

CITY TOURISM

National Capital Perspectives

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Edited by

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1

Introduction: National Capitals and City Tourism

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Capital cities represent a special case of urban tourism. Yet, in much of the literature on capital cities, the planning and policy significance of tourism is seemingly ignored, while similarly, little is made of the significance of capital status in the tourism literature.

(Hall, 2005, p. 219)

Introduction

Twenty years ago, Ashworth (1989) pointed to a double neglect of city tourism. Tourism researchers had neglected the city, though so much tourism took place there, and urbanists had neglected tourism, despite its rapid growth and increasing influence on cities. Much has changed. For developers and policy makers, city tourism is now mainstream, and no longer associated just with resorts and historic cities. Former industrial cities have taken to tourism as an important part of the way they must make their living in a changing world, and national capitals have given more attention to tourism. As is shown elsewhere in the book, national capitals have always had special qualities that attract visitors, but their attitudes towards tourism have at times been ambivalent. For example, London has long been a leading – on some measures, *the* leading – national capital destination, but until the 1980s city policy makers saw tourism primarily as a problem to be managed, while admitting some benefits, mainly to unskilled workers (e.g. Lipscomb and Weatheritt, 1977). For their part, tourists have shown an increasing desire to visit cities, as global tourism numbers have grown and trips have multiplied. Now as Fainstein *et al.* (2003, p. 8) say, ‘virtually every city sees a tourism possibility and has taken steps to encourage it’.

Growth in city tourism has been accompanied by increasing interest from researchers, and much more attention is now paid to the phenomenon.

However, as Selby (2004) argues, a clear and analytical framework for understanding city tourism is still lacking. Studies have tended to focus on tracking, describing and considering the impacts of tourism, often through isolated case studies; systematic analysis has been limited. Longitudinal analyses of tourism policies and their impacts have been rarer still (Maitland, 2006). One aspect of the problem is the lack of data. It is ironic that despite the widely acknowledged growth of city tourism, and the often-repeated claims by the tourism industry that it is the biggest in the world, even basic information on visitor numbers in cities is hard to find in any consistent form, so that comparisons between cities over time are virtually impossible. This difficulty applies even to leading cities and national capitals like London, Berlin and Paris (Maitland and Newman, 2009). Limited theoretical frameworks and lack of data inhibit a nuanced understanding of how the different qualities of cities interact with changing tourism demands to produce different outcomes – for both city and visitor – in different places. While there is no shortage of descriptive categories of city types (e.g. Page and Hall, 2003), analysis and connection to broader theory and conceptual schemes is limited.

This may explain the disregard of national capital tourism, to which Hall refers, which has been accompanied by a similar indifference by urbanists – ‘until recently, comparative urban research on capital cities has been a fairly neglected subject matter, nor have capital cities received much special attention in general urban histories’ (Kolbe, 2007, p. 81). This lack of attention is surprising for a number of reasons. First, and most obviously, many national capitals have long been leading destinations in their own right, and also act as gateways to their countries. Second, capitals have a key role in presenting a nation to the rest of the world: they ‘play such a vital role in establishing national identity’ (Capitals Alliance, 2003, p. 9). Third, the era of the growth in mass tourism has also seen growth in the number of national capitals, as empires have fallen and peoples have asserted their independence (Hall, 2000). Decolonization, beginning with Indian independence in 1947, saw new national capitals in newly independent states around the world in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, while the disintegration of the USSR in the late 1980s and early 1990s saw cities in central and eastern Europe and elsewhere adopting, re-adopting and reinforcing roles as capitals of independent and more autonomous nations – a process that both paralleled and contributed to a growth in urban tourism.

The effects have been profound: three-quarters of today’s national capital cities were not capitals 100 years ago (Capitals Alliance, 2003, p. 9). The process of dismantling global empires is now largely complete, but pressures for devolution and national identity mean that ‘new’ capitals continue to arise – Cardiff, Edinburgh and, by some measures, Barcelona, for example. The effects of these radical role changes on tourism, as well as other activities, are still being played out and provide a fruitful opportunity for study. Finally, national capitals have long displayed the rivalry, search for advantage and distinctiveness, and emulation of competitors that now characterizes almost all cities in a globalized and competitive era. As Gilbert and Driver (2000) show, European capitals in the 19th and 20th centuries were at the heart of national and imperial competition, and this was played out in their architecture, planning and geography, as

well as their museums, galleries and other attractions. However, these same forces affected other cities too: 'the form, use and representation of modern European cities have been shaped by the global history of imperialism in ways that continue to matter even in an apparently post-Imperial age' (p. 23). National capitals then deserve study in their own right, to help gain a more nuanced understanding of cities and tourism, but they also provide a lens through which to gain fresh insights into city tourism more generally.

This chapter reviews city tourism, and links it to the particular qualities of national capitals. In doing so, it summarizes and synthesizes the most important forces driving growth and change in urban tourism. They are considered from three perspectives. First, tourism and the economy of cities: the expansion of tourism has been linked to and shaped the fortunes of cities, while tourism itself has been fashioned by them. Second, tourism in a world of increasing mobilities and dissolving boundaries: over 20 years, travel has become generally easier, the flow of images and information between people and places has both expanded enormously and become more interactive, and the nature of tourism and its place in an expanding range of mobilities has changed. Finally, from the perspective of the tourists and how they experience cities, which until recently has been particularly neglected in academic discussion (Page, 2002; Maitland and Newman, 2004). The discussion draws on the developing literature on city tourism, and literature on national capitals, which rarely takes a tourism perspective.

At this point a note of caution is required. The story of city tourism since the late 1980s is one of growth. Cities have been affected by the series of crises that have hit tourism – including terrorism, and health and natural disasters – but have withstood them robustly; recovery has been quick and drops in visitor numbers have been temporary. However, as I write, the world is contemplating unprecedented problems. The immediate effect on companies of a worldwide economic crisis has also had immediate effects on consumers and their disposable income, and on governments and their finances. However, a more profound impact may be on the market-based and globalized institutional arrangements that prevailed from the latter part of the 20th century into the 21st, and which favoured tourism growth – for example through the expansion of low-cost carriers in deregulated air travel markets. As the *Financial Times* (London) has pointed out: 'The assumptions that ruled policy and politics over three decades suddenly look as outdated as revolutionary socialism' (Wolf, 2009). At the same time, scientists argue that climate changes are proving worse than feared, and that 'there is no excuse for inaction' (Guardian, 2009). In a world of prolonged economic crisis, and in which serious action to counter climate change may be taken, the past is a limited guide to the future. While the World Travel and Tourism Council expects an immediate effect from economic crisis, and forecasts a decline in tourism industry GDP of -3.5% in 2009, it also forecasts annualized growth over the next decade of 3.6% (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2009). It is not clear whether such growth will be realized, or how the nature and distribution of tourism will be affected. While not presuming to resolve these momentous issues, it cannot be forgotten that we live in interesting times. The future prospects of national capital tourism are discussed in the concluding chapter.

Tourism and the Economy of Cities

There is substantial literature on the way in which cities have been reconfigured or 'converted' (Judd and Fainstein, 1999) into centres of consumption, with tourism playing a central role. As Harvey (1989) notes, tourism has both material and symbolic effects: on economic and physical structures, and on representation and image. Although there has been a particular emphasis on former industrial cities – and former industrial areas of large polycentric cities – the argument extends to urban tourism generally. The need for restructuring in the face of economic change and competition leads to product reorganization, product transformation and spatial relocation (Agarwal, 2002). Tourism becomes a more important element in the economy, and efforts are made to transform and vary the offer. Frequently, this involves spatial change as areas are reconfigured as tourism zones or precincts (Hayllar *et al.*, 2008). In a familiar model, a tourist bubble (Judd, 1999) can be created, including a more or less standardized mix of attractions – a museum or gallery, conference centre, entertainment or edutainment, such as an aquarium, branded bars, restaurants and shopping. This is typically located in a former industrial area, with historic buildings restored and revalorized as heritage. Waterfronts have been particularly popular locations (Jones, 1998). Thus, tourism contributes to a process of area 'regeneration', in which spaces of industrial production are replaced by consumption of industrial heritage or spaces of leisure, entertainment and predominantly middle-class urban living. Other approaches, intended to be less solipsistic than the tourism bubble, have included the designation of cultural quarters, ethnic quarters and heritage precincts (see Hayllar *et al.*, 2008, for a review of types of tourism precincts in cities).

Tourism zones or precincts then have been at the heart of cities and tourism. A number of points follow. First, and most obviously, city tourism is concentrated in particular areas, and not dispersed evenly across the city. Usually the idea of tourists visiting Brussels or Canberra implicitly means visiting very particular areas of the city, usually in the centre; few visitors spend much time in the suburbs (although some visitors aim to experience the city in a different way – see our discussion below). Second, these areas are often themed and planned to lure in and impress the visitor. This has a particular resonance with national capitals, one of the purposes of which has always been to impress the visitor, whether domestic or foreign. How this is done varies: there are big differences between an old imperial capital like London and one like Canberra that is modern and purpose-built. However, inevitably the landscapes of capitals are symbolically rich, achieving their effect through spatial layout, pattern of architecture, monumentality and the nomenclature of public space (Therborn, 2002), in a complex representation of power. At the same time, capital status promotes an accumulation of facilities and assets that attract visitors – national museums, galleries, theatres, opera and performance spaces, and sports arenas, for example. While all cities tend to concentrate symbolic and functional attributes in tourist zones, capitals do so with a particular intensity.

Third, rapid economic change and growing inter-city and international competition have meant that city image and city marketing have become dominant concerns. Cities seeking to attract mobile investment or mobile professionals in search of amenity (Florida, 2002) have become increasingly concerned with creating facilities and symbols that signal their aspirations and status. The numerous attempts to capture city status through international rankings and league tables are highly contestable and have been subject to considerable academic critique, so perhaps their real significance is in the continuing concerns of cities to show up well in at least some of the registers – best city for business, most creative city, greenest city, etc. (Maitland and Newman, 2009). Again, national capitals have particular roles to play. Their accumulation of cultural assets, landmarks, celebratory events and ‘zones of prestige’ (Maguire, 2005) gives them advantages in representing themselves and also a specific role in representing and symbolizing the nation. Furthermore, they frequently receive priority for national government investment, building projects and planned development and redevelopment of symbolic importance (Hall, 2000; Kolbe, 2007). Against this, perhaps especially for domestic visitors, they have symbolic disadvantages, as the home of politicians and government bureaucracy and may be seen as ‘dull’, ‘government orientated’, ‘cool’ and ‘stuffy’ (Ritchie and Peirce, 2007).

Preoccupation with city image has meant increasing attention to creating icons and monuments, which can attract attention and symbolize the positive attributes or image the city wishes to convey. This is a process of synecdoche, where a part of something is used to stand for the whole. In the case of cities, the place is recalled or brought to mind by single or a few memorable images (Smith, 2005, p. 414). The Eiffel Tower is perhaps the most famous example of synecdoche, and much city investment in ‘iconic attractions’ can be understood as an attempt to achieve something similar. Cities seeking to assert a new status and changing role try to do so through creating new icons. Smith (2005) sees Barcelona’s development of new cultural monuments as providing synecdochical images as well as meeting ‘political objectives in connoting that Barcelona is a Catalan, Euro city, rather than a provincial Spanish city within Spain’ – that is, connoting Barcelona as the Catalan national capital.

Cities also have to renegotiate and reinterpret their existing landscapes and symbols. This is especially complex in national capitals, since icons and iconic areas frequently represent not simply the city, but also the nation. Changing national power relationships and contested stories can be played out in the representation of cities to visitors and the world – for example in Tshwane/Pretoria in South Africa (Heath and Kruger, Chapter 6). In London, the continuing reimagining of the East End, reinforced by the 2012 Olympic Games, is integral to the rebranding of London from an imperial capital to one that is an ‘open, multi-racial, multi-religious, multicultural city and rather proud of it’ – according to Tony Blair, Britain’s former Prime Minister (Tran, 2005). In addition, the capital’s marketing is itself part of a broader project to build up an image of British multiculturalism, which for some commentators ‘now serves as Britain’s distinctive rationale in the current world order’ (Dench *et al.*, 2006).

All this stress on image, marketing and reconfiguring the city to attract visitors creates debate around commodification of the city and its culture; standardization as cities seek to emulate successful initiatives elsewhere; and a loss of distinctiveness and authenticity. In their attempt to achieve competitive advantage, cities invest in new attractions and facilities that increasingly resemble those of their competitors. Bilbao's achievements saw more cities bidding for their own Guggenheim museum, while the success of the London Eye since 2000 seems to have prompted – or reflected – renewed interest in big wheels in cities. In Britain alone, Belfast, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Manchester and York installed their own wheels, while worldwide competition for the biggest wheel intensifies, with new installations planned, in building stage or recently completed in, for instance, Berlin, Beijing, Dubai and Singapore (Jeffries, 2009). New 'icons' may be inserted in cities with which they have no linkage or association, intended to act as symbols of modernity. Ironically, this 'serial reproduction' of attractions and symbols reduces the distinctive qualities of cities, and runs the risk of making them commodity destinations, with reduced competitive advantage (see Richards and Wilson, 2007, for discussions of these issues). Once again, the debate is especially pointed in national capitals, seeking to negotiate changing cultures and relationships, signal their continuing modernity and at the same time emphasize a coherent national narrative amid complex legacies.

Dissolving Boundaries, Multiplying Mobilities

City tourism has been promoted and made easier in a more globalized, and for many, more prosperous world. Boundaries and barriers of many sorts have been dissolving. Higher disposable incomes and changing working patterns have allowed more spending on leisure travel, and encouraged additional short breaks, for which cities are especially suitable, with their ease of access and range of activities. Airline deregulation meant the development of low-cost carriers, offering not only cheaper fares but denser point-to-point services. In Europe, particularly, the fall of communist regimes in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the expansion of the EU and the Eurozone reduced formalities made travel easier. For western Europeans, a range of cities in central and eastern Europe became newly accessible at comparatively low cost. For central and eastern Europeans, travel to western cities was newly possible. Furthermore, while the flow of people between cities has increased, the flow of images has become a cascade.

The growth of the Internet and of multifunctional mobile phones have made it easier to access and share official and unofficial images and commentary on cities. While destination marketing organizations have new channels through which to develop induced images (Gartner, 1993) and representations of their city, the organic images created by shared pictures and discussions between past, potential and intending visitors (and local people) mean that cities and their possibilities can be explored at a distance as never before. Most obviously, the way in which many people book and arrange their visit has

changed, with increased use of the Internet and emphasis on customizing their own choice of destination, travel, accommodation and itinerary. But perhaps more significantly, it is changing how people learn about and understand places they visit – ‘web-pages play a central role in providing direct and fast information, especially related to countries, cities and places’ (Kolbe, 2007, p. 79). Easy availability of more and more information, images and shared experiences means that some barriers to visiting new places are reduced.

National capitals are especially affected by dissolving boundaries and barriers. In newer destinations, in places such as central and eastern Europe, they are often the best-known city, and the transportation hub for inbound travel. As such they are the focus for early tourist growth, may continue to outpace other cities, and can be seen to conflict with efforts to promote tourism growth elsewhere in the country. At the same time, capitals are the focus of much of the image, symbolism and information about the country as a whole, through news media and other organic sources; coverage of politics, government and events in the country spills over into the city’s image (Hall, 2002). As Puczko *et al.* (2007) illustrate, re-emerging capitals wrestle with fulfilling multiple roles and creating multiple images: as the quintessence of the nation, as a modern international city, as an attraction in their own right and as a gateway to the rest of the country.

The effects of globalization go beyond leisure tourism. In a globalized economy, cities have important integrating functions, whether as ‘global cities’ (Sassen, 1991), ‘gateway cities’ managing flows of people and relationships between regions (Short *et al.*, 2000), ‘global cultural cities’ (Yeoh, 2005) or through other roles. Business travel and tourism have grown rapidly in response to the changing management requirements of globalized organizations, and are focused on cities in general and national capitals in particular. Capitals are key sites for meetings and lobbying efforts because they are the seat of national (and often international) power and authority, through government and inter-governmental organizations. They are popular locations for international or regional headquarter offices for global business and other organizations, encouraging more business travel and further reinforcing their status. The combination of this concentration of government and business power, cultural institutions, heritage sites and ‘zones of prestige’ inevitably make capitals attractive locations for conferences and exhibitions (Ritchie and Peirce, 2007). This can be a two-way process. Attracting international conferences, meetings and events is an effective way for re-emerging or new capitals (e.g. Tallinn or Cardiff) to assert their status and reinforce their capital qualities.

Dissolving boundaries means more than the reduction of political barriers to travel or institutional barriers to international business. It is less and less clear that tourism can be bounded off as a separate activity, distinguishable from other mobilities or that tourist demands can be clearly separated from those of city residents and other users of cities. Hannam (2009) argues that tourism needs to be understood as part of a wider set of mobilities, while Sheller and Urry (2004) argue that mobilities represent a new paradigm within social science, including the movement of people, information and capital. One consequence is to see ‘tourism’, as conventionally defined (World Tourism

Organization and United Nations, 1994), as just part of a continuum of mobilities that range from the short term to the permanent. In national capitals, for example, diplomats arrive on postings; business people and professionals come on temporary assignment or short-term contract; academics take up short-term posts or work on research projects; and creatives make films, give artistic performances or devise campaigns. In many ways, their activities and behaviours will overlap those of comparatively well-off business and leisure tourists. At lower levels of the employment hierarchy, temporary migrants take temporary jobs for long hours and low pay. They will share similarities with students, in town to study, from a few weeks to a few years, and with backpacker or drifter tourists, travelling on a low budget and taking temporary jobs (Fainstein *et al.*, 2003; Maitland and Newman, 2009). The presence of migrants generates more tourism, as their friends and relatives have new reasons to visit capital cities.

Clearly, national capitals are particularly affected by this range of mobilities, and the process of globalization. They are diplomatic centres. They are often the focus of national artistic activity – national theatre, opera and so on. They are home to universities, often ones with a particular focus on international links. As previously discussed, they attract business and other headquarters. The more tourism is seen as part of the set mobilities, the more it is clear that capital qualities are crucial, affecting a range of mobilities. At the same time, as Cochrane (2006, p. 5) points out, capitals provide a useful counterpoint to dominant perspectives that seek to understand cities primarily through their place in global networks. Capitals are defined ‘by their role within nations or the construction of nations . . . and fit uneasily in the dominant model of the entrepreneurial city’, since while they have ‘some competitive strengths, they also exhibit fundamental flaws’ – principally the dominance of government and government institutions, which both make it harder for other employers to compete for labour, and which foster a bureaucratic rather than entrepreneurial culture. Thinking about capitals helps set tourism within and beyond a process of globalization.

Tourists’ and Residents’ Experience of Cities

One aspect of dissolving boundaries is that tourism and touristic behaviour is coming to be seen as an integral part of daily life. For Franklin and Crang (2001, p. 3), touristic behaviours and experiences are less and less separated from daily life by time and space, and indeed tourism has become ‘a significant modality through which transnational modern life is organized’. In part, that means residents consume the city in ways that are similar to tourists: ‘citizens . . . increasingly make quality of life demands treating their own urban locations as if tourists, emphasizing aesthetic concerns’ (Clark, 2003, p. 294). They enjoy the same activities as visitors, and consume ‘the new urban culture’ (Judd, 2003, p. 32). In some cases, in large cities, this may be a straightforward case of internal tourism: residents visit parts of the city that are new to them or which have particular attractions, especially the central areas. But

more broadly, there is a de-differentiation between touristic practices and other spheres of cultural experience (Lash, 1990; Urry, 1990), and between tourism and everyday life (Urry, 2002; Bauman, 1996). While, as discussed, many people enjoy touristic behaviours even though they do not count as tourists under official definitions, some of those who do fit official definitions do not think of themselves as tourists at all. For example, those visiting friends and relations, frequent business travellers or those with second homes may simply not see themselves as tourists, although they do have touristic behaviours (Maitland, 2007).

Careful consideration is needed of the changing tourist experience of cities. Of course, some city tourism goes on much as it has before, especially in well-established destinations. First time visitors still arrive in London in organized groups, consume iconic attractions like Big Ben or the London Eye, adding to their personal cultural capital in the process; then they move on their next destination. However, a lot of city tourism is no longer like this. Many visitors are now experienced users of cities who want to move beyond traditional tourism precincts; some are frequent visitors and feel a sense of belonging to the place they visit. The boundaries between tourism and other mobilities and between tourists and the host community are blurring and dissolving, especially for members of the 'cosmopolitan consuming class' (Fainstein *et al.*, 2003, p. 243).

Some visitors deliberately seek out everyday life and the 'real city'. They want to go beyond 'enclavic tourist spaces' created for them, and find 'heterogeneous tourist spaces'; 'multi-purpose spaces in which a wide range of activities and people co-exist' (Edensor, 2001, p. 64). These visitors value 'getting off the beaten track', and away from tourist enclaves. They value the everyday and the presence of local people as markers of authenticity, and indicators that they are in the 'real city'. As they do so, they contribute to the renewal and rebranding of neighbourhoods and broader processes of urban change, development and gentrification, which it turn feed through to the city's image, and what it has to offer. Such areas are not comprehensively planned for tourists, and while public policy can have important influences in attracting visitors, here they are largely unintended. Exploring tourists and gentrifying residents can have convivial links and contribute to the creation and re-creation of upscale areas enjoyed by visitors and locals. Tourism and touristic behaviour seems in some cities to be integral to urban processes 'off the beaten track' as well as in recognized tourism precincts (see Maitland and Newman, 2009, for a detailed discussion of these themes).

In these circumstances, conventional attempts to distinguish tourists from residents in terms of time and distance – tourists are in the city only temporarily and have travelled some distance to get there – seem unhelpful in understanding the interaction between cities and those who use them. It is better to think in terms of a range of city users with a series of demands, behaviours and practices that reflects their widely different incomes, power and urban preferences. The consumption demands and behaviours of some visitors will overlap with those of some residents and will help shape cities.

These perspectives have relevance for capital cities, in the creation of attractive areas off the beaten track, and in the presence of experience travellers who

may seek out such places. Capital cities' roles can contribute to an international and cosmopolitan slant – government and diplomacy, elite cultural activities, universities and international business, for example. Those same activities help account for the fact that per capita income in capitals is usually above the national average (Jasmand and Stiller, 2005). One result is likely to be significant resident populations that combine spending power with cosmopolitan aspirations. People with high levels of cultural capital value cosmopolitanism to maintain status distinctions (Thompson and Tambyah, 1999), and tend to see themselves as part of 'transnational elites' or seek to articulate a 'global persona' (Rofe, 2003). They will seek out and develop places that allow them to enjoy and display such tastes. At the same time, cosmopolitan visitors will aim to get beyond conventional tourism precincts, and to experience neighbourhoods in the 'real' city. Such 'places of seduction' can be seen as 'touristed landscapes' – not formed by tourists although tourists significantly patronize them; places that have historic and integral meaning and where 'people are also engaged in diverse aspects of daily life' (Cartier and Lew, 2005, p. 3). The mundane practices of everyday life – of a particular sort – may be attractive to visitors and act as a signifier of the real or authentic city (Maitland, 2008). For the 'cosmopolitan consuming class', national capitals can offer many advantages, whether they are there as 'tourists' (by official definitions), temporary migrants or residents, and even the most familiar national icons can be appropriated and consumed to create personal meaning (Stevenson and Inskip, Chapter 8).

Conclusions

While city tourism is now more considered by tourism scholars and by urbanists, tourism in capital cities remains neglected. This is a pity. As the discussion has shown, tourism in national capitals has particular qualities, reflecting the particularities of capital cities themselves. However, considering capitals also illuminates tourism in cities more generally. The increasing, and increasingly complex, role that touristic activities play in the economy of cities is highlighted in national capitals. They pointedly raise broader questions about the image and representation of the city, the reinterpretation of complex histories and relationships with the nation and the wider world, the contributions of iconic structure and developments in representing the city, and the dangers of emulation and loss of distinctiveness. Yet, these are questions capitals have had to face before, which may offer particular insights.

Boundaries between the public and tourism are dissolving, travel is easier, and new technologies allow cities to be explored at a distance. At the same time, it is becoming harder to distinguish tourism from other mobilities, especially in cities where the rich mix of leisure visitors, business visitors (who may stay on for a short leisure break) and people visiting friends and relations merges imperceptibly with short-term migrants working or studying, and residents who are themselves mobile. Within the city, touristic activities and behaviours are not confined to those officially defined as visitors, but are shared by a wide

range of city users. National capitals experience these changes, sometimes in a particularly intense way because of their international role. At the same time, their inevitably strong link to the nation allows us to reflect on the limitations of a simple globalization perspective.

The ways in which residents and visitors seek to experience the city also increasingly overlaps. There is a de-differentiation between touristic and other practices. National capitals maintain an attraction for tourists whose interests and behaviours are familiar – aiming to see the most well known sights and then move on. However, they also attract other, often more practised and widely travelled visitors, who want to get ‘off the beaten track’, to experience the ‘real’ city and whose consumption preferences and behaviours overlap with those of city residents with similar ‘global’ or cosmopolitan outlook. This phenomenon is by no means confined to nation capitals, but is likely to be frequently found in them.

National capitals then focus on an important series of issues for city tourism. None is unique to capitals, and there is no sense in which capitals’ experience of them is uniform or necessarily consistent. But understanding how they play out in capitals develops a better understanding of national capital tourism, and capital city qualities, and also of city tourism more generally.

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2

City Tourism: National Capital Perspectives

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Introduction

This book sets out to provide the most detailed examination yet of tourism in national capitals. It examines different aspects of tourism in a wide range of capital cities from around the world. As pointed out in Chapter 1, there is considerable value in doing so. Tourism in capitals shares and echoes many of the experiences, challenges and opportunities found in other cities, but brings with it distinct capital-city qualities. This means a better understanding of tourism in national capitals sheds interesting light on city tourism generally. At the same time it is of interest in its own right. National capitals are important tourism destinations, with some particular tourism markets arising from their capital qualities, or ‘capitalness’. They also often play a dominant role in their country’s tourism development – for example as the main gateway or source of national imagery. Yet, although capitals have shared qualities, they are also highly heterogeneous. Their function as the seat of government and their role in national life means that they have shared experiences – ‘there is always something special about a capital city’ (Gordon, 2006, p. vii). None the less, they are highly varied, an inevitable consequence of the very different national cultures from which they arise, and their varied age, size, history and functions. This presents a serious challenge: how can we acknowledge the diversity and range of experiences of cities as different as Hanoi and Budapest, Valetta and London while also examining them in a methodical and critical fashion, and not simply as a series of interesting but unrelated case studies. As Pearce (1998, p. 473) says: ‘Scope exists for a more systematic examination of the way in which capital city functions distinguish these places from other urban areas and the effects these functions have on determining the role, type, scale, and impact of tourism experienced there.’

In this chapter, we take on the challenge of how to understand national capital tourism – something that as Pearce (2007) points out, has received little

attention in urban tourism or wider tourism literature. In doing so, we develop an approach that acknowledges the diversity and richness of the cities and their tourism roles, but which also examines them systematically and analytically. We first review the different ways in which national capital cities can be classified, and suggest a typology of capital cities from a tourism perspective, with an emphasis on how different sets of attributes affect their attraction for visitors. Second, we examine the different aspects of city tourism with particular relevance to national capitals, focusing on city image and branding; the visitor experience; tourism markets and tourism development. Third, we bring together the typology of capitals and the aspects of tourism to provide an analytical framework for capital city tourism. This provides a structure for the detailed analysis and research set out in the remainder of the book. Finally, we briefly review the chapters that follow.

Typologies of National Capitals for Tourism

One consequence of the city competition discussed in Chapter 1 has been that cities have increasingly sought to claim ‘capital’ status as part of their marketing and promotion efforts. Several cities vie with one another to be the global finance capital, and there is a strong competition for designation as European Capital of Culture (a 1-year title awarded by the European Union (EU)) – so much so that it is now awarded to two or three cities annually, rather than one. Many places award themselves capital status in a particular field – Bordeaux, France, and British Columbia, Canada, both assert ‘wine capital’ status’, while Monroe, Wisconsin sees itself as the Swiss cheese capital of the USA. In this book, we confine ourselves to national capital cities that are seats of governments. As Gottmann (1983, p. 88) suggests the capital city is ‘a seat of power and a place of decision making process’. Despite their heterogeneity, national capitals do share that common function, and this is often cited as the root of a number of tourism marketing, planning and development advantages and challenges.

However even within this definition, devising ways to examine capitals systematically is not straightforward. Indeed, Campbell (2003, p. 7) feels that the ‘task of classifying all capitals might be as problematic as categorising the nations they govern’, and instead identified three crucial factors that differentiate the development of capitals. These are:

1. The size and structure of the national government.
2. The local and national economies.
3. The timing of the capital city’s establishment relative to the political formation and economic development of the nation state. In particular, cities that were ‘early’ capitals at the beginning of the nation state’s consolidation and urban industrialization both built and rode this wave of national economic development. By contrast, cities that became capitals at later stages of the nation’s political and economic development (‘late capitals’) – due either to late nation-state formation or capital relocation – faced the challenge of establishing their political–economic role amidst a pre-existing network of established economic cities.

Here we review different approaches to developing a typology of national capitals, and suggest a classification appropriate for a focus on tourism. One reason that it is hard to develop a satisfactory typology is that national capitals have presented a moving target. Their numbers grew very rapidly in the latter part of the 20th century, and roles shifted, sometimes dramatically and repeatedly. A listing of national capitals in 1950 would look very different to a list made today. There are three interlinking reasons for this change, as Hall (2006) points out. First, the end of empires, referred to in Chapter 1. The dismantling of overseas colonial empires and of Eurasian land-based empires has seen the creation of new capitals in former colonies and the reassertion of capital status in cities freed from a subordinate role. This has been a complex and variable process, sometimes rapid and unexpected (e.g. the disintegration of the USSR) and sometimes more orderly (e.g. much of British decolonization). It has effects on both newly emerging capitals and on former imperial cities. Some have been profoundly affected by changing roles (e.g. Berlin, Budapest, Vienna or Pretoria/Tshwane), but elsewhere change has been less drastic (London has experienced less sweeping changes with the loss of its imperial role). Second, the adoption of federal or devolved and decentralized systems, e.g. in Australia, South Africa, Spain and the UK, which has seen the creation of new federal capitals (such as Canberra) or former provincial cities gaining national capital status (like Cardiff). Finally, the gradual emergence of supranational groupings has meant the evolution of supranational capitals – Brussels and the EU most obviously. This pace of change is unlikely to be maintained. The ending of empires has largely concluded, although there will probably be continued pressures for devolution. Comparative stability can be expected in the future, so now is a good time to reconsider typologies of capitals.

Despite their diversity, capitals have key features in common. Pearce (2007) draws on the work of Claval (2001) and Rapoport (1993) to argue that despite their individuality, capitals have important similarities. These include their centrality (as centres of transactions or government); wide interests; images symbolizing national identity and power; ability to command national resources; exercise of control and organization of territory. With these similarities in mind, one initial typology is simply to distinguish capitals of federal, more decentralized states from those of strongly centralized states. Federal capitals tend neither to be the state's dominant city, nor the commercial capital, nor to aspire to world city roles (Taylor, 2004). This is true even when, in Campbell's terms, the capital was 'early' (e.g. Washington, DC, in contrast to New York City, Chicago or Los Angeles). They are likely to be smaller, and more often comparatively new or planned cities, owing their location to political decision rather than historic growth (e.g. Washington again or Brasilia). These distinctions have implications for tourism. Large cities at the head of centralized states are more likely to exhibit a heritage of monumentality and an interaction between government and business power that will drive business tourism. Planned capitals may take on a more conscious role in interpreting the nation to its citizens (Chapter 14).

Hall (2006) develops a more detailed typology, identifying seven types of capital city. One category is that of provincial capital, not relevant to our discussion. The typology of national capitals is:

1. *Multifunctional capitals*: combining all or most of the highest national-level functions (e.g. London, Madrid, Paris, Stockholm, Moscow and Tokyo).
2. *Global capitals*: a special case of 1, representing cities that also perform super-national roles in politics, commercial life, or both (e.g. London and Tokyo).
3. *Political capitals*: created as seats of government, and often lacking other functions that remain in older, commercial cities (e.g. The Hague, Bonn, Washington, Ottawa, Canberra and Brasilia).
4. *Former capitals*: often the converse of category 2, representing cities that have lost their role as the seat of government but that retain other historic functions (e.g. Berlin, Leningrad, Philadelphia and Rio de Janeiro).
5. *Ex-imperial capitals*: a special case of category 3, representing former imperial cities that have lost their empires though they may function as national capitals, and may also perform important commercial and cultural roles for the former imperial territories (e.g. London, Madrid, Lisbon and Vienna).
6. *Super-capitals*: functioning as centres for international organizations; these may or may not be national capitals (e.g. Brussels, Strasbourg, Geneva, and Rome, New York).

Clearly, there are overlaps here: London or Paris could plausibly claim entry into categories 1, 2, 5 and 6, for example. But equally the list could be further extended. Hall (2002) suggests one might add cultural and brand capitals, and there are further possibilities.

Simply distinguishing federal from centralized capitals seems insufficient, and yet there is a danger that extended typologies become unhelpful analytically. To aid understanding of tourism and national capitals, we propose a fourfold classification. This is intended to capture the main distinction between cities, from a tourism point of view, and the dynamism of recent changes in national capital status.

Planned and political capitals

This category includes ex-imperial capitals, and so encompasses a wide range of cities – for example, Canberra, Brasilia, Washington, DC, Ottawa, Lisbon and Vienna. Their commonality is that they have been designed or shaped to represent the nation to itself and to the world. That has provided a strong legacy of monumentality in architecture and urban design, and an accumulation of cultural facilities – theatres, galleries and museums, all of which shape their tourism role. Although their nations may be economically important, the cities themselves have significant but comparatively limited economic roles and are not at the forefront of the global hierarchy: they are not alpha or beta world cities (Taylor, 2004).

Global and multifunctional capitals

These include cities from Hall's categories 1 and 2 above – for example London, Tokyo or Madrid. These are cities that combine their political–national–capital role with important economic and commercial functions; they tend to dominate their nation and may be categorized as world cities. Their strong economic role makes them significant in business tourism and a focus of mobilities, but their national dominance will also be reflected by concentrations of cultural and heritage resources. Also included are cities developing new supranational roles (category 6) – Brussels for instance.

Historic and former capitals

These are cities that have enjoyed capital status at some time in the past, or remain as historic capitals of smaller states. The legacy of past capital status may be reflected in heritage, architecture and culture – for example Nara and Kyoto, Japan, or St Petersburg, Russia. Cities maintaining capital status may enjoy grandeur somewhat out of keeping with their current role – for example Valetta, Malta, with its inheritance from the Knights of the Order of St John.

(Re)emerging capitals

This category encompasses a range of cities whose roles and tourism attraction reflects recent or continuing change in their status, sometimes as a result of the ending of empires, sometimes through processes of devolution. It includes historic capitals regaining capital status after Soviet rule (e.g. in the Baltic states) and those reasserting and reframing their post-communist position (e.g. Berlin or Budapest). It also encompasses capitals that are changing as part of wider processes of national change (e.g. Tshwane, South Africa) including devolution and fragmentation of centralized states (e.g. Cardiff or Edinburgh, UK). These cities share some qualities with those in other categories – for example an inheritance of historic buildings and symbolic monuments – but, because of their changing roles, are likely to have particular concerns about image and representation of the city and the nation. Tourism in these circumstances has a particular resonance in a wider process of national reconstruction.

We must stress that this classification is intended as a means of helping to think about tourism in national capitals, and to highlight where there are distinctions as well as commonalities. It is not intended to be rigid, and the categorization of any city may be open to debate. However, it helps to construct an analytical framework through which capitals and tourism can be examined, which is currently lacking.

Aspects of Tourism in National Capitals

Chapter 1 stressed that tourism was becoming an evermore important part of city economies, with strong links to city image and representation; that boundaries were dissolving between tourism and other activities and practices in the city and between tourism and other mobilities; and that understanding the varied visitor experience of cities was increasingly necessary. These general tendencies have particular significance in national capitals, since they combine the magnetism of city life with their own particular qualities – as a showpiece of the nation, and a concentration of power and business, culture, heritage and monumentality, and connectedness to the wider world (Hall, 2002; Campbell, 2003; Pearce, 2007).

This means that we can at once identify three important themes in capital city tourism:

1. *Image and brand*: the images of the city, how the city seeks to shape images and representations and the process of city branding.
2. *Visitor experiences*: how visitors perceive and experience the city.
3. *Tourism markets*: the different visitor markets that capitals can serve and how these link to their developing roles.

However, there are overlaps and linkages between these categories, and their purpose is as an analytical aid, not to establish rigid boundaries. Since cities wish to take control of their futures, another theme inevitably follows – tourism development:

4. *Tourism Development*: this is a particularly challenging and contentious matter in national capitals. As Dube and Gordon (2000, p. 6) suggest, ‘planning for cities that include a seat of government often involves political and symbolic concerns that are different from those of other urban areas’. Capital cities have the dual function of being a city where ordinary people live out their lives as well as being cities with a ‘special and highly particular relation to the nation’ (Andrew and Taylor, 2000, p. 38). In this way, they are simultaneously a municipality representing local interests, a capital representing national power and a host for international embassies (Campbell, 2003).

At the same time, planning needs to take account of multiple levels – from activist neighbourhoods, to municipal government, national government and its buildings and activities, and the global reach of multinational businesses and foreign governments with embassies and missions. A further issue may arise from complex relationships between different levels of government – federal and local, and between different jurisdictions in the capital region. For example:

Canberra has a dual status as both a city and a federal territory and geographically is entirely surrounded by the state of New South Wales. . . . Ottawa is cited as one of the most difficult cities to govern for a number of reasons [including the] ‘uneasy equilibrium’ between federal agencies and two provincial governments. . . [and that] the national capital region is split between two municipal territories.

(Ritchie and Peirce, 2007, p. 5)

Tourism development and planning is inevitably a complex process with many stakeholders, but the features of national capitals and their administration mean that it requires particular attention to avoid political rivalry and reduced cohesion in planning.

A Framework for National Capital Tourism

Combining our typology of national capitals with the aspects of tourism we need to consider provides us with a systematic way of approaching this complicated subject. By examining things in this way, we can explore how different types of capital experience different aspects of tourism – or we can see how different aspects of tourism develop in different types of capital. Inevitably there are overlaps, and precisely what goes where is debatable, but we feel this helps bring systematic enquiry in a field where the limited amount of research has been largely confined to case studies, lacking wider comparability and applicability.

The framework is shown in Table 2.1, which also shows how it provides an analytical structure to the book. Different chapters focus on particular themes and their main focus is shown in bold in the matrix. But they also inform other elements and where these are a strong part of the contribution; this is also shown in plain type.

The book is set out in a sequence that follows the different aspects – beginning with image and brand and proceeding through visitor experience, tourism markets and ending with tourism development. But as the matrix makes clear, strands can be followed to explore tourism in different types of capitals. Readers with a particular interest in planned and political capitals, for example, could focus on Chapters 3, 4, 7, 9, 15 and 19. The chapters and their foci are briefly introduced below.

Book Overview

Part II focuses on issues concerning the imaging and branding of national capital cities covered by four chapters. Skinner (Chapter 3, this volume) provides a fascinating introduction to this part, by suggesting the role of a capital city as a ‘product’ brand in the context of Wales. She views the branding of the nation of Wales in a similar way to an overall corporate brand, with its constituent places as similar to product brands, and its capital city as its flagship brand subordinate to the overall brand. Skinner raises important issues concerning the application of branding techniques for multidimensional constructs such as nations and capital cities.

In Chapter 4, White examines the visual representations of Canberra, Australia’s national capital. She applies aspects of semiotics (the study of signs, codes and culture) to the national symbolism associated with this political and planned capital. White uses the dual theoretical frameworks of nationalism and destination marketing to suggest that Canberra does not attempt to compete directly with larger more established cities, such as Melbourne or Sydney and uses advertising and imagery that are unique to its national capital status.

Table 2.1. A framework for national capital tourism and book structure.

Types of capital	Aspects of city tourism			
	Image and brand	Visitor experience	Tourism markets	Tourism development
Planned and political capitals	<p>3: Cardiff: product brand</p> <p>4: Canberra: images and marketing</p> <p>19: Ottawa-Gatineau: cross border identities</p>	<p>7: Canberra: inside the triangle – images of a capital</p> <p>9: Wellington: changing visitor perceptions</p>	<p>14: Canberra/Ottawa/ Washington, DC: school excursions</p> <p>19: Ottawa-Gatineau: cross border identities</p>	<p>19: Ottawa-Gatineau: cross border identities</p>
Global and multifunctional capitals	<p>5: Tokyo/Nara/Kyoto/ Kamakura/Edo: migrating capitals</p> <p>11: Brussels: a multilayered city</p>	<p>8: London: seeing the sites</p>	<p>11: Brussels: a multilayered city</p>	<p>18: Brussels: diversifying the tourism product</p>
Historic and former capitals	<p>5: Tokyo/Nara/Kyoto/ Kamakura/Edo: migrating capitals</p> <p>10: Valetta: monumentality and tourism</p>	<p>10: Valetta: monumentality and tourism</p>	<p>13: Dublin: International Business Tourism</p>	<p>17: Beirut: tourist landscapes and national identity</p> <p>10: Valetta: monumentality and tourism</p>
Re-emerging capitals	<p>3: Cardiff: product brand</p> <p>6: Tshwane: branding and positioning</p> <p>17: Beirut: tourist landscapes and national identity</p>	<p>15: Budapest: capital city tourism in post-socialist city</p>	<p>12: Cardiff as a conference tourism destination</p> <p>16: Hanoi: reinvented capital city</p>	<p>15: Budapest: capital city tourism in post-socialist city</p> <p>16: Hanoi: reinvented capital city</p> <p>17: Beirut: tourist landscapes and national identity</p>

The main themes of the different chapters in this book are shown in bold. Other themes are shown in plain type.

Eades and Cooper (Chapter 5) present an interesting discussion of the issues associated with the changing (or migrating) role of capitals in Japan. The authors highlight the main functions of capital cities and the way these are distributed in Japan. They note that each capital city is distinctive, both with respect to the national imagination, as well as the tourist market. They suggest that international and domestic tourists looking for the 'old Japan' will look beyond Tokyo to the ancient capitals of Nara, Kamakura or Kyoto, while those wanting a post-modern experience will venture to the global and multifunctional Tokyo.

Chapter 6 by Heath and Kruger on Pretoria/Tshwane outlines issues arising from the only African capital city included in this volume. Their chapter considers the question of the nature of capital city status in the branding and positioning of a capital city. Using a case study approach, the authors detail the strategic branding and positioning of the recently named City of Tshwane. They note that capital city status provides many opportunities and unique selling propositions for the city, particularly concerning its national government and diplomatic presence as well as its culture, science, technology and sport attractions. The name change from Pretoria is also identified by the authors as requiring significant effort to reposition the city in the mind of consumers, and provides an interesting dimension to the case study of a capital city in transition.

Part III of the book focuses on visitor experiences and perceptions of national capitals and comprises four chapters.

Hayllar, Edwards, Griffin and Dickson (Chapter 7) also focus on Canberra the national capital of Australia. However, unlike White in Chapter 4, these authors discuss the tourist experience in the capital, with particular emphasis on the parliamentary precinct. Using an innovative phenomenological approach that examined photographic images along with focus groups with visitors, the authors outline the special significance or unique qualities related to a visit to the national capital. Interestingly, the authors suggest that the affective experience of Canberra can be captured in the notion of 'capitalness.' Capital status, the authors argue, acts to *engage* visitors through its role as a repository for the national story and confirms a sense of national identity and meaning to an individual visitor. However, it also creates *detachment* through the symbols of power and the architecture and design of the planned landscape, which act to keep the individual at bay.

Chapter 8, written by Stevenson and Inskip, continues this theme by investigating the photographic images and texts provided by students in London. Using semiotics (in a similar way to White in Chapter 4), the authors use images to illustrate the connections and experiences of the city from individual respondents. The chapter describes the intricacies and nuances of peoples' engagement with the multifaceted and complex city. London's role as a capital city appears central to the collection of photographs that focus on buildings (such as Big Ben) and street scenes. However, the commentaries from respondents that accompany the images reflect broader connections to experiences, ideas and memories of other places. The authors suggest that such connections are also a symbol of peoples' deeper connection to the city, and not just a symbol of London as a capital city.

