, now, globalized tourism industry. The ability of Chinese and other nationalities' tourists and wealthy business developers to be travelers on a global level and be inspired by places beyond their borders, the ability of messages and promotional ideas to be communicated internationally and the ability for an international organization to nominate and designate destinations that in turn boost their prominence all corresponds and correlates to the rise and effects of the globalized tourism industry. Such an incident could have occurred to any town or monument; a developer just happened to be particularly inspired by Hallstatt. The copying of an entire town was eventually going to be inevitable, especially considering the technology in the present era. Hallstatt had the designation of being the first. And it was not the last, as the action of replicating monuments and sites is not only a Chinese phenomena but an international one occurring at various areas around the globe. Though many were upset originally, the fact that the replica was soon appreciated by the majority of the local Austrian community signifies not only their sense of pride of having their town being admired globally or a sense of being marketing savvy, but also the notion of acknowledging the state of the industry now and the state of the globalized world. Any situation is best perceived positively and optimistically.

This also brings about the notion of local heritage becoming global. Though a local site or monument still maintains a sense of unique pride amongst the local community, the influences of heritage tourism and especially the UNESCO World Heritage Committee has created an atmosphere of global heritage that should be acknowledged and utilized to its full potential. World Heritage designation is not a necessity for a site to be globally significant but it does aid in this regard. Though there are consequences to a site being globally significant and being a global destination, if the community is conscious of this then better heritage protection and management policies will come to fruition and less bitterness will be felt. Though everything cannot be owned by everyone in the physical sense, everything can have value to everyone, as is increasingly being seen in the tourism and heritage protection spheres. The World Heritage Committee additionally boosts the sense of authenticity in a place with its prestigious yet rigid criteria for selection and upkeep.

In regards to retaining and protecting historical areas and heritage, and in turn authenticity, the notion of staged authenticity can be perceived as helping preserve the sense of authenticity in the original site, even though the site is in the most basic of terms exporting itself to the front stage. Staged authenticity, as was analyzed with the Chinese replica and can be analyzed with other replicas of monuments and future copies of neighborhoods of towns, not only promotes the site in the touristic sense but also can also serve as a saving device. What is behind the stage, otherwise known as the original, retains a higher sense of authenticity than what is upfront, otherwise what can be perceived as a copy or replica. Though it is primarily seen as a sense of the negativities of commoditization, it aids the original in being less commoditized. Tourists additionally yearn for authentic experiences, in the objective sense and in the constructive sense, as is seen in promotional touristic mediums. Though the concept of staged authenticity in the past has been implemented on cultural objects and performances, viewing the concept in a newfound light in regards to the modern development of copying entire buildings, monuments and towns presents a new feature to the

academic field. The rise of the global heritage tourism industry has essentially commoditized sites, but authenticity can still be protected. Tourists and the international community still perceive Hallstatt as being authentic, at least authentic to its context and its Austrian history.

The case of Hallstatt and the fact that copying towns and larger fragments of neighborhoods and monuments is becoming a trend reveals questions about the implications for the future. The novelty of this topic makes it more difficult to make predictions. Hallstatt was a particular case as well, due to there being no legal repercussions for copying its buildings as the copyright was expired and heritage does not have special designations on copyright. Additionally, having a relatively strong heritage management policy and being housed in a developed context aided in its positive perception of the copying situation. Weak management policies and less privileged situations, economically speaking, would create greater feelings of exploitation after being copied and copying a building or site within the typical seventy year statue after the original creator's death collides with the notion of copyright protection. Creating a multitude of copies would also create larger negative implications in regards to the original site and it would become more difficult to retain the sense of authenticity, and especially a sense of originality. That being said, the perceptions of the incident are going to differ from individual to individual but in the majority, the effects of copying a living town does not sound so atrocious, drastic or dramatic as the media reports made it seem. Time will tell how the residents of Hallstatt will feel about the copy, how the Chinese feel of living in a cloned town and how others' perceive of having their towns copied. Though archeologists may be extremely confused in 10,000 years while excavating sites seemingly geographically removed from one another,

5.2 Limitations and Scope for More Research

Much research has already been conducted on the sense of authenticity, how it is influenced by commoditization and how it can be protected throughout the last few decades. Ideas presented

here elaborated on past research while analyzing them in a different framework of modern replication. More research should be conducted regarding the perceptions of residents of the Chinese clone and the Austrian town in increments of time in order to perceive if there has been a change in perspective. Further research could also take other factors into account, such as economic ties and strengths between regions or countries that would influence such a replication incident or replication partnership, as in the Dubai-Lyon case.