The next chapter of Part III (Chapter 9) by Alonso and Yi Lui examines visitor perceptions of the capital city of New Zealand, Wellington. The chapter examines the destination image among visitors travelling to and departing from the capital city. The results suggest that overseas visitors placed a higher level of importance in seeing Wellington as New Zealand's capital city, compared with domestic visitors. International visitors were also more likely to explore city attractions and spend more money. This suggests using capital city status particularly in international marketing. Issues concerning infrastructure, poor signage and outdated hospitality facilities were raised by visitors, and may be partly due to low levels of tourism investment by the public and private sector, which have been noted by others writing about national capital tourism in Wellington (Peirce and Ritchie, 2007).

Finally in this part, Smith (Chapter 10) provides a very interesting chapter concerning the relationship between capital city monumentality and tourism in Valetta, Malta. Although the monumentality of capital cities is recognized as conducive to tourism, Smith raises concerns over the 'liveability' for residents in the city as monumental tourism is receiving priority over certain urban districts, which could lead to resentment and damage to the long-term development of tourism. As Smith concludes, this 'museumification' process could make capitals less interesting for tourists and less representative of nations.

Part IV of this book focuses on specific tourism markets in capital cities and covers four distinct chapters. The part begins by Jansen-Verbeke and Govers in Chapter 11 discussing the multilayered nature of Brussels as a capital city. The authors note the complexity of the city (with no fewer than five capital city functions including that of the Belgian nation and the EU). The authors outline the missed opportunities to better capitalize on the capital dimension of the city. They also note that, similarly to Canberra, the city has suffered from negative perceptions of being dull and bureaucratic. It is also handicapped by institutional fragmentation and diverging projected images, in a similar way to Budapest (Chapter 15) and Ottawa (Chapter 19). They conclude that the dynamics of a multilayered city are difficult to manage, yet Brussels has great potential to increase its business tourism and cultural tourism markets.

Haven-Tang and Jones continue the discussion of tourism market segments in Chapter 12. Specifically they outline the development of conference tourism in Wales and suggest that the main competition is seen as coming not from other capitals, but regional cities such as Manchester and Bournemouth. The authors conclude that Cardiff under-exploits its status as capital city and gateway to Wales within its development and marketing of conference tourism. Haven-Tang and Jones suggest that developing conference tourism could help accelerate Cardiff's re-emergence as a capital city on the international stage.

Chapter 13 is authored by Skinner and Byrne and outlines the development and marketing of international business tourism in Dublin. They note the unique cultural heritage and history, afforded in part by Dublin's capital city status, provides a unique feature for increasing business-related

tourism. The ability for Dublin to provide a gateway role in transportation terms (similar to that of Cardiff and also noted in Chapter 2) also increases its ability to target international business tourism. Interestingly in their research into organizations' perceptions of Dublin as an international business tourism destination, they discovered different perceptions in different geographical areas. Dublin was also noted as being cosmopolitan and perceived as being a cultural capital. The authors conclude that other capital cities (such as Vienna, Berlin or Paris) currently exceed Dublin with respect to business tourism numbers, and suggest that infrastructure problems are constraining Dublin's future competitiveness in this market.

In the final chapter of Part IV, Ritchie (Chapter 14) outlines the size and nature of the school excursion market in three political national capital cities before examining a number of school-excursion management issues that attraction and destination managers need to consider in such cities. In particular, Ritchie suggests that relevant facilities and educational resources for teachers and students are needed to enhance their understanding of the national capital. Safety and infrastructure issues associated with school excursions in political national capitals are also outlined. Although these exist in all cities, the author believes that they are being exacerbated in national capitals because of their political capital status. He provides evidence related to increased threats of terrorism and (in)security and a lack of investment in cost-effective accommodation to cater to this particular market segment.

Part V consists of five chapters that explore the nature of tourism development in national capitals. Chapter 15 by Smith, Puczkó and Ratz discusses the development of post-socialist Budapest. Like other chapters in this part (and Chapters 11 and 18 on Brussels), the authors note the complex administrative structures and the fragmented nature of capital city development. These issues make it difficult for visitors to access attractions spread throughout the city. This is in part exacerbated by a lack of public and private sector cooperation, an issue also noted as a problem in other capital cities (such as Canberra and Brussels), which may be dominated by public sector activities. According to the authors, this situation has led to few new attractions and reduced the level of innovative development because of capital city status. They conclude that if the 23 districts do not cooperate and create a coherent 'capitalness', it is possible that they will never find their city, and neither will anyone else!

The case of Hanoi is discussed by Jolliffe and Bui in Chapter 16, who contribute to this book by examining the role of capital cities in a third and socialist world context. Their chapter uses a discussion of national identity dimensions in six selected museums as a starting point before examining how Hanoi has reinvented itself. They discover that Hanoi is able through the museums to combine old and new elements of the national story to appeal to multiple audiences (both domestic and international). It also commemorates key elements of the past while creating a revenant story for the present, and hopefully the future.

Chapter 17 by Masri examines the rebuilding of Beirut, capital of Lebanon, with a specific focus on the development of heritage tourism. The chapter

notes that although tourism has been central to the transformation of the city and assisting with post-war economic recovery, the processes do not necessarily reflect local experiences and histories. Masri notes that Beirut is an archival collection of multiple cultures, however, the decision over what tourist places to preserve, reconstruct or demolish is highly value-laden and entrenched within the politics of collective memory and national identity.

Chapter 18 by Diekmann and Maulet returns to Brussels to explore the recent development and promotion of the EU and African quarters (or precincts) for tourism. The authors note a number of issues and problems associated with their potential development, including a lack of involvement of the local people in the planning and development of the quarters. The absence of tourism signage and interpretation is also noted as impacting upon the tourist experience. According to Diekmann and Maulet, the purpose behind the development of these quarters as a tourism focus is unclear and no link is made to the capital dimension of the city. The authors suggest that these issues are currently constraining the sustainable development of both quarters.

The final chapter of Part V (Chapter 19) is authored by Andrew and Chiasson, who discuss the complexities surrounding the development of the National Capital Region of Canada (Ottawa-Gatineau). This chapter provides a fascinating overview of challenges and issues in developing and implementing cross-border identities for tourism. The authors note the linguistic, cultural and socio-economic divisions between the anglophone and francophone parts of the same capital region. Chiasson and Andrew note that the recent change in focus towards festivals and events in destination marketing has contributed to the separate development of tourism between the two main destination marketing organizations in the region. They note in their conclusion that the economic crisis could provide greater impetus for these agencies to cooperate rather than compete.

Part VI of the book discusses the commonalities and contrasts between the previous chapters, and presents and discusses the key aspects related to the book themes, outlined earlier. It concludes with a discussion of future research directions and priorities to expand the body of knowledge related to national capital tourism, and in doing so contributes to a better understanding of city tourism more generally.

Conclusion

This chapter continues from Chapter 1 by outlining an approach that not only acknowledges the diversity and richness of the cities and their tourism roles, but that also examines them systematically and analytically. We first reviewed the different ways in which national capital cities can be classified, and suggested a typology of capital cities from a tourism perspective. Second, we examined the different aspects of city tourism with particular relevance to national capitals, focusing on the key themes that are presented in the remaining parts of this book: city image and branding; the visitor experience; and tourism markets and tourism development. Third, we brought together

the typology of capitals and the aspects of tourism to provide an analytical framework for capital city tourism. This provides a structure for the detailed analysis and research set out in the remainder of the book. Finally, we briefly reviewed the chapters that follow and outlined their key points and themes. The next section of this book examines the first book theme; that of city image and branding.

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3

The Capital City as a ‘Product’ Brand Under the Nation’s Corporate Umbrella

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Introduction

Similar to many other countries within the enlarged European Union (EU), Wales, a relatively small Celtic nation of around 3 million inhabitants, has been forced to embrace the need to reposition itself to meet the demands of an increasingly competitive global marketplace. For similar reasons many cases leading to the successful rebranding of places have been politically driven, with benefits reaped in diverse areas such as tourism, economic immigration, foreign direct investment and export. In such cases, a strong positive identity allows a place to gain competitive advantage over others that have a negative or poorly developed identity (Kotler and Gertner, 2002). Many places, including entire nations, remain plagued by stereotypical images, while others have yet to develop strong positive identities. The study of place marketing is further complicated because the ‘place’ itself is often not defined within the literature. While there are many case studies delving into specific places and the way these have been branded or rebranded, much of the general literature on place marketing considers the concept of branding entire nations, and little has been written concerning any differentiation in marketing or branding for a nation’s regions, towns and cities. This chapter will therefore explore some of these key issues of identity, representation and branding within the context of defining and conceptualizing what is a very complex subject area. Further complexity also stems from the creation of large supranational entities such as the EU. This not only calls into question the dominant role of the nation state in a post-national globalized era (Skinner and Kubacki, 2007), but also raises the status of post-devolution capital cities of nations such as Wales, as the concept of ‘Britishness’ becomes of increasingly less relevance to the identities of the UK’s devolved nations (Wellings, 2007).

On a personal note, I was born in 1962 and brought up in Cardiff, a city that has been the official capital of Wales since 1955. Growing up proud to

be Welsh, I was amazed to find that, for many non-British people I met while abroad on holiday during the 1970s and 1980s, Wales had no point of reference until its neighbour England was mentioned. At school, I took part in St David's Day celebrations for our national patron saint, wearing a traditional woollen shawl and tall black hat, I sang songs in the old language and recited *penillion* verse at Eisteddfodau. At home we spoke only English, although my father was brought up in a Welsh-speaking household in the Rhondda Valleys in the 1920s before moving to Cardiff as a young man before the Second World War. I learnt the Welsh language at school, and even though I cannot use Welsh in everyday conversation, I can still just about understand enough of the language to get by when the need arises. However, to me being Welsh was never just about speaking the language. Being Welsh also encompassed a feeling of belonging to my own nation, with its own capital city, its own unique identity and having a nationality that was distinct from others within the UK – a nationality which distinguished me as 'Welsh' rather than 'British'. Being Welsh meant being part of a heritage of music and poetry, of mythology, of the tales of the *Mabinogi*, of stories about fire-breathing dragons and old tales of Welsh heroes. My Welsh identity is also inextricably linked in some way to my identity as a capital city dweller – a dweller of a cosmopolitan, multicultural and ethnically diverse capital, whose historic architecture is now flanked by new shops, offices and leisure facilities. My city has both a gothic-style castle and a Victorian prison at the heart of the city centre, along with an Edwardian civic centre, and a modern and growing retail development that will offer one of the largest shopping centres in the UK. My Cardiff is able to retain its identity as a centre of rich cultural heritage, while at the same time being able to respond to contemporary business, leisure and social needs.

As a citizen I am able to reconcile these apparent paradoxes, yet as a scholar I am able to find little in the academic literature that either aids my understanding of the way such a hybrid identity has been created and managed, or can be communicated effectively within an appropriate conceptual framework. As a marketing scholar, the literature that is available to aid my understanding is based firmly within the product and service branding construct, yet instinctively I believed that this may not be the most appropriate construct with which to study the marketing of places. This chapter will therefore explore how Cardiff, a relatively new, planned and political capital city, has re-emerged since government has been devolved to Wales. The chapter will also explore the nature of the relationship between the marketing and branding of the capital as a tourist destination, and the marketing and branding of the nation as a whole. The many problems associated with using branding techniques for such multidimensional constructs as nations have opened questions of whether or not marketing academics and practitioners alike are using appropriate frameworks in their approaches to the marketing of places. The key argument that will be presented is that a nation should best be understood in terms of corporate identity, rather than the more commonly applied concept of branding. The brand concept is then better applied to the individual places within the nation, such as capital cities.

'For Wales, See England'

The Welsh Assembly Government is proud of its claim that Wales is 'one of the oldest nations in Europe with our own language and a rich and diverse cultural inheritance' (National Assembly for Wales, 2000). This is in stark contrast to one of the most famous slights on the nation, when the entry in the 1888 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* simply read 'for Wales, see England'. Even up to the midpoint of the 20th century, many of Wales' cultural symbols reflected a post-war nation, which Aneurin Bevan, in a speech to the House of Commons on 28th October 1946, noted had 'too great a tendency to identify Welsh culture with Welsh speaking'. This tendency remains even though only 'a half million people in Wales (19% of the total population) speak Welsh' (Office for National Statistics, 1991). However, the mid-20th century was also the time when a contemporary Welsh cultural identity began to be differentiated from that of the rest of the UK (Table 3.1).

The latter part of the 20th century also brought changes to the economy of Wales, as the nation saw similar declines in its economy to that of other European nations that, in the past, had relied upon what was now a decline in traditional employment in manufacturing and heavy industry (Berg *et al.*, 1995; Lennon and Seaton, 1998), combined with an attendant rise in growth and importance of the service sector in general, and the tourism industry in particular, leading to the need to create new strategies and skills bases (Skinner, 2005).

It took until the 1990s for Wales to feel the benefits of economic regeneration. As a major port, Cardiff had been the main commercial centre of Wales long before achieving city status in 1905, and then becoming the nation's official capital in 1955. The 1990s also brought the establishment of the Cardiff International Arena as a major conference, exhibition and music venue; the completion of the Millennium Stadium capable of holding major music and

Table 3.1. The development of a contemporary Welsh national identity.

1948	Establishment of a 'Council of Wales' to advise (but not rule on) Welsh affairs
1950	Appointment of a Minister for Welsh Affairs
1955	Cardiff becomes the official capital of Wales
1958	Establishment of a Welsh Grand Committee of Welsh constituent MPs
1964	Creation of the post, and cabinet position, of Secretary of State for Wales
1965	Creation of a Welsh Office in Cardiff
1966	Election to parliament of the first Plaid Cymru (Party of Wales) MP
1969	Investiture of Prince Charles as Prince of Wales
1974	MPs allowed to swear Oaths of Allegiance in the Welsh language
1978	Wales Act proposes establishment of an Assembly for Wales
1970	Referendum rejects devolution
1997	Referendum accepts devolution
1999	Establishment of National Assembly for Wales
2007	'One Wales' agreement of coalition parties in the Welsh Assembly Government

sporting events, and the redevelopment and regeneration of Cardiff Bay. It is in particular the redevelopment of the Cardiff Bay area (formerly Tiger Bay), now home to the Welsh Assembly Government, the location of many of the capital city's tourist attractions, visitor centres, shopping centres, leisure and recreation facilities, and outdoor summer festival activities that have received wide media attention, that is often seen as one of the driving forces behind the rebranding of Wales.

However, even at the start of the 1990s Wales was still struggling to maintain a unique sense of identity that was not solely based on its past cultural heritage. There was a perceived need to establish a greater awareness of Wales as a separate nation with its own unique identity to both those outside and within the principality. In the year the National Assembly for Wales (now the Welsh Assembly Government) was officially opened, Ron Davies, assembly member (AM), member of parliament (MP), in his paper *Devolution – A Process not an Event* (1999) announced that he wanted 'to rebrand Wales and notions of Welshness to reflect the real living modern Wales, to establish the idea of Wales as a vibrant, diverse, tolerant and outward-looking country with an internationalist spirit'. Indeed, Hannan (1999, p. 12) takes the view that:

the creation of the assembly is the most significant change in a process during which Wales seems, looking back, to have altered at breakneck speed and to have done so, not simply in the creation of new institutions, but in the way in which people have increasingly come to confront the Welsh dimension of public life.

Place Marketing

The notion of a place as a marketable commodity has traceable origins within tourism marketing (Hankinson, 2004). This has led to places most often being referred to as 'destinations' within the body of literature that contains many examples of the use of terms such as 'destination marketing' and 'destination branding'. Similar to many other practitioners responsible for the marketing of places, the leaders of the Welsh Assembly Government use branding terminology to discuss their efforts. This is also consistent with the perspective taken by many academics, who also apply the branding construct to place marketing. However, Skinner (2005, p. 299) has outlined many problems in attempting to manage marketing communications for place brands in the same way that communications are managed for product and service brands, leading to the conclusion that 'true integration of a place brand's marketing communications may be impossible to achieve'. This is not the only reason that has led some scholars to question whether *branding* as considered in product and service terms is the correct construct to apply when marketing places (Skinner, 2008). Yet, while there still remains little consensus, there has been some effort to clarify the use of terms relating to place marketing and branding. Place marketing involves 'applying principles of corporate identity to places with logos, straplines, messages and promotional campaigns... Place branding, on the

other hand, is concerned with the pre-existing reputation, or the context within which marketing communications operate' (Parkerson, 2007, p. 264). However, an alternative view is offered from an etymological perspective where the word marketing 'comes from "market getting" and has the market as its starting point, while branding literally means "burning" or "marking" something' (Hospers, 2007, p. 3). While this may appear to be a simplistic way of reconciling the issue, it does have merits when considering that 'place marketing starts from the image outsiders have of a place (outside-in-approach). In turn, place branding is an act by the place itself and tells the outside world what it is or how it wants to be seen (inside-out-approach)' (Hospers, 2007, p. 3).

Town centre management and the place of capital cities

There is a recognition within the literature on town centre management of the need to create a positive image and identity for cities in order 'to identify and differentiate themselves from competitors' (Trueman *et al.*, 2007, p. 21), and to counter the impact of negative perceptions, which otherwise 'can undermine regeneration and destroy the confidence of local communities, leading to the notion of a "lost" city with no clear identity or brand' (Trueman *et al.*, 2007, p. 20). However, while this issue is less applicable to capital cities that do tend to have stronger identities than other city places, a place, unlike a new product launched on to the market, 'does not begin from a zero base' (Hankinson, 2004, p. 7).

Cardiff had been a thriving commercial centre for many years before it was granted city status just over 100 years ago in 1905, and became the capital of Wales in 1955, yet there is evidence of the city being built on the site of a much earlier Roman fort built around 75 AD, so while its status may have changed, Cardiff as a place already existed and already had an identity. One other issue confusing studies of place marketing is, therefore, the role played by a place's culture and heritage, particularly when such a relatively new planned and political capital city as Cardiff is attempting to refashion and manage its identity in contemporary terms, such as marketing and branding, to meet the challenges of an increasingly competitive global market for tourism, foreign direct investment, economic immigration and export. This subject is becoming of increasing importance not only for the UK's post-devolution constituent nations, but is also of importance further afield as new nation states with new capital cities are created or recreated the situation such as following the break up of the USSR, all of which has brought the matter of national and cultural identities into sharp focus.

The historic 'capital' of Wales is often claimed to be the market town of Machynlleth in mid-Wales, seat of the Welsh Parliament of Owain Glyndwr in the early 1400s, although Machynlleth has never received any official recognition as having either *capital* or *city* status. Owain Glyndwr led a rebellion against the English King Henry IV, and was crowned Prince of Wales in Machynlleth in 1404, 3 years after claiming the title. The rebellion was

unsuccessful; it had followed centuries of English occupation following William the Conqueror's invasion, and Edward I's attempts to conquer Wales in the late 13th century. Wales was eventually incorporated into a single state comprising England and Wales by the Laws in Wales Acts 1535–1542. This, and the subsequent Act of Union in 1707, which politically united England and Wales with Scotland, created the Kingdom of Great Britain, with its capital in London. It is only since devolution that Cardiff's role as the capital of Wales is becoming meaningful in allowing the city and nation to refashion their own political identities. In contrast to Machynlleth, Cardiff is not located centrally in Wales; rather its location is on the south-east coast. Its history as a trading port has led to it being a city of cultural diversity rather than a cultural centre recognizable as homogeneously and identifiably 'Welsh'. Yet, despite this, its reinvention as a national capital is evident in the location of many of Wales' national institutions such as the National Museum in the city's civic centre, the National History Museum at St Fagans on the outskirts of the capital city, the National Assembly's Senedd building and the Wales Millennium Centre, which opened in 2004 and now houses Academi – the Welsh National Literature Promotion Agency and Society For Writers, Diversions – Wales' National Dance company, the Welsh National Opera, and the BBC National Orchestra of Wales.

As outlined in the introduction to this chapter, the way a place's brand is perceived as either positive, negative, or underdeveloped affects its ability to compete effectively in a global marketplace. One key measure of effectiveness is the way a place's brand affects its attraction as a destination for tourism. Of the 243 tourist attractions that provided figures for the 2007 Visit Wales survey (Beaufort Research, 2008), 58 are located in south-east Wales. The south-east of Wales is also the region that saw the highest increase in visitor numbers, up 26% between 2006 and 2007, and with around 3,600,000 visitors a year, it also has the highest volume of visitors of any region of Wales. Moreover, attractions based in the south-east gain the highest average visits per attraction per region (around 81,000 visits per attraction). Cardiff is home to 17 of these visitor attractions. Two of these appear in the list of the top-ten paid attractions in Wales – Cardiff Castle (third) and Techniquet Science Museum (eighth). Five of Cardiff's visitor attractions also appear in the list of the top-ten free attractions in Wales – Wales Millennium Centre (first), St Fagans National History Museum (second), National Museum (third), National Assembly Debating Chamber (eighth) and Cardiff Bay Visitor Centre (ninth). Indeed, the Wales Millennium Centre and National History Museum are among the most popular destinations in Wales, attracting nearly 1.5 million visitors between them.

However, even before Cardiff became the official capital, it had been home to the National Museum of Wales, which had been established by Royal Charter in 1907 with its current home in Cardiff's civic centre opening to the public in 1927. The dominance of the region around the nation's capital as a tourist attractor can sometimes lead to tensions between the capital city and other cities and towns within the nation. As an example, following disagreements about the proposed location being Cardiff, the National Library of Wales, established at the same time as the National Museum in 1907, was actually housed in Aberystwyth, a town located centrally on the west coast of

Wales. More recently, other national centres have been created in places other than the national capital, such as Wales National Pool in Swansea that was completed in 2003, and the National Waterfront Museum which opened in 2005 and is also located in Swansea. Decisions about such locations can therefore seem to be politically driven in response to calls for equitable geographic dispersal of such attractions around the nation. These planned political decisions can be seen to contrast to the location of 'national' institutions being geographically spread around the nation due to the nature of the attraction either: being based upon sites of historic interest (such as the Roman Legion Museum situated at Caerleon in south-east Wales on the site of a Roman fort); being based in areas relating to the industrial heritage of a region, such as the National Slate Museum located in Llanberis in north Wales; or the location of Wales' national parks in Snowdonia (north Wales), Brecon (mid-Wales) and Pembrokeshire (west Wales).

Cultural heritage or 'fakelore'?

Atkinson Wells (1994) uses the term 'fakelore' when questioning the authenticity of what is being promoted about a place, particularly when targeting the heritage tourism market. Examples of such questionable promotions have been well documented: Brown (2001) questions the entire heritage tourism 'reversion to retro' phenomenon in general, and the images of Ireland promoted through cultural products such as *Riverdance* in particular (Brown, 1998); Aherne (2000) similarly questions the authenticity of the entire 'Celtic Revival'; while Atkinson *et al.* (2002) claim that Hull's maritime heritage had all but been overlooked in the creation of its new post-industrial urban identity. Wales has also been subjected to a similar examination, with Skinner (2005) identifying Wales Tourist Board promotions focusing so heavily on the nation's history, language and culture that tourists to its capital city would be in danger of facing significant levels of dissonance when experiencing the place in reality. It has also been noted earlier that Cardiff is not usually perceived as a centre of 'Welshness'. Rather, it is an economic and political capital that may be seen to be reinventing itself as a cultural capital by locating within it many of Wales' 'national' cultural attractions.

Skinner and Kubacki (2007) recognize not only the role played by both the cultural and political perspectives of nation and nationhood, but also that the nation brand both informs and is informed by its constituent people and places. The model of the nation brand proposed by Skinner and Kubacki recognizes that the nation brand is affected by events occurring in the outside (macro) environment as the nation does not exist in isolation from others. The brand is communicated through a range of contact points, including the formal communications originating from its managerial and creative subsystems (Solomon *et al.*, 1999), and these contact points are also experienced by those with personal experience of the nation and those who may receive informal communications about the nation, for example someone may never have visited a nation but may have a perception about the identity of that nation from having seen

a film set in a certain country, or by reading what someone has written about the place in a blog. While that may not offer a 'true' representation of the place (as far as that is even possible), it may be the only one that person has encountered. In this respect, a person's perceptions of the nation may also be affected by the dominance of tourism and FDI (foreign direct investment) to a nation's capital city rather than other less easily accessible places within it.

These contact points of the national brand identity are also moderated by other factors. For example, it has been noted that a nation's identity changes over time (Bechhofer *et al.*, 1999; Cameron, 1999), but that this change can often be perceived more slowly by those outside the nation than those living or working within it, or who have visited it since change occurred. Time therefore becomes a moderating factor, as some people outside the nation may still be holding on to historic perspectives of a nation that has since moved on. This is particularly pertinent when considering newly emerging or re-emerging nations, which may have experienced relatively low levels of investment or tourism.

As a nation, there is evidence that Wales has an underdeveloped identity in the wider world. Where it does have an identity, it is often based upon historic perceptions grounded in cultural symbols of dragons, druids and coal mining, yet Cardiff is a vibrant cosmopolitan capital city with many facilities and attractions, and an infrastructure that can support both general and business tourism to a very high standard. Post-devolution, it is easier for Cardiff to raise its status as a national rather than merely regional capital, and thereby refashion its brand identity to meet the global challenges of an increasingly competitive market for place brands.

Conclusion

The literature contains many examples of regions, cities and suburbs that have applied principles of place branding to positive effect. The perspective of place marketing presented in this chapter reflects the view identified in the literature of the nation as corporate brand. It would therefore seem that national identities can be best understood in terms of the creation and communication of corporate identity and corporate image, while the outputs of that nation, its products and services, places and capital cities, may be best perceived in branding terms:

The wider term 'place marketing' may therefore be better suited to issues about a place's overall management – a place can then be considered as a location having a single identity with multiple facets, a history, and cultural heritage, and pre-existing perceptions, and be managed as akin to a corporation, market getting, from an outside-in approach by its multiple stakeholders, in partnership. If the term 'branding' applies here at all, it can be seen to relate to the creation of a corporate brand identity. The term 'place branding' is then better clarified as linking to a place's promotional activities, contextualized in the domain of marketing communications, marking the place with a distinct identity in the minds of the various target groups targeted by the incorporated place, from an inside-

out approach, assuring the place's multiple stakeholders, in partnership, manage and communicate the place's brand identity to the wider world as they wish it to be presented.

(Skinner, 2008, pp. 923–924)

In marketing terms, Wales as a nation can be seen to be making attempts at *place marketing* – creating a single Welsh identity although with multiple facets. It may also be seen to be making attempts at *place branding* when it communicates with its various target audiences for tourism, economic immigration, FDI and the export of its goods and services. Wales therefore can be perceived as the *corporate brand* of the Welsh Assembly Government's corporation. As corporations rebrand themselves, so has Wales, as a post-devolution nation in its own right, no longer necessarily to be perceived merely as a subordinate region of Britain. Moreover, this can be compared to the way the nation brand of Scotland is reclaiming its own political and cultural identity distinct and separate from that of a 'British' identity. While other political issues affect Northern Ireland's identity as a post-devolution nation, and the nation's cultural identity is not distinguished from Britishness to the same extent as Wales and Scotland, its political identity can be seen to be doing so (Gould and Skinner, 2007). The problematic issue becomes the creation of 'Brand England', and it has historically been seen to be inextricably linked with 'Brand Britain' (Wellings, 2007). Wales as a corporate brand then becomes the umbrella brand of its constituent places, in the same way as one business organization may produce a wide range of different product and service brands. The nation's capital city can then be seen to be one of the place brands subordinate to the overall nation brand. As with business corporations, some of these places may be seen to be more identifiable with the umbrella brand than others, and these individual place brands may target different audiences for different reasons.

Interestingly, one issue that is lacking in academic investigation is any way of distinguishing the brand of a capital city from any other place brand. It would not be inconsistent with the brand literature to consider a nation's capital as its 'flagship brand'. Cardiff can be seen to be the flagship brand of the nation. It houses not only many of the nation's attractions, but also more of the attractions most valued by its visitors than other place brands within the nation, as the city and its surrounding region receives the highest number of visitors to the nation, and its attractions are more popular with visitors than other places within the nation. This is also consistent with the academic literature on product and service marketing and branding.

Conceptualizing the nation as being similar to an overall corporate brand, with its constituent places as similar to product brands, and its capital city as its flagship brand may help not only minimize the confusion brought about by the inconsistent use of marketing and branding terminology that is currently evident in the extant literature, but may also help us better understand the inter-related nature of various types of place brands based upon the different status held by each, be they nation, capital city, region, town city or individual visitor attraction.

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4

Images of Canberra: Destination Marketing and the Capital City of Australia

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Introduction

This chapter examines visual representations (mediated images) of both Canberra and the marketing of Australia's capital city. The chapter examines numerous signs and symbols surrounding the national capital and its marketing in 2008 and 2009. The key organizations involved in marketing Canberra are Australian Capital Tourism and the Canberra and Region Visitors Centre. These groups effectively control the way in which Canberra is marketed locally, nationally and internationally.

The national symbolism associated with the nation's capital will be examined. Textual analysis, in particular semiotics (examining how signs generate meaning) is a useful methodology for deconstructing mediated representations of national imagery and branding. Some semiotic analysis will be undertaken to analyse the way in which images and perceptions of Australia's national capital are imagined, created, represented, replicated and relayed across Australia and beyond. The images examined in this chapter will also be explored through the dual theoretical frameworks of nationalism and destination marketing.

The heart of Canberra is the Parliamentary Zone (sometimes also referred to as the 'Parliamentary Triangle') and is bounded by Capital Hill, Kings and Commonwealth Avenues and Lake Burley Griffin. Some of the key tourist sites found in or just beyond this area include the Australian War Memorial, Captain Cook Memorial Jet, Carillon, National Library of Australia, Reconciliation Place, High Court of Australia, National Gallery of Australia, Old Parliament House and Parliament House. The visual representation of Canberra generally, and this area in particular, will be the focus of this chapter.

At an important conference in 1993 – 'Canberra: Face of the Nation?' – organized by the Canberra Business Council, the University of Canberra, the National Capital Planning Authority (NCPA) and the federal government, chair of the NCPA Joe Skrzynski stated: 'In 80 years, Canberra has come from sheep

pastures to one of the world's most beautiful and successful cities. . . . Whether you love Canberra or hate it, you have to admit it is unique' (Birtles, 1993, p. 6). At the same conference, Kerry Stokes, Managing Director of the *Canberra Times* declared: 'Mention Washington to an everyday American and you're likely to see a patriotic hand move across his heart. Mention Canberra to an average Australian and you'll no doubt get a gesticulation of a demonstrably different kind!' (Birtles, 1993, p. 9).

In describing Canberra, *Lonely Planet's* guide to Australia states, 'This city is a celebration of what Australians hold dear – their origins, sacrifices, treasures and values' (Vaisutis, 2007, p. 265). While the authors of *Rough Guide to Australia* claim that most Australians regard Canberra as a 'frosty boring place where politicians (the lowest form of human life) and public servants (only marginally higher on the evolutionary scale) live it up at the expense of the hard-done-by Australian taxpayer' (Daly *et al.*, 1999, p. 210).

Methodology

Semiotics

As discussed earlier, this chapter is concerned with examining images of Canberra. The chapter undertakes an analysis of the images by applying aspects of semiotics – a key qualitative research methodology for deconstructing mediated representations of national imagery. The search for representations of 'Canberra-ness' can be discovered through a close examination of the city and its visual imagery, as well as the way it is promoted to local and international visitors.

Semiotics is the study of signs, codes and culture, and a methodology for reading 'soft data' such as visual representations of Australia's national capital. The word 'semiotics' is derived from the Greek name for an interpreter of signs – *semeiotikos* (Cobley and Jansz, 1999, p. 4). Semiotics is a useful tool for examining the sometimes multilayered images of a city. The area of study originated in the early 20th century. Essentially, it is the study of how signs operate in society or 'the study of the social production of meaning' (O'Sullivan *et al.*, 1994, p. 281) generated from sign systems. Meaning in this context is the dynamic interaction between the 'reader' and the message. Meaning is influenced by the reader's socio-cultural experiences, and the reader undoubtedly plays a central role in any semiotic analysis. Semiotics is a useful methodology for deconstructing our daily experiences and attempts to capture those experiences more permanently, with tools such as still and moving cameras.

According to Leiss *et al.* (1990), the real strength of semiotics is 'its capacity to dissect and examine closely a cultural code and its sensitivity to the nuances and oblique references in cultural systems'. They incorporate the notion of a cultural frame into their research, and argue that 'a cultural frame is the predominant set of images, values, and forms of communication in a

particular period that arises out of the interplay between marketing and advertising strategies, the mass media, and popular culture' (Leiss *et al.*, 1990, p. 62). This notion is important to the primary object of examination of this chapter – the 'cultural frame' of Canberra that has been produced through numerous visual depictions of the capital city.

Invented images of a nation

Richard White broke significant ground on the topic of national imagery, symbols and icons when he claimed:

There is no 'real' Australia waiting to be uncovered. A national identity is an invention. There is no point asking whether one version of this essential Australia is truer than another because they are all intellectual constructs, neat, tidy, comprehensible – and necessarily false.

(White, 1981, p. viii)

White (1981, p. x) argued that national identity is an invention which is constantly being 'fractured, questioned and redefined'. He claimed that the question is not whether definitions of Australia are correct, but who is responsible for the production of these definitions and in whose interest do they serve? White (1981, p. viii) observed that the continual questioning and search for an Australian identity in this country has become a 'national obsession'.

Observing that visual images are always embedded in texts, Willis (1993, p. 9) examined 'how visual imagery becomes enmeshed in processes of the construction of national identity'. The work of Willis provides a useful framework for the analysis of the manufactured images of nation. She contends that in Australia in the late 1980s, a form of 'hyper nationalism' emerged (Willis, 1993, p. 26), and distinguishes the 'cultural nationalism' of the Whitlam years from the 'corporatized figural nationalism' (Willis, 1993, p. 88), which she refers to as the 'consumer nationalism' (Willis, 1993, p. 180) of Australia's bicentenary of European settlement in 1988. The bicentenary was indeed a key moment in the syntax of national imaging, and a key moment in the branding of Canberra due to the opening of Australia's new national icon – Parliament House.

Without entering into an exhaustive examination about the abundant methods by which the idea of a 'nation' is presented to the citizen, it is worth noting one regularly used technique. A popular strategy employed by image makers which most Australians encounter daily is the representation of the landmass of their island continent in various forms. According to Benedict Anderson (1991, p. 12), nationalism is a taken-for-granted frame of reference. For one example of this, we need look no further than the words and logo of the masthead of Australia's national newspaper, *The Australian*. The concept of the nation is doubly reinforced in both the title of the newspaper and the red image of the Australian landmass. Although the citizen may not always consciously register that they are viewing the symbol, the point remains that these images are being generated and presented by numerous individuals and organizations. The marketing of Canberra

as the nation's capital works on a similar level in that many key aspects of the national story are taken-for-granted frames of reference.

Destination marketing

As early as 1979, Peter Spearritt and David Walker recognized that popular culture in Australia had been largely ignored as a subject worthy of academic analysis. Spearritt argued: 'The battle for Australia's symbols was really won or lost in tourist pamphlets and encyclopaedias' (Spearritt and Walker, 1979, p. 58). It was in the 1980s and the 1990s that the marketing of national symbols started to become an area of interest to researchers and scholars.

More recent studies in tourism have considered the role of particular attractions in assisting with the creation of a national identity. Pretes (2003) notes that tourists receive messages sent to them by the creators of the sites they visit, and these sites of significance, presented as aspects of a national heritage, help to shape a common national identity, or 'imagined community' among a diverse population. If tourist sites can help create a common identity, can the main iconic images of a capital city represent aspects of an overall culture and help to develop a collective story or imagined community?

The Australian Tourist Commission (ATC), now known as Tourism Australia, made it clear that it saw the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games as an opportunity to shift attitudes towards Australia. The ATC wanted to use the Games to remove the 'Crocodile Dundee' image of Australia (Rivenburgh *et al.*, 2004). In 1995, the ATC embarked on a new way to promote Australia, known as 'Brand Australia'. In this campaign, a unified and cohesive image of Australia was developed for the major markets – Asia, Europe and the USA. Australia's personality was presented as youthful, energetic, optimistic, unpretentious and genuine. In their cross-cultural study of foreign attitudes towards Australia before, during and after the Sydney Games, Rivenburgh and her co-writers (2004, p. 13) argued that 'the ATC saw the Opening Ceremony as an opportunity to sell Sydney and Australia to the world' and to get Australia recognized as an exciting and desirable travel destination. Any marketing of a nation's major cities must necessarily take into account the marketing of the complete tourist product (at least for the international tourist) – the nation.

Canberra: a Semiotic City

While Canberra is the capital city of Australia, with a population of 339,000 (Australian Capital Tourism, 2009, p. 4), the cities of Sydney and Melbourne are better known around the world. Like Washington and New Delhi, Canberra came from 'ideas and not from circumstances. . . . It was a test-tube insemination conducted in a laboratory' (Slessor, 1966, p. 9). After the 1899 Referendum, when it was decided that the Australian colonies would become a federated nation, it was recognized that there was a need for a Federal Capital Territory (owned by the Commonwealth of Australia), from which Australia could be

governed. In 1908, the location of Australia's capital city was decided upon. The site chosen was a large valley and natural amphitheatre known as Limestone Plains. The area is primarily boarded by Mount Pleasant, Black Mountain and Mount Ainslie, while the Mongolo River flows through the valley. The area became known as the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) in 1938.

The traditional owners of the land are the Ngunnawal Aborigines, who have lived in the area for more than 20,000 years (Sheppard, 2002, p. 14). The name 'Canberra' is derived from the Ngunnawal word 'Kanberra' or 'Canberry', which means 'meeting place' (Slessor, 1966, p. 12). Due to the location, Canberra is also affectionately known as the 'Bush Capital' (refer Fig. 4.1). Almost 50% of the ACT's 2538 km² is comprised of national parks and reserves. Canberra's coat of arms features a black swan (symbolizing Aboriginal people) and a white swan (representing European settlers) on either side of a shield with a castle, sword and the parliamentary mace (Nicholson, 2002, p. 83). The Canberra valley was a particularly special meeting place for performing corroborees and feasting on Bogong moths. The Bogong moth breeds on the plains west of the Great Dividing Range and migrates to caves within the High Plains and Snowy Mountains each summer.

Having located the site for Australia's new capital, an international competition was organized in 1911 to design the city. Consequently, the founders of Canberra had the unique opportunity to build a capital city which would combine the best visual features of cities throughout the world. Of the 126 entries, it was decided that the designs of American landscape architect, Walter Burley Griffin and his wife Marion Mahony Griffin (an architectural drafter) were the most outstanding. The Griffins had been former associates of Frank Lloyd Wright and managed to plan Canberra without having visited

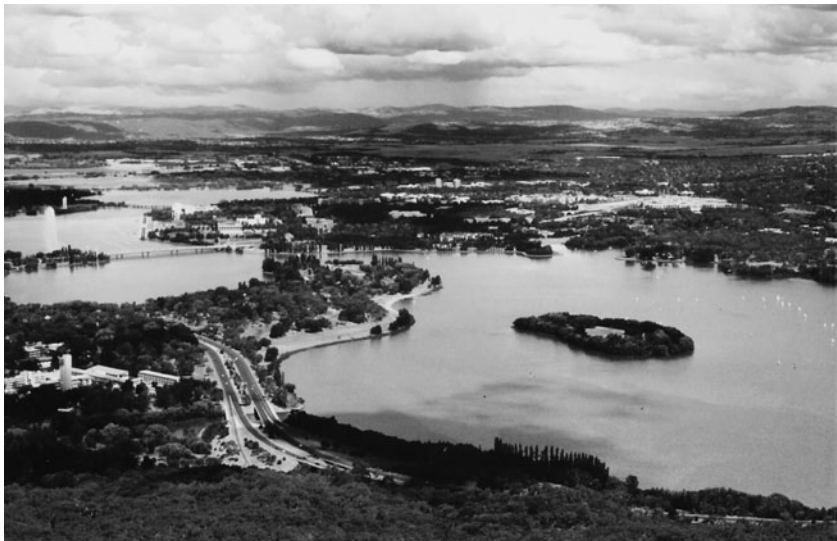


Fig. 4.1. Australia's 'Bush Capital' Canberra featuring Lake Burley Griffin.

the area. Walter and Marion eventually moved to Australia in 1913, and also designed Melbourne's Capital Theatre, Newman College, properties in Sydney's Castlecrag and a number of architectural projects including large municipal incinerators.

The Canberra plan emphasized land, water and municipal axes, with roads radiating out in concentric circles. Peter Proudfoot argues that while Griffin's plan for an ideal city is generally regarded as arising from a combination of the City Beautiful and Garden City movements in architecture at the time, in his highly detailed semiotic analysis, he claims that the inspiration for the design evolved from ancient spiritual ideals and geomancy, which like feng shui is a 'science which places man in harmony with the earth' (Proudfoot, 1994, p. 4). He argues that Canberra shares similarities with Stonehenge, Glastonbury, the Egyptian pyramids and the new Jerusalem (Proudfoot, 1994, p. 4).

Australia's *Lonely Planet* guide irreverently explains, 'Think crop circles in suburbia and you have an aerial picture of this city, conceived on an architect's drawing board with the aid of ruler, compass and protractor' (Vaisutis, 2007, p. 267). The focal point of Griffin's plan was a grand Capital Building on 'Camp Hill' (later known as 'Capital Hill'), while the main 'water feature' is a series of connected basin or artificial lakes – 11 km wide in places – now known as Lake Burley Griffin (refer Fig. 4.2). The filling of the lake in 1963 and the opening of Parliament House in 1988 enabled Griffin's original plans to finally be realized. The 'really dramatic change' to Canberra which gave the city 'a cohesion that was previously lacking' came with the filling of the lake (Linge, 1975, p. 68). When Prime Minister Robert Menzies was questioned about the cost of constructing the lake he replied, 'What would London be without the Thames? What would Paris be without the Seine?' (Slessor, 1966, p. 27).



Fig. 4.2. The focal point of Canberra is Parliament House.

An international competition was again held in 1980 for the design of Australia's new Parliament House. The brief was to 'create a building true to Walter Burley Griffin's vision of a city nestling into the natural folds of the land' (Daly *et al.*, 1999, p. 216). The winning design, which was chosen from 329 entries, was submitted by another American team of architects – Mitchell, Giurgola and Thorp. Italian Romaldo Giurgola was the chief designer of the building, which both reflected and respected Griffin's original plans for the site as the surrounding landscape rather than the building itself is the dominant feature. The building is set on a 32 ha site, is one of the largest buildings in the southern hemisphere and 'serves as a reminder of the purpose for which the city was built' (Gibbney, 1986, p. 35).

Australia's Parliament House cost US\$1.1 billion to build (almost ten times the original estimate), boasts 4500 rooms and was made with enough concrete to build 25 Sydney Opera Houses (Nicholson, 2002, p. 86). It was officially opened for Australia's Bicentennial celebrations in 1988. The forecourt of Parliament House features a ceremonial pool and a 196m² granite mosaic designed by Aboriginal artist Michael Nelson Tjakamara. An 81m high stainless steel flagpole (sometimes referred to as the 'Hill's Hoist') rises from the lawn roof (refer Fig. 4.3). The Australian flag, which adorns the flagpole, is widely marketed as being bigger than a double-decker bus. In a bid to save time and cut costs towards the end of the project, the notable lawn roof almost did not go ahead. Giurgola and Thorp managed to convince the government of the day to proceed with the original plans (Machen, 2000, p. 132). The lawn roof was considered important to the concepts of democracy and power as visitors could metaphorically 'walk on top of' the working (and paid for by the taxpayer) politicians below.



Fig. 4.3. Australia's Parliament House was opened in 1988.

It did not take long for Australia's newest iconic landmark to become a subject of interest for advertisers. In 1988, a Sorbent toilet tissue television advertisement incorporated Australian locations and icons to link the nation. The structure of the advertisement was loosely based on the 1 January 1988, 4-hour media extravaganza *Australia Live – Celebration of a Nation*, hosted by Ray Martin, Jana Wendt and Clive James. Like the television programme, introductions to places around Australia are orchestrated from one central location – in this case, the nation's capital, Canberra. Another similarity between the advertisement and the television event is that at the base of screen the name of the location is printed next to a map of the relevant state, with a pulsating dot to pinpoint the general site. The locations for the Sorbent commercial are Canberra, Tully, Hobart, Tanunda, Paraboradoo, Bondi and Camberwell. Thus, all states and territories, with the exception of the Northern Territory, are included.

The original Parliament House (now officially known as 'Old Parliament House' and unofficially as the 'wedding cake') was opened in 1927 and only ever intended to be the temporary home of Australia's Federal parliamentary system. It is a white neoclassical design and now also houses the National Portrait Gallery. In 1972, an Aboriginal Tent Embassy was first established on the lawn area in front of the building. Directly across the lake from both old and new Parliament House, at the top of Anzac Parade and foot of Mount Ainslie, is the Australian War Memorial (Fig. 4.4).