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APPENDIX ONE : CHINA HALLSTATT AND AUSTRIA HALLSTATT PHOTOS

FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



AUSTRIA HALLSTATT

FIG. 1. (TAKEN BY ONA GOLONKA)



FIG. 2. (TAKEN FROM GOOGLE IMAGES)



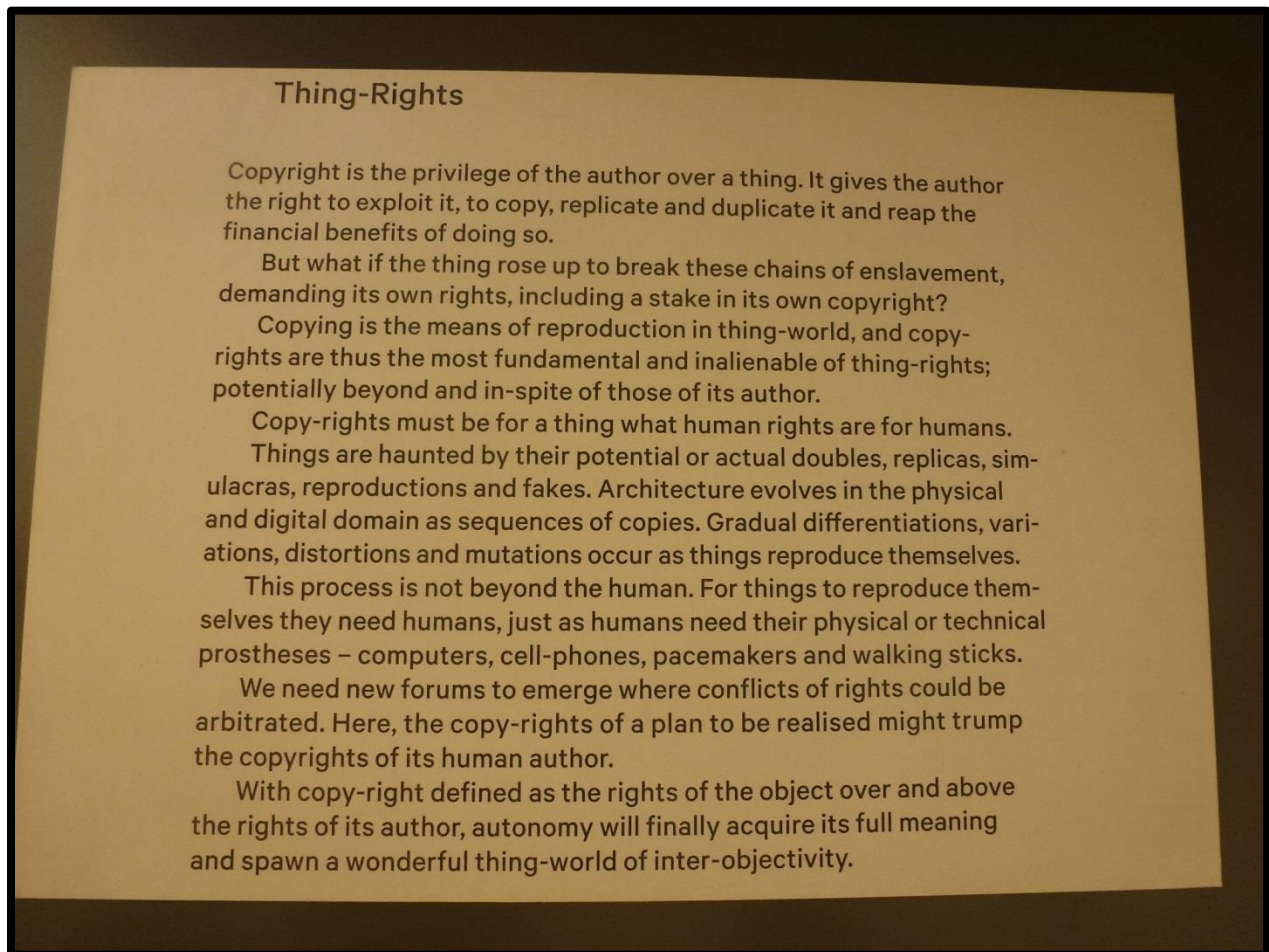
FIG. 3.