The spatial relationship between the two buildings has been compared to Viceroy's Palace and the All-India Memorial in New Delhi (Metcalf, 2003, p. 42). Somewhat ironically, Griffin's plan for Canberra included a casino on



Fig. 4.4. The Australian War Memorial at the foot of Mount Ainslie, and old Parliament House as seen from the Parliament House.

the site where the war memorial now stands. A decision to build the memorial was made in 1923, and it was officially opened in 1941. The impressive limestone monument features a hall of memory and a reflection pool surrounded by bronze panels (Rolls of Honour) listing the names of more than 102,000 Australians who lost their lives in battle. After the Second World War, the Australian War Memorial 'quickly became an icon and the most visited Canberra site' (Metcalf, 2003, p. 43). Applying a semiotic analysis, the red gravel of Anzac Parade is said to symbolize the bloodied sands of Gallipoli.

Apart from Parliament House, the Australian War Memorial and Lake Burley Griffin (materializing in 1963 after dam waters flooded the basin), other significant tourist attractions in Canberra include: Old Parliament House, National Gallery of Australia, High Court of Australia, National Library of Australia, National Museum of Australia, National Archives of Australia, National Zoo and Aquarium, Questacon – National Science and Technology Centre, National Film and Sound Archive, Australian Institute of Sport, Royal Australian Mint, the Lodge (home of the prime minister), Government House (home of the governor general), foreign embassies, the Australian National Botanic Gardens, Black Mountain Tower, Mount Ainslie and Red Hill. Some of Canberra's significant festivals and events include Summernats Car Festival, Australia Day Live, National Folk Festival, National Autumn Balloon Spectacular, Floriade (billed as 'Australia's Celebration of Spring' and possibly Canberra's best-known event) and the Australian Mountain Bike Championships. The range of events taking place in Canberra may just reflect Lyn Spillman's (1997) suggestion that, in a diverse country, diversity itself becomes an aspect of national identity.

The Marketing of a Semiotic City

Canberra and its key attractions are marketed in a way that does not attempt to compete with Sydney and Melbourne. Canberra is largely perceived by non-Canberrans as a highly 'planned' city for politicians and government workers. Landmarks, monuments, memorials, gardens, galleries, libraries, archives and political attractions are the main drawcards of this carefully designed city with many circular roads and roundabouts. As Catriona Elder argues, 'those who manage and market Canberra to overseas visitors and Australian citizens know exactly what their story of Canberra is – Canberra embodies Australian-ness' (Elder, 2007, p. 339).

ACT is the principle body for the promotion of Canberra. In recent times their slogan has been the rather lengthy: 'See yourself in the nation's capital'. The shorter version of this, which is used as the tag line in television advertisements and in marketing material such as brochures and posters, is simply 'See for yourself'. The ACT logo is a gold seven-pointed Federation star in the shape of an autumn leaf. Almost unnoticeable, and in the middle of the leaf, is a sketch of Canberra's major tourist attraction, Parliament House. Canberra is

known for its lined avenues of mature European trees, which result in impressive displays of red, orange and yellow each autumn.

The main publication used to promote the city and its attractions is the 'Canberra Capital Region Holiday Planner'. Some of the key images of the 2008 and 2009 versions of the planner (essentially remarkably similar publications) will be explored. Both planners urge visitors to 'Discover unexpected delights!' A young couple (i.e. a male and a female) dressed in white and by the shore of Lake Burley Griffin feature on the cover of the 2008 planner, while for the 2009 planner a young couple dressed in red are situated at the Mount Ainslie lookout with a predominantly green Canberra sprawled below them. Both planners also use different images of a selection of young models.

Apart from the green trees in the 2009 image, the main colours featured on these covers are the colours of the Australian flag – red, white and blue. Peter Luck (1992, p. vii) argues that Australians consider the Australian flag to be 'our ultimate icon'. The green and gold boxing kangaroo flag became popular with Australia's success at the 1983 America's Cup yacht race. Garrie Hutchinson (2002, p. 72) explains that since 1983, the flag has become 'a kind of unofficial Australian sporting flag – but was officially endorsed for waving at the Sydney Olympics'. Richard Cashman argues that spectators at major sporting matches in Australia wave almost as many boxing kangaroo flags as the national flag and that 'sport is contributing to the current debate on flag reform' (Cashman, 2001, p. 9).

When advertisers and marketers (often armed with an understanding of semiotics) select colour schemes to effectively represent Australia, they generally choose one of three colour sets. Combinations of colours used to represent the nation include those contained in the Australian flag – red, white and blue; the colours used to represent Australia in sporting events – green and gold (also seen in the leaves and flowers of a wattle tree) and the colours of the harsh Australian landscape such as ochre and brown. For example, Australian colours were chosen to complement the Driza-Bone coats when Australia hosted the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in 2007. The 21 world leaders were paraded on the steps of the Sydney Opera House for the traditional summit 'class photograph' sporting the traditional bush coats. The collars of the Driza-Bone coats were trimmed in the colours of either mustard yellow, red ochre, slate blue or eucalyptus green representing Australia's sun and sandy beaches, outback, sky and the Australian bush, respectively. Along with dining on the best Australian food and wine, the leaders and their spouses were also presented with Akubra hats, Australian art, folders made from kangaroo skin and black opals.

The 2009 Canberra Holiday Planner begins by urging the prospective visitor to 'Discover the home of the Australian story in Canberra...', while the potential (apparently Australian) tourist is also told that Canberra's national attractions 'hold the story of our nation'. Identical headings appear in the 2008 and 2009 publications. They include: 'Canberra... see for yourself', 'See yourself on the go', 'See our nation reflected in its capital', 'Share our local secrets', 'See indigenous culture', 'Tempt your tastebuds', 'Sample the fruits of their labour', 'Step back in time', 'Explore the region', and finally 'See yourself in the nation's capital'. Most of the headings in the planner

begin with a verb with one of the key verbs being 'see'. As Canberra is a beautiful city, with impressive planned avenues and vistas, it is not surprising that Australia's national capital is marketed in this manner. The tourist's role in discovering and exploring in a very 'hands-on' manner is highlighted in the marketing of Australia's capital. The final call to action in the 2008 planner declares 'Book your holiday now!', while in 2009 the emphasis is on a retreat with 'Book your Canberra escape!'

The television advertising for Canberra's 'See for yourself' campaign features two different 30-second commercials, the text of each is detailed below. The 'Australian Story' advertisement features a father, a mother and a male and a female child. The 'Unexpected Delights' commercial begins with the nuclear family in the same manner as the first. However, a young couple suddenly appear with the words 'fresh air' and dominate the second half of the advertisement. In the 'See for yourself' campaign the emphasis is on the visual world. The campaign begins with illustrations of Lake Burley Griffin and Parliament House being viewed through a child's viewfinder, and concludes with photographs from the Canberra trip. The slogan and website (visitcanberra.com.au) are displayed in the final shot. Indeed, the campaign uses integrated marketing communications (IMC) particularly well and thus presents a highly consistent branded product as all marketing collateral (such as brochures, the website, print and television commercials) promote other aspects of the promotion.

Australian Story

Your capital...
renowned for a huge lake, and a giant flagpole.
And those massive roundabouts,
spinning you off to discover a piece of the Australian story.
Feel the courage of our Anzacs.
Behold our nation's journey!
Or, get up close and personal with a legend in training.
In fact, you'll be flat chat doing half of what's on offer here.
So come on...
See for yourself!

Unexpected Delights

Your capital...
famed for a huge lake, and a giant flagpole.
And those massive roundabouts,
spinning you off to discover unexpected delights.
Like spontaneous group hugs,
Savage beasts and clean fresh air!
Or simply meeting a local and sampling the fruits of their labour.
In fact, you'll be flat chat doing half of what's on offer here.
So come on...
See for yourself!

To make accessing information easier for the visitor, Canberra has also recently installed a number of 'tourism touch screens'. Located at key locations such as

Canberra Airport, Canberra Visitors Centre, National Zoo and Aquarium and Black Mountain Tower, the facility allows the tourist to search for attractions, accommodation, restaurants and shopping in both the ACT and New South Wales.

Conclusion

Canberra is an Australian city like no other, and has been carefully planned and marketed as such. Despite the largely negative image of the national capital, it may be that Australians like to visit Canberra to obtain some sense of national or civic pride, and also witness their taxes at work. Visitors from other states of Australia and around the world form a range of positive and negative perceptions of the national capital based on the anticipated experience (often formed through marketing) and the actual experience. Some may find appeal in the organized and clean simplicity of this seemingly semi-artificial built environment, while others may find that the over-planned nature of the city lacks authenticity and creates a somewhat clinical or sterile tourist experience. Whatever the response to Canberra, it is clear that Australia's capital city benefits enormously from having been carefully planned. In 2008 and 2009, Canberra was cleverly marketed across the nation and beyond to capitalize on the tourist dollar.

Canberra and its key attractions are marketed in a way that does not even try to compete with the cities of Sydney and Melbourne. Canberra is largely perceived by her southern and northern neighbours as the pristine, 'planned' city for politicians and government workers – thus some demarketing forces may also be at play. Canberra is generally considered a playground for politicians and thus a relatively lacklustre tourist destination for many Australians. Landmarks, monuments, memorials, gardens, galleries, libraries, archives and political attractions are the main drawcards of this carefully designed city with many circular roads and roundabouts.

Capital cities like Canberra will inevitably continue to attract a steady stream of visitors from the pool of their own national citizen base as well as curious international tourists. Capital city planners and marketers who effectively manage the delicate balance of city planning and promotion are bound to find their city a special place in the nation's identity and a respected position in the global community.

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5

Migrating Capitals: Diverging Images of Tradition and Modernity in Japanese Urban Tourism

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Introduction

As the editors of this book point out, the functions of the capital cities of the world are not uniform cross-nationally, for historical reasons. Probably, the most common pattern is where the capital city is at the same time the largest city in the urban hierarchy, the main centre of government and administration, the main centre of the economy and the embodiment of national history and culture. In the case of East Asia, however, an equally common pattern is a succession of imperial capitals, whose extant remains form a base for contemporary historical and heritage tourism. Thus, Vietnam has both Hue and Hanoi, Thailand has both Ayutthaya and Bangkok, Indonesia has both Yogyakarta and Jakarta, Laos has both Luang Prabang and Vientiane and Cambodia has both Angkor Wat and Phnom Penh. This provides the tourism industry with a series of contrasting destinations, in which older cities embodying narratives of the glorious imperial past contrast with present-day capitals variously embodying colonialism, socialism or modernity. But, perhaps the most complex cases are those of China and Japan, where multiple capitals are open for business within the national tourist industry.

Ancient capitals abound in the case of China, where they rose and fell along with the dynasties. Japan's early development was also heavily influenced by China, and the early capitals of Nara and Kyoto followed Chinese planning principles, with the palace in the north presiding over a grid of broad avenues, which has survived to the present (Fiévé, 1996). Later, however, Japanese history took a distinctive twist of its own, as dynasties of shōguns (warlords) took over the powers of the emperor in Kyoto and established their own administrative headquarters elsewhere (Jansen, 1995a). Thus, power moved first to Kamakura, and later, from the 17th century onwards, to Edo (present-day Tokyo). Warrior rule collapsed in 1868, and Japan's rapid modernization began. The emperor himself finally moved from

Kyoto to Tokyo, which remains the capital until the present. The other cities remain important tourist destinations, though presenting different themes and ages in different ways.

Functions of Capitals

One way to conceptualize these successive changes, and the kinds of tourism resources to which they give rise, is to separate out the main functions of capital cities and the way these are distributed within Japan. The distinctive feature of the Japanese case is the way in which these functions are distributed between different cities, rather than being concentrated in a single location, a polarization which can be traced back to the different histories of these cities.

Myths of national origin – Nara

An important function of many capital cities is to embody the narratives of the origins of the nation. In some capitals, such as Cairo, Athens or Rome, there are impressive historical remains, which provide frameworks for these narratives. In the case of Japan, this role is played by Nara, a city of around 400,000 people south of Kyoto, a short train ride from both Kyoto and Osaka. Nara was the site of the first permanent capital of Japan in the 8th century AD, from 710 to 784. Before this, new emperors had set up their own capitals at a number of different locations. Buddhism had already arrived in Japan, supposedly under the patronage of Prince Shotoku (573–621), the legendary figure credited with many of the religious and constitutional reforms which laid the basis of the Japanese state (Como, 2008). The Nara region is also the site of many of the *kofun*, vast mounds in a distinctive keyhole pattern which are supposedly the tombs of the early emperors. Traditionally, these tombs have been dated to the 3rd century AD, but they could be older (Edwards, 1997a). As imperial tombs, they fall under the jurisdiction of the famously conservative Imperial Household Agency (Edwards, 1997b), hindering excavation, and thus a proper analysis of their age and function.

The cultural influence of China was strong in ancient Japan, and Nara was laid like Chang'an, the capital of Tang Dynasty (China), on a rectangular grid, with the palace to the north and religious buildings located in other key points around the city (Coaldrake, 1996, pp. 60–66). Although the palace was abandoned when the capital moved to Kyoto, many of the religious buildings survive (Ôka, 1965) and remain as important historical sites. The main complex of buildings in Nara Park, includes Tôdaiji ('Eastern Great Temple') (Coaldrake, 1996, pp. 70–80), with its huge Daibutsuden ('Great Buddah Hall'), housing an enormous bronze seated Buddah, some 16 m high. The present hall, dating to 1709, is smaller than the original, which was damaged by fires and earthquakes. Also noteworthy is the nearby Hôryûji complex of temples. Like the temples of Nara and Kyoto, Hôryûji is also a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Site. It supposedly contains the world's

oldest wooden buildings, though much of the original material has been replaced in the regular restoration work carried out by the Japanese government on its official national treasures (Cooper *et al.*, 2008). Nara is also closely associated with the origins of Japanese literature, as it was there that the earliest surviving collections of histories (*Kojiki*) and poetry (*Manyōshū*) were compiled.

Classical Japan – Kyoto

Kyoto succeeded Nara as the capital of Japan in the late 8th century, and remained the *de jure* capital until 1868. Like Nara, the city was laid out along the lines of Chang'an, with its distinctive grid pattern of large surrounding avenues and numbered streets running between them, and this pattern still survives today (Mimura *et al.*, 1998, pp. 39–41).

During the Heian period, the arts flourished, including painting, architecture and literature (Fiévé, 1996). Buddhism also spread, with the foundation of major sects, which still survive. Women took to writing using phonetic script, and the most famous Heian-period book, *The Book of Genji*, was written by a woman of the imperial court, Murasaki Shikibu. Episodes and themes from this form the basis for much of the later artistic production scattered throughout Kyoto's historical buildings and museums.

The Heian period lasted from 794 to around 1185 AD, but unlike China, actual power was wielded not by the Emperors but by dynasties of regents drawn from other families. In this period, the power behind the throne was the Fujiwara family, itself an offshoot of the imperial house. This lasted until emperor Go-Sanjō (1068–1073) who attempted to take back power himself. The competition between the Fujiwara, attempting to regain their power, and other factions of the imperial house such as the Taira and Minamoto families, paved the way for the collapse of central government and the takeover of power by the shōguns.

Even though effective political power shifted to the warrior regime in Kamakura at the end of the 12th century (Mass, 1995), Kyoto remained the imperial capital and the seat of the emperors. It also became a major centre for the development of the 'Zen arts' of flower arrangement, and the tea ceremony while theater was banned (Fiévé, 1996). Much of the infrastructure of Kyoto collapsed or was destroyed in the civil wars which periodically convulsed the region (Berry, 1994). In response, the aristocracy increasingly built their villas in the hills on the outskirts of the city, where they could practice their artistic pursuits in a quieter environment (Fiévé, 1996, p. 157), including the famous Golden Pavilion (Kinkakuji) and Silver Pavilion (Ginkakuji) which are still major tourist attractions. The imperial palace itself still exists in Kyoto, though little can actually be seen by tourists. More important as a historical site is Nijo Castle, the seat of the shōgun's representative in Kyoto during the Edo period (Coaldrake, 1996, pp. 142–161). The fine outbuildings of the castle still remain, though the central tower has long since disappeared.

Despite the mayhem of the Middle Ages, Kyoto has more old buildings than any other city in Japan, and houses around a fifth of its national

treasures, including those specified in the heritage site by UNESCO. Kyoto was the only one of the major cities of Japan not to be destroyed by the Americans in the Second World War, despite being briefly on the list of potential targets for the atomic bomb. Ironically, however, there has been so much modern building since 1945 that Kyoto now looks very like any other Japanese city. Recent authors have attempted to rehabilitate early-20th-century buildings in Kyoto as an attraction in their own right (e.g. Kawakami, 2007; Sugino, 2007), but in fact, they provide a less-than-inspiring backdrop to the major Kyoto festivals or *matsuri*: the Aoi Matsuri (15 May), the Gion Matsuri (throughout July) and the Jidai Matsuri (22 October, see <http://www.city.kyoto.jp/koho/eng/index.html>). Apart from their large scale, these festivals are similar to many other festivals throughout Japan that form an important part of local tourist calendars (cf. Ashkenazi, 1993; Plutschow, 1996). They usually feature actors, musicians, and dancers recruited from the local community, festival floats loaded with musicians pulled around the streets, visits to Shinto shrines, and large-scale consumption of sake by all concerned.

Of all the cities in Japan, Kyoto is the one which has cultivated its 'traditional' image most assiduously. This is symbolized by the film studios of Arashiyama, where samurai warriors slug it out with each other on the sets of *jidaigeki*, costume dramas for the cinema or the TV. However, the increasing incongruity between Kyoto's rich past and the dull modernity of many of its buildings has become a source of concern. These came to a head in the 1990s, with the construction of the new Kyoto Station, a vast rectangular building also housing hotels, theaters, restaurants and performance spaces. Although some see it as a symbol of modernity, others have argued that it is built on too large a scale and in the wrong city – the more modern cities of Tokyo or Osaka would have been more suitable. The height of buildings has become a major issue in Kyoto, with proposals that the heights of the tallest modern buildings should be reduced, to make the traditional architecture nestling between them more visible. Until this question is resolved, the struggle for the architectural soul of Kyoto, as the embodiment of Japanese tradition, seems set to continue.

Romance and warfare in the Middle Ages: Kamakura

As mentioned above, in the late-12th-century political power in Japan was usurped by a series of warrior dynasties that were to dominate the politics of the country for nearly 700 years. The first of these was established by Minamoto Yoritomo. Born in 1147 as a member of the Minamoto family, he survived a massacre of his own relatives at the hands of the Taira, another offshoot of the imperial house. Eventually, he was able to form alliances and gather together sufficient forces to defeat the Taira in battle in 1185. Much of his success was due to the military skills of his brother Yoshitsune, who later became Japan's favourite tragic hero, being forced into rebellion and later to suicide by the hostility of his suspicious elder brother.

Yoritomo was given the title of shōgun by the Emperor in 1192, and established his headquarters in Kamakura, now in Kanagawa prefecture, south-west of present-day Yokohama. The site was easily defended, guarded by mountains to the north and the sea to the south. It rapidly grew in size, with an estimated population of 200,000 people at its height, making it one of the world's largest cities at that time (the present population is around 173,000). However, Yoritomo's power did not last for long. He died in a riding accident in 1199. His place was taken by his wife Masako, a member of the powerful Hōjō family, and her father, Toshimasa. Hōjō rule lasted until 1333, until other forces claiming to be loyal to the emperor besieged and captured Kamakura, after which many Hōjō either committed suicide or were killed.

These colorful events were celebrated in the historical epics of the period, such as the *Tale of the Heike*, and like *Genji*, have proved a fertile source of plots for historical dramas ever since. As a tourist destination, Kamakura has continued to exploit them, along with the rich religious and architectural tradition that developed in the city alongside the warrior regime (Coaldrake, 1996, pp. 91–96). After the defeat of the Hōjō, Kamakura went into decline as a political and cultural centre. The city was almost entirely destroyed after another siege in 1526, and was finally eclipsed by the rise of Edo to the north-west, at the end of the 16th century.

The early modern state: the rise of Edo

The long series of civil wars continued in Japan until the end of the 16th century, the latter half of which was dominated by three major figures, Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu who gradually reunified the country. Hideyoshi did a deal with Ieyasu, granting him the eastern part of the country in return for control of the centre. Ieyasu's lands included Edo, a small castle town, founded in 1457, which Ieyasu selected as the site of his headquarters in 1590 (Masai, 1998, p. 57). After Hideyoshi died in 1598, Ieyasu gathered together his forces in a bid for power. He defeated the opposition at the Battle of Sekigahara in October 1600, leaving him in control of the entire country and able to establish the foundations of the early modern state. Edo soon became a vast symbol of centralized power, with a huge five-tier castle at the centre, surrounded by an extensive circular system of moats and walls (McClain and Merriman, 1994, pp. 11–12; Coaldrake, 1996, pp. 129–137). It was a city of water (Jinnai, 1995, pp. 66–118), whose canals and rivers linked with a massive national marketing system shipping in luxury goods from Kyoto and food produced around the narrow sea separating the islands of Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu (Hayashi, 1994). During the 17th century, Edo became one of the largest cities in the world, with a population of around a million (Masai, 1998, pp. 57–8). McClain and Merriman estimate that there was a core population of some 250,000, including samurai administrators and their households. Another 250,000 consisted of the households and retainues of the 280 or provincial leaders, the *daimyo*, who were forced to spend alternate years in Edo and leave their principal wives and heirs there to guarantee

their good behaviour. By the early 18th century, there were a similar number of other residents, mainly merchants and artisans and their families (McClain and Merriman, 1994, pp. 13–14). Edo Castle however did not survive, much of it was burned down in the great fire of 1657 that destroyed most of the city. It was never fully rebuilt, and is now the site of the much less ostentatious imperial palace.

The Edo shōguns established authoritarian rule, expelling foreigners, suppressing Christianity, and restricting trade with the outside world to the port of Nagasaki, in the extreme west of the country. The residential districts of Edo were divided between the various social classes (Seidensticker, 1983; McClain, 1994; Jinnai, 1995, pp. 16–65; Cybriwsky, 1998, pp. 54–66; Mimura *et al.*, 1998, pp. 41–42; Sorensen, 2002), and a series of edicts regulated their lifestyles in minute detail. The result was two distinctive urban cultures, centred in different parts of the city. The warrior classes continued to enjoy their traditional cultural pursuits developed in Kyoto in the Yamanote areas to the west. The merchants and artisans developed a new, much less restrained, urban culture, in the Shitamachi (downtown) areas to the east. This was based on the ‘floating world’ of the licensed pleasure quarters, the most famous of which was the Yoshiwara in Tokyo (Seigle, 1993; Elisonas, 1994). This world of the courtesans, the tea houses, *kabuki* theater, and sumo wrestling was immortalized in the woodblock prints of the great artists of the Edo period, producing motifs that are endlessly recycled in the souvenir and tourist industries of the present. Increasingly in the 19th century, these included prints of Mount Fuji and other local landmarks, popular among the increasing number of religious pilgrims, travellers and tourists to the capital and the other major cities.

Tokyo: from imperial capital to global city

Even though the Edo period was one of great prosperity, the military technology of Japan fell badly behind that of the West. This became clear in 1852, when the Americans arrived in Tokyo Bay to force the country to open up to Western trade. Japan signed a treaty to allow Western trade in a number of ports, including Tokyo and Yokohama, but the tensions generated by the rift between those wishing to ‘expel the Barbarians’ and those trying to deal pragmatically with the new political realities resulted in political instability, the fall of the Tokugawa regime, and the ‘restoration’ of power to the young Meiji Emperor who ascended the throne in 1868 (Jansen, 1995b). The Meiji revolution saw Japan modernize faster than any other nation in history. In the 1850s, it had been a feudal oligarchy. By 1900, it had become modern constitutional monarchy, with a military able to defeat China and Russia, a modern education system, a nascent industrial sector, and the beginnings of a colonial empire in Taiwan. These changes were actually implemented by the ‘Meiji oligarchs,’ the faction who had engineered the fall of the shōguns. They awarded themselves aristocratic titles under the new constitution, changed the name of Edo to Tokyo (‘Eastern Capital’), and transformed it into

a modern imperial city (Coaldrake, 1966, pp. 208–239; Finn, 1995; Jinnai, 1995, pp. 119–170; Fujitani, 1996; Cybriwsky, 1998, pp. 66–82; Sorensen, 2002). The new modernity was expressed in European-style civic monuments, railway stations, and other symbols of imperial rule and capitalism, often built in brick, stone and concrete rather than wood. Tokyo also benefited economically at the expense of the old commercial capital of Osaka (Mosk, 2001), as many of the Osaka companies moved their offices to the centre of the new political action.

The imperial splendor of Tokyo however proved short-lived, and the central city was destroyed twice in the 20th century (Hirai, 1998, p. 26). In September 1923, a massive earthquake shook Tokyo and Yokohama, destroying a large part of both cities in the fires that spread in its wake (Cybriwsky, 1998, pp. 82–85). The government response was a massive programme of urban planning and rebuilding, but from late 1944 American bombers destroyed the main Japanese cities with incendiary bombs; starting with Tokyo (Masai, 1998, pp. 66–67). Seventy per cent of Tokyo's buildings were destroyed, and the population of the city was reduced to 3 million (Masai, 1998, p. 67).

Japan eventually surrendered on 14 August 1945, making way for the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, General Douglas MacArthur, to take over. Hirohito, the Showa Emperor, retained his position but lost his divine status. With the help of the Occupation Administration, he was reinvented as a Man of the People (Bix, 2000, pp. 533–580), and was sent throughout the country to raise morale and rally support for the new order. The allies initiated a series of reforms, including land and educational reform, the abolition of the aristocracy and the promulgation of a new constitution (Dower, 1999). The economy started to revive with the Korean War, for which Japan supplied much of the materials, and the boom lasted until the 1970s. Tokyo's resurrection was symbolized by the Olympic Games held there in 1964 and the grand stadiums constructed for it (Coaldrake, 1996). Slower economic growth continued during the 1980s, but the value of the yen now soared against most major international currencies, and speculation drove up the price of land in Tokyo to astronomical heights (Wood, 1992). The bubble only burst at the start of the 1990s (Wood, 1992), giving rise to the so-called Heisei Recession named after the new Heisei Emperor, Akihito, who ascended the throne in 1989. It continues to the present.

Despite these disasters, much of present-day Tokyo was rebuilt using the Edo period street plan (Jinnai, 1995, p. 48). The 23 wards of central Tokyo, in the eastern part of Tokyo prefecture, remain predominantly a region of low-rise buildings, narrow streets, and small communities. The railway system is the most complex in the world, and the result is a dense network of stations throughout the metropolitan area, each with its little cluster of family shops and restaurants (cf. Bestor (1989)). The major commercial areas – Ginza, Shibuya, Shinjuku and Ikebukuro – are linked together by the elliptical Yamanote Line, which also passes through Ueno, the site of some of the major national museums and the Tokyo Zoo. Meanwhile, in Tokyo Bay large islands of reclaimed land have appeared (Cybriwsky, 1998, pp. 209–213; Takahashi, 1998). These are the sites of new apartment blocks, offices, and major exhibition centres, increasing Tokyo's presence in the international exhibition market. Tokyo is

one of the three major 'global cities' identified by Sassen (1992), along with New York and London, dominating the global financial services industry, and spawning a super-rich international elite. Their lifestyles are increasingly visible in areas like Roppongi, with its trendy bars and clubs, and Ark Hills, a huge apartment-cum-retail block and one of the city's most visited leisure facilities. Not surprisingly, Tokyo is currently a contender for the 2016 Olympics.

Diverging Images and the Marketing of Tourism

In the previous sections, we have argued that capital cities perform a number of roles, and that in the case of Japan these have been performed by different cities: with Nara embodying the origins of the nation; with Kyoto the great age of the classical period; with Kamakura the romance and violence of the middle ages; with Edo the rise of the early modern state; and with Tokyo the successive roles of prewar imperial capital and postwar global financial centre. These various roles and guises underlie the present-day tourist industry in each of the cities, but these have to be seen in the general context of tourism in Japan.

One of the main characteristics of tourism in contemporary Japan is that it is mainly domestic. Even when Japan has hosted global mega-events, such as the 1964 Olympics, the 1980 and 1998 Winter Olympics, the 2002 World Cup and the world expositions at Osaka in 1970 and Aichi in 2005, the vast majority of the visitors have been domestic rather than international.

A second problem is the uniformity – some would say the monotony – of many of Japan's cities. They are safe, clean, comfortable and convenient places to live. But many still lack character. This is not surprising – most of the large cities with their old wooden buildings were destroyed during the Second World War, and were rebuilt cheaply in utilitarian concrete in the period of growth that followed. It is these buildings that still dominate most of the urban landscapes. It follows that cities have to exploit the distinctive features they do have in contemporary tourism: local food, handicrafts and souvenirs, the rural landscapes in which they are set (with a nostalgic appeal to many newly urbanized Japanese), the magnificence of their cherry blossoms or autumn leaves, the few older buildings that have survived (usually temples and shrines) and local performance traditions such as dance, drama and festivals.

Against this background, the thing about the capitals is that they *are* distinctive. Nara, Kyoto and Kamakura do have an abundance of period buildings, designated national treasures (*kokuhō*), and other important cultural properties (*jūyō bunkazai*). Tokyo's appeal is different – that of a global megacity with world-class hotels and restaurants, a high profile in the international convention market – and until recently, the only Disneyland in Asia (Raz, 1999). The tourist audience may be mainly domestic, but it is sophisticated. The historical epics of Genji and the Heike have been endlessly recycled in period dramas on TV and in *manga* comic books. Archaeological finds are widely reported in the national press, and displays of treasures both ancient and modern, such as the Chinese artefacts in the Shoshoin treasury in Nara, an evening opening of Kyoto temples under floodlights or the appearance of

the Barnes Collection of French Impressionist paintings in Tokyo can bring out the cultural enthusiasts in their hundreds of thousands. Meanwhile, affluent teenagers and students from all over the country head for Disneyland at weekends and on public holidays.

As tourist destinations, the four capitals reflect the structure of the Japanese population. Even though it is ageing rapidly and set to decline, Japan's population is still the size of the UK and France combined, or just under half of that of the USA, and the low birth rate means it is overwhelmingly adult. Much of this population is concentrated in two *de facto* megacities: the Greater Tokyo Area, which also includes both Yokohama and Kawasaki, and the Kyoto-Osaka-Kobe conurbation in the Kansai region of central Japan. Kamakura is on the edge of the former, while Nara is at the centre of the latter, a short suburban train ride from both Osaka and Kyoto. The ancient monuments and temples of Nara, Kamakura and Kyoto thus have a large and appreciative local audience to keep them in business, in addition to other domestic and foreign tourists. However, even here the perils of modernity and the threat it poses to this authentic distinctiveness are apparent, especially in Kyoto. Despite the lack of wartime destruction, authentic fragments of the old city outside the major temple complexes and palaces are surprisingly hard to find, and sections of old world charm straight out of Geisha movies, like Gion or Pontocho, are extremely expensive places to eat or drink. Thus the new railway station in Kyoto is seen by many as an absurd mismatch both for the scale of the surrounding buildings and Kyoto's historical image.

Conclusion

The history of Japanese capitals means that they each have a distinctive role within the national imagination, as well as the tourist market. As suggested at the start of the chapter, this is a variant on a common East Asian pattern in which ancient and contemporary capitals present different facets of national narratives and mythologies: the contrast between tradition and modernity; between authentic history and colonial intrusion; or between glorious past and resurgent present.

In the case of Japan, the narrative is complicated by several distinctive factors. Japan was never colonized, but the Meiji restoration did provide a clean break between feudalism and imperial modernity. However, the narrative of modern imperialism was later largely erased from the map of Tokyo by the firebombs of the Second World War, leaving the city free to express its resurgent modernity. The embodiment of tradition was therefore left to the earlier capitals: Nara representing the earliest origins of the Japanese state, and Kyoto and Kamakura the classical and medieval periods, which came after it.

While the historical and cultural associations of Nara and Kamakura are confined to relatively specific historical periods. Kyoto is a much more complex case. In terms of history, the great days of Kyoto were in the Heian period, and even though the layout survives, much of the fabric of the city from that period has been lost. Paradoxically, therefore, Kyoto tourism trades on a series of

historical images, only some of which date from the city's great period as imperial capital. Kyoto's Tôdaiji with its iconic pagoda does date from the Heian period and formed part of the original Chinese design of the city, but the villas on the periphery date from the later Kamakura and Muromachi periods. Streets such as Pontocho evoke generic images of 'traditional Japan', from much later periods still. Kyoto has, therefore, taken on the image of 'tradition' compared with Tokyo's 'modernity,' a polarity that can already be traced back to the late 19th century, when the Emperor divided his time between the two cities, and dressed appropriately in each, as a military leader in Tokyo and as a Shinto priest in Kyoto. Part of the reaction to the new Kyoto vast railway station therefore stems from the incongruity between the project and Kyoto's more traditional image. Ultra-modernity in the Japanese tourist imaginary belongs in Tokyo, Osaka and Yokohama, not in Kyoto, Nara or Kamakura.

Meanwhile, postmodern Tokyo is perhaps best represented by the vast television billboards of Shibuya and Akihabara: a city of high-tech and eco-experiments looking forward into the 21st century. As Global City, Tokyo's niche in the international tourism market lies in the future of business, conventions, exhibitions and mega-events, areas in which it is competing with the other ultra-modern cities in the region, including Singapore, Seoul, Hong Kong, Shanghai and Beijing, as well as Osaka and Nagoya more locally.

As Jinnai (1995), Cybriwsky (1998) and many others have pointed out, a surprising amount of the older fabric of Tokyo still remains, but in many cases it is covered up or obscured by postwar concrete. Most of Tokyo's monuments that might have ranked with those of the older capitals, such as Edo Castle or the tombs of the later shôguns in Hibiya Park, have long since been lost thanks to natural disasters and war, and much of the older urban landscape can be seen only in reconstructions in the Edo-Tokyo Museum or cultural and historical theme parks around the country. Even the symbolism surrounding the Japanese imperial house, including its residence, is surprisingly discreet and minimalist in comparison with that of most European royal families. But in another sense, this enormous loss has allowed Tokyo to become an even purer embodiment of the present and the future rather than the past. International and domestic tourists looking for the 'old Japan' will continue to look elsewhere, to the ancient capitals of Nara, Kamakura and, above all, to Kyoto. And the old Japan is not hard to find or access, given the incomparable speed and efficiency of the rail network linking Japanese tradition with modernity.

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6

Branding and Positioning an African Capital City: the Case of Tshwane in South Africa

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Introduction

Capital city tourism is a subject that has up to now not received a lot of research attention. As destinations, these cities are dynamic environments with complex dimensions where a great variety of activities take place (Pearce, 2007; Prayag, 2007; Ritchie and Maitland, 2007). An important question that should be asked by destination marketers is whether the capital city status actually plays a role in visitors' decision making, and to what extent this characteristic should then be included in branding and positioning strategies.

The first part of this chapter focuses on some of the recent studies on capital city tourism; more specifically at the viability of using capital city status as a significant component of such a city's branding and positioning strategy. It then continues in the form of a case-study approach, detailing the strategic branding and positioning journey of the City of Tshwane, South Africa. Discussions are primarily based on data obtained during participation in a series of stakeholder workshops and strategic planning sessions of the city. The case study will elaborate on the related literature studied by demonstrating how certain findings can be applied to one specific capital city destination.

Capital City Status as a Potential Marketing Tool

As unique destinations, capital cities often have an abundance of resources in the form of national institutions and attractions, and are often considered as the stage upon which the host nation's stories in terms of culture, history and democracy are played out (Peirce and Ritchie, 2007). However, according to research conducted by Pearce (2007), capital city status does not necessarily constitute a motivation to visit a city. As was found with the capital city of New Zealand, Wellington, it is 'the combination of these national institutions with

other attractions and activities that gives Wellington its appeal' (Pearce, 2007, p. 18). Peirce and Ritchie (2007) alluded to the same fact by stating that capital cities are not only limited to administrative and public sector activities. Milroy (in Campbell, 2003) similarly added that 'capital cities are both ordinary and unique, "doubly bound to be good physical environments where real people live out ordinary lives, as well as symbolically rich cities that capture the qualities a state wishes to portray to the larger" '.

In the case of Wellington, city marketers only 'indirectly or incidentally' referred to the city as the nation's capital, and then by also using this term in a non-political sense (Pearce, 2007). The approach towards more 'indirect' capital city branding could prove valuable in countering another factor that has been highlighted by Peirce and Ritchie (2007) as well as Mules *et al.* (2007), namely the negative perceptions that a capital city is an uninteresting and cold administrative environment and also very often suffers due to its association with 'unpopular political decisions and unfavourable actions of the nation's leaders' (Peirce and Ritchie, 2007, p. 70).

From the preceding literature it is apparent that the branding of a capital city holds a unique destination marketing challenge, and that it is necessary to carefully manage its often-contrasting associated images and perceptions. Taking cognizance of previous research pertaining to capital city marketing, the focus in the following sections will be on the opportunities and challenges facing the City of Tshwane, as well as guidelines and critical success factors to optimally leverage its capital city status.

Key Tourism Features of the City of Tshwane as a Capital City

Tshwane is a metropolitan city within the province of Gauteng, South Africa. It was established on 5 December 2000, and consists of 13 combined municipalities. The city comprises 2198km², and is home to 2.2 million inhabitants. Tshwane is not only the administrative capital of South Africa, it is also the diplomatic capital of the country. It is home to the government, which is housed in the well-known Union Buildings, as well as the head office of the public sector (City of Tshwane, 2003).

From a strategic perspective, the city is ideally located as it is only 48km away from Africa's largest international gateway, the OR Tambo International Airport. It can also easily be accessed via three other airports (Wonderboom, Lanseria and Waterkloof), as well as several private landing strips.

The city has well-developed infrastructure, with the highway between Tshwane and Johannesburg being the busiest in the southern hemisphere. The development of a high-speed train linkage, affectionately known as the Gautrain, is also scheduled to be completed in 2010, and will be the first of its kind in Africa (Jacobs, 2008).

Tourism is the sixth largest contributor to the City of Tshwane's economy, after community services (government), finance, transport, manufacturing and trade. During 2004, when the last comprehensive study was conducted, the direct visitor spending in the city was estimated to be US\$138 million, which

resulted in more than US\$230 million to the city's GDP. The tourism sector also supports more than 26,000 direct and indirect employment opportunities, of which more than 8000 are directly employed in the tourism industry (Thornton, 2005).

One of the key tourism objectives for Tshwane is to attract 6.9 million annual visitors by 2010, up from an estimated 5 million visitors in 2004. Should the objectives of the tourism plan for the city be realized, it is expected that the direct visitor spending will almost double by 2010, amounting to US\$240 million and resulting in a US\$400 million contribution to Tshwane's GDP. This will support just over 35,000 direct and indirect annual employment opportunities in the city. This figure could be even higher if the opportunities related to the hosting of the 2010 Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) Soccer World Cup are optimally leveraged and if visitors are encouraged to spend more and stay longer (Grant Thornton, 2005).

The Strategic Planning Journey for the City of Tshwane

During 2005, an integrated strategic tourism development plan was developed for the City of Tshwane in consultation with key stakeholders. The tourism plan, which encompasses its tourism vision, strategic direction, objectives and critical success factors to develop tourism in the city, is based on the city's comparative and competitive advantages. It also includes a development plan, a marketing plan, an infrastructure strategy, a human-resources and a small, micro- and medium enterprises (SMME) development plan, an investment development plan and an implementation framework. The shared tourism vision that was agreed upon by stakeholders is:

For Tshwane to be globally recognized as the 21st century 'must experience' visitor capital in Africa, embracing vibrancy and progressiveness, yet retaining its special identity, authenticity and hospitality, to the benefit of all.

This vision is underpinned by key guiding values and principles of which the following pertain specifically to branding and positioning of the city: continuous communication, coordination and collaboration between stakeholders at all levels; ensuring consumer-driven quality products, services and visitor experiences; respect for, and embracing of, the rich cultural diversity and heritage of Tshwane and its people as unique selling proposition (USP) for the city; as well as remaining uniquely Tshwane, and seeking to differentiate the Tshwane tourism experience at every 'touch-point' in the city (Heath, 2008).

The City of Tshwane's strategic focus encompasses a number of elements, such as its capital city status, its people, achieving remarkable change and the concept of it being a 'meeting place'. Transformation, responsible tourism and partnerships are fundamental to the city's comparative advantage, in line with national government objectives (Grant Thornton, 2005).

Based on the outcomes of extensive research among tourism stakeholders and tourists, the strategic focus for tourism in the city entails emphasizing the city’s capital city status, strengthening the city’s intellectual or educational image and portraying the city as a leisure destination. This three-pronged approach is outlined in Fig. 6.1. The critical success factors for the tourism industry to successfully embark on this strategic direction were indicated as being: partnerships, access to relevant information, safety awareness and mobility. Furthermore, transformation and black economic empowerment (BEE) is also regarded as critical for sustainable tourism development in the city.

The capital city status provides the City of Tshwane with various opportunities related to national government and the diplomatic community presence in the city. The city’s intellectual image arises from the fact that there are a number of top-quality academic institutions and various technologically advanced companies and research facilities in the city. Tshwane also qualifies as a leisure destination based on, among other things, a variety of natural attractions, its arts and its excellent shopping centres.

During 2008, as part of the strategic tourism planning journey for the city, and in the light of changes in the macro-, competitive and market environments, the strategic planning process was revisited at a stakeholder conference entitled ‘The New Face of Tourism in Tshwane’. Stakeholders agreed that certain strategic priorities pertaining to branding and positioning had to be addressed during the 3-year rolling strategic planning process and also as a build-up to the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup. A key priority identified is the urgent matter of establishing and implementing a unique and distinctive Tshwane tourism brand image and identity (aligned with the provincial and national branding framework), and a powerful competitive positioning and marketing strategy for Tshwane, both in the local and international marketplace.

Stakeholders also urged the launching of a targeted and focused internal marketing drive – to create tourism awareness by exciting and involving Tshwane stakeholders at large (from local communities to the diplomatic

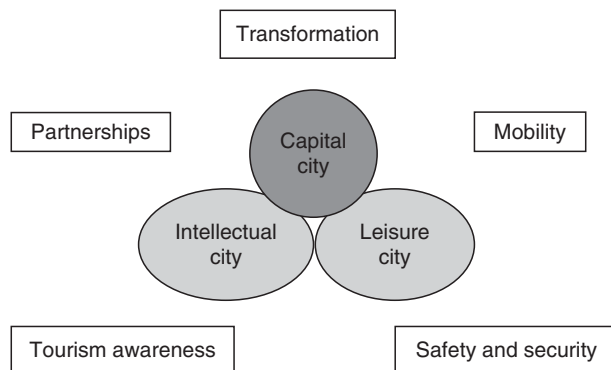


Fig. 6.1. Strategic direction for tourism in Tshwane and the critical success factors.

community) and in this way encouraging them to become brand ambassadors and marketers for Tshwane. Fundamental to the future tourism strategy should also be a strategic emphasis on environmentally responsible tourism. Ideally, as the capital city, Tshwane should lead the environmental and social responsibility drive and set itself a powerful vision in this regard (e.g. being the 'greenest' city in Africa). This could become the USP of the city (Heath, 2008).

As a follow-up to the conference, the Tshwane Tourism Action Team was formed, comprising both public and private sector stakeholders. The main focus areas of this action team were formulated to include, among others: facilitation of the establishment of a Regional Tourism Organization (RTO) by July 2009; facilitation of the implementation of the branding and positioning strategy for Tshwane, within the new national branding framework which will be launched in April 2009; facilitation of an internal marketing drive to create awareness and involvement of local stakeholders and communities, and motivate them to become brand ambassadors for the City of Tshwane as well as leveraging tourism marketing opportunities related to the hosting of major events, such as the Confederations Cup in 2009 and the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup in 2010.

Challenges and Opportunities Related to the Name Change from Pretoria to Tshwane

When the National Geographical Names Council announced the name change of Pretoria to Tshwane in 2005, there was considerable confusion and concern among the tourism stakeholders in Tshwane, as is apparent from the comment of the chairman of the Tshwane Tourism Association (TTA) at the time, Mr Franco Jordaan, namely:

The Tshwane Tourism Association fully supports the name Tshwane as far as the Metro is concerned, but changing the name of the Capital, Pretoria to Tshwane, will have wider implications. Not only will tourists be confused about what and where Tshwane is, but the trade will need to spend a lot of money and marketing effort repositioning Tshwane in the minds of international visitors.
(Sandras, 2005)

Whereas Pretoria, which was established more than 150 years ago, was named after a Boer settler and an Afrikaner hero, Andries Pretorius, Tshwane is the name of a pre-colonial local chief and means 'we are the same'. Supporters of the change say that the switch will underscore South Africa's break with apartheid in 1994. Others argue that the name Pretoria has some brand value and should not be discarded overnight (BBC News, 2005).

To avoid confusion among stakeholders and tourists, the world soccer governing body, FIFA and South Africa agreed to use a dual-name system (Pretoria/Tshwane) for Tshwane, which will be a host city during the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup. However, in South Africa the city will only be known as Tshwane (Lu, 2007).

An important factor to consider during this whole name-changing process and future branding of the city is the vital role that the media plays in the cognitive stage of image building (Mules, Pforr and Ritchie, 2007). Many domestic and international tourists may still have false facts or beliefs about Tshwane based on its historical characteristics associated with the name Pretoria. Successful future branding of Tshwane therefore depends on the media’s contribution towards creating ‘feelings of nationhood as well as to correct negative destination perceptions’ (Mules *et al.*, 2007, p. 35).

Although it has already been officially announced that the name of the city is to be the City of Tshwane and many South African governmental organizations and some members of the media have referred to Tshwane as the capital of South Africa, various members of the media, businesses and institutions, both in South Africa and internationally still use Pretoria as the city’s name (Grant Thornton, 2005). From a tourism branding and positioning perspective, this remains a key challenge that needs to be addressed as a strategic priority. A major awareness–education public-relations drive is therefore required to ensure that the Tshwane destination brand name is recognized and positioned positively in the tourism marketplace.

A possible strategy to consider, which could also be cost-effective, would be to use the two names Pretoria and Tshwane in the same message, rather than create brand awareness for the Tshwane brand from a zero base. The fact that Pretoria/Tshwane will be utilized during the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup provides the ideal platform from which to strategically facilitate the brand migration. The use of the dual names in marketing messages can be used effectively to highlight the positive transition of the city from a past that was associated with apartheid (Pretoria) to a present and future that is associated with freedom and unity (Tshwane). The possible brand migration process is illustrated in Fig. 6.2.

The dual name of Pretoria/Tshwane can be used until after the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup, after which the level of brand awareness and acceptance should be evaluated. The actual length of the transition period will depend on the level of brand awareness and the financial resources invested in this rebranding initiative. Once a satisfactory level of brand recognition is

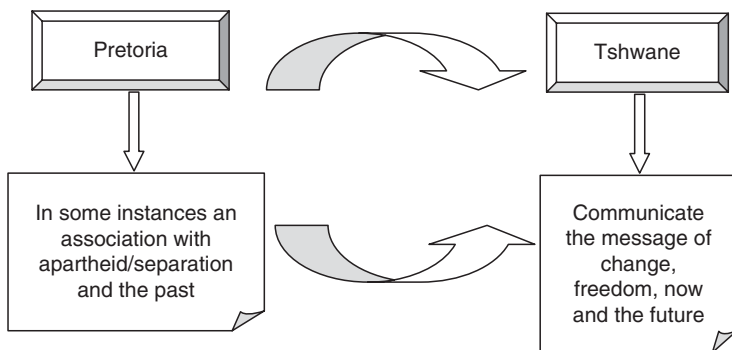


Fig. 6.2. The proposed brand migration process from Pretoria to Tshwane.

achieved for the name Tshwane, the name Pretoria can be dropped from marketing messages. However, on a practical level it can be accepted that this transition will take place at a faster pace in the domestic market than in the international market.

The Tourism Products and Markets for the City of Tshwane

A key outcome of the City of Tshwane's integrated strategic tourism development plan was the identification and prioritization of key tourism products and markets for the city. For the purposes of this product prioritization, a tourism product was identified as 'an ensemble of tangible and intangible components, which offer benefits that may draw certain types of consumers as it appeals to their specific travel motivation and needs' (Saunders, 2006). In essence a tourism product is an experience, and the main reason a visitor will choose to come to a destination such as Tshwane.

According to Dunne *et al.*, (2007), city breaks are usually used as opportunities to be active as opposed to relaxing. Tshwane fits this profile due to the variety of activities available in and around the city. Although more than 40 tourism products with current or future tourism potential were identified, the priority products, which are outlined in Fig. 6.3, were broadly categorized as general leisure, sport, education, arts, visiting friends and relatives (VFR), nature and scenery, Anglo-Boer war heritage, science and technology, struggle history and conferences and events experiences.

The priority products were identified using key criteria such as the product's market-readiness, its alignment to the objectives and the strategic direction of the tourism plan, how many market segments a particular product attracts and whether it encourages the geographic spread of tourism benefits throughout the municipal area.

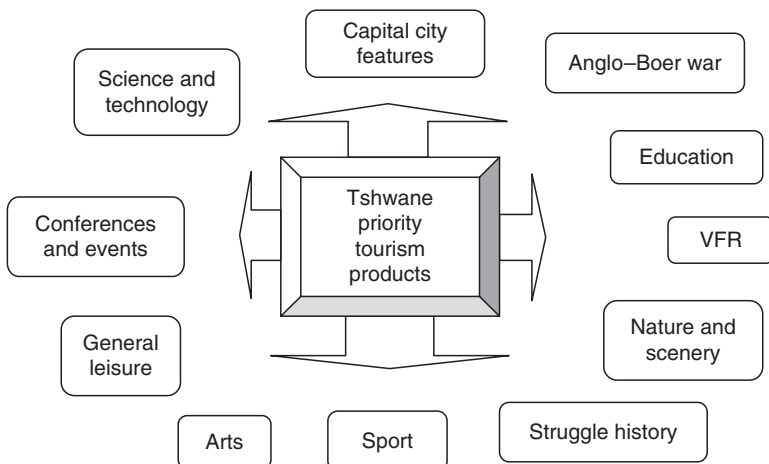


Fig. 6.3. Priority products for the City of Tshwane.

The major reasons for visiting Tshwane appeared to be leisure and particularly leisure shopping (Saunders, 2006). The city's main tourist attractions are the Union Buildings, Church Square, Freedom Park and the Voortrekker Monument. Many other tourism products are already being actively sold, but require a more focused marketing effort, such as the jazz experience.

The city's capital status has also not been optimally leveraged. Furthermore, some products are not yet optimally packaged as tourism experiences, such as the struggle history experience and the world-class sporting facilities.

Various opportunities exist to develop dedicated packages to highlight the city's role in the Apartheid era, as well as the fact that the first democratically elected president of South Africa was sworn in Tshwane. Mamelodi, which forms part of the City of Tshwane, hosts a variety of attractions related to the struggle, and many of the trials of the struggle were hosted in the city centre. A key feature of Tshwane is that it is a strong intellectual hub with several internationally recognized tertiary education, as well as research institutes, located in the city.

The tourism attractions based in the city have certain key strengths, of which the status of Tshwane as the capital city and the 'Hub of the Rainbow Nation' is certainly one of the most prominent features providing major positioning and marketing opportunities. Tshwane also has a broad base of diverse tourism attractions, which could appeal to various target markets if innovatively packaged, themed and routed. Furthermore, factors such as the excellent weather conditions, the perceived relative safety, the convenient accessibility and close proximity of most attractions, the gateway status, the excellent shopping facilities and proximity to OR Tambo International Airport are all key factors that can be capitalized upon from a marketing perspective. The friendliness and hospitable nature of the people of Tshwane is yet another strength that can be further harnessed to add value to the quality of experiences offered in Tshwane.

From a marketing perspective, a number of key market segments can also be attracted to the city as a result of the variety of tourism product offerings and experiences available in the city. Key current and prospective target markets were identified and prioritized by assessing their size and growth potential, as well as the number of products that a particular market segment might be interested in. Priority markets for Tshwane include domestic day and overnight leisure visitors, domestic visitors to friends and family living in the city and foreign leisure visitors (Grant Thornton, 2005).

More than 5 million tourists (day and overnight) visit the city on an annual basis. Of these approximately 700,000 are foreign visitors. There are an estimated 3.5 million day visitors to the city, of which an estimated 300,000 are foreigners. Almost half the city's tourists visit at least once a year, mostly during March and December. As for the demographics, Tshwane attracts visitors from far and wide, including from all provinces in South Africa, as well as countries such as China, Japan Brazil, India, the UK and the USA.

Leveraging Branding and Positioning Opportunities Related to the Hosting of Key Events

The hosting of various major events provides Tshwane with a major opportunity to project its new branding identity and invite the world to 'Experience It!'. The biggest event opportunity will be South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup, which could be South Africa's biggest success story ever. As the capital city, Tshwane's challenge will be to capitalize on South African tourism's marketing spend of more than US\$25 million on global television in the run-up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, with advertisements that will be featuring on the BBC, CNN, Sky News, Sky Sport, Fox TV, Eurosport, National Geographic Channel and selected movie houses worldwide.

The legacies envisaged for the country could be equally relevant to Tshwane and, among others, include economic growth and improved tourism, exposure in new markets and the creation of community pride. As the event is envisaged to be a true African event, unlike any other, selling the humanity, friendliness and warmth of South Africans will be critical. In this regard, Tshwane could lead the way to give true meaning to the catchphrase for the event, namely 'Ke Nako', meaning 'Celebrate Africa's Humanity' and further enhance its 'Tshwane – Experience It!' message (Birns, 2009).

An important issue raised during the 2008 stakeholder conference and as a task for the Tourism Action Team, was the need to facilitate a 'leveraging tourism opportunities beyond 2010' strategy to avoid a post-2010 'vacuum'.

The USPs of Tshwane Associated with its Capital City Status

According to Hall (in Peirce and Ritchie, 2007), a capital city has the unique opportunity to promote the 'nation's stories of the past, present and future' through various symbolically rich elements usually present in a capital city. This is definitely also the case for Tshwane. The city has various USPs that can be leveraged and that speak to the different dimensions of the national identity of the country (see Box 6.1).

In terms of the overall branding and positioning of the city, from a capital city perspective, the challenge will be to capture the generic positioning elements of Tshwane as a tourist destination, for example as the capital city of South Africa, the seat or hub of government, the think-tank of Africa, the home to leadership (political, academic and economic), the voice of government and leaders, etc.

On a practical level, this capital city positioning could entail focusing on the political and diplomatic importance of the city, both in South Africa and abroad. It can also be emphasized that the city is a place of leadership, for example political leadership in the form of the national government (based in the famous Union Buildings) and the city where the president lives. It can also be positioned as the home of academic leadership, given the fact that it is home to the largest university and the largest residential university in southern Africa.

Box 6.1. USPs of Tshwane. (Adapted from City of Tshwane, 2005.)

Directly and indirectly associated with its capital city status

- Capital city of South Africa and the seat of government.
- Diplomatic hub of the country.
- Home of the pan-African government – the place where future decisions about Africa will be taken – a base from which the African renaissance can be championed.
- The Union Buildings – the famous Herbert Baker designed seat of Government.
- A centre of change and freedom, as is reflected in the new Freedom Park development.

Other features that can be used to position the city in the tourism marketplace

History and culture	Science and technology	Sport and shopping
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fondly known as the Jacaranda (Purple) City. • Vibrant cosmopolitan culture and represents a melting pot of cultures. • Strong historic, religious and cultural heritage and home to famous landmarks such as the Voortrekker Monument, Church Square and the Freedom Park. • A strong base of Afro-jazz and is the birthplace of Marimba jazz. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The birthplace of thinking, research and strategy in the subcontinent. • The leading South African city in medical and educational research. • Strong educational base, with a number of internationally recognized institutions of higher learning located in the city. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A major centre for sport, with its High Performance Centre being the leading sports academy in southern Africa. • A key shopping centre for the broader region.

Because of the impact of the Reserve Bank on the South African economy, it can also be positioned as a leader in the economic sphere. Together these elements can be used as a strategic thrust to leverage the city’s capital city status to enhance its destination brand and competitive positioning in the tourism marketplace.

The Positioning of Tshwane Relative to Other South African Cities

Tshwane is regarded as one of South Africa’s four major cities, and is well integrated into the standard touring circuits of South Africa. It is generally positioned as the administrative capital of the country, with Johannesburg regarded as the business capital, Cape Town regarded as leading international tourism destination and Durban renowned for its beaches and cultural experiences (George, 2003). With these different city products, positioning is important

from a national perspective, so as to ensure that social and economic benefits are equitably distributed among provinces and cities (Prayag, 2007).

According to Monitor (2004), there appears to be much product overlapping among the various cities, and visitors to South Africa have consistently expressed disappointment surrounding the country's 'dull cities'. Against this background, Tshwane has the challenge of creating a sustainable, competitive and truly differentiating character from the other major cities in the country. As the atmosphere of a destination can offer an advantage that is difficult for competitors to imitate, Tshwane can therefore make greater use of elements such as friendly people, nightlife, entertainment and culture as selling points, as they form the basis for the creation of a unique ambiance (Prayag, 2007). Once effectively harnessed and strengthened, they can become Tshwane's strategic competitive points of parity against its rival city destinations.

The three strategic thrusts that were highlighted in the tourism master plan for the city, namely: to emphasize the city's capital city status; to strengthen the intellectual or educational image of the city; and to portray the city of Tshwane as a leisurely city (both for domestic and foreign visitors), can be utilized as key building blocks to differentiate and position the city relative to other South African cities (Grant Thornton, 2005).

With so many competitors in the sub-Saharan African region, making places substitutable, a city such as Tshwane will increasingly have to differentiate itself to ensure an equitable market share in the face of increased competition. Keller (in Prayag (2007)) emphasizes that a city such as Tshwane requires consensus on four areas to ensure successful brand positioning and long-term competitiveness such as target markets, nature of competition, points of parity and points of difference associations. Based on a realistic assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the destination and its competitors, the decision can then be made as to which market segments to target and with which products and services. Subsequently, images for the city can be developed. Optimally positioning Tshwane is a process of pinpointing, substantiating and delivering competitive advantage to create brand growth.

A Key Marketing Priority: Branding and Positioning the City of Tshwane

Based on previously discussed analyses of product strengths, market opportunities and competitive realities, certain broad marketing objectives for the City of Tshwane have been articulated. These include establishing the City of Tshwane as a unique and differentiated tourism destination for all identified target markets; educating visitors about the change of the city's name from Pretoria – as which it is still known to a relatively large population of both domestic and foreign visitors – to the City of Tshwane; establishing a strong destination brand for the City of Tshwane; indicating to tourists that there is a wide range of things to do and see in the area and to influence tourists to stay longer, do and see more and spend more; and highlighting in the marketplace

that the city is no longer the seat of apartheid government, but of the first democratic government of South Africa (City of Tshwane, 2005).

As indicated above, rebranding and positioning is a key element of the overall tourism marketing thrust for the city. However, on both a strategic and practical level, the branding of a destination such as Tshwane is complex, not only as a result of the name change challenge, but also because the destination has a diversity of tourism offerings and is comprised of many tourism providers, often serving different target markets at the same time. The challenge is however to establish a new destination branding identity that will bring together all the disparate elements of the destination; that can direct the strategic marketing focus and the key priority market segments for the destination; one that will establish the core brand values, and ultimately communicate these values consistently, either explicitly or implicitly in all future marketing activities (Heath, 2008).

These core brand values should ideally form the 'umbrella' for all future Tshwane destination marketing initiatives. This should not preclude individual tourism providers (e.g. attractions, restaurants, guest houses, etc.) from building their own branding strategies and undertaking individual promotional activities, but it should encourage joint marketing activities under the destination branding identity for Tshwane.

Based on an extensive consultative strategic planning process, it was proposed that an RTO be established for Tshwane, which should, as one of its strategic priorities, champion the rebranding process. The RTO, which will also be the custodian of the Tshwane destination brand, will be a membership-based organization providing a single voice for the tourism industry in the city. Together with being accountable to the City of Tshwane municipality, it will also be accountable to the private sector and the community. A collaborative and participative process will therefore be critical to manage the rebranding and repositioning process successfully.

Taking Tshwane to the Forefront of City Branding in South Africa

With the announcement on 26 January 2009 that South Africa would be marketed internationally with a single brand identity, every South African city will now be faced with the challenge to position itself in the international marketplace as separate and distinct from competition and from the national tourism body's generic image put forward in promoting the country as a whole (as is the case with brand Dublin versus brand Ireland, discussed by Byrne and Skinner, 2007). This may not all be negative seeing that Tshwane can capitalize on the positive perceptions of South Africa as a country and also benefit from the fact that there is an evident 'link between the brand identity of a nation and the identity of individual place brands within it, not least a nation's capital' (Byrne and Skinner, 2007, p. 63).

The new branding emblem is based on the country's flag, which is said to be the third most recognized flag internationally, after that of the USA and Britain. The aim of the new logo and branding identity is to present a united

front and a single face for South Africa abroad. This new approach is in sharp contrast to the situation that has prevailed wherein more than 70 logos were representing South Africa abroad, and which were, in many ways, competing with each other (Birns, 2009).

The new corporate identity and national umbrella branding framework, which became operational on 1 April 2009, will be supported by a comprehensive branding manual, programmes and promotional material, which will be made available to all participating stakeholders. A great opportunity has been provided for the City of Tshwane to take the lead in embracing this new branding framework and being the first city to implement it at the local level.

To ensure optimal branding and positioning in the tourism marketplace, the key challenge for Pretoria/Tshwane will be to embrace this new national branding initiative; to leverage collaborative partnership opportunities with the private sector and coordinate marketing and promotion initiatives within the framework of the provincial tourism body (Gauteng Tourism Authority) and the national umbrella marketing body (South African Tourism). A further challenge will be to link into and undertake collaborative marketing campaigns with surrounding destinations (e.g. Hartebeespoort and Dinokeng) and link with the promotional activities of the Gauteng Tourism Authority and South African Tourism.

The Critical Success Factors to Optimize the City's Branding and Positioning Strategy

During the 2008 tourism stakeholder workshop mentioned earlier, consensus was reached on various critical success factors to optimize the branding and positioning of the City and to ensure sustainable competitiveness. These include promoting a unique and distinctive brand personality that resonates with visitors and 'living' the brand personality at every 'touch-point' in the city; a collaborative and coordinated approach in all marketing and promotional efforts; delivering service excellence at all levels and at every 'touch-point'; ensuring appropriate visitor interpretation and information centres at key attractions and strategic points (e.g. at the Union Buildings); as well as ensuring effective communication, coordination and collaboration with the City of Tshwane, Gauteng Tourism Authority, South African Tourism and other relevant tourism stakeholders and channel members (Heath, 2008).

The broad strategic evaluation of planning and marketing processes in the city which followed as an outflow of the workshop, indicated that the above critical success factors were all being addressed as part of the participative destination planning and marketing process. The challenge in 2009 and beyond would be to maintain the momentum; to benchmark, monitor and evaluate these initiatives; and ensure optimal alignment of the strategies in accordance with the changes taking place in the macro, competitive and market environments.

Another critical success factor for Tshwane will be to encourage domestic tourism as a starting point in the creation of a new image of the old apartheid capital city. Tshwane has to persuade local people who have perhaps visited

the city in the past, to revisit the city and to 'experience it' (the change). It must be remembered that a capital city has an image in the minds of its residents as a product of different decision-making processes and these images will greatly influence their future travel behaviour (Mules *et al.*, 2007). Encouraging domestic tourists to have another look at Tshwane could lead to visitations that, in turn, may alter their perceptions of their capital city. In the end, the aim is to ultimately create excited locals that act as brand ambassadors, assisting in successfully taking the City of Tshwane brand into the future.

Conclusion

The City of Tshwane is a sophisticated and vibrant African city that has some distinctive features that can further differentiate it in the local and international tourism marketplaces. Key among these features is its capital city status, which to date has not been optimally leveraged as a competitive positioning opportunity. Regarding the future strategic direction of tourism for the city, the priorities will be to emphasize its capital city status; to strengthen the intellectual image of the city; and to further enhance the city's positioning as a leisurely city. The key challenges facing the city during the next planning period will be to strategically manage the rebranding process from Pretoria to Tshwane and, as a host city, to optimally leverage the opportunities related to the hosting of the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup.

To achieve the envisaged legacies related to the hosting of this major event and to take the branding, positioning and marketing of the city, as a tourism destination, to a next level, will require a shared vision among all stakeholders, a goal-driven strategic and operational plan, adequate finance, a commitment to coordination, collaboration and mutually beneficial partnerships and a 'can-do' approach among all public and private stakeholders. Judging from the initiatives that have been put into place by the Tshwane Tourism Action Team, the City of Tshwane is on a positive journey towards optimizing its potential as a 'must-experience' destination in both the local and international marketplace. The key building blocks are also being put into place to ensure sustainable destination competitiveness in the future and to firmly position Tshwane as a unique and distinctive African capital city.

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7

Inside the Triangle: Images of a Capital

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Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on understanding the tourist experience of Canberra, Australia's capital city, particularly within its main parliamentary precinct. This precinct possesses both political and touristic significance, as it encompasses a set of major national institutions, among which are eight of the city's ten most visited sites. The tourist experience is theorized through a phenomenological approach that examined 598 tourist images taken within the precinct, and the response of four focus groups to those images.

The rationale for this approach is that photography is the medium through which most tourists' document and report their experiences to others; hence, understanding these images helps to understand the nature of the tourist experience. Further, through photographs we engage vicariously with others' experiences – to reflect on our own experience in the same destination or to imaginatively engage in the possibilities for experience.

The chapter concludes with a phenomenological discussion that identifies the essential qualities of the experience and some associated theoretical implications.

The Bush Capital

Canberra is a 'new' capital, purpose-built to be the seat of national government and centre of administrative and diplomatic activity. The need for a national capital arose from the proclamation of the Constitution Act of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, which brought together the hitherto six independent English colonies into one federated state. Section 125 of the Constitution prescribed that the capital must be located within the state of New South Wales (NSW), but at least 100 miles (1 mile = 1.61 km) from its

capital, Sydney. This provision was intended to assuage sensitivities arising from rivalry between the colonies of Victoria and NSW and constrain the potential influence of Sydney.

The search for a site for the capital lasted 7 years (Drinkwater, 1998). Following the Seat of Government Acceptance Act (1909) and the ceding of 2368km² of land (300km from Sydney) to the Commonwealth Government by the state of NSW, the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) was declared on 1 January 1911. An international design competition was then launched. The winner was Chicago architect Walter Burley Griffin, who had a design formulated in conjunction with his wife, Marion Mahony Griffin. Griffin had worked in the architectural practice of the celebrated Frank Lloyd Wright and the design was influenced by the work of Wright and his Prairie School, itself a product of the City Beautiful and Garden City movements (see Howard and Thomas, 1985). The Griffins' plan for Canberra incorporated substantial green belts surrounding areas of settlement, wide boulevards, monumental public buildings, formal parks and water features.

The design took particular account of the topography. Central to the vision was a triangle formed by imaginary lines joining the three small mountains (Mounts Ainslie, Black Mountain and Red Hill), whose contours give shape to the shallow valley in which the core of the city is now located. The creation of a lake within the triangle, formed by damming the Molonglo River, completed the Griffins' physical blueprint.

Inside the triangle, national buildings were grouped to the south of the lake (now called the 'Parliamentary Triangle') and municipal buildings to the north, with residential suburbs on both sides. While the Griffins made changes to their design, the original blueprint has largely been followed to the present.

Contemporary Canberra

Australians, and indeed many international visitors, are somewhat ambivalent about Canberra. While being acknowledged as 'interesting', 'well organized' and with 'lots to see and do', it has also been described as 'soulless', 'confusing' and 'boring'. Travel writer Bill Bryson (2000) encapsulates a popular view of the capital: 'It's a very strange city, in that it's not a city at all, but rather an extremely large park with a city hidden in it. It's all trees and lawn and hedges and big ornamental lake...' (p. 91). Arguably, such dim views have diminished as Canberra has grown and diversified its economy and social make-up. It now possesses one of the highest standards of living in Australia and is above the national average on most socio-economic indicators (<http://www.act.gov.au>). The much-maligned urban and cultural life has evolved with the growth and diversity of the population. The capital now boasts over 300 dining venues, a vibrant entertainment scene and a regular calendar of festivals and special events (<http://www.capitalcitytourism.com>). Canberra receives over 3.5 million visitors annually, two-thirds of whom are domestic tourists (Ritchie and Dickson, 2007).

The Tourist Image

For many tourists, the camera as an accoutrement, and photography as an act, is central to their experience. The tourist's acquisitiveness for experience is mirrored by the desire to capture and take possession of that experience. Sontag (1977, p. 3) notes that 'to collect photographs is to collect the world'. Moreover, photographs offer 'indisputable evidence that the trip was made, that the program was carried out, that fun was had. . . they document sequences of consumption carried on outside the view of family, friends neighbours' (Sontag, 1977, p. 9).

While recording or collecting experience is one aspect of tourist photography, Sontag (1977) also points to a more phenomenological dimension. Photography records but also shapes experience. Seeking opportunities for the 'shot' changes the nature of the encounter – a change from the visual, aural and visceral towards a more technically mediated encounter. Sontag further suggests that doing something (a type of *working* at experience) also 'appeases the anxiety which the work-driven feel about not working when they are on vacation and supposed to be having fun' (p. 10).

A counter-position to Sontag's might rest in notions of photography as playful of itself. Rather than viewing the tourist experience as being a captive of the image seeker, the photographic act might be central to the playful experience of being a tourist. For example, the shifts in space and consciousness proposed by Sontag are evident in many of the influential writings on play theory; see Huizinga (1955), Bateson (1973) and Schutz (1975).

Bourdieu (1990) approaches photography from a structuralist perspective, yet within his narrative vestiges of both Sontag's perspective and that of play theory resonate. For Bourdieu (1990), the holiday provides the opportunity to broaden the range of photographic possibilities. Photography remains a social process of documentation, yet the 'touristic attitude' sharpens our attention to both the world around us – the everyday lives of others become objects of our attention – and to the monuments, cultural sites and landscapes that symbolize the exoticism or extraordinariness of the touristic experience. However, for Bourdieu, the 'touristic attitude' is constrained by the expectations that attend tourist photography. The choice of what one must photograph, he argues, is informed by the aesthetic of the postcard (and presumably other visual media) and to this extent 'doing' photography becomes more extrinsically focused, and somewhat deterministic.

The notion of the influence of the 'received image' is fundamental to the ideas of Markwick (2001), who argues that postcards are not insignificant ephemera but one of the 'central motivation structures of the tourism process' (p. 422). While these images may be decontextualized – of an experience, a place and its social milieu – they make the invisible visible, 'the unnoticed noticed, the complex simple, and the simple complex' (p. 420). It is the viewer who gives context, who reifies these symbols into a culturally formed picture of reality, which is then sought by the tourist.

Jenkins' (2003) 'circle of representation' (after Urry *et al.*, 1990) links theoretically to both Bourdieu's (1990) and Markwick's (2001) positions on the mediated reproduction of imagery. According to Jenkins (2003), images of a destination that are collectively projected by the mass media both inform the decision to travel and impact upon decision making within the destination. Consequently, visitors become unwitting collaborators in this mediated circle by capturing similar images and projecting their personal representations back to others, 'which begins the cycle again' (Jenkins, 2003, p. 308).

It is clear that the production of images for both the personal representation of experience, and the potential for experience, is an important contemporary means by which a destination is indirectly experienced and interpreted, hence the choice of tourists' photos as a means of interpreting the experience of Canberra.

An Approach to the Interpretation of Images

Photographs by their very nature reflect experience – of the image maker (the photographer), of the image observer, and oftentimes the interaction between image maker, subject and observer. This interplay is touched upon by Barthes (1984, p. 4) quoting what Lacan calls 'the Tuche, the Occasion, the Encounter, the Real, in its indefatigable expression'.

Experience is at the core of photography (Markwell, 1997; Sontag, 1977; Markwick, 2001). For the interpreters of tourist photography, a central question is how do we understand the nature of the tourist experience through the projected images? To understand an assemblage of images inevitably involves some form of classification, grouping or filtering process to bring 'order' to a collection. Albers and James (1988) provide a workable analytical framework in their study of tourist postcards. Cohen (1993), Markwell (1997) and Jenkins (2003) similarly provide methodological structures from different philosophical perspectives. The latter two authors in particular acknowledge the subjectivities of classification and explicitly recognize that any form of understanding sought through an image is inevitably the result of a hermeneutic process. In this tradition, Edwards (2008) adopted a five-stage semiotic analysis of tourist images of Sydney and used a series of questions to shape her classification and analytical processes. This process was informed by both the images and a limited interpretation provided by the individual photographers.

In developing our approach to examining the 'image projected' experience of Canberra, we have taken the phenomenological perspective foreshadowed by Barthes (1984). Barthes implicitly acknowledges the phenomenological approach of Husserl (1973) when he proposes to take himself as the mediator for all photography. 'Starting from a few personal impulses, I would try to formulate the fundamental feature, the universal without which there would be no Photography' (Barthes, 1984, pp. 8–9). Seeking out the fundamental feature(s) or the essences of the tourist experience of Canberra is the focus of the remainder of this chapter.

Methodology

A phenomenological approach

In this study we have adopted an approach grounded in hermeneutic (or interpretive) phenomenology. Husserl (1973) argued that to understand the nature of experience we needed to engage in *zu den sachen* – which is variously interpreted as ‘To the things themselves’ (Spiegelberg, 1982, p. 109) or the more contemporary interpretation, ‘Let’s get down to what matters’ (van Manen, 1990, p. 184). Husserl believed that to understand reality one had to examine reality itself. The logical corollary is that the source of ‘data’ for all phenomenological studies is found in the experience of individuals.

Van Manen (1990, p. 36) argues that the ‘aim of phenomenology is to transform lived experience into a textual expression of its essence – in such a way that the effect of the text is at once a reflexive re-living and a reflective appropriation of something meaningful’. Van Manen’s (1990) methodological framework for phenomenological research and his practices for the phenomenological analysis of text (see Hayllar and Griffin, 2005; Griffin and Hayllar, 2006), have guided the current investigation.

In this study there are four ‘layers’ of text. The first is the received image. The experience presented through an image has an embedded text or story, namely; ‘this is my experience of...’. The second layer is that produced by others in response to these images. The question then becomes: how do we experience and interpret the experience of others through their images? The third layer is concerned with responses gathered through the interactions of others experiencing the images. The final layer of text is the prior experience of Canberra that each respondent knowingly and unknowingly draws upon within the interpretive process.

The research question

In accord with the methodology of van Manen (1990) adopted for this study, data collection and analysis were guided by the overall phenomenological question: what is the essence of the visitor experience to Canberra? Embedded within this principal question was an implicit ‘secondary question’ around the experience of a capital. That is, is there a particularity, a unique quality, a special significance or different forms of conscious and unconscious engagement that attend the experience of a visit to a capital city?

The study

Stage 1

The objective of the overall study was to understand the spatial behaviour of tourists visiting Canberra. In order to capture tourist behaviour patterns

contemporaneously with their experience, two principal forms of data collection were used: global positioning system (GPS) tracking (Edwards *et al.*, 2009); and, central to this chapter, the collection of digital images.

Thirty-two study participants were recruited at three Canberra locations – two hotels and a youth hostel. Participants were issued with a GPS tracking device and a digital camera, and were asked to use the cameras throughout the day as they would use their own. At the end of each day, data from the GPS devices were downloaded on to Google Earth, and the digital images archived to a laptop. Approximately 1100 images of Canberra were collected through this process. Having provided the raw data, this group took no further part in the study.

Stage 2

The second stage involved interpreting the images utilizing four focus groups. Before proceeding to this stage, the research team culled the images to eliminate those with obvious technical problems such as poor light or focus. The images were next grouped into five distinct sets based on a broad content analysis. The purpose of this was to focus on aspects of the visit that were related to the ‘capital’ – those images taken around the parliamentary precinct which formed approximately 50% of the total number. The initial classification was completed by one member of the team and then reviewed by the team as a whole, which led to images being moved and regrouped into the final analytical set. In this grouping process, no images were removed from the overall collection, even when multiples of similar images existed; nor was the order of the images changed.

Data collection and interpretation

Four focus groups were conducted from a pool of 15 participants who responded to a request for participation in the study. The focus groups took place at the University of Technology, Sydney, and were spread over a 2-week period in late 2008. Participants were aged between 24 and 54, two-thirds were women, and three were international visitors currently living in Sydney.

Each group viewed 598 images which were projected on to a large screen. Participants were asked to comment upon their experience of Canberra as reflected through the images, which were displayed for approximately 4–5 seconds each in the initial pass. As the discussion unfolded, images were viewed again as required. The ensuing group discussion was digitally recorded and later transcribed for analysis.

Following the focus groups, each of the transcribed scripts was manually coded. In accord with Van Manen (1990) and Crotty (1996), the first ‘level’ of analysis was thematic. Definitions for each theme were established as the transcripts were worked. These were reviewed and modified by the research team as appropriate. Categories, or sub-themes, were then developed to capture the ‘finer grain’ of the overall transcript. Following the thematic analysis, a textual description was prepared (Moustakas, 1994), which provided an experiential

overview of the images and the collective response of the group. From this point, the analysis moved from description to interpretation.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis

Theme development inevitably involves data reduction – the thematic concept is sifted, disengaged and ‘manufactured’ from the text. However, the developed themes and the discussion unfolding from them are not mutually exclusive but rather interpretive mechanisms for better understanding the nature of the experience.

The definitions for each of the major themes and categories are outlined in Table 7.1.

Theme 1: architecture and landscape

The theme of buildings and landscape is concerned with the overall visual impression created by the images. The images were strongly focused on the external as suggested by Stephen (13–17)¹ who also noted ‘a focus on the grandeur of the buildings and these buildings seem to be concentrated along the parliamentary triangle... you sort of get the impression that they haven’t gone for the human side of the experience’. Reflecting a commonly held view, David (522–523) felt that ‘the images reinforced the negative image... of Canberra’. He added, ‘you just always see the same concrete to reinforce the impression I had of Canberra. A city built to be a city. Mostly built for being a capital city’ (531–532). Marika suggests a more experience-based dimension, depicting Canberra as ‘always sterile. It does not seem to have a soul’ (762–763), or as Stephen opines – ‘just look at the buildings, the whole thing is very bland’ (248).

The overall negativity surrounding the public buildings has its exceptions. The postmodern National Museum of Australia with its indigenous inspired features was described as ‘stunning architecture, [a] gorgeous building’ (Marika, 736), a ‘work of art’ (Victor, 15) and a ‘fascinating building to look at’ (David, 64).

Table 7.1. Major themes.

Major themes	Definitions	Categories
Architecture and landscape	Comments related to specific architectural and other physical features of Canberra	Buildings Landscape
Symbols of nationhood	Comments related to the representation of buildings as distinct symbols of nationhood and/or national identity	Power Culture
Collections	Comments related to the ‘collections’ housed within public buildings	Emotion Artefacts

¹These and subsequent numbers refer to the line numbers of the original interview transcript.

The setting for these buildings is shaped by both the natural topography and the substantial intervention of landscape designers. The Griffins' image of parkland interspersed with public buildings has theoretical visual appeal, but in practice the buildings appear 'isolated' from each other. In a sense they stand apart from the visitor – there is no connectivity. This dominance of design appears to create a city to be 'seen', rather than a city to be lived in.

This disconnect was noted by a number of respondents – 'there weren't a lot of people in the photos [which] were often about objects rather than about people' (Linda, 174–175), or 'nearly all empty' (Marika, 729).

Taken together, there is an overwhelming sense that Canberra's institutional architecture presents a rather austere image of the city. The buildings appear as objects of representation rather than as vehicles for engagement with the nation's cultural and political history. This image is magnified by their dispersed locations. They are buildings set in a landscape that visitors drive to or past.

Theme 2: symbols of nationhood

National capitals are intrinsically and manifestly symbolic – national monuments, administrative centres, parliaments, museums and significant historic sites. In combination, these symbols create what Maitland and Ritchie (2008, personal communication) call a sense of 'capitalness'. Only a capital can assemble such a collection of national symbols. Similarly, only a capital can imbue such structures with symbolic and existential meaning.



Fig. 7.1. National Art Gallery.

In Theme 1, the discussion focused on the physical presence and location of the various buildings. The perspective presented was one of buildings as objects. However, the fact that these buildings are also symbols created other layers of meaning for respondents. While Sandra (451–452) noted that ‘it is full of monuments, monumentalism’, the notion of buildings as symbols of power moves beyond the structures themselves. As Steve commented, ‘somehow all these images sort of create this sense of power’ (46) and ‘I think of the buildings but then I think what is underneath them in terms of what is happening there or what has happened there’ (57–58). Linda, in reflecting on the images of the parliament, talked of the ‘significance I guess of the building itself’ (95). Michael, an international respondent, commented that ‘they are isolated buildings that have a sense of power to them. The buildings are so dominant by themselves – nothing around it. It is a very strong symbol for me’ (541–543).

Beyond the notion of power per se, the buildings were also seen as symbols of Australia – a means of ‘reading’ Australia. One international respondent suggested that ‘the monuments express the culture of the country. With the national monument you read something into it. You read something about the country’ (David, 583–584). Another international respondent noted: ‘for me it was looking for something that was unique, something uniquely Australia. For me, that was Parliament House . . . the one with the flag’ (Phoebe, 362–364). Indeed, the flags on significant public buildings were seen as important markers of place. For one younger respondent (Belinda), the flags created a sense of pride while for others they reinforced the ‘Australianness’ of the experience.

Some discussion also centered on the differences between old ‘organically developed’ capitals, such as London, and newer planned capitals such as Canberra, Brasilia and Washington, DC. Wendy noted that newer planned capitals are created as places to exhibit the nation, and in essence the capital itself becomes part of the exhibit – part of that which is presented. As such, the ‘capital’ as a holistic entity is seen to symbolize the nation as a whole. As one international respondent noted: ‘In Europe the buildings in the old capitals were built around the existing buildings . . . whereas Canberra, because it was a new capital, needed to create those symbols’ (Michael, 568–571).

Overall, this theme highlights the important role that significant public buildings play in creating the experience of Canberra. While the architecture and physical presence of many of these structures are somewhat cold and atomistic, for many respondents there was an underlying presence of power and ‘capitalness’. As Phoebe reflected, ‘there is so much more than just the buildings’ (428–429).

Theme 3: collections

While the first two themes focused on respondents’ experiences of the physical manifestations of the images, this final theme is concerned with the presentation of cultural symbols through the ‘collections’ contained within the institutions. In the sense used here, the notion of the collection is broadened to take account of both the formal presentation of artefacts – such as those located within the National Museum of Australia – and the more informal ‘collections’ of ‘democratic symbols’ of the type found in Parliament House.



Fig. 7.2. Parliament House.

All of the most significant national buildings have collections as described above. However, the images were primarily focused around the Australian War Memorial and the two Parliament Houses. There were no internal images of the National Gallery, *Questacon*, the National Library or the High Court. Internal images from the National Museum of Australia were limited and quite specific, as were those from Old Parliament House.

The response to these collections had both similarities and differences. At the War Memorial, three distinct components of the collection were identified. The first were artefacts of war – primarily static displays of weaponry including tanks, aircraft and guns. David's response to these displays was typical of the group: 'the tanks and those other things do not have much of an impact upon me – they are just the tools of war' (652–653).

However, the second component, comprising exhibits focused on the human side of war, provided an experience that was more overtly affective. The dioramas of battlefield scenes were particularly evocative. As Michael noted: 'in the War Memorial we saw a lot of images with soldiers in defeat, people absolutely devastated. There is a human dimension, a contrast between what is in the building and what is on the outside' (625–627). The final component of the collection is its commemorative aspects, such as the Roll of Honour which contains the name of every Australian soldier killed in overseas conflicts. These commemorative features evoked similar responses to exhibits portraying the human side of war.

The National Museum of Australia is a contemporary museum that thematically seeks to explore the Australian landscape, nation and people. While



Fig. 7.3. Garden of Australian Dreams.



Fig. 7.4. Roll of Honour.

the museum has a broad range of exhibits, the tourists' images presented and interpreted are narrow in scope. Indeed, there are significantly more images of the striking (external) architecture of the building than the collection itself! As with the War Memorial, respondents identified a similar two aspects to the collection – those focusing on artefacts and those presenting more emotional and contemporary themes. Unlike the War Memorial, the impact here was not connected with loss but rather to specific aspects of the contemporary Australian 'story' – 'things that people relate to and can see themselves in it... parts of their lives' (Stephen, 128–130).

In the Old Parliament House, there is a similar dualism – artefacts, and emotional and contemporary themes, with the difference between the two sometimes blurred. For example, the Prime Minister's office chair, which might at first glance be passed off as an artefact, evoked a significant 'emotional' response. This exhibit was not simply a desk and chair, but rather a place of power where decisions influencing the course of the nation's history unfolded. Here the collection, not its external structure, emerged as a symbol of nationhood.

In the context of the overall discussion, new Parliament House presents a more complex picture. Completed in 1988 and sitting astride Capital Hill, it dominates the skyline at the southern apex of the parliamentary triangle. Looking northward across the lake, new Parliament House, Old Parliament House and the War Memorial are in perfect alignment along a 4 km axis of open space and grand boulevard. This position gives Parliament House a unique physical and symbolic presence within the city.



Fig. 7.5. Seats of Power – Old Parliament House.

While the text of respondents clearly demarcated their experience of the external character and internal collections of other public buildings, the distinction between the Parliament building, its symbolic role and its 'collection' are blurred. Notions of history, tradition, nationalism, democracy and the Australian narrative appear to be symbolically woven into their responses to Parliament House. Interestingly, such aggregated symbolism is shared across both Australian residents and international respondents.

Discussion

The experience of Canberra is one of contradictions and tensions. There are notions of psychological 'distance' or even alienation from the city. There is a consistency in the focus group narratives of this distance. The city is seen to lack an essential spirit. With some notable exceptions, its public buildings are perceived as sterile and lacking in character. The images are focused on structures not human interactions. It is a place for the other, the polity and its minions, not the visitor.

However, this perception of distance is multifaceted. Canberra's isolation from the two most populous and influential Australian cities – Sydney and Melbourne – and its development as a 'new' capital provide a unique socio-historical context to the visitors' experience. This is especially so with Australian respondents who see these images through a particular cultural lens. For Australians, there is a type of latent antipathy towards the 'privilege' invested in Canberra, with its superior services, wide roads, manicured garden suburbs and sweeping mountain vistas. For international visitors, particularly those arriving by road, Canberra gives no clue of an imminent arrival, no grand gateway to a capital – the city, nestled in a shallow valley, almost unexpectedly emerges from the rural landscape. Ironically, and perhaps appropriately, it could be argued that Canberra is a metaphor for Australia itself – isolated, privileged and culturally remote from the contemporary world and *realpolitik*.

This notion of distance is also characterized in the collections. For many, these collections are externalized and arcane. While clearly part of the Australian national story, there is often a disjunction between the exhibit and the visitor's experience of it. However, when there is an affective relationship within the experience – where the exhibition narrative engages with emotion, such as in the War Memorial, this distance diminishes.

The above argument notwithstanding, there are contradictions to this distal notion of engagement. As noted, Parliament House has a particular character or 'presence', an almost *de jure* recognition of implicit power and historical significance. In this case, there is a match for visitors between the external representation and the internal experience of the building.

In considering these tensions and contradictions within the visitor experience, there are theoretical links between this and our earlier precinct work (see Hayllar and Griffin, 2005). There we argued that precincts present visitors with opportunities for layered experiences. That is, a visitor may engage at a superficial level – in the case of Canberra by driving from one significant site or

attraction to the other without leaving the car – or at deeper levels, through a visit to a site or exhibit with intense engagement. Arguably, the layers of Canberra are more difficult to penetrate. The dispersed nature of the buildings, their lack of connectivity and minimal external interpretation hamper experiences beyond the superficial. At the specific exhibit level, where interpretation actively facilitates experience, the experiential layer is more porous and allows meaningful engagement. Such engagement enhances the overall quality of the visitors' experience. As one international respondent remarked:

In Old Parliament House we played in a room where you could put on clothes and have photos taken. My father did that and that was good. It helped my understanding. I got to understand more about Australia.

(Phoebe, 388–392)

It is difficult to know whether Australia's national diffidence (or indifference) towards Canberra is based on its historical relationships with the city or whether other factors around landscapes, design and transport impact upon the experience. There are also questions around the response to Canberra by international visitors and how their experience might have been shaped by prior experience or knowledge of the city. Heidegger's (1962) theorizing presents at least a partial explanation. He maintained that the conceptualization of an experience is always grounded in prior experience, what he called the fore-structure. In developing this position he argued that whenever something is interpreted, the 'interpretation will be founded essentially upon fore-having, fore-sight, and fore-conception'. (Heidegger, 1962, pp. 191–192).



Fig. 7.6. Old Parliament House.