APPENDIX TWO

Photo from the Exhibition Titled “*A_schau: Österreichische Architektur im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert,*” at the Architekturzentrum Wien.

FIG. 1.



APPENDIX THREE

UNESCO CRITERIA FOR WORLD HERITAGE SITE DESIGNATION

Selection criteria:

- i. to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
- ii. to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
- iii. to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
- iv. to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
- v. to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
- vi. to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);
- vii. to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
- viii. to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;
- ix. to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;
- x. to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.

The protection, management, authenticity and integrity of properties are also important considerations.

Since 1992 significant interactions between people and the natural environment have been recognized as **cultural landscapes**.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Ona Golonka

 Sudtiroler Platz 2/6, 1040 Wien (Austria)

 0680 5526963

Sex Female | Date of birth 25 February 1990 | Nationality Polish, American

JOB APPLIED FOR

WORK EXPERIENCE

9/2013 – 11/2013

Public Affairs Intern

United Nations Office of Drug and Crime, Vienna (Austria)

- compiling press clippings from global media related to the programs and work of the UNODC
- compiling press clippings related to wildlife crime
- researching and selecting articles and material for social media pages
- compiling monthly social media statistics reports
- constructing monthly e-Newsletters using the Content Managing System (CMS)
- expanding and maintaining database of hundreds of contacts for the counterfeit campaign, including individuals from international organizations, NGOs, trade associations, consumer organizations, media organizations and chambers of commerce

06/2012 – 10/2012

Communications Intern

Mercy Corps, Portland, Oregon (United States)

- Created media lists featuring local, national and international journalists related to programs and countries Mercy Corps is invested in
- Researched and made recommendations for the implementation of the organization's first online press room
- Updated and edited forty country fact sheets related to organizations' development programs, while communicating with country program directors
- Research assistance and gave recommendations for the social media-aided photography contest, for the organization's fundraising and promotion purposes
- Created agendas and meeting notes for team conference calls and meetings
- Participated in other communications and resource development team projects as needed

01/2012 – 05/2012

Community Journalist

The Wroclaw International, Wroclaw (Poland)

- Voluntarily attended city government and private business press conferences
- Interviewed business leaders, city officials and prominent community members on a weekly basis
- Wrote articles for newspaper distributed to over 10,000 individuals in universities, transportation hubs, tourist centers, business offices and community centers
- Aided the editor in finalizing contacts, translating texts and copy-editing articles

05/2011 – 09/2011

Marketing Intern

Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon (United States)

- Wrote and finalized event promotion content for major and minor Museum summer events and exhibitions
- Upheld Museum media partnerships with 15 local magazines, newspapers and radio stations
- Recruited new online media organizations as event promotion partners
- Organized promotional and sponsorship material for weekly Cars in the Park event
- Worked closely with Marketing and Ticket Sales departments

01/2011 – 06/2011 Intern

All Classical Public Media Inc., Portland, Oregon (United States)

- Worked with administrative and broadcast departments during spring financial pledge drive
- Wrote fundraising copy for national syndicated programs aired on All Classical FM
- Performed in-kind data entry to acknowledge and track private and business donors
- Updated and wrote content for cultural event calendar
- Created and wrote station's Wikipedia page
- Wrote weekly reflection blog doubling as promotional material for the station