The experience of Canberra

To answer the phenomenological questions posed for this study requires an epistemological shift from the experiential structures discussed within the thematic analysis, towards the essential characteristics or 'essences' of experience 'inside the triangle'. In the phenomenological context, there are 'particular essences' (Spiegelberg, 1982), which are underpinning experiences, and a 'general essence' which is the cumulative structure of the particular experience. In our analysis, two particular essences emerged. The first is the notion of *detachment*. Detachment captures the arguments relating to psychological distance and is linked to the experience of Canberra in three ways: as a tourist destination, as a symbolic national entity and as a place of national representation. The second essence is that of *engagement*. Engagement is the antithesis of detachment and is concerned with experiences that rise above the 'constraints' imposed by detachment. Engaged experiences are deeper, multilayered and possibly quite profound encounters that have at their core substantial affective dimensions.

In considering these essential qualities, it is likely that there is an ongoing temporal dimension to the visitor experience. As a visitor's encounter unfolds, barriers to experience will emerge (detachment) while at other times hitherto unrealized opportunities for engagement will surface. These essential characteristics are in a constant interplay and state of flux. It is this enduring dialectic, along what might be considered an experiential continuum, which helps construct the experience of the capital.

The cumulative structure or general essence requires further hypothesizing. The following questions therefore arise: is there embedded within the visitor experience a phenomenon that links and flows through the experience? Is there an essence without which the experience (as understood by the respondents in this study) would cease to exist? In considering these questions, Maitland's and Ritchie's (2008, personal communication) notion of *capitalness* emerged.

Capitalness captures the essential characteristic of the experience. Capitalness encapsulates the affective experience of Canberra. Only a capital can provide national symbols in a context charged with existential meaning. Only a capital can tell the national story. Only a capital can encapsulate the triumph (or decline) of the nation state, and imbue it with meaning. Capitalness also has a cognitive dimension. Engaging with the collections of a capital leads to questions and debate around the significance, place and role of artefacts in shaping the national temper. In so doing, capitalness is cognitively experienced.

The experience of capitalness, as described, presupposes engagement as a necessary prerequisite for the experience. However, capitalness is also about detachment. Here, the tension within the experiential continuum is played out. A capital is not only a repository for the national story, which imbues or confirms a sense of national identity that has meaning for the individual (and hence leads to engagement), but it is also where the defining symbols of the nation state reside. These are inevitably symbols of power and authority which conspire to keep the individual at bay (detachment). The latter is about being the capital of Australia, while the former is about being the capital for Australians.

Conclusion

Photography is a means through which touristic 'experience' is both captured and conveyed (Sontag, 1977). In this chapter, we set out to understand the nature of the tourist experience of Canberra through a phenomenological engagement with tourist images. Arising from the multiple layers of text, developed from the interactions with these images, was the overwhelming sense that capitals, as sources of national identity and power, imbue experience with an essential quality unique to the capital experience.

However, the outcomes from the study raise a number of theoretical, methodological and practical questions. Theoretically, further consideration needs to be given to the qualitatively different experience of a visit to a modern purpose-built capital, and a visit to capitals that have been historically anointed as a result of their geographic, economic or strategic importance. Do we experience the more established, organic capitals in quite different ways? If so, how might this experience be understood and theorized? Or, is it in essence, the same 'experience'.

Methodologically, the veracity of the techniques used in this study needs further development. Do they adequately explicate the experience? What of the image makers themselves? Would interactions with them create more meaningful textual layers? Would a larger sample reveal a more segmented experience or would the experience as captured course through each of these segments?

Finally, the findings from this study raise a number of practical issues and questions. At the micro level, the interpretation of the city through signage and way finding mechanisms is problematic. The modernist exteriors of most of the buildings and their disconnectedness from each another also make it difficult for the visitor 'see' the attraction. The reliance on the motor vehicle for movement between attractions suggests that more creative, perhaps satellite- or GPS-sourced, information delivery systems are needed. At the macro level, the data suggest that the marketing of the city could be more vigorously directed towards the city as the capital of Australia, rather than the city as a collection of symbolic national attractions. The intent here is to foster engagement with the idea of capitalness as fundamental to the visitor experience.

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8

Seeing the Sites: Perceptions of London

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Introduction

This chapter investigates photographic images and accompanying texts provided by a group of people to illustrate their perceptions of London as a capital city. This material is analysed using a multilayered approach, which draws from visual anthropology and social semiotics. The research findings are evaluated in the context of the literature on cities, city tourism and capitals and are discussed in terms of four themes: *power*, *gaze*, *mobility* and *connections*.

Many of the images provided for this study illustrate an iconic building or a symbol of the 'capitalness' of the city and at one level can be seen to reflect 'found' images of London as a destination. However, the commentaries demonstrate the nuanced connections with the city that are textured and animated by different stories and memories of particular events, experiences and people, which often link to other places. The study illustrates the complex identity of the city and complex process of seeing and connecting to London. It is intended to reflect 'multiple and heterogeneous ways of experiencing cities' (Bell and Haddour, 2000, p. 1) and to present a series of glimpses that illustrate the way people use photographs to develop and demonstrate their connections with London.

London – Global City and National Capital

As a national capital, London symbolizes 'national identity, status and power' (Pearce, 2007, p. 8), and is a city of cultural, historical, political and symbolic significance and a centre of transaction and consumption (Hall, 2002; Pearce, 2007; Ritchie and Maitland, 2007). It has a concentration of iconic buildings, cityscapes and monuments that have been created over hundreds of years and which reflect its national role and importance. London carries out functions

that are simultaneously nationally and internationally important, and is identified as a world or 'Global City' (Abrahamson, 2004; Bold and Hinchcliffe, 2009), also characterized by its centrality in global economic and cultural networks. London's built symbolic representations are linked to the most powerful institutions in the nation, many of which are also internationally significant, including the government (Big Ben and the Houses of Parliament), business (the Swiss Re (Gherkin) Tower and Canary Wharf), the monarchy (Buckingham Palace and the Tower of London) and the church (Westminster Abbey and St Paul's).

London is 'not unplanned but without an overall plan' (Bold and Hinchcliffe, 2009, p. 9), and 'has evolved... as a Global Capital by default' (Hardy, 2006, p. 87). It embodies layers of history that are reflected in the diversity of its built environment and population. In the centre it comprises two cities, the City of Westminster reflecting the political power of Parliament and the City of London reflecting its economic power (Hardy, 2006). London's complexity and polycentricity has increased as it has grown and engulfed surrounding settlements.

London is a city of multiple roles and identities, contrasts and diversities, which are reflected in its architecture, multiculturalism and extremes of wealth and poverty. Many writers have attempted to chronicle and develop an understanding of London by creating a range of biographies, encyclopedia and guides to illustrate incidents, themes and stories about the city (including Ackroyd, 2000; Hibbert, 1969; Weinred and Hibbert, 1983). The most recent of these highlight the complexity and rapid evolution of the city which 'cannot be conceived in its entirety' (Ackroyd, 2000, p. 2) or 'encapsulated in a single view' (Bold and Hinchcliffe, 2009, p. 9).

Tourism and Tourist Images of London

In 2006, London was identified as the most popular city destination in the world in terms of international visitor arrivals (Bremner, 2007), and in 2007 it attracted 1.69% of the global share of international tourism (Visit London website, 2008). Tourist visits are concentrated in Westminster, followed by Lambeth and Camden, and visitors are motivated by a range of factors including history and heritage, museums and galleries parks and gardens and pubs and restaurants (LDA, 2007), emphasizing the importance of the broader city ambience on the decision to visit.

In London, the difficulties in separating touristic and non-touristic experiences (Franklin and Crang, 2001; Burns and Lester, 2005) are particularly acute. The city's symbolic, cultural and business roles attract people to migrate from other places in search of work, study and leisure opportunities. These flows of people create a constantly shifting, diverse, multicultural and transnational population. The separation of tourist and non-tourist is made more difficult in this multilayered, vibrant place, where roles are complex and constantly changing. People shift between host and guest roles and in a single day might experience the city as a resident, student, worker and tourist.

Mackay and Cauldwell (2004, p. 390) claim that destination image arises from 'a compilation of beliefs and impressions, based on information processed from a variety of sources over time'. Some of these may arise before visiting the destination, such as guidebooks, literature and media images, while others may be based upon experiences at the destination itself. London is globally familiar through media representations, and images of the city are widely used to indicate its various significant roles. Despite this perceived familiarity, visitors find themselves in an alien environment when visiting for the first time.

Photography has a long history of being used not only to inform the viewer but also to allow the photographer to interact with, and gain control over, an alien environment (Urry, 2002). Photographic images, whether captured by tourists themselves or found in magazines, brochures, websites, television and films influence and play an important role in structuring their 'gaze', influencing what they choose to see and photograph in a city. Urry (2002) contends that the act of photography encourages the photographer to become an 'amateur semiotician', idealizing places and representing iconic images.

Method

This research draws from data collected for an ongoing research project that evaluates images created to illustrate connections and experiences of London. A multilayered approach was adopted, drawing from social semiotics (Barthes, 1977; Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; Jewitt and Oyama, 2001; Chandler, 2002) and visual anthropological analysis (Collier, 2001; Pink, 2007). This methodological approach was selected to enable reflexivity and to reveal multi-layered and diverse meanings that contribute to people's perception and understanding of places (Stevenson and Inskip, 2008).

In November 2006 and 2007, first-year undergraduate students at the University of Westminster were asked to provide one photograph of London they had collected and that had relevance to them. Each photograph was accompanied by a commentary of 100–200 words discussing the chosen image and detailing their age, nationality and duration of residence in London. Tourism students were selected on the basis of their international profile and mobility. In this project, 98 images were provided, 57 of which were selected for the research underpinning this chapter on the basis that they had been produced by people who had been in the capital for 5 years or fewer.

The collection of photographs and associated commentaries were analysed in terms of subject, composition, meanings and the relationships between the images and the image-makers. After preliminary examination, the photographs were themed, and then the accompanying written commentaries were analysed in order to determine how the images were being used to connect the photographer to London. Social semiotic analysis was used to examine the surface and hidden meanings of the photographs of the most widely chosen subjects, Big Ben and the London Eye, to develop an understanding of what is being communicated by those images, taking into account both their content and context (see Stevenson and Inskip, 2008, for further discussion of the methodology employed).

The group's perceptions of London were explored by considering the relationships between the photograph, the text and the person who created them. Four main themes were identified (*power, gaze, mobility and connections*) in the context of the wider literature on cities and tourism (including Abrahamson, 2004; Bell and Haddour 2000; Pearce, 2007; Urry, 2002 and Westwood and Williams, 1997). These themes reveal a range of meanings and draw attention to the complexities associated with experiencing, and relating to a complex and multifunctional capital city.

Which Images are Chosen to Represent London?

The study group reflects the ambiguities and blurred boundaries around tourism, mobility and migration (Franklin and Crang, 2001; Coles and Timothy, 2004; Larsen *et al.*, 2007). The chosen images were produced by students who had been in the city for between 1 month and 5 years, and whose perceptions of London reflected their mobility and their relatively recent relationship with the city. They comprise 26 nationalities, reflecting the diversity of the population of London. They are aged between 18 and 33 years, and most have chosen to live and study in London following experiences as tourists in the city. The majority of images can be interpreted as reflecting tourism or leisure experiences as 'guests' in the city.

The photographs were scrutinized and themed into broad groups: *iconic buildings and structures, street scenes, people, transport, panoramas and other* (Fig. 8.1). Thirty-five per cent of the photographs showed *iconic buildings and structures*, with the most frequent occurrence (Fig. 8.2) involving a

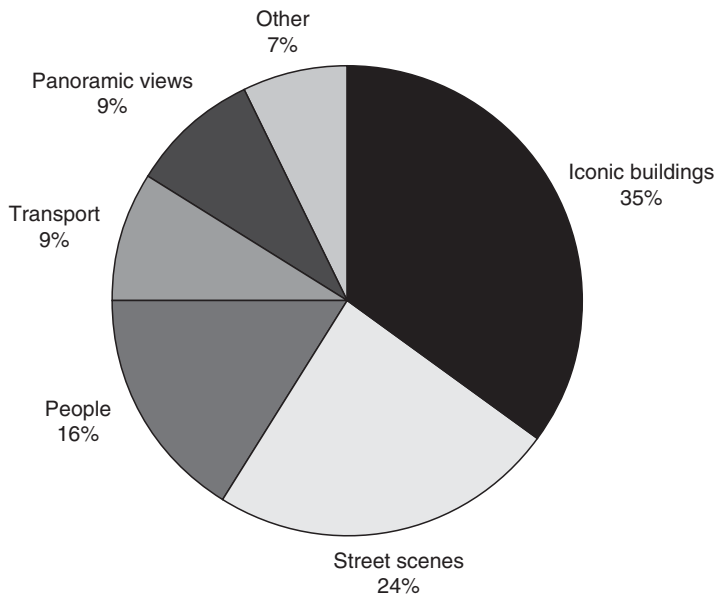


Fig. 8.1. Images of London by theme.

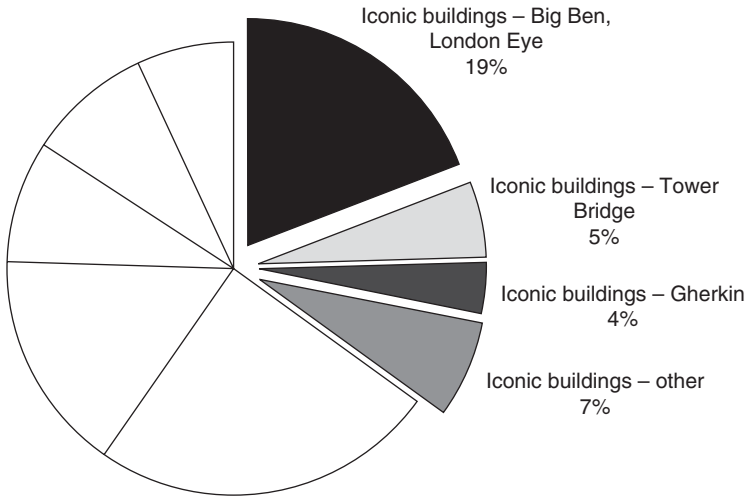


Fig. 8.2. Iconic buildings group – detail.

combined image of Big Ben and the London Eye – two structures that are physically proximate but significantly different in function and type. Eighty-eight per cent of the images, illustrated clearly identifiable places in central London, and photographs of many of these places could be found on the Visit London website. At one level, these can be perceived as touristic images; however, they show places with wider political and administrative, business or transport roles that symbolize London and reflect its capital and world city role. The remaining 12% were difficult for the researchers to locate, as they did not include London icons or popular streetscapes (such as Piccadilly Circus or Covent Garden). As such they could be seen to represent a more familiar or intimate relationship between the photographer and the city.

The Relationships Between Photograph and Image-maker

Morgan and Pritchard (1998) and Pink (2007) contend that the way people make images of places reflects the meaning of those places to them and is affected by their experiences, background and values. These relationships were explored by considering the photographs in the context of several easily identifiable demographic characteristics of the image-makers: nationality, length of time in London and age. There were no significant clusters when the photographs were sorted by nationality and by age. However, clusters could be identified around the length of time spent living in London with four of the five panoramic views and all transport images produced by people who had been in the capital for 1 year or less.

Each photograph was examined in the context of the accompanying written commentary, 74% of which provided detailed and nuanced personal interpretations explaining the connection between the image and the photographer.

These were categorized under five main themes. Fifty-two per cent of the commentaries made connections with more than one of the above-mentioned themes:

- Friends and family – 52%.
- Home in London – 33%.
- Home outside London – 31%.
- Study or work places – 12%.
- Revelation – 7%.

The 'home outside London' category relates to images that illustrate a memorable experience in London undertaken when the photographer lived in another place or when they first arrived. The revelation category shows images that surprised the photographers and contrasted their experience with their expectations of London: modern buildings, multiculturalism and its crowdedness.

Message in a Photo

Semiotics is concerned with establishing the meaning of texts (which can be any medium) by the study of signs and the way they are communicated by those texts through representation (Barthes, 1977; Jewitt and Oyama, 2001). While it seems easy to determine the denotative or commonsensical meaning, of an image (a photograph of Big Ben denotes the clock tower attached to the Houses of Parliament), evaluation and analysis of the meaning requires an understanding of the codes that inform this connotation (a photograph of Big Ben may be related to the importance of the British political system or the start of the TV news). It is through socio-cultural conventions that the meaning of signs, which is arbitrary, is agreed upon and these can vary according to the point of view of the producer and consumer of the message.

The photographs in this research may be of Big Ben and the London Eye, but their deeper meaning to the image-maker can be revealed by examining the composition of the image and the accompanying text. The images represent two well-known buildings in a particular urban setting. The interaction suggested by the image is that the buildings are important among the other buildings in the photograph (Big Ben is tall because it needs to be seen from a distance, London Eye is tall because the viewers on the wheel need to see for a distance). If, say, the Big Ben tower is in the centre of the image and the photograph is taken looking up at the tower then the composition of the picture indicates Big Ben is of central importance to the message and has power over the viewer (it is looking down, like an authority figure).

While it was possible to generate ideas about their connotation from the images alone, it was clear that this was substantially enhanced by the written text. Taken at face value, all we could be sure about the images was that they were photographs of the Big Ben and the London Eye, taken at a certain time of day or night, and, because of the instruction for this project, they had something to do with London and had some meaning to the student. Analysing

their composition led to some ideas about the roles of the elements within the image. Combining this with a detailed reading of the text led to a clearer view of the meanings that the image-maker was attempting to communicate.

Six photographs were examined in depth, three of which featured both the London Eye and the Big Ben (Figs. 8.3, 8.5 and 8.8); two featured Big Ben (Figs. 8.4 and 8.7) and one was of London Eye (Fig. 8.6). All featured the River Thames. They were analysed using criteria developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) and Jewitt and Oyama (2001), which help to formalize its interpretation and analyse how the image represents the subject, interacts with the viewer and is composed. The content of the image, such as strong lines or vectors, the positioning of the subject and other elements within the image, the relationship of the subject to the foreground, background and viewer, as well as the use of colour and angle of shot can be analysed to extract meaning of the relationship between the photographer and the subject. These criteria acknowledge that the interpretation of images is not only based on formal rules of composition but also on how the viewer's social context informs their interpretation of the signs within the image (Chandler, 2002).

Vectors, such as bridges, draw the eye around the image and indicate a strong relationship between the Eye and the Big Ben tower (particularly in Figs. 8.3 and 8.5, to a lesser extent in Fig.8.8) and between these elements and the viewer of the photograph. The framing of the image, and the relative importance of the elements within it are used to determine the key elements, here the London Eye and Big Ben (Figs. 8.3, 8.5 and 8.8), Big Ben (Figs. 8.4 and 8.6) and the London Eye (Fig. 8.6). The gaze of these elements in all of the images



Fig. 8.3. Big Ben from the London Eye



Fig. 8.4. Big Ben and Thames from South Bank.



Fig. 8.5. London Eye and Big Ben from Savoy Hotel.



Fig. 8.6. London Eye and Thames at night.



Fig. 8.7. Big Ben and Houses of Parliament from South Bank.



Fig. 8.8. Ariel view of Big Ben and London Eye.

was at the viewer, drawing them in, although the angle of the photo and the distance from which it was taken indicated a detached, impersonal relationship between the viewer and the subject. The viewer's position relative to the subject indicates whether, for example, London Eye is more important than the viewer (Fig. 8.6), or vice versa (Figs. 8.3 and 8.8). This gives guidance relating to how much the image-maker connects with the subjects of the photographs.

This type of image analysis attempts to provide the viewer with a clearer understanding of the meaning of the images by highlighting the key elements, the relative power between them within the image and between them and the viewer, and offers some insights into the message the photographer is constructing when composing the photograph and choosing it from a selection for the task in hand. Consideration of the accompanying written texts, in conjunction with the analysis of the content of the image, gives a closer view of the particular message the photographer is attempting to communicate.

For example, in Fig. 8.3 the photographer discusses her experience of riding on the London Eye: '...ever since I was a little girl and watched the Disney cartoon "Peter Pan" where they show Peter Pan standing on one of Big Ben's clock hands... I have always wanted to see this magic city in real life'.

This 'magical' narrative is linked to her experience of being in London when she first arrived, and her choice of photo was made to communicate this. On careful examination of the image, a child can be seen standing in the neighbouring pod of the wheel, looking down on London. This links closely to the experience in the film where the children fly with Peter Pan and strongly reinforces the photograph's message of London as a magical city.

Although London is powerful (Big Ben and the accompanying Houses of Parliament indicating adulthood and the power of the status quo) it can be subverted by youth (Peter Pan) and an experience shared with 'friends'. This reinforces the use of myth to conquer the fear of the unknown: 'London means to me, a new experience of life and a chance to improve my knowledge by attending the university here as well as living in a very dynamic and multicultural city'. Combined with the image analysis, where the photographer was positioned above the Big Ben tower, indicating a sense of power over the status quo, gives rise to a rich and detailed interpretation of her relationship with London.

Magic and myth are also strongly represented in Figs. 8.5 and 8.6. The commentary with image Fig. 8.5 identifies that it is taken from the room once occupied by Impressionist painter Claude Monet and a place where he produced some of his famous paintings of the Thames. The image is 'spectacular' and engenders an 'amazing feeling' by magically personifying history. By taking a photograph in a private but historically important place the photographer demonstrates connections, and 'opportunity' in a city where 'everything can happen to you.' The image analysis also indicated how magical he felt London was, by the nature of the colour saturation and the strength of relationship between the London Eye and the Big Ben tower, which are strongly linked by bridge vectors.

The commentary with Fig. 8.6 says less about feelings in the text, but the abstract nature of his image indicates the likelihood he is trying to communicate a similar magical feeling (and his skills as a photographer), by choosing an image where the sky is not its usual colour and bright light is emanating from the water.

Commentaries refer to experiences with friends or places 'where I meet my friends', indicating how the photographers are attempting to assert their relationship with London through their relationships with people. Although friends are not the subject of these images, the photographers associate the well-being of friendship with these photographs.

They also discuss how they took the photograph, naming some of the elements or mentioning the time of day, the point they stood at when taking the image, or other specific elements that they could only know if they had taken the photograph themselves. In this way, by asserting ownership over the image, that is: 'the picture is captured by "me"' or 'I had a chance to capture this astonishing picture', they assert ownership over London.

Their experiences of London are generally favourable and associated with romantic notions of beauty, love, pleasure and opportunity. They do not attempt to explain what cannot be explained, but present it in the image along with their feelings and leave interpretation to the viewer.

Perceptions of London

Power

In this study, and on the Visit Britain and Visit London websites, the most common image used to illustrate London is of Big Ben and the Houses of Parliament (Fig. 7.2), reflecting the political functions of the capital city and the importance of Big Ben as a national icon. Other iconic buildings and structures used in this small sample include Tower Bridge and London Eye, which are also illustrated on the header of the Visit Britain website. This would indicate that they are perceived as symbols of the nation as well as the city.

While four images show buildings that might be associated with economic power (Canary Wharf and the Gherkin); this aspect of London is not discussed in any commentaries. One image of Canary Wharf is used as a link reminding the photographer of New York, a place where she would like to visit, while another contrasts it with a relatively tranquil image of St Katherine Docks. The two images of the Gherkin are accompanied by text discussing its architectural status as a modern iconic building, noting the contrast to the heritage and tradition also associated with London.

These photos associate London with its capital city role as a political capital rather than its economic and cultural role. The dominance of the Big Ben images in the found literature and in the sample indicate importance and symbolism associated with political dimensions of the city. The recent addition of the Eye appears to have reinforced the importance and symbolic status of Big Ben.

Gaze

The images illustrate the importance of the London Eye as a site (or sight) to be seen, and a place from which to view London (16% of the photographs include an image of, or are taken from, the Eye). Due to its location and orientation, the Eye focuses people's gaze (Urry, 2002) on one part of the city, drawing attention to and reinforcing the centrality and status of buildings and features that are close by such as Big Ben, Houses of Parliament and the River Thames. The commentaries provided with the London Eye pictures clearly identify the symbolic role of the buildings and structures in the photograph. Several refer to books, films and paintings based in London, and it is through these cultural signifiers that personal connections are made to the city. Rather than directly stating, 'This is a place I love to visit', they attach themselves to London by using a cultural artefact (a book, film or painting) as an intermediary 'It reminds me of my favorite book/film/painting', reinforcing the difficulty in expressing emotional connection with London in purely verbal terms.

The images that have been categorized as panoramic views are those with no obvious central subject and are taken by the most recent arrivals. Without the input of the photographer to inform us, the gaze in these panoramas is far less structured than the gaze from the eye. The texts try to comprehend the

vastness of London, but normally from a vantage point that has personal meaning or significance to the photographer such as their accommodation, workplace or local park.

Mobility

Physical or geographical mobility is illustrated by the cluster of pictures of public transport which were taken by the most recent arrivals. The idea of movement in and around London is also illustrated in many pictures which are taken 'on the move', from the Eye and from buses or in commentaries that describe the photograph being taken on a journey around the city.

The images and texts also reflect the diasporic nature of the group (Coles and Timothy, 2004) with people representing London in terms of memories that connected them to home, friends and family elsewhere. They also reflect a temporal mobility; some people use images that were taken in the past to illustrate lasting or pleasant memories of a visit to London; others use images taken specifically for the research, which remind them about an event in their past and a place that connects them to the city. For example, one provides a photograph of the Millennium Bridge, which she first saw as a tourist. When she moved to London, it became significant as a place for reflection: 'whenever I was upset or missed by family and friends, I went to the Millennium Bridge, drank coffee and watched London switching its lights on'.

These photographs and commentaries show how recent arrivals in London use symbolic and iconic images to illustrate personal connections and meaning and how their relationship with the city changes over time: 'The picture reminds me how much I have opened my mind since I first arrived... two years ago my image of London would certainly be different... today I seek much quieter places, where I can relax and get away from everyday busy life'.

People in the group chose to represent London in a way that reflects the place of the city in their own world, the commentaries making connections with work, home and friends. While the photographs are place- and time-based, the commentaries are derived from multiple places and times. In the study, group perceptions of London are derived from good and memorable experiences.

Connections

These photographs show experiences of London, illustrated by images that are symbolic of the photographer's connection with the city. Many of these images are considered by the photographer to symbolize the city and nation and they are used as backdrops to discuss an event which connects the person to the

city. In this context, it is not surprising that the study group has produced a wide range of images to demonstrate varied connections to and identity within London.

Bell and Haddour (2000) discuss how people 'appropriate' places in cities, creating spaces for themselves. The commentaries illustrate how the photographers in the study appropriate or connect with places which are imbued with meaning based on an experience that is captured and formalized through the act of photography. They show connections to the city that are shaped and animated by a range of experiences that are situated within memories and connections to other places, time and people. The act of photography formalizes this act of appropriation, and is illustrated by a picture of a clock tower in South Norwood. This is identified in the commentary as the first photograph taken by the student as an 'inhabitant, not a tourist' and is appropriated as 'my Big Ben'.

The photographs quite closely reflect the 'capitalness' of London with many providing images that symbolize national identity and history (Pearce, 2007). However, the commentaries identify a much more subtle and nuanced interpretation of the city and are more concerned with the collection of experiences, aspirations and feelings engendered by the city. The commentaries illustrate events people, places and moments that connected them on a very personal level to London.

Conclusions

This chapter uses a multilayered methodology as a way of developing understanding of peoples' perceptions and connections to London. It evaluates a collection of photographs of London, recognizing the central importance image collection in the experience and perception of places. It illustrates the intricacies and nuances of peoples' engagement with this multifaceted and complex city. Capital and global city status present many complexities not only in terms of the economic, political, cultural and social functions, but also in terms of the mobility and diversity of the people who experience London as residents, migrants and visitors.

This chapter illustrates a process by which symbolic or iconic images of London are captured in a photograph and then appropriated as a backdrop to personal stories and experiences that act as connectors between people and the city. This research, while presenting a limited sample intends to reflect some of the intricacies of experiencing and perceiving the city, highlighting the complex connection between people and places.

London's role as a capital city is clearly important in the collection, and the majority of photographs focus on buildings and street scenes that are considered to be symbolic of this role. Big Ben as its dominant symbolic construction, both in the found images and those produced by the study group, reflects London's role as a national and internationally significant political capital.

While the photographs show some common features, the commentaries identify perceptions of the city that are textured and mediated through a wider

range of associations (Westwood and Williams, 1997). In this study, these associations include visits with friends and family, their home in London and their memories of home elsewhere. The photographs, though physically located in London, are tied to experiences, ideas, comparisons and memories of other places. This process of appropriation involves the photographer demonstrating knowledge about (and power relating to) one aspect of the city. The Big Ben commentaries illustrate the creative processes involved in the appropriation of a national icon to create personal meanings, interpreting it in the light of their experiences and using it to provide a focus for their identity within the city. In this study, Big Ben is not just a symbol of London, but is also used as a symbol of peoples' connection to the city.

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9

Changing Visitor Perceptions of a Capital City: the Case of Wellington, New Zealand

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Introduction

Capital cities represent both symbolic and tangible value for nations in areas that define their tradition, heritage and strength in political, administrative, cultural and economic terms. Part of contemporary research emphasizes the role of capital cities and their image as being multi-functional, global, ex-imperial and super-capitals (Hall, 2000) or even brand capitals (Hall, 2002). In some cases, cities become cultural destinations, with tangible and physical elements such as their modern architecture (Richards and Wilson, 2004) helping them attract visitors. In other cases, capital cities become 'capital events' (Richards, 2000), whereby an event taking place can 'form an important part of urban economic and cultural reconstruction strategies for deindustrialising cities' (p. 159). However, Richards (2000) also cautions that such events are very costly and while short-term gains may be obtained, no conclusive evidence exists in regards to their long-term beneficial effects.

Reports and studies also identify a strong links between city tourism and culture (ETC Research Group, 2005), and the impact of the media on cities' image as political capitals (Ritchie and Peirce, 2006). Together, all these elements not only demonstrate the importance of capitals in various aspects, but also their potential as tourism destinations (Maitland and Ritchie, 2007; Peirce and Ritchie, 2007).

However, to what extent has the capital city dimension been thoroughly discussed in the case of New Zealand's capital, Wellington? With fewer than quarter of a million residents (Wellington City Council, 2007), Wellington was recently recipient of more than NZ\$1 billion of visitor spending (Ministry of Tourism, 2007), suggesting its potential to attract visitors and the process benefit in the form of accommodation, food and beverage and entertainment sales. Despite such apparent success, for years efforts have been made to make the city more attractive to outsiders and elevate its image as a destination, with

mixed results. For instance, in 2007, increases in overnight trips among domestic visitors were reported; however, a decrease among international visitors, as well as in day trips among domestic visitors was noticed when compared to 2006 (WellingtonZN.com, 2008).

To gain a deeper understanding of the performance of the capital city of Wellington as a tourism destination, the objective of the present study is to gather information from visitors to answer questions that include the following:

- What are the perceptions of visitors travelling to Wellington?
- How do visitors describe Wellington as they leave the city?
- Does Wellington attract its visitors to stay for longer periods of time?
- What differences, if any, exist between domestic and international visitors regarding their visit to Wellington, including their expenditures, or their reasons for visiting this capital city?

Increased knowledge of these areas could provide Wellington's tourism stakeholders, including city officials, tourism entities and tourism and hospitality operators with a better understanding of visitors' dynamics, such as their preferences, and interests in regards to New Zealand's capital city, or even their concerns about Wellington. This information, in turn, could be used among city stakeholders in future marketing efforts of the city.

The Marketing of Destinations

Despite arguments about the problematic nature of defining 'tourist destination image' (Echtner and Ritchie, 1993; Jenkins, 1999), or conceptualizing it (Konecnik, 2005), the numerous studies conducted on this topic clearly illustrate its popularity among researchers (e.g. Pike, 2002; Chang and Shin, 2004). Destination image can have an impact on tourists' decision making and on their choice of a particular destination (Baloglu and McCleary, 1999; Jensen and Korneliussen, 2002; Hanlan and Kelly, 2005; Choi *et al.*, 2007). According to Jenkins (1999), Crompton's (1979, p. 18) definition of destination image, namely, 'the sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions that a person has of a destination' is one of the most commonly provided in contemporary research.

Having stereotypical images of destinations (Sirgy and Su, 2000), and being affected by length of stay (Fayeke and Crompton, 1991) also demonstrate a strong impact of psychological and experiential elements influencing travellers' image of a particular destination. In these situations, travellers go through a process of developing and changing their own destination image and identifying what they consider strong and true components of a place (Day *et al.*, 2002). Destination marketers are well aware that people's experience at a particular destination is fundamental in its future marketing as a destination brand (Hanlan and Kelly, 2005), as those travelling and 'consuming' a destination also evaluate their experience and spread the word about it (Prebensen, 2007).

However, several constraints exist that challenge the further development and successful marketing of destinations. For instance, lack of promotion, a tourist theme and effective targeting can have negative impacts on maximizing tourism's potential (Beames, 2003; Bunja, 2003; Awaritefe, 2004). As Bærenholdt and Haldrup (2006) explain, a destination needs to offer an appealing image, thereby providing interesting places while being suggestive and 'seductive'; these components, in turn, can offer rewarding life experiences (Leisen, 2001). These valuable elements also apply to capital cities that often visitors may perceive as unwelcoming, daunting or even overwhelming.

The Capital City Dimension

The rapid development of destinations, both in numbers and in quality has had many implications for capital cities, including the way their tourism stakeholders respond to higher competition and visitor demands. Clearly, capital cities vary tremendously in terms of size, national culture, location, political structure or history (Maitland and Ritchie, 2007), thus adding to their complex nature. Events such as the end of the Cold War, the expansion of the European Union (EU) or to some extent the renaissance of some forms of art, culture and tradition, as is the case of tango in Buenos Aires, an art form and city branding (Allatson and Browitt, 2008) have contributed to the rebirth and reshaping of some capitals.

The city of Berlin, for instance, was returned its capital status after many decades of anonymity, even ostracism. From being a symbol of division, Berlin has turned into a symbol of integration, with a revived capital and of a united country (Germany) (Cochrane and Jonas, 1999). Similarly, the 'rise to stardom' of Brussels as the 'de facto [European Union] EU capital' (Jansen-Verbeke *et al.*, 2005, p.121) has created new opportunities for this capital city, as it has become a receptor of Eurocrats, those individuals working for the EU headquarters in the city or travelling to the capital for meetings. At the same time, however, these new roles that Brussels has adopted over time have also created a wide range of challenges for this capital city. Moreover, some of the newly adopted roles have brought more complexity to the Brussels' traditional capital status, with direct impacts on its tourism industry, including increased costs or security measures.

Yet, ironically, other capitals (Madrid) in popular tourist destinations (Spain) appear to be rather less desirable for visitors (Richards, 2000), while officials in some cities with cultural and historical heritage but with no current capital status want them to be perceived as capitals. Such is the case of Barcelona, where symbolic efforts have been made for this city to be, even if unofficially, known as the capital of the western Mediterranean, the 'Paris of the South' (Monclús, 2000) or simply as the capital of the autonomous region of Catalunya (Smith, 2007). At the other end, and despite their limitations in terms of size, geographic distance from major potentially lucrative tourism consumer markets or infrastructure, some capital cities that include Wellington in New Zealand are striving to position themselves as tourism destinations.

Tourism in New Zealand and its Capital

In recent decades, New Zealand has attracted growing numbers of international travellers, with resulting increases in tourism-related revenues (Ministry of Tourism, 2006a,b). Some 2.5 million international visitors travelled to New Zealand between September 2007 and September 2008, and spent NZ\$8.8 billion (Ministry of Tourism, 2008). While these figures appear to be significant, the domestic market is even more important, bringing NZ\$11.3 billion in revenues, for a total combined of NZ\$20.1 billion in the year 2007–2008 (September) (Ministry of Tourism, 2008).

Not surprisingly, the hospitality industry is a direct beneficiary of tourists' travel. From August 2007 to August 2008, 10.7 million guest nights were recorded in hotels, a 3.6% increase from the previous year (Ministry of Tourism, 2008). Some of these figures are related to Wellington, a city known in New Zealand for its food and beverage culture (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2004; Cossar, 2006; Lee-Frampton, 2005). According to Positively Wellington Tourism (2008), 535,039 international visitors were recorded in Wellington's Regional Tourism Organisation (RTO) between 2007 and 2008. While this number may appear impressive, it only represents 21.4% of all international visitors to New Zealand, meaning that only one in every five visits Wellington.

More recent figures (2006) indicate that international and domestic travellers spent 8.1 million visitor nights in Wellington's RTO; both groups spent NZ\$1.09 billion in Wellington's RTO (Positively Wellington Tourism, 2008). Once again, while these figures look very promising, the average expenditure per visitor per night was NZ\$134.6 per person (US\$76.27), which in view of current accommodation and food prices suggests visitors' limited investment while staying in the city. A steady increase is forecast through 2013 for an approximate total visitor nights of 9.6 million and expenditures of NZ\$1.5 billion (Positively Wellington Tourism, 2008), or a slight increase to NZ\$156.3 per person per night (US\$88.52). This amount, in view of expected rises in accommodation and food prices, will continue to be rather modest.

Wellington offers a wide range of cultural and heritage facilities, museums, entertainment and hundreds of places to eat (Pearce and Tan, 2004; Pearce *et al.*, 2004; Tzanelli, 2004; Positively Wellington Tourism, 2007). The city enjoys a large amount of space per capita, an impressive 17.3 ha per 1000 inhabitants, and the very small size of the central business district, with only 2 km in diameter makes it very easy for visitors to walk in an estimated 30 min (Positively Wellington Tourism, 2007).

Studies on destination image of New Zealand's capital from visitors' perspective have been and continue to be very limited. Among the few researchers discussing these areas, Pearce *et al.* (2004), Pearce and Tan (2004), and Pearce (2007) examined aspects related to the city's tourism distribution channels, both from operators' and from visitors' perspectives. Pearce *et al.* (2004) identify constraints for the further development of the city's tourism, noting that while more corporate travellers and leisure visitors are travelling to Wellington, a tour circuit infrastructure is still missing. In fact, international visitors do not travel on a tour package but rather independently; overall, inbound

group tours are lacking (Pearce *et al.*, 2004). Also, currently Wellington lacks a solid product, events or geographic position (the city's current status is a change- or stopover hub for people on route to another destination). Finally, in view of the very low percentage of foreign travellers visiting the city, Wellington is failing to appeal to overseas visitors.

The present study's objective is to contribute to the current knowledge of Wellington's potential as a tourism destination, exploring visitors' perceptions of this capital city. In this process, the study aims to learn why this capital city's image appears to be rather unattractive to outsiders, both national and international.

Methodology

To gather information from visitors travelling to Wellington and departing from the capital city, this study used a predominantly quantitative approach. This approach was chosen as a way to maximize the number of responses in light of budget and time limitations. It is acknowledged that choosing only one data-collection approach is a limitation of this study; however, in some sections, this constraint was minimized through the availability of space for comments, thus providing a qualitative component in the questionnaire. The distribution of the questionnaires was carried out within two ferry terminals, Wellington (North Island) and Picton (South Island), as well as on board the ferries as passengers travelled between the north and the south islands of New Zealand. Potential respondents were briefly introduced to the purpose of the study and invited to participate completing a questionnaire on their own terms.

The questionnaire was structured in two different ways; one format for individuals travelling to Wellington (pre-visit), and a slightly different format for those respondents departing from Wellington (post-visit). While the questionnaire was essentially the same for both pre- and post-visitors, the slightly different format investigated what travellers expected from Wellington (pre-visit) and what respondents had experienced in Wellington (post-visit), respectively. This format allowed for comparing between the pre- and post-visit groups of visitors as well as between domestic and international respondents. Part of the content of the questionnaire is based on previous destination image studies (Echtner and Ritchie, 1993, 2003; Jenkins, 1999). For example, functional and psychological attributes, including accessibility, attractions, cleanliness, costs, entertainment, nightlife and safety were included in the second section of the questionnaire.

The first section of the questionnaires focused on expected expenditure and expected length of stay (from the pre-visit respondents) and actual visitor expenditure and actual length of stay (from the post-visit respondents). The second section investigated visitors' expected (pre-visit) and actual (post-visit) consumption of city attractions and activities. Finally, the last section of the questionnaire gathered demographic information of visitors, including their origin (whether domestic or international), their income, age group and level of education.

The advantages of direct distribution of the questionnaires were visible in this study. Between August and September 2006, 817 were distributed between Picton and Wellington. From these, 353 responses were received, an overall response rate of 43.2%, with 168 responses received from the group of pre-visitors and 185 from those leaving the city, a 47.6–52.4% split. Because of the nominal nature of some variables, Chi-square (χ^2), and Cramer's V statistics were used where appropriate to assess the level and significance of any relationships, in line with previous research (White and Korotayev, 2003; Malhotra *et al.*, 2004; Field, 2005). Independent *t*-tests were also run wherever applicable.

Findings

A first area of the findings regards respondents' origin. It was noticed that international visitors (187, 53%), as opposed to domestic (165, 46.7%) composed the majority of respondents in this study, with one respondent indicating no origin. The high number of participating international visitors not only illustrates their interest to travel to New Zealand, but also that according to the data from the Ministry of Tourism (2008) this group is not fully representative of the population of people travelling in New Zealand. One possible answer for the high number of overseas respondents is their stronger desire to contribute to the study, more time available or their sympathy to make themselves more available to the researchers. That more international visitors than domestic participated in this study is also a contributing factor in potentially distorting the representativeness of the respondent population, and consequently generalizations of the findings are treated with caution.

As would be expected, the large majority (152 or 92.1%) of domestic respondents had visited Wellington more than once, as opposed to 130 (69.5%) international visitors who had never visited the city, 32 (17.1%) only once and only 22 (11.8%) more than once. Table 9.1 illustrates other selected demographic characteristics of this study's respondents. For example, it is noticed that more respondents in the post-visit group had attained higher levels of education. Further analysis revealed that international respondents (56.1%) had a clearly higher percentage of university degree completion than domestic respondents (31.3%). A statistically significant difference between levels of education and origin ($\chi^2 = 25.527$; $p = 0.000$; Phi = .281; $p = 0.000$) is suggested.

Also noticeable is that while overseas respondents in the pre-visit group earned significantly more than their domestic counterparts ($\chi^2 = 6.172$; $p = 0.046$; Phi = .195; $p = 0.046$), overall between pre- and post-visitors no significant differences existed between domestic and overseas respondents and their income levels. When further analysis was conducted, it was found that respondents' age might be a cause for the differences in incomes. For instance, the ages among members of the largest international group were between 18 and 30 years (40.5%); at the same time, a higher percentage of domestic visitors (44.2%) were over 50 years, suggesting that many among these respondents may be retired or semi-retired. A statistically significant relationship

Table 9.1. Selected demographic characteristics of respondents.

Levels of education completed	Pre-visit		Post-visit		Domestic		International	
	f	(%)	f	(%)	f	(%)	f	(%)
Primary/secondary	51	30.4	25	13.5	46	28.2	30	16.5
Some university/ polytechnic/ other tertiary	43	25.6	52	28.1	59	36.2	36	19.9
University degree	66	39.3	87	47.1	51	31.3	102	56.1
Income groups								
\$NZ 30,000 and below	61	36.3	47	25.4	54	33.5	54	31.0
\$NZ 31,000–60,000	52	31.0	56	30.3	60	37.3	47	27.0
\$NZ 61,000+	49	29.2	71	38.4	47	29.2	73	42.0
Age groups								
18–30 years old	53	31.5	61	33.0	39	23.6	75	40.5
31–50 years old	49	29.2	56	30.3	53	32.1	52	28.1
51+ years old	66	39.3	66	35.7	73	44.2	58	31.4
Size of travelling party								
Alone	49	29.2	58	31.4	23	14.0	24	12.9
One other	71	42.3	67	36.2	68	41.5	107	57.5
Two or more others	44	19.1	58	31.4	73	44.5	55	29.6

Due to missing responses, totals may not add up to numbers of pre-visit, post-visit, domestic and international visitors.

f, frequency of occurrences.

between age and origin of respondents exists ($\chi^2 = 37.992$; $p = 0.000$; $\Phi = .329$; $p = 0.000$).

In addition, a higher percentage of overseas respondents (57.5%) travelled primarily in groups of two people as opposed to domestic travellers (41.5%), while a higher percentage of domestic participants favoured travelling in a group of more than two people (44.5%). Overall, a statistically significant relationship is noticed between travellers' origin and the size of their parties ($\chi^2 = 7.864$; $p = 0.020$; $\Phi = .217$; $p = 0.020$), with the international group being more mobile while travelling in New Zealand.

Comparing travellers' intended (pre-visit) and their actual days of stay in Wellington (post-visit) very similar responses were identified. A total of 49 (29.2%) participants travelling to Wellington did not plan to stay more than 1 day, 71 (42.3%) planned to stay between 1 and 2 days and 46 (27.4%) planned to stay more than 2 days. From those respondents departing from Wellington, 58 (31.4%) indicated staying for less than 1 day, 67 (36.2%) between 1 and 2 days and 58 (31.4%) had stayed over 2 days in Wellington. Overall, the large majority of the pre-visit (71.4%) and post-visit group (67.6%) did not consider staying in Wellington for over 2 days.

Respondents were also asked about their reasons for travelling to Wellington. The majority (72.4%) of international visitors indicated holiday, 14.4% were making a stopover on route to another destination. Domestic respondents' reasons for visiting the capital were varied. Regarding this area, 27.8% participants

were visiting friends and relatives, 20% were on holiday, 19.2% making a stop-over and also 19.2% were travelling to Wellington for a special event. While reasons for travelling to Wellington were manifold, overall participants were not planning to stay or had in fact not stayed for over 2 days in the capital city.

In terms of expected or actual expenses in Wellington, 44.1% of post-visit respondents indicated spending less than NZ\$100 per day per person while in the city, and over 74.8% of all respondents spent less than NZ\$200 per day per person in Wellington. Further, from those travelling to Wellington, 59.2% intended to spend less than NZ\$100 per day per person, and 81.5% less than NZ\$200 per day per person. These figures, while in line with reports (Ministry of Tourism, 2008) about the NZ\$130 average expenditure per day among international visitors and NZ\$97 average expenditure per day trip (NZ\$114 per night) among domestic visitors, clearly nevertheless illustrate the intention of respondents in this study not to stay longer than needed in the city. The findings are also in accordance with previous studies (Pearce *et al.*, 2004) discussing the limitations of Wellington in attracting long-stay visitors, partly due to the lack of a product to better market the capital.

To measure their expected level of spending in Wellington, respondents in the pre-visit group were asked to use a five-point Likert scale, where 5 = very high, 3 = neither high nor low and 1 = very low. Overall, the low means reflected in respondents' main areas of potential expenses, that is, eating out (2.67), and onward travel (2.59) denote very modest spending, or at least little intention to do so. Using the same scale, visitors departing Wellington indicated spending more on onward travel (3.27), eating out (3.02) and accommodation (3.01). Once again, and this time in the case of respondents departing from Wellington, the results further suggest visitors' low level of investing on their Wellington experience. While resulting means of comparisons made between pre-visit domestic and international travellers are all under the neutral point (mean = 3.0), some differences were noted in comparing the post-visit groups. As illustrated in Table 9.2, international respondents regarded their spending in accommodation and eating out higher than did domestic travellers. Members of the international group also appeared to be more interested in visiting the country's capital and be able to explore city attractions than did domestic participants.

Overseas respondents departing Wellington were in agreement with the city's image as clean and green, suggesting that to a certain extent the city projects an environmentally friendly image. Domestic respondents agreed more than did international travellers with the statement that Wellington is a good place to taste 'city life.' One explanation of this outcome may be related to the fact that many New Zealand residents consider Wellington to be a large city for New Zealand standards, while the opposite may be true among international visitors living overseas.

Visitors' Views of Wellington

Space provided in the questionnaire allowed a wide array of written comments among respondents. Comparisons between domestic and international respondents demonstrated that domestic respondents were much more critical

Table 9.2. Selected *t*-tests.

How post-visit respondents regarded their expenditure while in Wellington in selected areas	Origin	n	Mean	SD	Sig. 2-t
Accommodation	Domestic	63	2.63	1.248	0.001
	Overseas	92	3.26	0.936	
Eating out	Domestic	69	2.81	1.128	0.038
	Overseas	88	3.17	1.020	
<i>Importance of factors in pre-visit respondents' decision to visit Wellington</i>					
To see New Zealand's capital city	Domestic	58	1.84	1.225	0.000
	Overseas	77	3.43	1.282	
Opportunity to explore city attractions	Domestic	58	2.45	1.441	0.000
	Overseas	73	3.38	1.254	
<i>Post-visit respondents' level of agreement with selected statements about Wellington</i>					
Wellington is a clean, green city	Domestic	74	3.41	0.978	0.000
	Overseas	101	4.00	0.894	
It is a good place to get a taste of 'city life'	Domestic	72	4.17	0.732	0.036
	Overseas	98	3.91	0.826	

Using *t*-tests. Respondents rated items: 1, very low; 3, neither low nor high; and 5, very high.

in a number of areas about the capital city. For example, several comments from four different respondents criticized the look of the city, as well as aspects related to its infrastructure:

Clean up the graffiti, it is not contributing to a good image, get on top of this, it encourages an undesirable element.

Wellington has quite a nice 'feel' but it is let down by the standard of its infrastructure.

Both the main roads into Wellington are a disgrace and dangerous. Urgent improvement is essential if tourism is to grow.

I do like Wellington but do feel the central city needs an upgrade. Courtney place, Cuba Mall and Manners Mall look good, streets surrounding need work.

Among some respondents, poor customer service also appeared to be a factor contributing to a negative experience in the capital:

[I] did feel some staff at Te Papa and cable car could improve the way they treat and speak to visitors. Found them very unfriendly.

Shop assistants need to smile and greet customers.

Another domestic respondent indicated: 'I try to pass through the city without staying for any length of time. It's too busy, crowded and expensive.' These comments clearly illustrate disappointment as the capital appears to fall short of visitors' expectations, as to some Wellington is not 'fulfilling' its (capital) role of being welcoming and friendly. While many capital cities around the world are infamous for being cold and unfriendly, such a perception of Wellington would seem less likely, particularly in view of the rather small size of capital and its proximity to nature.

Overseas respondents' views of their experience in the city were mixed. The following three comments from as many international travellers suggest satisfaction:

First impressions were poor but changed after 24 hours.

Had a good time in your city, and will return some day.

A very brief stay in Wellington but was amazed with the views, and the museum was very educational.

Overseas respondents also had several concerns about their visit to the capital, particularly with regard to infrastructural aspects and issues they had noticed or situations they had experienced. These comments illustrate deficiencies in basic, yet critical aspects that can greatly influence the overall quality of visitors' experience:

I would have loved to stay longer in Wellington but I am travelling in a campervan and there are no motor camps in Wellington.

Thought accommodation [was] very poor, looked at 3 hotels in city centre. All drab and old fashioned. Lack of central heating in winter is a drawback from [the] perspective of international tourist[s] ... accommodation needs major upgrading.

Streets signs are extremely poor. Very hard to find information centre. No signage pointing towards actual information centre.

[The] visitor centre too hard to reach in a motor home.

I couldn't understand blue coupon parking.

We found the blue parking coupons confusing when we wanted to visit the botanical gardens and Thorndon.

Issues such as these, particularly if left unaddressed, could lead to negative word of mouth, further devaluing the image of a capital destination that presently lacks long visitor stays. Interestingly, in one case, negative word of mouth and comments received from New Zealanders were clearly discouraging some overseas respondents from visiting Wellington: 'Maybe we had a negative attitude as we had been told by New Zealanders not to "hang around" in Wellington because it is an awful city. Maybe a greater effort is required to change this attitude of the locals so that visitors are encouraged to stay.'

Also of interest was that very few respondents commented on cultural aspects of Wellington, including its numerous museums, the government's parliament building ('Beehive') or other heritage sites as reasons for visiting Wellington. Instead, as illustrated in some of the comments above, several sub-standard infrastructural issues were identified. These concerns, in turn, seem to indicate disappointment among many visitors about the current state of the capital. To some extent, such disappointment may be as a result of high expectations that visitors have of Wellington, particularly after travelling from other parts of New Zealand, where they feel their expectations of the country's rugged, natural, adventure-travel image fulfilled. Consequently, visitors do not stay long in the capital, but instead continue their journey to 'reconnect' with nature and with other elements they perceive as part of a 'true' New Zealand experience. Visitors' unfulfilled expectations of Wellington as a capital city present clear shortcomings that the city or tourism stakeholders need to address. Facilitating a process whereby visitors 'connect' with the capital and its surroundings could lay the foundation for the development of a sustainable capital tourism concept.

Conclusions, Implications and Future Research

The importance of capital cities as centres showcasing a country's culture, heritage, political legacy or economic power is illustrated in numerous cases where capital cities not only excel in these areas, but also contribute to an area's or a country's marketing efforts via tourism. In this regard, the importance of destination image as a vehicle to attracting visitors must be underlined. Today, despite a large number of studies conducted on the capital city dimension, numerous knowledge gaps still exist. Moreover, the destination image concept has not addressed many capital cities around the world. This study's objective was to explore destination image among visitors travelling to, and departing from, New Zealand's capital Wellington, and in the process investigates why this city is failing to attract longer-term visitors.

Most respondents in this study do not view Wellington as a long-stay visitor destination; on the contrary, it appears to attract visitors for short stays of 2 days or less. This finding suggests that rather than being a destination with the potential to persuade visitors to stay and explore, a feature common in many capital cities, Wellington appears to be mainly a stopover destination. Respondents' limited motivation to invest long periods of time during their visit may have direct impacts on the revenue potential of many of the capital's businesses, including those within the tourism and hospitality sectors. In addition, written comments and responses also demonstrate that travellers leaving this capital city do not remember it for its culture, atmosphere or entertainment, all common features of many capital cities. Furthermore, respondents do not seem to associate the city with its numerous restaurants and nightlife establishments, even though these are central aspects of Wellington's marketed image. Several comments also relate to negative aspects of the capital, particularly in

terms of simple infrastructural issues, including poor signage, lack of parking and outdated hospitality facilities.

The results of this study hold some implications for city officials and tourist authorities responsible for the effective marketing of New Zealand's capital city as a visitor destination, as well as for improving Wellington's image as a must-see destination and to attract visitors for longer periods of time. Furthermore, the study could also have implications for other capital cities that, as in the case of Wellington, may currently experience shortcomings in marketing themselves to outside visitors.

Clearly, in the case of Wellington, this capital enjoys a number of physical and environmental advantages that could be utilized in the better positioning of this capital city. The large available space, the geographic nature of the city, with panoramic views from its many hills, its closeness to the ocean, its attractive waterfront, numerous museums, historic buildings and neighbourhoods are all critical components that could be marketed to demanding visitor groups. The possibility of easily walking through the city business district in only 30 minutes, the capital's food and beverage culture, including some local micro-breweries located on-site, are additional important aspects that could attract different groups of travellers. The proximity of small townships alongside the shores, as is the case near Lower Hutt offers alternative short trips outside the capital. In addition, the capital's proximity to the Wairarapa region, with its landscapes and grape-growing areas where quality wines are consistently produced, often in combination with local dishes offer opportunities to market Wellington as a city-region package and in the process encourage longer stays.

To do so, the capital city's stakeholders and those of the rural surroundings could develop routes and activities to appeal and cater for different visitor groups, so that travellers can connect with the capital city and its surroundings. Currently, however, a primary need is to attract local and international visitor groups to spend time in the city. Along these lines, the importance of offering value for money is paramount; although at the moment the capital does not appear to be excelling in this area. Moreover, difficulties affecting travellers, some of them of a basic nature, such as lack of parking, lack of proper signage or difficulty in finding tourist information without venturing into the city are all factors that contribute to disappointment, negative word of mouth and even a 'never come back' decision.

City and rural area officials could also work with local educational institutions to make joint efforts in different fronts. One area of common interest includes conducting further research on several aspects of visitors to the city, including visitors' interests with regards to leisure activities. While many travellers to and in New Zealand may have a preference for outdoor activities, or for visitation to iconic landscapes and regions, some of the areas around Wellington can also offer a wide range of activities that could be of interest to different groups of travellers. Once again, collaborative efforts between several of the city stakeholders, including city officials and researchers could prove very beneficial in creating more awareness about the capital city, and its surroundings to capture some visitor groups' attention and encourage them to spend longer periods of time in the area.

Note: a different, modified version of this study appears in the *Journal of Quality Assurance in Hospitality and Tourism* (2008), 9(4), pp. 298–316.

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10 The Relationship between Capital City Monumentality and Tourism in Valletta

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Introduction

The thick symbolism of capital cities cannot be understood without acknowledgement of monumentality. It is the concentrated presence of monuments, and monumental urban design that usually distinguishes the built environment of capitals from other cities. Although geographers have produced a 'rich corpus of research on monuments, memorials and national identity' (Forest and Johnson, 2002, p. 525), the tourism dimension has received less attention. This is unfortunate, because exploring monumentality can increase our understanding of capital city tourism. It can also further appreciation of wider city tourism issues such as the representation of sensitive histories, managing symbolic spaces and the (over)emphasis on visual spectacles.

While some tourists appreciate monuments as public manifestations of national myths, others are impressed by their size, imageability or the urban space that they dramatize (Pretes, 2003). This allows monumental capital cities to attract and satisfy a wide range of tourists. It is this relationship between tourism and monumentality that provides the focus of this chapter. The aim is to explore if and why monumentality is conducive to tourism, and whether related processes hinder the development of a more 'textured' urbanity. People live, work, eat, trade, consume and relax in capitals, but these aspects are sometimes neglected in places dominated by monuments conserved for nationalistic or tourism objectives. The related 'museumification' of capital cities can challenge their viability as multifunctional places (Evans, 2002). And while these cities rely on monuments and monumentality to attract visitors, paradoxically, the associated neglect of social infrastructure and contemporary life may affect a city's attractiveness in the long term (Porter, 2000).

This chapter aims to address these issues through an in-depth analysis of one capital city: Valletta. Valletta is located at the end of a peninsula on the eastern coast of Malta. It has been the capital of this Mediterranean archipelago for 450

years, and capital of an independent nation state for the last 45 years. Although now joined to a wider conurbation, Valletta itself is an extremely small city – both in terms of its population (c.7000)¹ and geographical size (c.0.8km²) – but it attracts over 1 million overseas visitors every year. The prominence of tourism and its monumental character make Valletta an extremely interesting case for the purposes of this study. The intention in this chapter is to explore the relationship between the city's monumentality and its role as a tourism destination, and to explore the implications of this relationship for the future of the city.

Monuments and monumentality in capital cities

Monuments and monumentality play an important role in capital cities (Smith, 2007). Monuments are large, visible, lasting and tangible symbols that function as commemorative devices (Verschaffel, 1999; Epps, 2001). Although often constructed as memorials, monuments also represent power (Verschaffel, 1999). The discussion here considers 'the monumental' rather than merely monuments. This form of urban design involves juxtaposing imposing buildings and grand spaces; the most notorious example being a long ceremonial axis with a prominent building at its head. This layout was adopted by many European capitals in the 19th century as it communicated the majesty of the nation state and helped to establish national identity and collective memory (Therborn, 2002). Hausmann's Parisian reconfigurations are perhaps the most famous example, but monumental urbanism was also adopted in Brussels, Rome and Vienna (Wagenaar, 1992).

The monumentality of capital cities is recognized as conducive to tourism (Smith, 2007), but this chapter includes a more detailed consideration of why this is so. Accordingly, a five-point conceptualization of the relationship between tourism and monumentality is deployed:

1. Monuments as individual attractions.
2. The allure of monumental urban design.
3. The conceptualization of a whole city as a tourist monument.
4. The value of monumentality in tourism promotions.
5. Monuments as national tourism symbols.

This conceptual framework has been developed by the author from his previous work on monumental capitals (Smith, 2007), but also from more general analyses of cities (Bruce and Creighton, 2006) and city tourism (Jansen-Verbeke, 1986). In later sections, the conceptualization is explained and used to analyse the relationship between tourism, monumentality and Valletta. However, to provide context, it is first necessary to evaluate the city's historical development and contemporary identity.

Valletta as a 'Historical' and Planned Capital

Valletta's built environment can only be understood through an appreciation of Malta's complex political history and national identity. The small size of

Malta means that when discussing its identity, it is not only necessary to ask 'who are the Maltese', but to consider 'to whom should they be aligned' (Mitchell, 2003). In the past, this alignment has been to the Knights of the Order of St John (1530–1798), the British Empire (1800–1964), and (since 2004) the European Union. Valletta was built in the 16th century as the capital and military stronghold for the aforementioned Knights – a religious, medical and military Order.² The pioneering planned capital they constructed remains largely intact. This means Valletta is not a typical city. However, when compared to other planned capitals there are similarities. Its status as a 'monumental baroque city' justifies comparisons with other European capitals such as Prague and Vienna (Thake, 2006, p. 245). Reflecting the design of many planned capitals, there is a uniform street pattern, dominated by a wide central axis. This gridiron is adorned with statues, imposing civic and ecclesiastical buildings and monumental city gates. And like a lot of historical capitals, Valletta is a valuable tourism commodity – both as an experience and as a marketing icon.

Valletta as a Multinational Capital

Historically, Valletta was a multinational capital due to the Knights – an Order of noblemen representing different 'langues' of Europe (Aragon, Auvergne, Castile, England, France, Germany, Italy and Provence).³ Thus, Valletta can be considered to be an embryonic European capital, 4 centuries before this role was allocated to Brussels. Malta's European affiliation has continued in the modern era and long-standing demands for EU membership were satisfied in 2004.⁴ Valletta was crucial to Malta's successful application because the Knights' monuments symbolized the Islands' European history (Mitchell, 2002).

Valletta's role as a 'multinational' capital is furthered by the Islands' colonial relationship with Great Britain. Prominent monuments – including a memorial to Alexander Ball,⁵ the 'Main Guard' Building, the Garrison Chapel, the Anglican Cathedral and the ruins of Barry's Opera House (Fig. 10.1) – are testament to its role as a 'capital' in the British Empire. However, Malta's fervent Catholicism⁶ and proximity to southern Italy have always meant a strong Italian influence. In 1800, the aforementioned Ball described Valletta as 'the most tranquil city in Italy' (Frendo, 1995, p. 58). This was an entirely apt description of a city built using styles and stone-masons borrowed from Sicily (Cassar, 1997). Valletta's built environment now includes monuments of 20th-century Italy as well as those of the late renaissance. As Malta prepared for independence from Great Britain, nationalists visibly challenged the colonial era by constructing a Mussolini-esque neoclassical city gate (Fig. 10.2).⁷ Mitchell (2002) views this as an attempt by the new independent government to establish their own national hegemony over the national monumental iconography. The Italian influence demonstrated Maltese disassociation from Britain, while communicating continued affiliations to Europe and to Rome.



Fig. 10.1. The site of the ruined Opera House in Valletta.



Fig. 10.2. The City Gate of Valletta.

Valletta as an 'Emerging' Maltese Capital

Although since 1964 Valletta has been a national capital, underdeveloped Maltese national identity means that it is perhaps most accurately regarded as the capital of a nationless state (Baldacchino, 2002). This provides an interesting contrast with cities such as Barcelona that are often represented as the capitals of stateless nations (Smith, 2007). To overcome this Malta has relied heavily on one of its main obsessions – the built environment.⁸ In the Maltese islands, progress is measured by physical development (Camilleri, 2004) and the state likes to communicate its power by building monuments to itself. In doing so, it legitimizes itself as a worthy successor to colonial regimes (Sant Cassia, 1999). This 'edifice complex' (Sudjic, 2005) is not confined to governments, with private developers also keen to develop new monumental buildings.⁹

Apart from the destructive influence of Second World War (Fig. 10.1) and the City Gate (Fig. 10.2), Valletta has been spared major physical interventions. Limited space and pre-existing monumentality means the main approach to literal nation 'building' has been to appropriate existing monuments. Despite Valletta ostensibly being the Knight's capital, and to a lesser extent a regional headquarters of the British Navy, the monuments of these historic 'superpowers' have been resemanticized as symbols of the Maltese nation. This has been achieved by conjuring up images of the Maltese fighting side by side with colonists in key triumphs – the sieges of 1565 and the Second World War (Mitchell, 2002). Just as the Knights used Valletta as a monumental city 'to show off the Order's status and prestige' (Thake, 2006, p. 245), now the Maltese government do likewise. Accordingly, the independent Maltese state's main influence on the built environment of its capital city has been to restore key monuments.

Valletta's nostalgic 'monument-based philosophy' to heritage conservation has its origins in the late 19th and early 20th century. It became more prominent in the post-Second World War period because of the damage inflicted and the nationalist fervour that accompanied Malta's independence. Sorlin (1999) feels that a monumental philosophy is typical of former colonies. As they were once part of a tenuous Empire that relied on monuments to 'serve as emblems of an absent unity', they subsequently emulate this tradition to address their underdeveloped national identity (Sorlin, 1999, p. 107). Sorlin states that 'with brass parades and over oversized conference complexes [former colonies] have tried to compensate for their lack of national community'. This is perfectly epitomized by the Maltese capital – a city fond of festas led by brass bands and where the hospital of the Knights has been converted into an enormous conference centre.

The Role of Valletta in Malta

In 1966 – just after the islands were made independent – Malta's prime minister clarified the role Valletta plays in Maltese identity: 'For us, Valletta constitutes a fine showpiece, a perennial emblem of our fortitude and symbol of

national unity. Every inhabitant of these islands is at heart a citizen of Valletta' (cited in Mitchell, 2002).¹⁰ This echoes the traditional role of capital cities in embryonic nation states, as material manifestations of an abstract phenomenon. Yet, this conception of Valletta raises questions about ownership. With reference to Malta's former capital, Mdina, Boissevain (1994, cited in Orbasli, 2000) questions whether the city belongs to its inhabitants, to the nation or to wider global heritage interests. The same question could be posed of the current capital. The rehabilitation of Valletta is described by Mitchell (2002) as a 'national concern', but this may be contested by the people who live there and by supranational stakeholders such as the EU and UNESCO.

Valletta is joined via its suburb Floriana to the rest of the metropolitan region, but the combination of city walls and bus station cuts it off from the rest of the islands. Valletta has also become functionally incongruous. Since the 1980s, it has been a less fashionable place to live; and bars, restaurants and other entertainment venues have relocated to St Julian's and Paceville. This represents a change from the past when Valletta's monumental grandeur contrasted with a chaotic social life. The city used to be seen as a 'city of mansions and brothels', best illustrated by the contrast between the monumental Republic Street and Strait Street that runs parallel to it. The latter was Valletta's centre of vice during the British Navy's residence (Schofield and Morrissey, 2005). While some may not be too concerned about losing this aspect of Valletta, the general lack of social infrastructure is a concern. Mitchell (2002) feels Valletta is a site of nostalgia, not only for old buildings and past glories, but for when the city was 'lively'. Reflecting the situation in other historic cities such as Venice, the number of residents is also declining. Valletta's population has declined from a high of almost 30,000 in 1861 to around 7200 today, with around 235 of all residential units vacant (Thake, 2006). Anachronistic rent laws mean that low-waged tenants pay little for their accommodation, discouraging investments by landlords in those properties. This has led to a lifeless and segregated city, with the seaward end housing low-income residents, in contrast to the upper area which hosts a thriving commercial and administrative district.

The distinction between Valletta and the rest of Malta is exacerbated by a reluctance to tamper with the built heritage of the capital, encapsulated by comprehensive planning policies. Valletta is not only designated as an urban conservation area, but a UNESCO World Heritage Site. While this may assist conservation goals, it means that the life of the city is underdeveloped. This problem is directly related to the status of Valletta as a monumental capital city. As Mitchell (2002) emphasizes, while some people may feel proud and enriched by living on a monument, Valletta's populace have struggled to come to terms with it: 'whilst the monuments of Valletta are gradually recovering from many decades of inattention, its living community is slowly dwindling' (Pace and Cutajar, 2001, p. 217). Measures are already being taken to deal with this problem, some of which have been successful (Theuma, 2004). Since 2005, government efforts have been supplemented by those of the 'Valletta Alive Foundation' – a consortium of community and business groups. The critical issue that will be addressed in the remainder of this chapter is the role of tourism in Valletta's predicament and rehabilitation.

Valletta as a Tourist City

Valletta has several distinctive characteristics as a tourist city. It is close to several large seaside resorts where most of its visitors reside. Accordingly, it acts as a secondary attraction and excursion for day visitors, rather than a destination in its own right. A related trait is that only a very low proportion of tourists actually stay in Valletta.¹¹ This is partly due to its small size and the availability of cheap resort accommodation nearby, but also due to the lack of available accommodation and the poor level of night-time activity in the city. Thus, Valletta's tourism role has similarities to the role the capital performs for the majority of Maltese residents – a city to visit during the daytime, but one where people are unable and unwilling to reside.

Alongside national pride, tourism seems to be the main driving force behind the 'monument-based philosophy' that pervades the management of Valletta.¹² According to Mitchell (2002, p. 37), educated elites see Valletta as a baroque city, which they preserve 'to maintain national patrimony and tourist development'. Interventions by Nationalist Party (PN) governments have been instrumental in forging this dual mission. In the late 1980s, the PN regime aimed to develop a 'heritage-cultural tourism' that 'simultaneously attracted a more discerning higher spending tourist and drew attention to the country's monumental splendour' (Mitchell, 2002, p. 37). And the PN initiated the Valletta Rehabilitation Project, which restored the Grand Master's Palace and Manoel Theatre. As well as restoring these historic monuments, the PN have been keen to develop new ones:¹³ they were responsible for the neoclassical law courts building in the main square (Fig. 10.3), and



Fig. 10.3. The Law Courts Building in Valletta.

the extension to the Central Bank of Valletta. However, their approach has been criticized for focusing too much on individual monuments at the expense of more holistic regeneration of the urban fabric (Pace and Cutajar, 2001).¹⁴

Tourism and Monumentality in Valletta

The relationship between Valletta's monumentality and tourism has several dimensions. These are reviewed according to the five-point conceptualization outlined previously. In subsequent sections, the implications of this monumental tourism are considered.

Valletta's monuments as visitor attractions

Monuments can assist urban tourism by providing key visitor attractions. Yet, this relationship is not as simple as it may appear. MacCannell (1999) suggests that iconic urban features may fail to encourage tourism, as tourists may perceive them only as symbols of a destination and therefore unworthy of actual visitation. This potential problem has been avoided in Valletta. The monumental buildings that were once the headquarters of external rulers have been converted into government buildings and national museums. The Grand Master's Palace is now the Parliament building,¹⁵ the Auberge de Castile is the prime minister's residence, the Auberge de Provence is now the National Archaeology Museum and the Commander in Chief of the Mediterranean Fleet's residence is now the National Museum of Fine Arts. Other monumental buildings from the Knights era have been converted into more specialist tourist attractions.¹⁶ Alongside the symbolic importance of reclaiming these structures, there are practical benefits derived from doing so. In a city where tourism officials bemoan the low level of tourism spending (Theuma, 2004), these monumental buildings now generate much-needed income through entrance fees, souvenir shops and venue hire. In addition, it is the historical significance and monumental character of the buildings that provides much of the attraction for paying visitors.

Valletta's monuments as primary elements in the leisure setting

While the Knights' buildings provide attractions in themselves, monumentality added subsequently facilitates urban tourism through the provision of 'primary elements' within the 'leisure-setting' (Jansen-Verbeke, 1986). During the British era (1800–1964), new landmarks, open spaces and gardens were added to Valletta's cityscape. Although small-scale interventions, they contrasted with existing styles.¹⁷ The two most obvious additions were the Anglican Cathedral (1842) and the Opera House (1866).¹⁸ The Opera House (Fig. 10.1) has been a ruin since the Second World War, and its prominent location means that plans for this site are always debated intensely. While some would like to see the original building reconstructed, others would prefer a more coherent mannerist building, or even a modern monument to be built

here. During post-war reconstruction, opportunities were taken to create other, more planned, open spaces in this dense city. These have enhanced Valletta's monumentality, particularly as they draw attention to key national institutions (the Law Courts and the Cathedral), reaffirming the city's capital status. Other institutions have been converted from military installations; including the Stock Exchange, located in the former Chapel of the British Garrison, and the Central Bank extension, sensitively embedded within the Bastions. In line with Jansen-Verbeke's (1986) conceptualization, these are of primary importance to the destination, even if they merely provide an attractive setting, rather than activities, for tourists.

The attractive monumental setting is enhanced by Valletta's undulating landscape. The gridiron street pattern is adapted to the contours of the peninsula through the provision of steep staircases.¹⁹ This means that walking through the city is an onerous but spectacular tourism experience. *The Cadogan Guide* (Gaul, 1998, p. 110) recognizes the quality and coherence of Valletta's urban setting, by describing it as a 'walking city'. However, an obsession with individual monuments at the expense of urban districts has perhaps compromised the overall quality of the visitor experience, and narrowed the proportion of urban space that tourists want to explore. Furthermore, the same guidebook suggests Valletta is not well ordered for sightseeing. The monumental Republic Street enhances both orientation and the visitor experience generally, but the gridiron plan makes it difficult to distinguish other streets from one another. This problem is related to the wider trend in planned capitals for uniform, rather than organic, urban settings and to the conception of capital cities as whole monuments. The latter characteristic is discussed in more detail below.

Valletta as a holistic monument

Although UNESCO identifies 320 individual monuments in Valletta, the most important remains Valletta itself. The unified wholeness of the city is its defining characteristic as a tourist destination. As the Valletta Alive Foundation (2009) acknowledges, 'Valletta's main attraction is in its totality'. The coherence of the architecture, its isolated position, the survival of the city's fortifications and its fortress-like design means that Valletta itself is a monument. It is within this context that some have posited the notion that tourists, or at least tourist groups, should pay for the privilege of entering and consuming the city (Theuma, 2004).²⁰ And it is the conception of Valletta as whole monument – to suit tourism and political objectives – that has played a key role in preventing modern alterations from being undertaken.

Alongside the promotional benefits discussed below, being a 'whole' monument provides attractive experiential opportunities for tourists. Whether from boats, buses, viewing platforms, or – more recently – helicopters, there has always been a demand to see comprehensive urban panoramas. In addition, consuming a city as a whole monument requires suitable areas to provide an uninterrupted view. Some capital cities have provided extramural greenbelts to facilitate this aesthetic experience,²¹ but the geographical position of Valletta means buffer zones are

unnecessary. The city covers the entire width of a peninsula and is surrounded by large harbours, making it visible from neighbouring towns, either from the harbourside or from boats. In this sense, Valletta's position resembles that of Manhattan. This comparison is particularly apt, as Valletta – like many walled cities – benefits from a 'concentrated skyline' (Bruce and Creighton, 2006, p. 240). Viewed across the Marsamxett harbour, this skyline is defined by two religious structures, the Anglican Cathedral and the Carmelite Church.²² The alternative perspective (across the Grand Harbour) privileges the holistic fortress-like appearance of Valletta (Fig. 10.4). This is the view that greets Valletta's cruise visitors; a market that epitomizes the benefits of being aesthetically comprehensible from afar.

There are also more subtle effects of the conservation of Valletta as a walled holistic entity. As Bruce and Creighton (2006, p. 235) state, city walls represent 'not only physical monuments but also ideas – evocative mental constructs integral to the multi-layered self-images of communities'. These can give places like Valletta a distinctive character that extends beyond merely its built environment. The capital is seen as the most traditional and authentic part of Malta, especially compared to the islands' newer suburbs.²³ There is perhaps a related suspicion that Beltins (citizens) feel superior to their suburban counterparts, and perhaps even more Maltese.²⁴ However, a heightened sense of national identity does not seem to qualify Beltins for preferential treatment. Quite the opposite situation seems to exist in a city that privileges the needs of tourists and day visitors. Any community cohesion derived from Valletta's conservation as a holistic monument is eroded because of a key motive for that conservation – the pursuit of tourist revenues.

Valletta's monumentality as promotional image

A fourth dimension of the relationship between tourism and monumentality is the latter's role as a promotional tool. Valletta's monumentality is particularly valuable in the contemporary era when the importance of media images arguably transcends material urban experiences (Smith, 2007). Individual monuments, monumental districts and the holistic monumentality previously described, make Valletta an attractive experience for tourists, but also make it easier to mediate. As Bruce and Creighton (2006, p. 240) emphasize, walled towns generate 'a pleasing and harmonious effect often captured in photographic form in tourist and other literature'. In the case of Valletta, the key monument to be mediated is not an individual building, but the city as a whole represented from the waterside (e.g. Fig. 10.4), or from above. Aerial views of Valletta are very common in promotional campaigns; because it allows better appreciation of its formal layout and because key monuments (e.g. the Co-Cathedral, Grand Master's Palace) do not have particularly iconic external appearances.²⁵ The latter is also compensated for by using a range of other holistic images including the silhouetted skyline, the city as whole from distance; the ceremonial axis; the concentrated skyline and monumental gateways.

The media-friendly monumentality of Valletta is connected to the way tourists experience the city. In monumental cities conceived and represented from



Fig. 10.4. Valletta viewed from the Grand Harbour.

above, tourists want to climb high to witness those representations first hand. However, the lack of any tall buildings in Valletta prevents elevated panoramic views. Instead, holism is mediated through on-site audio-visual shows housed in historic buildings. In these cinematic experiences, 'the tourist is taken a step away from experiencing the site itself in order to sample an off site experience of the site' (Selwyn, 2000, p. 238). Thus, Valletta's 'imageable' monumentality is exploited both as a way of promoting the city to tourists overseas, but also to those already within its walls.

Monumental Valletta as a symbol of Maltese tourism

Valletta's monumentality is not merely used to promote Valletta as a tourism destination, but used to represent Malta as a whole. Images of the city dominate national marketing materials, even though they hardly represent this nation's core product (resort tourism). Tourism officials promote Valletta as a part of the Malta product, rather than as a homogeneous 'city break' destination distinct from the rest of the islands. This is holding back the development of Valletta as a tourist destination. National aspirations, which supplement tourism ambitions, perhaps explain this integrated approach. The dominance of Valletta within tourism promotions²⁶ is perhaps an example of the 'banal nationalism', which Bilig (1995) sees as crucial to contemporary nationhood projects, and although images may be communicated in 'banal' media-like tourism brochures, the content of these images has much in common with traditional methods of nation building. Representing Valletta as a whole emphasizes its original function as a

fortress; a practice that can be equated to the common use of castles to communicate that a nation is ancient, powerful, majestic, strong and enduring (Palmer, 1999). Military icons are common national symbols and they fit well with the old maxim: nations make war and war makes nations.

In established capital cities, tourists may come to see a concentrated nation, and monuments are worthy of consideration because of their national significance. Thus, the capital city is often the beneficiary of a strong national image. However, in emerging capitals in 'nationless states', this relationship is inverted. In Malta, Valletta's strong image – primarily the result of its monumentality – is used to create an image of a nation. Valletta's tourism status – its designation as a UNESCO site in 1980 and the various epithets that have become attached to the city²⁷ – are as important to the national project as they are to urban tourism. The international recognition of Valletta's monumentality reinforces its role as a nation symbol for the Maltese. At present, tourists may know very little about Maltese monuments. Indeed, because of its history as a multinational capital, Valletta's tourists may be as interested in their own nation's heritage as much as Malta's. But, rather than undermining Maltese nationhood, tourist interest in Valletta – and international consumption of Maltese interpretations and symbols – helps it to become accepted as a Maltese capital. In the same way that the Maltese Cross, a symbol representing the eight langues of the Knights, is now an important part of the Malta tourism 'brand', Valletta's international monuments are being resemanticized as symbols of the Maltese nation.

Residual Effects on Liveability

Monumentality helps to attract tourism, and together these forces assist nation-building objectives; but there are concerns that these processes are affecting Valletta's 'liveability'. Prioritizing monumental tourism in Valletta is contributing to the physical demise of certain urban districts and to the demise of resident communities. This may link to a broader trend whereby tourism is deemed to be responsible for transforming Mediterranean urban societies where (previously) 'community was everything' (Radmilli, 2005). Although the Maltese are surprisingly tolerant of tourists (Bramwell, 2003), there are those within Malta who feel this sector is prioritized too much.²⁸ Maltese nationhood has always lacked a 'them' to help define a Maltese 'us', but if concerns about the lack of leisure space and affordable housing grow, tourists could find themselves cast in that role. This has particular resonance for Malta's capital. Citizens are now 'familiar with government projects that ignore the inhabitants of Valletta in favour of tourists' (Armstrong and Mitchell, 2006, p. 181). Research by Radmilli (2005, p. 324) cites one Maltese resident who identifies that 'the residential quarters are usually left in a shabby state as authorities prefer to touch up and renovate the tourist zones within the city'. Armstrong and Mitchell (2006) feel the neglect of community needs is not only reflected in key decisions regarding the built environment, but also in cultural policy. They cite the prominence given to the 'Valletta History and Elegance' pageant – a recently conceived event aimed at tourists – as an example of how community events are ignored in favour of those that further tourism ambitions.²⁹

While many in Malta do not find it particularly troubling that Valletta is becoming merely a commercial and symbolic entity focused on the needs of tourists, ironically, prioritizing tourism and monumentality may be damaging the city's long-term tourism attractiveness. According to Porter (2000), one of the 'laws' of cultural tourism sites is the more a site is manipulated for tourist consumption, the less appealing it becomes for tourists. The disadvantage of neglecting Valletta's residential communities (aside from the obvious distress this causes to those residents) is that tourists are deprived of the 'cultural life' and 'back spaces' that make a place interesting. Neglecting resident communities also contributes to the lack of nocturnal life in Valletta, a key theme of guidebook introductions.³⁰ This deficiency explains why some feel Valletta has more in common with a tourist attraction than an inhabited city (Theuma, 2004, p. 298). Undermining community cohesion in Valletta by prioritizing tourism and monumentality is also counterproductive in other ways. One of the positive aspects of tourism in other parts of Malta is that it has provided incentives for local people to smarten up their areas (Pace and Cutajar, 2001). However, this is only possible when there is sufficient social capital and support for tourism in the locality.

An unhealthy obsession with tourism and monumentality has relegated Valletta from multifunctional capital to a heritage destination. As Porter (2000) states, cities resort to heritage status when a built environment is not capable of sustaining itself. While the root cause is national and tourism ambitions, more specific agents that have contributed to Valletta's predicament include anachronistic rent laws, a lack of space to expand and weak local government. As one of Radmilli's research participants states, the neglect of residential quarters is also 'due to the decline in the population of the city' (Cauchi, cited in Radmilli (2005, p. 324)). A viscous cycle is evident: fewer residents restrict a community's bargaining power, but also affect the allocation of local funding, which is distributed according to population size. The imposition of strict planning regulations to protect tourism and symbolic interests in Valletta has also been pivotal. The city is restricted by the requirements of local plans, urban conservation areas and UNESCO guidelines. In areas where conservation is too comprehensive, everyday urban activities tend to shift to zones where more flexibility is allowed and where buildings can be designed to accommodate contemporary uses. Thus, the stringent regulatory cocktail in Valletta has indirectly exacerbated the population decline in Valletta by preventing the modernization of dilapidated buildings. While this affects Valletta's residential function, it has also discouraged the conversion of historic buildings into hotels and other amenities.

Conclusions

The prior discussion has demonstrated that monumentality is conducive to tourism for several, interrelated reasons. It provides individual attractions and urban districts – even whole cities – that can be consumed on a variety of levels as complex historical representations of national myths or merely as impressive physical structures. In emerging nations, the popularization of capital city monuments not only assists tourism, but contributes to nation building. This reaffirms the view that tourism and national projects are highly compatible; and monumentality is

key to understanding this mutual relationship. The monumentality of Valletta provides potent symbolic images that help to promote Malta as a destination, and as a nation, to audiences outside the city. Unfortunately, effects on direct experiences of Valletta are not as positive. It seems that privileging tourism and national objectives in capital city planning can compromise sustained liveability, and even sustained tourist interest. According to Lenoir and Ross (1996, p. 374, cited in Pretes (2003)), tourism makes a place into a museum. This rather provocative generalization is more justified when applied to capital cities, where nation-building endeavours exacerbate tourism-related 'museumification'. For Thake (2006, p. 256), Valletta now conjures up an image of a 'vast museum complex', highlighting the danger that smaller capital cities might become merely tourist and national symbols. This may affect the liveability of these cities, and in any case, is counterproductive because it may make capitals less interesting for tourists and less representative of nations.

The implications of the Valletta case are clear: cities that want to sustain liveability must be prepared to adopt flexible conservation strategies; they must realize that providing a liveable and sociable city also makes it an attractive tourist destination and they must not abandon the principles of good urban planning simply because of the perceived need to preserve monumental buildings. Ideally, small capital cities like Valletta should avoid relying on staged animation and try and animate the city by reinvigorating community life. At the very least, these cities should endeavour to ensure that they exist as multifunctional tourist destinations. If planned well, new hotels, restaurants and other tourist amenities will also attract local people, and maybe even new residents.³¹ Management of historic capitals also needs to be underpinned by better research. To justify many of the recommendations here, there needs to be empirical evidence that tourist experiences do suffer from an overemphasis on monumentality – both in Valletta and in other capital cities.

Notes

- ¹ The number of people involved in Valletta's construction in the late 16th century now exceeds the number who currently live there.
- ² As well as Valletta, the Knights built the islands' previous capitals (Birgu and Mdina), the citadel on Gozo (Malta's sister island), as well as countless other fortifications.
- ³ The eight points on the Maltese cross represent the eight langues.
- ⁴ Some fear that Maltese national identity will again be challenged because since 2004, the islands are once again part of a larger entity.
- ⁵ The British naval commander who liberated Malta from Napoleonic control and first British governor of Malta.
- ⁶ One of the dominant myths underpinning Maltese identity is the story of St Paul, whose shipwreck and subsequent stay on Malta is said to have inspired the islands' strong Catholic faith.
- ⁷ There is now consensus in Valletta that this is an eyesore (Mitchell, 2002).
- ⁸ It is entirely apt that the word for rural areas also translates as 'wasteland' (Dodds, 2007).

- ⁹ One prominent entrepreneur responsible for a controversial hotel development is quoted as saying: 'in 2000 years of our history, the Knights included, I was the one to erect the biggest building on the island, I built Malta' (cited in Camilleri, 2004, p. 86).
- ¹⁰ Valletta's dominant role in Malta is reinforced by its local name *Il-Belt* – which translates as *The City*.
- ¹¹ As one Maltese laments in research by Radmilli (2005, p. 324), 'why after the congestions caused by tourists by day are they not given the choice to stay in some of the hotels in Valletta?'
- ¹² It can be observed in the policies of the government and the semi-autonomous planning authority, but also in the priorities of voluntary heritage groups in Malta (Pace and Cutajar, 2001).
- ¹³ A nationalist government also commissioned 'starchitect' Renzo Piano to restructure the entrance to the city and replace the derelict remains of the Opera House, which was destroyed in Second World War. This plan was never implemented and was put 'on hold' indefinitely (Thake, 2006), although there are now plans to revive it.
- ¹⁴ Projects pursued by the opposition party have been accused of inflicting more brutal damage to Valletta's built heritage. In the 1970s, the Labour government bulldozed the *L-Arcipierku* district to make way for social housing. This has only added to the unpopularity of the Labour Party in the capital – a Nationalist stronghold.
- ¹⁵ There are now proposals to build a new Parliament building on the site of the Opera House, thus freeing up the Grand Master's Palace as a heritage attraction.
- ¹⁶ For example, the former Knights hospital is now a major international conference centre.
- ¹⁷ For example, Chapman (2006) highlights how Ball's monument in the Lower Baracca (1809) deliberately contravenes the Baroque ideal of subservient space around buildings.
- ¹⁸ The Opera House was very obviously a British building. But feeling of loss among the Maltese when the Opera House was destroyed in Second World War demonstrated that a colonial and monumental building could become the object of great affection (Mitchell 2002).
- ¹⁹ Lord Byron described Valletta as 'the cursed streets of stairs' (cited in Thake, 2006).
- ²⁰ This was also suggested for the former capital *Mdina*, but was resisted by a powerful alliance of outside interests (Sant Cassia, 1999).
- ²¹ For example, Bruce and Creighton (2006) suggest that Jerusalem's provision of such spaces in the 1930s was motivated by an emerging tourist sector.
- ²² According to Chapman (2006, p. 31), these churches not only add to the form and skyline of the city, but highlight an 'ecclesiastical rivalry for visual prominence'.
- ²³ While living in Valletta is not as fashionable as it once was, being 'tas-city' – from the city – is seen as a badge of honour that communicates a sense of no-nonsense stoicism (Armstrong and Mitchell, 2006).
- ²⁴ Even within Valletta such distinctions are apparent – with the Parish of St Paul viewed as the historic centre of the Maltese nation.
- ²⁵ Probably because they were conceived as part of a holistic fortress complex.
- ²⁶ The use of Valletta as a symbol of Malta extends beyond merely tourism marketing. The city's bastions are used as the backdrop when Maltese votes for the Eurovision Song Contest are announced (a noted obsession of the Maltese).
- ²⁷ Most famously 'a city built by gentlemen for gentlemen', but also 'a glorious city of golden stone'.