08/2010 – 05/2011 Coordinator of International Students

University of Portland, Portland, Oregon (United States)

- Coordinated three-day orientation for more than sixty new international university students
- Coordinated bi-monthly events for university international students, including film screenings, excursions, panel discussions and academic help sessions
- Served as liaison between international students and university departments and services
- Created agenda for monthly event planning meetings with fellow staff
- Developed promotional materials for events, used social media and partnered with other student organizations

06/2010 – 09/2010 Intern

Our Oceans, Portland, Oregon (United States)

- Outreached to and registered supporters at weekly regional festivals and events
- Co-created a regional database used to track and further interact with registered supporters
- Co-coordinated monthly excursions to Oregon Coast to increase campaign support
- Outreach to local businesses and organizations interested in supporting campaign

11/2011 – 05/2012 Event Coordinator (Volunteer)

American Corner, Wroclaw (Poland)

- Coordinated events for groups of primary and secondary students regarding American traditions, culture and language
- Received certificate of gratitude from representatives of the American Embassy in Warsaw

24/03/2012 – 31/03/2012 Faction Leader of the Green Party

Model European Union 2012, Strasbourg (France)

- negotiate between country members in the Green Party to create solutions
- represent the Green Party during press conferences and sessions with journalists
- negotiate with other Parties during mock Parliamentary sessions regarding issues at stake

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

09/2011 – 11/2013

Master's of the Arts in Global Studies

University of Wroclaw and University of Vienna

Global Communications, Migration, International Relations, Foreign Aid, International Human Rights Protection, Diplomacy and Information Society, Tourism,

08/2008 – 05/2011

Bachelor's of Science in Organizational Communications

University of Portland, Portland, Oregon (United States)

Negotiation and Conflict Management, International Marketing Management, Cross-Cultural Management, Social Media studies, Organizational Communication Theory, International Law and Organization

02/2010 – 06/2010

Certificate in International Relations

University of Notre Dame Australia, Fremantle, WA (Australia)

Semester Study Abroad Program

PERSONAL SKILLS

Mother tongue(s)

English, Polish

Other language(s)

	UNDERSTANDING		SPEAKING		WRITING
	Listening	Reading	Spoken interaction	Spoken production	
French	A2	A2	A2	A2	A2

Levels: A1/A2: Basic user - B1/B2: Independent user - C1/C2: Proficient user
[Common European Framework of Reference for Languages](#)

Communication skills

I am an effective communicator with proven skills in public speaking, negotiation, cross-cultural communication, promotion, event planning and interdisciplinary work. I am able to work well both in a team and independently. I have strengthened these skills by working with international co-workers, coordinating events and panel discussions, preparing for press conferences and interviewing various subjects.

Organisational / managerial skills

My academic experiences have strengthened my research, writing, public relations and analytic skills through studying and working abroad and completing multiple internships while simultaneously finishing my Bachelor's and Master's degrees. My previous professional experiences additionally strengthened my leadership skills, especially in team settings, time management, multi-tasking, flexibility in writing for various audiences and purposes and strengthening my adaptability to team and independent working environments. My global affairs interests were strengthened also by field experiences in the Kimberly region of Australia, U.S. and Mexico border and South Africa and volunteering for human rights organizations.

Job-related skills

My academic and professional experiences have strengthened my public relations and journalistic writing, data research and database management, stakeholder coordination and negotiation, media planning, drafting and editing reports, writing fundraising copy and marketing skills and strategies.

Computer skills

Technically proficient in Microsoft Office Suite, Adobe Photoshop, InDesign, Raiser's Edge Constituent Management Database, Microsoft Mail Merge, Social Media (Facebook, Twitter, Flickr, YouTube, Tumblr, Blogging), Adobe Audition, Adobe Premiere, iMovie,

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Memberships Communication Honor Society Lambda Pi Eta

Citations Student Representative for Re-Accreditation Task Force

- One of two students nominated to provide insight in teaching and learning improvements in taskforce committee for University of Portland re-accreditation
- Recommendations given to University of Portland President and Board of Directors