- ²⁸ For example, shouts of 'Malta for the Maltese and not for tourists' were heard at an infamous planning hearing (Boissevain and Theuma, 1998).
- ²⁹ As well as being symbolically distanced from Maltese, residents there have also been complaints that this festival is geographically remote from residential areas – denying opportunities for local engagement (Theuma, 2004).
- ³⁰ 'By day it's a thriving and bustling capital. . . . By night, however it wears a sombre mask' (Gaul, 1998, p. 106).
- ³¹ For example, historic 'capitals' such as Old Quebec City (Canada) have developed boutique-style hotels that satisfy demands for tourism, conservation and vitality (Evans, 2002).

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11 Brussels: a Multilayered Capital City

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Introduction

If one city was to claim the status of a schizophrenic city it would be Brussels.

(Lonely Planet, 2008)

Like many other European cities, Brussels – in the year 2009 – is a multilayered city marked by a long and complex history of political successions and cultural interactions. In addition to this multicultural genesis, Brussels is now hosting no less than five capital city functions; for the Belgian nation and country, for the European Union (EU), for the Flemish, Walloon and Brussels region. This historical and cultural, political and administrative complexity of the city is reflected in its present structure, image and organization. Brussels as a tourist destination, when evaluated in the highly competitive market of urban tourism to capital cities, can benefit from some unique assets. The key issue, however, is to identify both the missed opportunities and ways to capitalize on the status of capital of Europe. The idea is to look at the impact of this status on urban tourism patterns and dynamics. First, the perspective of Brussels as the national capital of Belgium and of Europe brings about a clear divergence in the role of tourism (Magosse, 2007). Second, the analysis addresses the ‘sustainable’ impact of Brussels being a cultural tourism capital and – temporarily in 2000 – the cultural capital of Europe on the market profile of this urban tourism destination.

A multi-level analysis using secondary sources illustrates both strengths and weaknesses related to the core themes in this book: identity, representation and branding, and planning and development, images and tourism markets. The study of Brussels shows that the so-called identity problem of this city is rooted in history, being at the heart of the cultural boundary between Germanic and Latin Europe and what has been referred to as the ‘battlefield of Europe’

(Kossmans-Putto and Kossmann, 1997). Brussels embodies Flemish, Walloon, African immigrant and cosmopolitan identities. From a capital of Europe perspective, business tourism and economic growth through globalization have been beneficial. On the other hand, planning and development at multiple levels to integrate Europe into the urban landscape has induced irreversible effects, both morphologically and socially. Further, the image of Brussels has suffered, being perceived as dull and bureaucratic (USE-IT, 2006). As a cultural tourism capital, Brussels is rich with endowments, but is handicapped by institutional fragmentation and diverging projected images (Magosse *et al.*, 2008). Although Brussels has benefited from several unique historical developments, this capital city still struggles, in many areas, to deal with the opportunities presented.

Capital Cities: Top of the Urban Hierarchy

Visits to the capital city of the region or the nation are most likely the oldest form of tourism ever since Roman and Greek times: the forum function attracts people, goods and ideas from a wide catchment area. Urbanization has physically anchored the hubs of social, economic and cultural life. In most cases, this centralization process was supported and accelerated by the development of transport facilities in a centralized network of public transport. In every country, the hierarchical ranking of cities has a long political and economical history. Although this is not a key issue in this chapter, it marks in many ways the 21st-century profile and image of the city.

The idea of a structural difference between capital cities and other cities with a comparable size and population number, particularly in terms of tourism attraction, can be questioned. What makes the difference? Is the political and administrative status of a capital city of a country – by definition – a competitive advantage in the tourism market? There is no single answer, only a kaleidoscope of cities, all unique through their history and cultural context (Pearce, 2007).

According to Castells (1993), cities are inherently complex entities resulting from a dynamic structural and multidimensional interaction between history and culture (Bachleitner and Kagelmann, 2003; Steinecke, 2007). However, contemporary globalization has induced very similar approaches to modernization, template urban renovation projects and even a degree of convergence in terms of policies for social, cultural and economic development (Taylor and Hoyler, 2000). All cities are becoming knots in a global network and, by definition, multifunctional. Understanding and capitalizing on the uniqueness is a real challenge, not in the least in the highly competitive market of urban tourism and the emerging cultural economy (Russo and Van der Borg, 2008).

This chapter includes some reflections on the tourism profile of Brussels as a city marked by the presence of both historical and contemporary layers; a city unlike any other in Belgium or in Europe and above all, now in search of a new balance between past and present and cultural identities (local, regional, European and cosmopolitan) (Baeten, 2001). In fact, the challenge for city

marketers in Brussels is not only to bridge gaps between a diversity of images, but also to cope with a structural lack of vision on an integrated reorganization and revitalization (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2005; Govers, 2005). 'Noblesse oblige' or 'nobility has its obligations' implies living up to the expectations of an international, multicultural and dynamic capital city in the 21st century (Magosse *et al.*, 2008). The objective is to link the rich heritage of the city with cultural creativity and innovative strategies to valorize the strong connotation of Brussels and Europe successfully. Many professionals have a dream that Brussels, with its wide range of opportunities and resources would re-emerge as *the* place to be in Europe, not only for business travel but also for cultural exchanges and leisure experiences (Elmhorn, 2001).

Brussels: National Capital of Belgium (since 1830)

Understanding the history of the city and the country is a first condition to plan for its future (Jeong and Almeida Santos, 2004). The biography of Brussels starts as a small settlement in 979 AD, expanding in the 12th century and eventually becoming the capital of Belgium in 1830. Historically, based on the work by Kossmann-Putto and Kossmann (1997) and Vos (2002), it seems that Belgium is characterized by fragmentation, both in terms of the origins of rulers as well as internal territorial structures. The name Flanders first appears in 862 AD referring to the district around Bruges. Through the centuries that followed, this region expanded under the County of Flanders, to include both Bruges and Ghent up to the border of present-day France. East of this county there was the Duchy of Brabant, around the axis of Antwerp and Brussels. Today, the Netherlands and Belgium still include the provinces of North Brabant in the south of the Netherlands and Flemish Brabant around Brussels.

The unification of Brabant and Flanders was first initiated in 1384 under Bourgundian dukes, who united large parts of the present Benelux and northern France. In the centuries that followed, control changed hands repeatedly between Austrian, Spanish and French powers and many wars were fought on Belgian soil, causing it to be nicknamed as 'the battlefield of Europe' (a reputation strengthened by both world wars later). Several unifications and separations of the northern and southern Netherlands (including Brabant and Flanders) were part of that. A separate southern Dutch identity developed on the basis of a counter reformativistic Catholicism, historically grown public institutions and political solidarity as buffer between superpowers. This culminated in a turbulent period around the 1800s with the United States of Belgium that lasted 1 year, to be recaptured first by the Austrians and then trampled by the French. This resulted in administrative simplification and 'frenchification' of public life in the upper class in the southern Netherlands, including the northern provinces. After Bonaparte's Waterloo, the Congress of Vienna created the United Kingdom of the Netherlands under King William of Orange I in 1815. In the years that followed, the southern opposition of liberals and Catholics grew against the Dutch rule, leading to the final revolution of 1830,

creating the present Belgian state, with the installation of Leopold I (from Sachsen Cobourg Gotha) as king in 1831 in the capital Brussels.

At first, in the new Belgian state, French was chosen as the official language, which soon fuelled the growth of a Flemish movement out of concern for language and cultural equality, territorially linked to the north of the country. Only in the 1970s and 1980s, state reform resulted in true federalization, transferring significant areas of government competencies to the regions and communities. So while locally processes of regionalization occurred, the progressing concentration of European functions made Brussels – de facto – the capital of Europe.

Since 1989, Brussels became, politically and administrative, an autonomous region, geographically ‘nestled’ between the Flemish and the Walloon region. The political history explains both the richness of its cultural heritage and the complexity of its political role (Pearce, 1996). Different political and administrative roles of Brussels are remarkably reflected in the urban morphology, most of all in the urban economy and as a consequence also in the local and social cultural life in the metropolitan region. The actual impact of multiple identities on the tourism development of this ‘unique’ city proves to be a most challenging research topic (Jansen-Verbeke, 2005). The extent to which Brussels – as a tourist destination – is different from other capital cities in Europe with a similar population, agglomeration size and comparable tourist opportunity spectrum, remains a question. The hypothesis is that all capital cities are, by definition, outliers in their own country; by their position as headquarter of national institutions, organizations, education and medical centres, banks and business hubs, etc. Clearly it is the range of assets in the urban landscape and the coherence with cultural life that makes the difference.

In this perspective, it is striking that Brussels receives less domestic tourism than other historic art cities in Flanders (De Bruyn *et al.*, 2008). Taking into account the short travel time for most Belgians to visit their capital city, there is traditionally an intensive pattern of day trips, for shopping, social events, special exhibitions, fairs and manifestations, in fact a mixture of business and leisure visits. This meeting function is typical for all national capital cities and clearly traceable in the tourism statistics (Wöber, 2002). Domestic overnight tourism in the Brussels’ region, however, only accounts for about 13% of the 5 million overnight stays in 2007. The motive of this domestic tourism is also clearly more business and meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions (MICE)-oriented than leisure and holidays (FPS Economy, Directorate-General Statistics, 2008). It therefore seems that Brussels is not able to play its role as national capital in tourism terms as well as other European capitals.

Brussels: Capital of Europe

At the end of 1957, the European Economic Community (EEC) was founded by the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Germany, France and Italy. The Belgian prime minister proposed Brussels as seat of the European organizations. At that time, no agreement was reached, and the political institutions of

the EEC were (temporarily) housed in Brussels (the European Commission) and Strasbourg (the European Parliament).

In 1958, a vote was organized to come to a definitive solution. Brussels was in the lead because of the improved road infrastructure (thanks to the World Exposition that took place in Brussels in 1958) and also because of the central location of the city as well as the neutral position of Belgium between the European powers. Although Brussels won the vote after two rounds, a definitive decision was again postponed. Furthermore, the vote resulted in the start of a system of 'compensation policies', whereby Luxembourg and Strasbourg also received a part of the institutions. In fact, a firm decision for Brussels to become the official 'Capital of Europe' was never taken, but has been 'work in progress' with successive decisions to locate facilities of the EU's institutions in the Brussels capital region, and thus gradually creating an exclusive 'European quarter' in the urban landscape and a growing European community in the metropolis.

This resulted in the representation of the main political institutions of Europe in Brussels: the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, the European Commission, the Economic and Social committee and the Committee of the regions. The integration of the European institutions and their numerous offices, but also transportation and social infrastructures such as day-care facilities, international schools and others in the existing city has caused dramatic changes in the cityscape and in the urban housing market. The housing of an increasingly large number of international, national and regional diplomats and representatives, of an international press corps and, above all, more than 1300 non-governmental organizations, has imbalanced the residential structure of the city (Brussels in Action, 2001). The multi-dimensional impact of the EU on the Brussels region goes far beyond the reshaping of specific urban quarters.

Transformations in the urban landscape of Brussels – induced by the EU – have been heavily criticized in many ways. Consultant reports emphasize a lack of vision on the value of heritage conservation and an outspoken political and economic drive to become a modern metropolis (UNWTO and ETC, 2005). This became particularly manifest in the preliminary plans for the World Exposition – EXPO '58. During the following years the process of 'Bruxellization' went on, erasing typical urban quarters and a unique heritage of architectural richness. For many years, the power of the building and real estate sector appeared to be beyond control and reshaped the city dramatically. The outcome is a segregated city, with well-marked neighbourhoods and a lack of initiatives to connect the different cultural layers.

This process was reinforced by the infiltration of the EU community, following the expansion to now 27 member states. In 1998, a first study was carried out by the Brussels regional authority and concluded that the presence of EU organizations and related international organizations implied jobs for 62,000 persons, of which 20,000 were European officers (among them 5,200 Belgians). This number is raised when taking into account the 4,000 indirect service providers and another 12,000 jobs in sectors directly related to the presence of EU activities: embassies linked to the EU, international press and

translation offices. The number of indirectly linked international associations and groups, law offices and lobbyists is hard to estimate. Since the late 1990s, the infiltration of the EU activities expanded even more, both in terms of physical space use and socio-cultural transformations. The European activities account for at least 10% of the employment in the Brussels metropolitan region and 13% of the gross regional product, actually one of the highest in the EU. These are estimated percentages, since no valid statistics are available about the mobility of the community of 'Eurocrats' and the direct and indirect impact on the Brussels' regional job market (Brussels in Action, 2001).

Apparently, the growing presence of these European elite does not show nor affect the average income of the Brussels population, which is 7% below the national average. This is seen as an effect of the suburbanization of higher income groups (Christiaens, 2003). The trend of Eurocrats in Brussels is to start with temporary accommodation in Brussels' city to then later settle in the suburban and green belt, mainly to the south of the Brussels area. In fact, this migration pattern is not so different from that of young Belgian households. However, the high income of most 'Eurocrats' has accentuated the social segregation between neighbourhoods in Brussels and between residential areas in the suburbs.

The temporary and semi-permanent presence of EU residents not only marks the residential patterns and the real estate market but in many ways also the use and design of public space and public life. Pubs and restaurants, street markets, shops and meeting places went through a rapid transformation process. The disconnection between the 'international areas' and the remains of 'old Brussels' on the one hand, and on the other the downgraded immigration areas in the 19th-century suburbs is highly visible (Christiaens, 2003). Nevertheless, it is clear that the presence of the EU institutions has directly and indirectly generated an increase of wealth in the Brussels Capital Region. Brussels intends – now more than ever – to affirm its role as capital of Europe. Actually, the political agenda for Brussels capital region does not differ from the priorities in many other capital cities in Europe:

- To strengthen the position of the city region as a hub in the European networks.
- To improve the access to social housing schemes, in the context of the fight against poverty and social exclusion.
- To enhance urban renewal and improve the quality of the urban environment and the quality of life.
- To emphasize the role of centres of excellence, with economic development as a top priority.

The latter objective might be seen as a unique opportunity for Brussels; the European presence attracted a so-called European agglomeration economy consisting of an important global service economy and other international governmental and non-governmental institutions, but also an army of international and highly skilled labourers (Elmhorn, 2001; European Commission, 2001).

According to the Union of International Associations (2008), Brussels consistently occupies a top-three position as one of the main cities to host

international meetings worldwide with, on average, close to 200 meetings with a minimum number of 300 participants, a minimum proportion of 40% foreign participants, minimum number of five nationalities and minimum duration of 3 days. In 2007, out of 5 million bed-nights in the Brussels region, 36% (1.85 million) is MICE-related, and 18% (over 912,000 bed-nights) are accounted for by individual business travellers. This means that business motives to travel to Brussels are more important than leisure-motivated travel. The latter accounts for 46% of the bed-nights in the Brussels region in 2007. However, there are some significant differences by country of origin of the tourists. Leisure and holiday motives seem to become more important now for the neighbouring markets such as the Netherlands (55% of the bed-nights), France (58%) and Spain (56%) (De Bruyn *et al.*, 2008). When comparing this segmentation in motives of international tourists with that of other historic art cities in Flanders, it is clear that leisure travel is by far outpacing business travel, with the exception of maybe Antwerp. It is also illustrated by the fact that visitor numbers in other Belgian cities surge over the summer months, while overnights remain stable in Brussels year-round with the exception of the month of January when there is a slight dip (De Bruyn *et al.*, 2008).

The high expectations of a significant growth in incoming tourism to Brussels following the several phases of new EU membership were not entirely met. Different factors play a role in the rather weak orientation on Brussels and the latest entry of new members in the EU is not expected to structurally change the volume of tourism flows. In fact, the outbound tourism from the new EU member states reflects their problematic economic position. It is expected that the economic transition in these countries will remain for some years to come a constraint on the volume of outbound tourism travel, for leisure travel in particular (Jordan, 2006). Nevertheless, the expansion of the EU to 27 member states and now a total population of 490,000,000 can be, or should be, an important impulse for the tourism industry in Brussels, at least it means additional opportunities to attract more business tourists, to prolong their stay and create more awareness about the 'interesting places' and experiences in Brussels.

Brussels: a Cultural Tourism Destination

Brussels can be classified as a 'city of art', and as such a destination for cultural tourism, reasons enough to be nominated as Cultural Capital of Europe in 2000, though it was a shared title with nine other European cities. Among this list of competitors in the market of cultural tourism and city trips in particular, there were three other capital cities: Helsinki, Prague and Reykjavik. The other cities belong to the category of regional centres Avignon, Bergen, Bologna, Krakow and Santiago de Compostella. The leading policy of the initiators was to highlight the rich and diversified heritage of Europe and to stimulate intercultural exchange. The ten cities hosting the EU event in 2000 all shared the same ambitions when applying for the title (Palmer, 2004):

- Improve the image of the city and stimulate tourism.
- Reinforce cultural activities for the local population.
- Innovate the cultural infrastructure.
- Integrate culture in the urban development planning and policy.
- Connect the city with Europe and create a 'Europe Identity'.

Comparing now – about 10 years after the event – the long-term impact of the major investments would certainly be a most relevant exercise. Apparently, many questions remain unanswered so far, with the main argument that valid and comparable data are lacking, that no in-depth empirical studies are available, and a deficient monitoring system at EU level (Palmer and Richards, 2007).

In the scope of this book, it would make sense to see if capital cities do generate different effects of this type of event. In evaluation reports, visitor numbers and overnights are often compared between cultural capital cities in order to demonstrate the success of an event and to legitimate – post factum – the public investments made (Wanhill and Jansen-Verbeke, 2008). However, this only makes sense when compared with pre- and post-event information on tourism flows and even then, positive trends are hard to isolate as being only caused by the event.

Within a highly competitive market for cultural urban tourism, the competitive advantages of one city above another is the outcome of a series of factors: clearly defined objectives fully framed in the local context, the range of cultural resources and heritage assets (tangible and intangible), the capacities and skills to develop more momentum, more know how and above all creativity in the marketing of events such as 'Cultural Capital of Europe' (Richards and Wilson, 2004, 2006). Table 11.1 includes a selection of cultural capital cities and is based on the results from a research project on the evolution of the concept of Cultural Capital of Europe Event. This indicates variations in objectives and policies, but also many similarities. In 10 years, there is some evolution to be noticed such as an increasing interest in the involvement of, and impact on, the local residents, moving also to more integrated and more multicultural projects. The overall conclusion of this analysis is that this EU event is indeed an incentive for urban revitalization, in particular for integrating cultural activities in the tourist opportunity spectrum.

All these cities are different in terms of their cultural resources, the presence and quality of tangible heritage, the liveliness of their intangible heritage and, above all, the degree of development of a cultural economy (Russo and Van der Borg, 2008). Brussels is a rich city in terms of heritage resources for cultural tourism (Jansen-Verbeke, 2007). The presence of sites listed as 'World Heritage' can be seen as a strong asset. The three sites are the Brussels complex of the 13th-century beguines' residences, called 'beguinage' as one of 13 'Flemish Béguinages' listed in 1998, the main market square (1998) and major town houses of the architect Victor Horta in Brussels (2000).

Table 11.1. Cultural Capital of Europe Event: variations on the theme? (Based on *Palmer/RAE Association*, 2004.)

Organizing city	Mission and key sectors	Main objectives	Impact on visitation
Luxemburg 1995 <i>Number of projects 500</i>	Become a European city of all cultures <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Music • Staged performances • Theatre • Street parades 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Including Luxemburg on the map of cultural destinations • Creating more cultural awareness among the local population • Attract visitors • Improve the cultural infrastructure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 767,000 visitors (domestic + international) • 2,600,000 overnight stays
Kopenhagen 1996 <i>Number of projects 670</i>	Revitalize the Danish capital and the surrounding region <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Architecture • Theatre • Interdisciplinary projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extensive participation of the region in art and culture • Emphasize the diversity and quality of Danish art and culture • Create international interest in Danish art and culture • Introduce Kopenhagen to the EU community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6,920,000 visitors (domestic + international) • 3,935,000 overnight stays
Stockholm 1998 <i>Number of projects 1,218</i>	Sell Stockholm as a cultural city to Sweden and Europe <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stage performances • Music • Heritage and History • Architecture and design 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offer a mixed programme of cultural activities • Attract domestic and international tourists • Developing good relationship with other EU countries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 19,800,000 visitors (domestic + international) • 25,200,000 overnight stays
Brussels 2000 <i>Number of projects ±350</i>	Show the vast artistic and cultural potential of Brussels as a city <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Music • Dance and theatre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaborative development • Introduce local residents to the cultural attractions of the city • Promotion of innovative and creative projects • Cultural development in a long-term perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2,382,000 visitors (domestic + international) • 4,497,000 overnight stays
Helsinki 2000 <i>Number of projects 503</i>	Economic recovery and development of the city <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stage performances • Music • Sculpture art • Outdoor public events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incentives for innovation and creativity • Involve local population in cultural activities and events • International branding of the city • Attract tourists (domestic and international) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5,400,000 visitors (domestic + international) • 2,589,044 overnight stays

Prague 2000 <i>Number of projects 380</i>	Present Prague as a centre of culture within a wider context of European integration <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Music • Stage performances • Street parades 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offer a cultural programme • International positioning of the city • Improve the cultural infrastructure • Attract international tourists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1,839,345 overnight stays
Reykjavik 2000 <i>Number of projects 284</i>	Put the city on the world map as a cultural city <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Music • Outdoor events • Stage performances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offer a cultural programme of cultural activities • Attract international tourists • Develop partnership with other European cities • Create an international image of the city 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1,473,724 visitors, including 302,913 international • 1,186,455 overnight stays
Rotterdam 2001 <i>Number of projects 524</i>	Improve long-term economic benefits, such as tourism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sculpture arts • Integrated projects • Festivals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase coherence between local communities in the city • Present cultural elements to the locals • Long-term cultural projects • International branding of the city 	
Bruges 2002 <i>Number of projects 165</i>	Promoting Bruges also as an active and contemporary cultural city <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sculpture arts • Music • Architecture • Outdoor public events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve cultural infrastructure • Long-term cultural development • International branding • Attract tourists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1,600,000 visitors (domestic + international) • 556,000 overnight stays
Graz 2003 <i>Number of projects 108</i>	To make the city better known <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Music • Architecture • Stage performances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Include the city in the international map of culture • Improve cultural infrastructure • Attract tourists • Partnership with other European cities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2,755,271 visitors (domestic + international) • 839,984 overnight stays
Lille 2004 <i>Number of projects 2000</i>	Undertake a regeneration of Lille and the greater region and transform the image of the city <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stage performances • Sculpture arts • Architecture and design 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involve the population in the urban renovation programme and reimagining the city • Improve social cohesion • Promotion of creativity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 9,000,000 visitors (domestic + international)

The cityscape of Brussels includes many interesting complexes and monuments, museums and urban parks, of which only some are known as landmarks, many others are not even included in the mental maps of visitors (domestic and foreign). Creating an attractive tourist product and image of this rich cultural spectrum appears to be a continued process of trial and error (Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois, 2004). Surely, sightseeing of 'historical settings' is a major tourist attraction, but much more is needed to catch and maintain the interest of the urban tourist (Freytag and Kagermeier, 2008). A high-quality programme of arts and music, supported by other intangible heritage assets such as gastronomy, are important resources for cultural tourism. The actual tourist attraction of antique markets, special exhibitions, music festivals, fashion and design shops, is well known. The challenge lies in finding a unique mix to offer in the right place and time. The web survey among Eurocrats (in 2003) already gave an indication of this mixture (see Table 11.2.)

Despite the consensus that Brussels is a top destination for cultural visits and experiences, both for international and domestic tourists, there are few outstanding landmarks. This could be further analysed by checking the landmark awareness, the actual visitation and the appreciation in the EU network. The latter was measured in terms of 'recommendations to others' (see Fig. 11.1).

This test of appreciation was taken from a limited sample, in 2003, but nevertheless holds some interesting clues for the development of future marketing strategies. The gap between knowledge and visitation is high, with exception of the main market square and the antique cluster on the Sablon (Zavel) square. Both destinations are highly recommended to friends and family. The

Table 11.2. Ranking of the icons/landmarks in Brussels (according to Eurocrats). (From web survey 2003 in Jansen-Verbeke *et al.*, 2005.)

Icons/landmarks	Frequency	Percentage (%)
European institutes	36	13.3
Monuments/culture	191	70.7
Main market square	72	26.7
Atomium	42	15.5
Statue of Manneken Pis	36	13.3
Art Nouveau	9	3.3
Antiques-Sablon	7	2.6
Cultural life	6	2.2
Architecture	4	1.5
Royal Palace	3	1.1
Cinquantenaire (monument)	3	1.1
Food and drinks	26	9.6
Other	26	9.6
Total	270	100.0

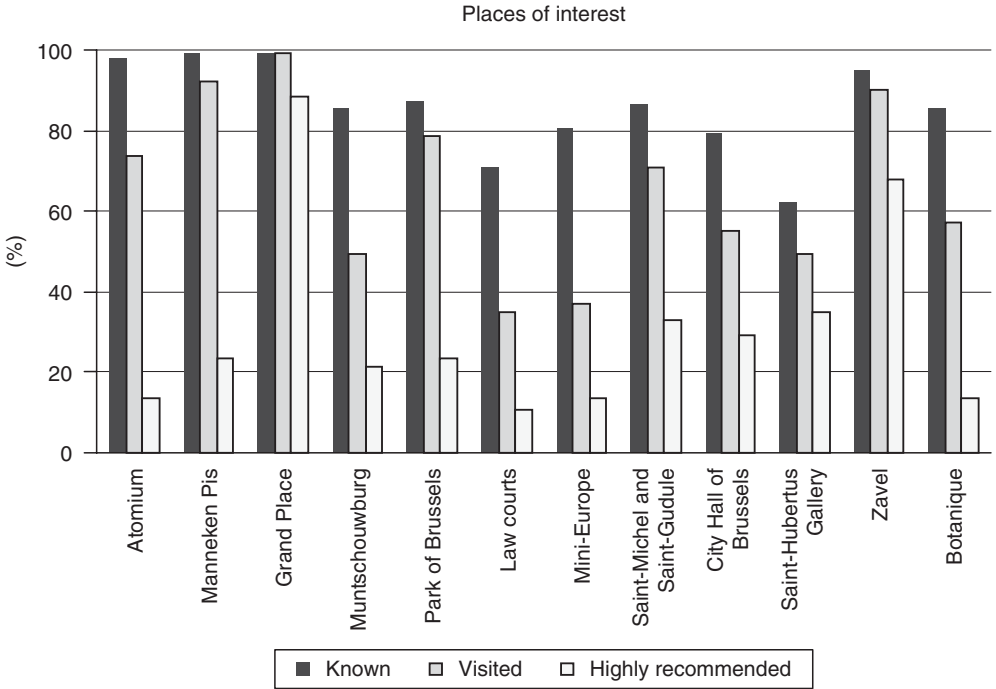


Fig. 11.1. Places of interest in Brussels. (From web survey 2003, Jansen-Verbeke *et al.*, 2005.)

absence of many other cultural attractions in this list is a clear signal for the marketers (Peeters, 2008).

Cultural Tourism in Brussels: Planning for the Future

Tourism planning, development and promotion in Brussels are hardly visionary (Magosse *et al.*, 2008). The main reason for this is the local institutional fragmentation. In order to overcome the linguistic struggles, and through the consequent state reforms that started in the 1970s, Belgium developed a kind of ‘institutional high technology’ in order to keep a political balance between the two largest communities. In this structure, Brussels at the same time became the tailpiece holding Belgium together and the decor for its dismantlement. This is reflected in a very complex institutional landscape with no less than five organizations promoting Brussels internationally.

This fragmentation is illustrated in the way different actors project the image of Brussels. The European Travel Commission (<http://www.visiteurope.com>) refers to it as the ‘Capital of Europe’; the Brussels Tourism and Convention Bureau (<http://www.bitc.be>) as ‘Your European Village’; Tourism Flanders (<http://www.visitflanders.co.uk>) as the ‘Capital of Belgium’; The Tourism Promotion Office of Wallonia (<http://www.opt.be>) as ‘a region where the most

extraordinary places cross paths with surrealists, fashion artisans, and the elegance of “Made in Belgium”; and Brussels Capital Region (<http://www.bruxelles.irisnet.be>) as ‘having two faces – on the one hand, it is a contemporary and historic metropolis, and on the other it is a human, friendly city’.

In many ways, Brussels is in search of a new identity. The association with Brussels capital of Europe is strong, but hardly valorized in terms of multicultural resources, nor marketed for multicultural target groups. This missed opportunity needs to be added to the list of many other weak points in the development of a strong urban tourism destination. Planners and marketers for the future of Brussels can find inspiration and incentives in the many reports published on Brussels (UNWTO and ETC, 2005). The following tables (Tables 11.3 and 11.4) summarize some views and reflections of different stakeholders on Brussels’ tourism and culture.

Table 11.3. Strengths and weaknesses of Brussels’ tourism. (Source: various authors’ interpretation; Jansen-Verbeke *et al.*, 2005.)

	Strengths	Weaknesses
Tourist product	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The main market square is core of the tourist area • Rich architectural heritage • Conference centre • Accessibility and international connections 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No outstanding landmarks • No international top attraction • Limited benefits for tourism from the meetings, incentives, conferences and events (MICE) market • Inadequate infrastructure for major events/conferences
Target groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The EU potential market volume • The market share of business tourism • Multiculturalism • Product reputation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low level of economy in the new EU member states • Expectations of business tourist unknown • No ‘European city centre’
Marketing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Synergy between business and leisure tourism • Extensive promotion material • Location and number of visitor centres 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited offer of city trips to Brussels from the new EU member state • Little awareness of and coherence in the tourist offer • A negative image of Brussels’ tourism • Promotion material: no targeted website • Incoherent tourist promotion organizations create confusion

Table 11.4. Opportunities and critical success factors for Brussels' tourism. (From various sources. Authors' interpretation; Jansen-Verbeke *et al.*, 2005.)

	Opportunities	Critical success factors
Tourist product	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nocturnes in the museums • An international tourism marker • Increase multicultural participation in tourist activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adequate financial resources for renovation and conservation • Integrated planning of tourism 'spots' and tracks
Target groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expansion of EU and consolidation of Brussels as EU forum 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic development in the new EU member states • Transport – rail and airlines
Marketing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A new and larger market • Innovation in product development • Consolidate a leading position in the MICE market 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New city trip packages by tour operators • Proactive promotion strategies for the leisure tourist • Focus on the Brussels' experience: 'joie de vivre', 'art de vivre'

Conclusion: Brussels, 'Yours to Discover'

The complexity of a city like Brussels cannot be communicated easily, neither the beauty of impressive historical sites (e.g. main market square) nor the vibrant liveliness of typical multi-ethnic quarters (Matongo). A field laboratory for interdisciplinary research by all means, but in terms of innovative strategies for a sustainable development of the urban cultural economy, much more research-based insight in the physical, functional and organizational networks is required.

Possibly the dynamics of a multilayered city are more difficult to manage, and there is no blueprint for capital cities wanting to capitalize on their 'hierarchical advantages'. Learning from comparative studies tends to lead to more 'copy and paste' strategies so there is no other option than creativity and collaborative engagement of stakeholders, including the tourism academic community.

In addition, the case of Brussels is, in that sense, rather unique and challenging, as this chapter has attempted to illustrate. With five capital functions and no less than five institutional levels involved in the outward promotion of Brussels, more engagement from stakeholders, collaboration and coordination is needed than, probably, in any other capital in Europe. As a national capital, Brussels is not uncontested and still in the middle of 'the battlefield of Europe'.

Hence, wanting to be the capital of Europe adds to the complexity. For tourism and culture, Brussels is promoted by the Flemish and Walloon tourist boards. Also, the city and region of Brussels, as well as the European institutions are involved. It creates many opportunities, but also a complex contextual and institutional framework that seems to make it virtually impossible to take advantage of these opportunities.

It is hard for Brussels to create a consistent brand image and even then it will always be linked to European bureaucracy and dullness. Because of the institutional webs of influence, consistent urban planning, cultural policies, tourism development and strategy are also hard to implement. Therefore, where Brussels seems to have benefited from several unique historical developments, it is also still struggling in many areas in order to deal with the opportunities presented. It is a unique case in many respects and therefore an interesting object of study including questions such as: what is the identity of the city in such a multilayered capital? How can it be represented through clever brand architectures (a European mother-brand and national or regional sub-brands)? How can collaboration between multiple agencies at multiple levels lead to successful planning and development? How does all this, and the actual product offering, build images and perceptions? A unique case that is still 'ours' and 'yours' to discover.

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12 Putting the Capital 'C' into Cardiff's Identity as a Conference Tourism Destination

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Introduction

Cities are important tourist centres with significant comparative advantage, e.g. physical resources, infrastructure, historical and cultural resources (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003), although Law (1992, 1993) asserts that the economic significance of urban tourism was not recognized until the 1980s and 1990s. National capital cities, as administrative, political, cultural and historical hubs offer significant touristic advantage, particularly in the highly lucrative conference tourism market. City reimagining, defined as 'the deliberate (re)presentation and (re)configuration of a city's image to accrue economic, cultural and political capital' (Smith, 2005, p. 39), can enhance the perceived attractiveness of a destination, turning its comparative advantage to competitive advantage (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003). However, while national capital city status affords many benefits, reimagining to achieve these benefits can be difficult for some of these cities.

Cardiff, capital of Wales since 1955, has taken on a new dynamism as a national capital city since devolution in 1999. In addition to the seat of the Welsh Assembly Government in the impressive Senedd building in Cardiff Bay, Cardiff is Wales's main centre for business, education, sport, tourism, culture and media, and has enormous, and as yet, not fully realized potential for city tourism, particularly conference tourism as will be explained in this chapter. However, Cardiff can be described as (re)emerging as it develops as a national capital city and grapples with the challenges of capitalness. So what would Cardiff need to do to fully exploit its national capital city status and maximize its potential as a conference tourism destination?

In the UK, there are many success stories of city destinations that have undertaken effective makeovers through regeneration strategies and reimagined themselves at the heart of dynamic city regions and as buzzing conference destinations. Manchester, for example, is particularly interesting in the way that

key stakeholders – local authorities, universities and tourism operators – have rallied to underpin the conference tourism proposition developed by Marketing Manchester. A team approach, supported by the activities of the unique Northwest Conference Bidding Unit (NCBU), has defined Manchester as an exemplar conference tourism destination and turned comparative advantage to competitive advantage. Despite Manchester's slightly larger population (approximately 400,000 compared with 320,000 in Cardiff) both cities have an industrial heritage, a strong cultural identity and made a paradigm shift to a knowledge-based economy following the demise of heavy industry. In selecting Manchester as a comparator, Cardiff had not recognized the significance of capital city status. In contrast, Manchester was critically aware of the benefits of national capital city status for the conference tourism market and strongly emphasized this in the interviews.

This chapter will analyse the many lessons for best practice that Manchester offers and apply them to the case of Cardiff, exploring its redevelopment as a post-industrial region with its universities as knowledge catalysts supporting conference tourism and inward investment.

Conference Tourism, Inward Investment and Knowledge Transfer

Conference tourism, with high delegate spend and high yield, is a rapidly growing and a highly lucrative subset of the broader tourism industry, and medical conferences are the jewel in the conference crown (Haven-Tang *et al.*, 2006). It can enhance destination image, attract inward investment and counter seasonality. Recognition of the opportunities provided by this lucrative market has led many cities to implement marketing and regeneration initiatives to attract domestic and international conferences constructing purpose-built convention centres to improve destination image and generate benefit for local residents and the economy (Law, 1992, 1993; Hankinson, 2005). Conference tourism offers cities the opportunity to exploit the business extenders market (Rogers, 2008), with prolonged stays by delegates bringing additional income. Notwithstanding this, some benefits of conference tourism are relatively short-term and the peripatetic nature of some conferences reduces its potential for repeat business. Nevertheless, conference tourism can act as a catalyst for long-term city tourism opportunities, including the short-break leisure market and attracting inward investment. The Business Tourism Partnership (2007) reports that approximately 40% of business travellers return with their families to destinations previously visited for business tourism.

There is great diversity in the conference market in terms of the scale, and hence the requisite infrastructure and economic impact. The British Association of Conference Destinations (BACD, 2005, p. 2) defines a conference as 'an out of office meeting of at least four hour's duration involving a minimum of 8 people'. Conferences and meetings are commonly divided into two market segments: corporate and association. Corporate conferences and meetings include sales conferences, product launches, board meetings, training courses, business presentations, annual general meetings, incentives

and corporate hospitality. Generally, the corporate market has high expectations of their conference experience. The association of conference market segment, whether national or international, includes a range of not-for-profit organizations, e.g. professional associations and institutions, trade associations, trade unions, voluntary bodies, charities, political parties, religious groups, societies and educational bodies, government and public sectors. The conference market is often a focus for marketing by destinations and venues (Rogers, 2008), as conference locations are subject to influence and often based on a rotational system, particularly for international associations – hence destinations often participate in bidding processes using a destination concept to attract conference organizers and ‘win’ association events. There can be long lead-times for some major international conferences – 8 to 12 years is not unusual.

In selecting a conference destination, hygiene factors include location, access, infrastructure and quality (MIA, 2004), and benefits enjoyed by most national capital cities in the UK and elsewhere. The top-three UK destinations for association and corporate conferences remain fairly constant: London, Birmingham and Manchester (MIA, 2004). As England’s national capital city, London’s attractiveness and its accessibility for conferences are significantly enhanced by its recognition as a world centre for finance, insurance, commodity trading and communications (MICE, 2000). Cities, such as Manchester in the north-west, take great pride in their regional capital city status and exploit this to attract conference and inward investment. Tourism has become a ubiquitous driver for city marketing and branding with urban regeneration fuelled by the growth of low-cost airlines and route-development strategies. Hankinson (2005) suggests that the role of destination branding includes attracting inward investment, leisure and business tourists, new residents and new employees. Hubbard (1996, p. 28) asserts that ‘increasing budgets are being set aside for image construction and advertising... [to] re-image or reinvent it’. As such, destination branding is driven by long-term repositioning strategies and short- to medium-term projects, e.g. hosting mega events or special and major events:

Cities with larger budgets have... succeeded in developing positive brand images linked, for example, to attributes such as heritage and history, the character of the local people, associations with famous people, ‘capital’ city status and international city status.

(Hankinson, 2005, p. 25)

Governmental regional investment has promoted the ambitions of UK regional capital cities, such as Manchester and Birmingham, to tap into the lucrative global conference tourism market (Balmond, 2004). The importance of hallmark events for destination image cannot be underestimated, e.g. London’s position as the UK’s top business and conference destination will undoubtedly be further enhanced by the 2012 Olympic Games. While Manchester is unlikely to challenge London’s position, it has been able to capitalize on the legacy of the 2002 Commonwealth Games becoming a ‘hot’ conference destination, developing a new conference district and exploiting Manchester’s intellectual capital.

Hankinson (2005) suggests that there is a gap in the research into the branding of destinations for business and conference tourism, which is surprising given that many former industrial cities in Europe and the USA have successfully regenerated their economies. Hankinson (2005) identifies eight generic brand image attributes for business tourism destinations: physical environment; economic activity; business tourism facilities; accessibility; social facilities; strength of reputation; people characteristics and destination size. To this list add national capital city status, which enhances awareness among potential conference tourists.

While cities share similar comparative advantages, e.g. physical resources, infrastructure, historical and cultural resources (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003), and similar activities, e.g. finance and business services, power and influence, creative and cultural industries and tourism (Hall, 1999), there are complexities that present significant challenges for destination marketing and branding. Cities have diverse services, facilities and stakeholders that are difficult to coordinate and over which there is little control. Previous research (Haven-Tang *et al.*, 2006) identified seven fundamental factors for conference destinations: leadership, networking, branding, skills, ambassadors, infrastructure and bidding (see Fig. 12.1). In addition to these factors, national capital city status in the conference market adds additional kudos and should not be underplayed as will be evidenced in this chapter.



Fig. 12.1. BESTBET – a framework for best practice in business (and event) tourism.

Leadership includes a clear vision and implementation strategy for conference tourism, appropriate funding, communication within the destination, strategic and operational coordination and a destination team approach involving private- and public-sector stakeholders. Large international conferences and events rarely return to the same destination, therefore destinations can pass conference clients within destination networks, e.g. the International Congress and Convention Association (ICCA), *if* they participate. Branding provides a framework for destination coherence and for the competitive conference marketplace; brand image becomes a critical tool in which national capital city status plays a critical role. A strong brand clearly understood and communicated inside and outside the destination is very important. The requirement for appropriate skills to underpin high-quality conference products and services is a priority for conference destinations and to ensure the needs of conference clients are adequately met.

Medical experts and universities can play a key role as ambassadors in attracting conferences to a destination. However, the work involved in servicing an ambassador programme and in raising awareness among ambassadors of the support available should not be underestimated. Destination access and the seamless integration of a destination's transport infrastructure are critical to conference tourism success. Regional support for route development to improve, expand and sustain air and fast train access is important in this context. Additionally, a range of suitable venues and accommodation within the destination is fundamental to attracting conferences. Conferences with exhibitions are a growth area, but need venues with sufficient capacity. Bidding strategies differ between destinations; yet, medical and other scientific conferences are widely favoured although they require a large, adjacent exhibition centre, e.g. to accommodate pharmaceutical companies and generate additional income.

These seven elements are fundamental to a destination's ambitions as a conference destination and are evident in many conference cities. However, they do not provide the competitive edge that differentiates a city from its competitors. Differentiators might include the possession of iconic buildings and unique cultural and/or heritage attractions, e.g. the canals of Venice or the Pyramids in Cairo, or as identified in this chapter – national capital city status.

Research Approach

The research that underpins this chapter was undertaken as part of a wider research project into best practice in business and event tourism (BESTBET). BESTBET was a 2-year European Social Fund (ESF) research project approved under the Objective 3 Operational Programme for east Wales, and focused on promoting business competitiveness and skills needed to ensure best practice in business and event tourism in south-east Wales. The BESTBET project (<http://www.uwic.ac.uk/bestbet/>) involved the development of a case study of four destinations (Manchester, Glasgow, Bournemouth and NewcastleGateshead), which were selected as comparators by key public-sector stakeholders in Cardiff. This chapter focuses on the research undertaken in Manchester that hosts the

NCBU – the first of its kind in the UK – and has been particularly successful in the way that the private and public sectors have worked together to the benefit of the destination. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with key stakeholders, representing local authorities, hoteliers' associations, destination marketing organizations, conference bureaus, key venues and bidding units were undertaken. Stakeholder interviewees in Manchester identified critical success factors for the conference market and benchmarked best practice against which Cardiff as a conference destination could be evaluated.

Manchester: a Regional Capital City Competing at an International Level

Manchester lost two Olympic bids because of its external image, which became a key issue for it to address. 'Marketing Manchester' was set up in 1996 to coordinate the successful bid to host the Commonwealth Games in 2002. Marketing Manchester was primarily a marketing agency, publicly funded with income from the private sector. Its work in the run-up to the 2002 Commonwealth Games was about changing perceptions of Manchester. As one interviewee commented: 'The Commonwealth Games had an undeniable effect on Manchester in terms of its self-esteem... and its perception of itself in the marketplace... Before they were talking of Leeds and Liverpool as the competition, now they're talking about Milan, Barcelona, Munich'. Manchester's excellent air, road and rail infrastructure make it accessible to domestic and international conference markets and the airport has a route-development fund to further enhance access. The success of the Manchester International Convention Centre is a result of their flexibility, capacity and close proximity to hotels.

As a regional capital city, Manchester demonstrates critical success factors for a conference destination, and emphasizes the importance of destination visitation for conferences as a driver for inward investment. For example, interviewees emphasized the vision and commitment of the leader of Manchester City Council who has created a local authority with the political confidence and aspiration to develop the destination integrating conference tourism with the longer-term city strategy, 'He [leader of the city council] is perceived to be the powerful driver. It would be a block if we didn't have that strategic directional clout'. Interviewees also demonstrated a clear understanding of the fit between target markets and destination product, which is paramount to customer satisfaction 'business tourism is seen as being a key driver within the economic plan for Manchester'. Manchester belongs to ICCA and other trade associations, e.g. British Association of Conference Destinations (now Eventia), which enables networking with colleagues in other conference destinations, promoting market awareness and understanding of client idiosyncrasies that are critical to the conference decision-making process.

In contrast to the leisure market, the peripatetic nature of many conferences precludes the short-term potential for repeat business. However, destination

reputation is crucial to conference delegates. Many interviewees stressed the importance of Cardiff promoting its capital city status in destination branding. Manchester runs a successful formalized ambassador programme, which facilitates external promotion and provides market intelligence on the associations market. Manchester University played a critical role in providing a specialist knowledge base exploitable for conference purposes. Team Manchester gained the support of local communities through its community-led events strategy, which complemented its conference tourism product. Skills development to underpin high-quality conference products and services was prioritized. To address the issue of first and last visitor impressions of the City, Manchester piloted a nationally recognized qualification in *Transporting Passengers by Taxi and Private Hire* alongside *Welcome International* and *Mapping Manchester* for its airport taxi-drivers. Furthermore, a legacy of the 2002 Commonwealth Games was a database of trained volunteers, who continue to work on major sporting events.

NCBU, established alongside Marketing Manchester and launched in July 2004, proactively uses databases, e.g. ICCA, to secure business for Manchester, Liverpool, Blackpool and the Lake District from European and international associations through high-quality bids. Funded by the Northwest Regional Development Agency and Marketing Manchester, NCBU is a key element in the north-west's tourism and major events strategies. It is a unique approach, especially in relation to strategic coordination: 'we are the only bidding unit in the country and I think we're a very good example of how a region can work collectively for the benefit of [conference] business staying in a particular destination'. Gathering relevant conference market intelligence is clearly essential and ambassadors are key to this. As one interviewee commented:

Manchester will try to target people either in business or in the academic sector who are members of professional associations who would want to bring their conference here and be an ambassador for the city, they're proud to live in Manchester and they want to bring their professional association conference to the region, so it's a case of people signing up to be ambassadors.

Greater Manchester's four universities (Bolton, Manchester, Manchester Metropolitan and Salford) are important stakeholders in the conference tourism, inward investment and knowledge-transfer agendas, working with a range of public- and private-sector stakeholders. Manchester's destination proposition is distilled into two words – 'original' and 'modern', encapsulating its strong industrial pedigree, scientific and technological prowess of its universities and post-industrial growth in key high-tech sectors: creative, information and communication technology (ICT) or digital, finance, education, health, nanotechnology and bioscience. As one interviewee commented: 'I think it's a very forward thinking city anyway and it always has been. They actually realized at an early stage that it had something special to offer. I think it's got a lot of people who are prepared to work together'.

However, Manchester cannot claim national capital city status, which is seen by many conference destinations as a key discriminator in attracting city tourism and conference delegates, with many national capital cities considered

to be in a different league. Manchester interviewees were very clear about the importance of capital city status to destination branding:

I don't feel comfortable in punching above our weight; I don't feel Manchester should be going against London for example. The capital cities, and I include Cardiff in this, are in a different league because they are capital cities and they just have more attractiveness about them and they are a natural destination for leisure tourism and that probably kicks off quite a bit of the business tourism.

Cardiff: a (Re)emerging National Capital City?

Cardiff was proclaimed Welsh capital in 1955, making it Europe's youngest national capital. It has significant industrial heritage, and was the world's biggest coal-exporting port. Today a number of finance, insurance and real estate (FIRE) (Smith, 2005) businesses have relocated to Cardiff, generating enormous opportunities for conference tourism. Capital Region Tourism (CRT) – the Regional Tourism Partnership for south-east Wales – aims to develop Cardiff as 'a major business tourism destination, based on facilities for conferences, meetings and incentives, coupled with exciting leisure opportunities' (TDI, 1999, p. 1). However, Cardiff's hoteliers in particular rue its lack of a convention centre and exhibition space to attract the highly lucrative medical and scientific conferences.

Internationally, Cardiff is a small city and its conference market is still small. A focus on the conference market and development of the list of conference products, which currently includes larger venues such as the Millennium Stadium, the Wales Millennium Centre (WMC), St David's Hall and the Cardiff International Arena, as well as a range of hotel and unique venues, would be likely to deliver high yields in repositioning Cardiff as a contemporary and sophisticated destination (LDC, 2003). Certainly, infrastructure developments through world-class venues, especially the Millennium Stadium and WMC are helping to raise awareness of Cardiff as a conference destination among potential conference clients. Judith Isherwood, Chief Executive of the WMC explained that:

building a new urban identity through the creation of a cultural landmark has had a catalytic effect on civic ambitions globally. Many cities across the globe now look to the arts and architecture to deliver the iconic imagery and messaging they need to succeed as a destination.

(The Communications Group Plc, n.d.)

Cardiff boasts two universities, one with a large, world-renowned medical school, whose ambassadors would attract medical conferences to a convention centre. Cardiff does, however, operate an ambassador programme, targeting its academic, medical and business communities. Funding to assist ambassadors in attracting conferences to Cardiff would enhance the effectiveness of this programme.

Skills issues in support of tourism are addressed on an all-Wales basis by the Tourism Training Forum for Wales working regionally with Capital Region

Tourism and locally with Cardiff City Council. No specific training in relation to conference markets is on offer. Flexible, accredited training courses for the conference market would bridge this gap and increase professionalism.

Although it has a route-development fund, Cardiff Airport currently has a limited number of UK and international routes. Cardiff is not a member of ICCA and does not have a bidding unit to proactively bid for international conferences. A bidding unit would be key to Cardiff's conference tourism promotion and the strategic and operational coordination of stakeholders. It would offer destination leadership and use city branding to cohere and differentiate Cardiff and promote civic pride. Such a unit would proactively match target markets to Cardiff's conference products, using the ICCA database.

One significant shortfall in Cardiff's destination strategy is the whole issue of effective local leadership, which was very evident in the Manchester case study. It is possible that national politics associated with Cardiff's role as the national capital city adumbrate local politics, which might better serve Cardiff's immediate interests as a conference tourism destination. Strong political leadership, confident to make bold decisions without over-consulting, is needed to overcome Cardiff's modesty in embracing its national capital city status as part of its branding strategy. As one Cardiff-based interviewee suggested: 'An important question is whether Wales [and Cardiff] wants to be on the world stage? There is a lot of parochialism. If the answer is "yes" then Wales [and Cardiff] must have an aggressive, proactive event management team to lead'. Another Cardiff-based interviewee commented:

Glasgow and Edinburgh revel in their capital city status and the rivalry has proved healthy. . . . Both cities have similar facilities, which act as pull factors. However, the fact that they recognize themselves as capitals means that they are confident to draw focus onto themselves rather than thinking about how this might be seen by people in other parts of Scotland.

Furthermore, this interviewee asserted that external marketing to exploit national capital city status depends upon destination confidence:

If a destination is confident and sees itself as a capital – why align itself with the region instead of promoting itself? Glasgow and Edinburgh are not sensitive with regards to what is happening elsewhere in Scotland and have the confidence to promote themselves as Glasgow or Edinburgh. Destinations cannot always be fair to other destinations in their region or country.

Additionally, bidding processes can benefit destination branding and generate media attention, as explained by one interviewee:

NewcastleGateshead were very quick to take advantage of the [European City of Culture 2008] short-listing process, regardless of the fact that they lost the bid, and set-up Culture. However, NewcastleGateshead has a much stronger leadership and saw Culture as an important part of their product, with Culture reinforcing their offer as a destination. For example, Cardiff could have taken a much bolder approach to marketing the 2005 [centenary] celebrations, but

the city does not appear to have a strong sense of direction and direction is dependent upon where a city places its priorities.

Embracing its national capital city status provides huge opportunities for Cardiff, but is still under-exploited. As one interviewee commented:

Cardiff's destination marketing has been negligible and demonstrates that more joined-up thinking between economic development and destination marketing is required. There is the potential to exploit [national] capital city status, especially as a result of events at the Millennium Stadium and the Wales Millennium Centre – which has done for culture what the Millennium Stadium has done for sport.

Cardiff's modesty about its capital city status was something that one Manchester interviewee specifically commented upon:

I've had that conversation in the past [about Cardiff and its role as a capital]. It was an industry meeting debate in Cardiff; it was interesting to hear what they were saying from the city's side and how everybody else saw them. It was really two quite different types – everybody else saw Cardiff as the capital city but people from Cardiff didn't see it like that. Come on guys you're sitting on a goldmine!

More recently, there has been increasing exploitation of Cardiff's national capital city status in Cardiff's branding exercise with straplines such as 'Cardiff, Capital City of Learning' and 'Cardiff, Europe's Youngest Capital'. To compete with other regional and national capital cities, Cardiff needs to reimage, emphasizing its national capital city status. A recent destination rebranding exercise, initiated by Cardiff Council, culminated in the creation of a new-destination marketing organization, Cardiff & Co., and a new visual logo to represent the city. 'The launch of the new place brand for Cardiff is a departure from the stereotypical dragons and daffodils of the past. It takes its inspiration from the palette of colours that represent the city – from the greens of its parks to the blues of its waterfront' (Cardiff & Co., 2008a). Cardiff's unique selling proposition is its compactness, its position as a gateway to Wales and its enormous range of high-quality attractions and activities.

Cardiff & Co. – a new public-private sector partnership involving Cardiff Council, Cardiff Harbour Authority, investor members, corporate supporters and the tourism sector – was established to promote Cardiff nationally and internationally, enhance investor confidence and attract visitors, business tourism, academia, international events and major inward investment (Cardiff & Co., 2008b). It is taking the lead in relation to conference tourism. At the launch of the logo, a spokesperson for Cardiff & Co. stated:

We are confident that we have created a distinctive brand for Cardiff that has the potential to give the Welsh capital a competitive advantage that will stand out on the world stage. The place brand is a banner under which the city can rally to spread our message to the world – our ambitious, young capital can compete with the great cities of the world as a place to live, work, visit, invest and study.

(BBC News, 2008)

The National Tourism Strategy for Wales (WAG, 2006), stresses that a strong brand identity must be reinforced at all levels to enable Wales to increase its

market share of international and UK visitors. This is imperative if Cardiff is to compete effectively with other more-established UK and European cities and conference destinations, ultimately moving into the global marketplace, and is underpinned by one of the key outcomes for branding 'the value of business tourism to increase by a greater rate than tourism overall' (WAG, 2006, p. 63).

However, Cardiff's strategy is not unique and has been adopted by a number of other European cities with varying success. To stand out from the crowd in the conference marketplace will be a tough challenge. In the opinions of external competitors, Cardiff is under-exploiting its national capital city status. In contrast, Cardiff & Co. considers that it has 'created a distinctive brand for Cardiff that has the potential to give the Welsh capital a competitive advantage that will stand out on the world stage' (Cardiff & Co., 2008c). The importance of the branding exercise cannot be overstated – Cardiff & Co. asserts that it is 'a crucial instrument in achieving this goal, providing a framework for image development and for inward investment and tourism related marketing campaigns' (Cardiff & Co., 2008c). Cardiff & Co. has sought to promote Cardiff as an international capital city as part of its vision for the future development of Cardiff, by focusing on activities and strong and vibrant images that raise Cardiff's national and international profile. Whether it has done enough in relation to this is something that only time will tell.

Cardiff must use its national capital city status to turn comparative advantage from its rich industrial heritage, post-industrial growth resulting from the relocation of FIRE businesses to Cardiff, universities and knowledge capital, high-quality environment, infrastructure developments and high-quality venues into competitive advantage. In this endeavour, it should build on the example set by Manchester to fulfil its conference tourism potential through embracing its national capital city status.

Conclusion

In terms of conference destination fundamentals, Cardiff has an established ambassador programme. It also has a new place brand. Its accessibility in terms of its transport infrastructure needs enhancement through route development and an integrated transport network. In terms of infrastructure, Cardiff must address the convention centre and exhibition space issue. Leadership for conference tourism is contested – if Cardiff, and specifically the newly established Cardiff & Co. – is to lead Wales' conference ambitions, there must be stakeholder consensus and support for this. Some stakeholders question Cardiff's vision for itself as a conference destination and the strength and confidence of its leadership to exploit its national capital city status in developing Cardiff as a conference destination. A Cardiff-based bidding unit with ICCA membership could network on an all-Wales basis in the same way that the NCBU does on behalf of the north-west to maximize the potential of the ambassador programme. Conference-oriented training would underpin the conference destination proposition.

It is interesting that Cardiff sees its competition as Manchester, Glasgow, Bournemouth and NewcastleGateshead – regional not capital cities. In these ‘competitor’ destinations, Cardiff is seen to be massively under-exploiting its capital city status. Developing Cardiff as a conference destination and exploiting its national capital city status is not just about Cardiff, but is also about Cardiff as a gateway to Wales and dispersing benefits across Wales. ‘There is a mutually symbolic and beneficial relationship between Cardiff and the rest of the region [Southeast Wales]. Cardiff will not achieve its tourism potential without the rest of the region and the region cannot succeed without Cardiff’ (LDC, 2003, p. 6). In Cardiff, capitalness is poorly understood among key private- and public-sector stakeholders, it is not integrated into destination branding and development and there are tensions among stakeholders both inside and outside Cardiff about Cardiff’s role in balancing the fulfilment of its local interests with its role as Wales’ national capital city in fulfilling national and international interests. Fully embracing Cardiff’s national capital city status in underpinning the conference destination proposition would provide a focus for re-engineering the images of Cardiff and Wales internationally and an opportunity to accelerate Cardiff’s re-emergence as a capital city on the international stage. To pin Welsh tourism aspirations just on conference tourism would clearly not be reasonable. However, enhancing Cardiff as a conference tourism destination is an important plank in a strategy to diversify the Welsh tourism product portfolio.

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13 International Business Tourism: the Case of Dublin

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Introduction

The island of Ireland lies to the west of Britain, separated from the mainland by the Irish Sea. In 1921, after centuries of political unrest, the island was eventually partitioned by the 1920 Government of Ireland Act. This Act created two nations with two parliaments, 6 northern counties formed Northern Ireland with its political centre in Belfast, and the remaining 26 counties comprised the Irish Free State, or Eire, with its political centre in Dublin. Eire left the Commonwealth of the British Empire in 1949 and became the Republic of Ireland, with Dublin remaining as its capital to this day. The influence of Northern Ireland's period of civil unrest known as 'The Troubles', which began in 1969 and lasted until the 'Good Friday Agreement' of 1998, affects overall perceptions of the island of Ireland, where consideration may be given to the perceptions of safety and security about prospective business tourism destinations (see Gould and Skinner, 2007, for a more detailed overview of the key developments during this period of Irish history and its impact on tourism to the island).

In common with many other western European nations that have experienced a decline in manufacturing and heavy industry, followed by an attendant rise in the importance of the service economy (Skinner, 2005), tourism has become a significant contributor to Ireland's economy. Even though the island of Ireland is politically divided, cooperation between the two nations exists in terms of its tourism promotion, and Tourism Ireland markets the island of Ireland as a whole for general tourism. The business tourism sector within the respective territories is, however, marketed separately by the Northern Ireland Tourist Board, and the Republic's Fáilte Ireland.

This chapter will explore the nature of the international business tourism market and how a capital city's brand influences business tourism decisions. Then, with specific reference to Dublin, it will also explore the influence of the

nation brand of the Republic of Ireland and that of its neighbour, Northern Ireland, on these decisions.

International Business Tourism

It is estimated that around 30% of all international arrivals are for business purposes (Boniface and Cooper, 2001), and in many European cities the economic contribution of business tourism outweighs that from leisure tourism by two to three times (Bradley *et al.*, 2002). Yet, despite this, there has been limited academic research into this specific area of the tourism industry, even though business tourism has emerged as a significant subsection of the tourist industry, both in terms of volume of travel and expenditure generated:

Business travel complicates the simple idea of tourism being just another recreational activity. Clearly, business travel is not regarded as part of a person's leisure time and cannot be thought of as recreation. Yet, because business travellers use the same facilities as those travelling for pleasure and they are not permanent employees or residents of the host destination, they must be included in any definition of tourists.

(Boniface and Cooper, 2005, p. 13)

Business tourism is defined as 'travel associated with attendance at corporate or association meetings, conferences, conventions or congresses or public or trade exhibitions' (Bradley *et al.*, 2002, p. 62). The acronym MICE is used in describing the general meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions market referring to business travel where the final destination is subject to influence or is promotable. The literature on the MICE market highlights the differences in the two main market segments of association meetings and corporate meetings, a typical distinction being that, 'association meetings are organized by international governmental organizations, and non-governmental organizations or associations, while corporate meetings are organized by profit-driven private sector interests' (Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2001). The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) recommends definitions of the MICE sector be broadened to include all:

activities based on the organization promotion, sales and delivery of meetings and events; products and services that include corporate, association and government meetings, corporate incentives, seminars, congresses, conferences, conventions events, exhibitions and fairs.

(UNWTO, 2006, p. 4)

The two principal bodies responsible for managing the flow of data and information on the MICE market are the International Congress and Convention Association (ICCA) and the Union of International Associations (UIA). All but 2 of the top 22 cities identified in the ICCA rankings of top meeting destinations for 2007 are national capitals (based upon the number of meetings organized by international associations that take place on a regular basis, and which rotate between a minimum of three countries) with the exception of Barcelona and Istanbul. Thirteen of the top 22 are European

cities. However, Dublin does not appear in the rankings at all, with Brussels, coming lowest in joint 22nd place, hosting 66 such international meetings (ICCA website).

According to UNWTO figures published in 2009, Europe accounts for 53% of the world's entire international tourist trade, attracting 500 million arrivals, attracts even higher numbers of domestic arrivals, and is likely to retain this market share despite a global downturn in trade. These levels of tourism may, at least in part, help account for Europe's share of the international business tourism market. However, Ireland as a whole ranked only 16th out of 42 of the top international destinations in 2006, based on the number of arrivals, although international arrivals increased by 9.7% on the previous year, the second highest percentage increase of all countries in the top 20 (European Travel Commission, 2008).

Market share is also affected by the amount of foreign direct investment (FDI) that a nation attracts. Price Waterhouse Coopers (2001) have noted that, 'countries that generate/host the largest volume of corporate meetings business will be those that generate or receive large volumes of foreign direct investment'. They have further noted that, 'corporate meeting planners also enjoy less flexibility in their selection of destinations – a high proportion of meetings never taking place at a destination where the organization does not have a representation'. This is also the case with association meetings – a locally based 'champion' or 'ambassador' normally being a prerequisite – but the membership base is likely to be much more geographically spread than a company's overseas representation. Destination rotation is thus more muted in the case of the corporate meetings market.

Business tourism in Ireland

In general, it has been suggested that there is a broad correlation between a country's general tourism performance and performance in the international conference market. The Republic of Ireland has been identified as exceptional along with one or two other European destinations in rating highly among statistics for general tourism in Europe but, by comparison, faring relatively poorly for conference and business tourism. In 2002, there were 121,000 overseas visitors attending conferences and meetings in Ireland. Fáilte Ireland estimates that, of these visitors, 44,000 were attending association conferences, up from 37,000 in 2001. The sector has performed very well in recent years – visitor numbers increasing at an average rate of 7% per annum between 1997 and 2002. Lennon and Seaton (1998, p. 146) have however stated that 'the lack of an international conference and exhibition arena clearly reduces the appeal of [Ireland's] capital for larger elements of the business tourism market'. Fáilte Ireland also recognizes shortcomings in the country's infrastructure to support business tourism: 'principal amongst these being, the lack of a national conference centre; small average size of hotels and shortage of large scale banqueting facilities'. (Fáilte Ireland, 2004).

Such infrastructural issues are now however being addressed, particularly with the near completion of a world-class, purpose-built international conference and event venue in Dublin that is scheduled to open in September 2010. There have also been recent changes to Ireland's finance bill that allow delegates to reclaim value added tax (VAT) paid on accommodation expenses to qualifying conferences, which is also aiming to improve the perception of Ireland as a business tourism destination. Other reasons cited by Fáilte Ireland's Business Tourism Section for choosing Ireland as a conference destination are: top-class conference facilities; easy and inexpensive access; a full range of accommodation; 'top' technology; and the fact that 'people love Ireland and are eager to experience first-hand the economic miracle and vibrant cultural scene they have heard so much about'. Reference is also made to the friendly people, the spectacular scenery and historic sights, the outdoor activities, the cultural activities, the peace and tranquillity and, of course, the famous creamy stout. 'The countryside is inspirational and the magic and mystery of Ireland is as refreshing as a long, cool drink' (<http://www.conference-ireland.ie>). Morgan *et al.* (2002, p. 60) have found that, 'every country claims a unique culture, landscape and heritage, each place describes itself as having the friendliest people, and high standards of customer service and facilities are now expected'. As a result, the need for destinations to create a unique identity in order to differentiate themselves from their competitors is more crucial than ever. However, the Republic of Ireland has been running the same basic brand proposition in its various marketing campaigns for some decades, and yet it is unclear whether the brand construct that has served Ireland's general tourism market so well can apply equally when attracting business tourism to Dublin, the nation's capital city:

Tourism has always been viewed as a vital contributor to the Irish economy, and with over 150,000 employees, there's a lot invested in it. But the aftershock of September 11, SARS and the Iraq war continue to be felt, and although tourism numbers were up in 2003, the revenue growth was just over 2%. A new approach was needed, and the new national tourism development authority, Fáilte Ireland, is putting a lot of eggs in the business travel basket.

(Business and Finance, 2004)

Business tourism in Dublin

Price Waterhouse Coopers (2001) have identified that common features of Europe's top-performing international conference destinations include a relatively high international profile, a city-based convention bureau and two or more dedicated convention facilities, with at least one facility having theatre-style seating for at least 2,500 delegates.

While Dublin rates very strongly on the first two of these criteria, it unfortunately, in turn, rates very poorly on the latter. The profile of the destination is strong, and a separate body within Dublin tourism, Dublin Convention Bureau, has been formed to specifically develop the nation's capital for

business tourism purposes. Dublin Convention Bureau identify themselves as 'a destination marketing organization that aims to promote and position Dublin as one of the leading meeting, conference and event destinations in the world' (Dublin Convention Bureau, 2005a). In furthermore seeking to differentiate Dublin from the competition and from the traditional image put forward in promoting the island of Ireland, Dublin Convention Bureau states:

if you're looking for a glimpse of a young lively city, with a vibrant nightlife, a glimpse of an ancient civilisation, a cultural feast, a musical odyssey, stunning scenery, and a spectacular coastline – you've come to the right place! . . . Dublin is no longer simply mahogany, brass and a good pint of stout – it's also martinis, hip fashion and cutting edge design.

Dublin Convention Bureau, 2005b)

As the nation's capital, Dublin is in the fortunate position of being able to capitalize on having attracted a large proportion of the nation's FDI from many leading global companies. Ireland's FDI promotional agency, the Industrial Development Agency (IDA), recognizes that the nation 'is a key global location for the pharmaceutical industry, and currently thirteen of the top fifteen companies in the world have substantial operations in Ireland'. Furthermore, they identify Ireland as 'one of the most attractive locations for investment in information and communications technology. Over 300 overseas information and communications technology (ICT) companies develop, market and manufacture a wide range of leading edge products in Ireland, and seven of the world's top-ten ICT companies have a substantial base in Ireland'. In the medical area, the IDA identified Ireland as being, 'home to 15 of the world's top-25 Medical Technologies companies' (www.idaireland.com). However, the absence of an international conference and exhibitions venue could hamper further growth in the MICE market, although this matter is being addressed by Fáilte Ireland, and its plans for the long-awaited national conference centre should provide the window of opportunity that the country has been waiting in order to become a serious contender in the international meetings market. Indeed, Dublin is the only region within Ireland for which Fáilte Ireland has included a specific strategic objective concerning business tourism. However, this objective is stated very broadly as 'development of conference and incentive visits and an events-led strategy to build a solid year-round tourism business', with no real identification of how Dublin should achieve this.

National capital tourism

While Ireland's national tourism bodies continue to focus on the country's stunning natural landscapes, friendly people and a strong sense of culture, Dublin Tourism aims to position the city in the international marketplace as 'a separate and distinct brand that appeals to business and leisure travellers alike' (Dublin Tourism, 2003), differentiating Dublin, the nation's capital, from the competition and from the traditional image put forward in promoting

the rest of Ireland. Lennon and Seaton (1998, p. 139) identified that 'Dublin's key advantages appear to be history of literature and culture, a demographic profile which is largely young and its intangible fashionable image'. Karmowska (1996, p. 140) similarly stated 'the importance of cultural heritage in the competition between cities when organizing conferences and congresses', which is one of the most important sources of income for many European historic cities. Dublin has 'served as the nation's capital since medieval times' (Dunne *et al.*, 2007, p. 98). This capital city has a strong cultural and literary heritage, impressive architecture, and is the country's 'principal transport node . . . and the principal point of access for international visitors' (Dunne *et al.*, 2007, p. 98). Karmowska (1996, p. 139) believes that city marketing involves, above all, 'the fashioning of the product and its image in such a way that its recipients will see it as we wish them to'. Therefore, city marketing has an extremely important function to play, forming a bridge between the potential represented by the city, and the use of this potential for the benefit of the local society and the nation as a whole. McManus (2001) identified that in the late 1980s, Dublin tourism could contribute to a then ailing city economy. The accordant improvements in the city's fortunes that ensued were underlined by McManus's (2001, p. 104) assertion that, 'in the past, it was common for arriving tourists to leave the city almost immediately in search of the much promoted green idyll. However, increasingly tourist arrivals are staying longer in the Capital and may not travel elsewhere'. A further complication in studying national capital tourism is that it is becoming increasingly evident that business tourists attracted to a meeting taking place in a national capital may also choose to extend their stay for leisure tourism purposes. In the case of Dublin, it will be interesting to explore if these business tourists also remain within the capital or are indeed attracted to explore a wider geographical area.

We have therefore undertaken research into the extent to which Dublin's positioning and prominence as the nation's capital influences, and is influenced by, the overall perceptions of Ireland as a prospective business tourism destination. An additional objective was to identify the role of business tourism to the capital city Dublin plays in generating general tourism to the rest of Ireland.

Research Methods and Results

This research (also see Byrne and Skinner, 2007) has primarily employed the repertory grid interview technique, a method that has previously been applied in considering consumer perceptions of places and in identifying criteria used in making destination consumption decisions (Coshall, 2000; Pike, 2003; Hankinson, 2004). The research was undertaken by conducting interviews and online focus groups with respondents drawn from international organizations based in Europe and the USA. In addition, responses to a questionnaire were gathered from 59 delegates attending a major international conference in Dublin. Fourteen interviewees were drawn from international organizations

based outside Ireland and from a range of backgrounds incorporating International Conference Organizers within Organizations; Professional International Conference and Event Organizers; International Academic Conference Delegates or Organizers; as well as Professional Body Conference Delegates or Organizers. Fourteen depth interviews were conducted. Two online focus groups were convened, one comprising seven European respondents, the other with six respondents based in the USA.

Content analysis was employed to analyse repertory grids. This is an appropriate method of analysis where the constructs derived are all different and have been elicited rather than supplied. It is thus necessary to summarize the various meanings present in the grids for the whole sample, in identifying common underlying themes and in developing categories. This research is bottom-up, data-led and interpretative.

It was interesting to note the responses from members of the online focus groups who identified that their decision criteria when choosing whether to attend a conference was heavily influenced by the destination:

Yes, it is as important a consideration as the nature of the conference itself.

After the subject of the conference, I would say the destination is the prime concern.

The theme and content would be main issue. Destination could sway decision if latter was not fully persuasive in itself.

Similarly, 61% of questionnaire responses identified a conference destination as being a 'significant' consideration in attending international conferences, 35% identified the destination as of 'some' consideration, and only 3.5% indicated that the conference destination was of no concern. The overall destination criteria in general decision making for business tourism, combining responses from all data collection instruments, is identified in Table 13.1.

Table 13.1. Destination criteria used in decision making for business tourism.

Rank	Functional dimension	Ambience dimension
1	Destination accessibility	Destination image: attractiveness and appeal
2	Conference/event infrastructure	Destination weather conditions
3	Associated expenses and costs	Entertainment, recreation and leisure potential
4	Language spoken	Destination culture
5	General destination infrastructure	Destination safety and security
6	Destination professionalism: ease of working	Local cuisine
7	Strategic location and proximity	Friendliness and welcome of local people
8	Destination bureaucracy	Established or emerging destination
9	–	Familiarity with destination
10	–	Reputation for business/economic activity

Ireland's brand performs particularly strongly within the following categories of the functional dimension:

- Language – 'In Ireland the language is an important factor . . . you can understand everybody in English'.
- Accessibility – 'As a European Destination I would see (Ireland) as being a highly accessible destination'.
- Associated expenses and cost.

Ambience dimension strengths identified were within the areas of:

- Destination image (attractiveness and appeal) – 'in some aspects going to Greece and Italy is going to the past and going to Ireland is going to the future'.
- Destination culture – 'I see Ireland as having a strong cultural heritage in music, literature, etc . . . my perceptions of the country have been influenced accordingly'.
- Security.
- Destination professionalism.
- Friendliness of the local people – 'I would separate Belgium and Germany from Ireland where people are more friendly and welcoming'.

The repertory grid analysis pinpoints the overriding perceptions of Ireland's brand image by presenting clusterings of the strongest constructs that emerged (Table 13.2). Rankings of constructs are identified in bold for interview respondents and in parenthesis for focus-group respondents.

For delegates attending a major international academic marketing conference in Dublin in July 2005, the overall identified destination criteria were quite consistent with those which the research had previously identified among conference organizers, with primary considerations being:

- Destination accessibility.
- Destination – associated expense and costs.

Table 13.2. Ireland's defining characteristics for business tourism.

Rank	Positive attributes	Rank	Negative characteristics
1 (1)	Language, level of English spoken	1 (2)	Weather
2 (3)	Accessibility	2 (1)	Conference infrastructure
3 (–)	Safety and security	3 (–)	Local cuisine
4 (6)	Culture	4 (–)	Associated expenses and costs
5 (–)	Professionalism – ease of working	5 (–)	Recreation and leisure activities
6 (2)	Image – attractiveness and appeal	– (3)	Accessibility
7 (–)	Associated expenses and costs	– (4)	Bureaucracy
8 (4)	Friendliness and welcome	– (5)	Image – attractiveness and appeal
– (5)	General infrastructure		
– (6)	Recreation and leisure activities		

- Destination image – attractiveness and appeal.
- New destination for delegate.
- Destination culture.
- Destination safety and security.

For over 83% of these conference delegates, the destination, Ireland, had been of significant or of some influence in making the decision to attend the event, with over 50% of responses indicating that the conference's location in Dublin had been significant in this regard. This bore out the results of the online focus group who also noted the importance of the city rather than country destination: 'I think more in terms of a city as the destination (much the same as the Olympics where I think of Barcelona first and Spain second and Sydney first and Australia second)'. However, views were also moderated by proximity to and detailed knowledge of a potential destination: 'I feel it depends on one's knowledge of the proposed destination. I would think of a city in many cases, but if I did not know the city in question I would think of the country. E.g. Thailand, Vietnam, etc. where I don't really know their cities'. Distance was also an issue in distinguishing between the nation brand and the capital city brand. Except for one interviewee who indicated similar perceptions of the two destination brands, 13 of 14 European interviewees stated they would consider 'Destination Dublin' before 'Destination Ireland'. Among reasons cited in making this distinction were that: 'Dublin has a specific identity – urban, vibrant and young... Ireland can be more rural, scenic and traditional. Both are culturally and historically well perceived'. All US respondents indicated that they would consider Destination Ireland before Destination Dublin, because, for US interview respondents:

In the US, Ireland is certainly more familiar.

As for Ireland, the country is small so the branding is more tangible and identifiable relating to the country as a whole. I know that Dublin is very cosmopolitan and is being built-up everyday, however, many have a vague understanding of what Dublin is.

Even for me who spends time in Europe and is familiar with Dublin. I believe this holds true for your average foreign, naïve business traveller or conference participant.

It would therefore appear that in the USA there is a rather vague notion about Dublin (if there is any notion at all) and accordingly, it would seem crucial to focus business tourism promotions on Ireland's image even when the business tourism destination is in Dublin. Conversely, for European respondents it would appear that Dublin's brand equity for business tourism appears to exceed that of Ireland; with Dublin as a capital city being perceived more so as a conference destination than other parts of the island.

Table 13.3. National and capital brand attributes compared.

Rank	Perceived attributes of Ireland	Rank	Perceived attributes of Dublin
1	Rural, scenic, countryside	1	Entertaining, lively
2	Different types of experience	2	Cosmopolitan
3	Fewer amenities	3	Accessibility
		4	Cultural capital
		5	Infrastructure

Responses indicate a very clear distinction between the two destination brands: Dublin's brand being perceived as cosmopolitan whereas Ireland's is a more traditional, rural image. Questionnaire responses also identified differences in the perceptions of the nation brand of Ireland, and the brand attributes of its capital city, Dublin (Table 13.3).

Dublin would appear to have succeeded in developing positive brand images linked, for example, to attributes such as heritage and history, the character of the local people, associations with famous people, capital city status and international city status. Accordingly, the location of a conference in Dublin against the backdrop of its overall location, in Ireland, may add value for the visitor in terms of the additional travel possibilities which the respective territories would provide, particularly for out-of-conference activities. Delegates to the international conference in Dublin were also therefore asked if they would spend additional time in Dublin or Ireland either pre- or post-conference and, if so, by how many days and for what purpose. Results indicated that 27% of delegates had arrived early with almost half of these (43.75%) spending just 1 day in Ireland before the conference and 75% of whom had come for general tourism purposes. A similar percentage of respondents (30%) indicated that they would spend additional time in Dublin or Ireland after the conference, just under 40% of whom would stay for just 1 day.

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to investigate and draw conclusions on the hitherto relatively under-explored area of branding destinations for conference and business tourism, specifically evaluating Ireland's brand in this regard, while also considering comparisons between the national and capital city brands for business tourism and delegate motivations in undertaking such travel.

Of factors identified in influencing Ireland's consistently stronger performance in general as compared with business tourism, most significant were negative perceptions surrounding Ireland's conference infrastructure and facilities it provides for such events, a matter presently being addressed by the relevant agencies in Ireland. Of the key dimensions identified as contributing to Ireland's brand for business tourism, the importance of managing perceptions of the

local people, the place and its culture are consistent with those already being applied in many of Ireland's other general tourism promotion activities. Ireland's inward investment promotion agency, the IDA, has also included these elements in its promotional efforts. The research has, however, identified two additional dimensions upon which Ireland's overall brand construct for business tourism may be based; one being Ireland's changing and evolving image as a modern, dynamic and highly successful European nation and the other being based around three factors upon which it is suggested that Ireland can add value for the international business tourism sector; namely its language, its accessibility and its security.

However, when it comes to promoting its capital city, Dublin, as a prospective business tourism destination, Dublin's brand was viewed as being firmly established and having its own individual and unique identity as a national capital in Europe, but was perceived differently in the USA, where Ireland's brand profile and identity as a prospective business tourism continues to outweigh that of Dublin, with some doubt being expressed as to whether Dublin actually enjoys any significant profile in that territory. Ireland's brand construct is still perceived in traditional terms by our respondents. Ireland was perceived as rural and scenic, with fewer amenities, while Dublin was perceived as entertaining, lively and cosmopolitan. Dublin is facing the challenge of needing business tourism to strengthen its economy, while not faring well as a business tourism destination when compared to other European capitals such as Vienna, Berlin or Paris – the three highest-ranked European meetings destinations according to the ICCA.

Our findings also show that ease of access to a business tourism destination, and the facilities offered by that destination are important for both meetings organizers and delegates alike. It has been recognized that Dublin has faced infrastructure problems, and will be unlikely to be able to attract significantly higher numbers of business tourists until its long-awaited convention centre is opened. However, one other issue that does appear to be important for Dublin is the relationship between the city's brand identity and the brand identity of its nation, the Republic of Ireland, and also the brand identity and reputation of Northern Ireland, its nearest neighbour nation. The Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland are now politically separate nations, and yet still cooperate in terms of some of the tourism promotion for the island of Ireland as a whole. Moreover, while Dublin has a more positive and prominent identity in Europe, it is the brand of 'Ireland' that appears to have a more positive and prominent identity further afield.

The literature points to the link between the amount of FDI generated by a nation, and the amount of conference and meetings tourism it generates. In this respect, Dublin, as the nation's capital, is in the fortunate position of being able to capitalize on having attracted FDI from many leading global companies in pharmaceutical, medical and ICT industries. Moreover, significant impacts have been made by representations by Fáilte Ireland's Business Tourism Forum in gaining positive decisions from government in respect of VAT deductibility on conference accommodation expenses, and in the long-awaited National Convention Centre.

The location of a conference in Dublin against the backdrop of its overall location in Ireland may add value for the visitor in terms of the additional travel possibilities that the respective destinations would provide, particularly for out-of-conference activities. However, our findings show that business tourists may not always allow a significant enough timescale either before or after attending their event for much long-distance travel to be undertaken. It would appear that Dublin has therefore been positioned as an end destination in its own right, despite the various tourism organizations' efforts to gain wider benefit for the nation from tourists initially attracted to its capital.

Business tourism is a significant component of the international tourism market and a major contributor to the economy of places that attract visitors for meetings, conferences, exhibitions and other corporate events. This chapter has found that business tourism to capital cities can be enhanced by attracting companies to directly invest in the city or nearby regions, creating and maintaining a strong conference infrastructure, capitalizing on the 'halo effect' of positive brand perceptions of the nation state, and targeting closer markets with the brand of the capital city, and markets from further afield with the brand of the nation state that may be more familiar. One key factor that impacts on the attraction of a business tourism destination is the status of the destination, with national capitals overwhelmingly dominating other cities as top meeting destinations globally.

However, while European destinations continue to perform well, as we have identified with the case of Dublin, it does not follow that a place will achieve global success in the highly competitive MICE market simply by virtue of being a European national capital city.

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14 School Excursion Management in National Capital Cities

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Introduction

As Ritchie (2003) notes, educational tourism in cities has received little interest from researchers and industry due to a lack of appreciation of the size, potential and needs of this market, including school excursions (Larsen and Jenssen, 2004; Ritchie *et al.*, 2008). Furthermore, as Cooper (1999, p. 89) suggests, 'the school travel market demands a particular approach in terms of products and promotion, and has its own very different market characteristics and influences.' However, urban city marketers and attraction managers need to be aware of the demands and nature of the schools market if they intend to develop experiences that meet the needs of teachers and students in national capital cities. Although this market may be under-appreciated in cities, the nature of political national capitals and the educational and scientific merit of their respective national institutions suggest that political national capitals can be important places for curriculum-based school excursions (Pearce *et al.*, 2004; Ritchie and Coughlan, 2004). However, the very nature of political national capitals can also create problems in the marketing and management of school excursions.

This chapter will first outline the size and nature of the school excursion market broadly in selected political national capital cities, before examining a number of school excursion management issues that attraction and destination managers need to consider in such cities. In particular, this part of the chapter focuses on understanding the need for relevant facilities and educational resources for teachers and students to enhance their understanding of the national capital as well as appropriate marketing of such experiences. This section notes safety and infrastructure issues associated with school excursions in political national capitals. Although these may be common for school excursions in many cities, it is argued that these are exacerbated in national capitals because of their capital status and especially because of the nature of political capital cities. Finally, the chapter draws some conclusions

and considers the implications for future research and management of school excursions in national capital cities.

School Excursion Demand in National Capitals

School excursions are not a major income generator for attractions or cities and may never be 'high yield, big business'; however they do increase the profile of destinations to a group of potential visitors and their parents. Ritchie and Coughlan (2004) contend that marketing to schools is as important as any other market segment for two major reasons. First, young people's attitudes towards a destination and its attractions, in both public and private sector, are likely to be influenced by the experience they have at that time of their lives. As Cooper and Latham (1989) note, school visits are a good investment for the future if there is favourable word of mouth from students. Second, from a tourism visitation perspective, school groups help to bolster off-peak attendances at both attractions and cities (Cooper and Latham, 1988). Perhaps an even more compelling reason for better understanding this segment, however, is that cultural attractions in national capitals, such as museums, art galleries, monuments and memorials (see Chapter 10 on monumentality), have become valued as educational and community resources and have a significant role to play in educating children about the importance and value of the national capital.

Although there has been a lack of research into the scale and size of schools tourism, Cooper and Latham (1989) estimated that in England this market undertook approximately 12 million domestic visits, which is equivalent to 5% of the entire sightseeing market, and generated £8 million annually in the late 1980s. In addition, Revell (2002) stated that, on average, school-children in the UK spend 2 days on field trips each year. Nationwide research in Australia identified a slight drop in the number of overnight school excursions from 4 in 1998 to 3.65 in 2006, with slight drops also identified in length of trip (to under 3 nights) and distance travelled (down to 130 km in 1999). Cooper (1999) notes that, despite official statistics and reports in Europe about ignoring school trips, the market is a significant one with an estimated 70 million pupils and students in Europe alone making an estimated 100 million day trips and 15–20 million overnight trips during 1998. Despite the potential size of the school market, a major assumption of marketeers, education officers and planners is that the market is generic or homogeneous, when clearly the only commonality is that it all originates in schools. The schools market is diverse in origin, age, purpose of visit, pattern of visit, length of stay, needs and requirements for a satisfying visit. Indeed, this market is becoming more sophisticated with demands for high standards in accommodation, educational services, interpretive materials and interactive educational experiences (Ritchie *et al.*, 2008).

As indicated in Chapter 2, national capitals cities are the seat of the national government, and although this role can vary widely, in general 'capitals are unique from other cities because they provide a special site for the

concentration, administration and representation of political power' (Campbell, 2003, p. 3). Their cultural, symbolic and administrative natures therefore attract school excursions alongside business and, conference markets (outlined in Chapters 12 and 13), as well as cultural tourism, and are consequently major assets for governments. The many important national institutions, museums and monuments attract significant numbers of school excursions so that students can understand their citizenship, democracy and the important role of the national capital. However, this role might not be all positive with students' learning about the role of power and possible corruption within government. The national galleries and smaller and specialized museums, historic quarters and monuments not only play an important role in preserving and promoting positive images of national heritage and culture (Therborn, 1996), but also generate economic returns to the destination as a result of school excursion visits.

Research conducted in 2005 in three political national capital cities (Ottawa, Canada; Washington, DC, USA; and Canberra, Australia), indicated the significance of the market for these political national capitals (see Ritchie and Peirce, 2007, for more details). In Ottawa, the National Gallery of Canada reported that approximately 77,000 schoolchildren from across the country visit each year. The majority of the audience were from elementary schools (Grades 1 to 6); however, there are a growing number of students identified from Grades 7 to 12. For many Americans, visiting the national capital is a rite of passage and as result Washington, DC, is the top destination for student groups; however, no data have been collected on the number of school excursion visits to the national capital, although field observations by the author would indicate substantial numbers in the monumental precinct. Canberra has a regular data monitoring system that estimated approximately 155,000 interstate schoolchildren visited the national capital in 2007 and stayed for 2.8 nights, contributing an estimated US\$74 million in gross state product for the territory up from approximately 115,000 schoolchildren in 2000 (Ritchie and Uzabeaga, 2008). In Australia, approximately 46% of all schools have undertaken an overnight excursion to the national capital in the previous 5 years (Ritchie and Uzabeaga, 2007).

Marketing to schools requires a distinctive approach. The education market is loyal and once attracted and satisfied with the services of a destination tend to become regular, repeat visitors. According to Cooper (1999), destinations should have a proactive and professional approach to promoting themselves to the educational travel market. From a marketing point of view, it is important to recognize the differences in type of school and age of children and consider the elements of the marketing mix that may attract certain schools. First, when mapping the catchment areas of a destination or attraction for potential school visits, research shows that schools are reluctant to take younger children on longer distances and will confine journey time to around an hour (Cooper and Latham, 1988). This severely limits the potential catchment for destinations and attractions. For older children, distances travelled can be greater, but schools still like to complete the visit within the school day.

Second, the timing of marketing to schools is crucial and will depend upon the age of the children involved. Dependent upon climate, many countries concentrate their visits into the spring and early summer months. Decisions on such visits are generally taken early in the school year: September or October in the northern hemisphere, and February or March in the southern hemisphere. For younger children, decisions on visits are made approximately one semester ahead of the trip, whereas senior schools tend to operate on an annual cycle. This variation in visit decision making is important from a marketing point of view, as schools will be more receptive to promotion at certain key times of the year.

Finally, the person in the school who makes the decision regarding the visit also varies by the age of the children. For younger groups, the head teacher, or deputy head, makes the decision. For older children, the subject teacher makes the decision. Because of the very personal nature of contact with schools and individual teachers, marketing to schools tends to use relationship-marketing approaches such as direct mail. However, other approaches and incentives such as free familiarization visits and price discounts are essential if the promotion is to convert to a visit. Other techniques include (Cooper and Latham, 1989):

- contact with educational authorities;
- direct mailing to schools with newsletters and excursion planning information;
- poster campaigns;
- marketing special events that may be relevant for school groups;
- editorial coverage;
- advertising in the educational press;
- attendance at school visits fairs; and
- attendance at teacher conferences and seminars.

Two out of three of the national capitals have developed joint marketing programmes to target the school excursion market. The Ottawa Convention and Tourism Association (OCTA) established a partnership with key attractions, called the 'student and youth market council', in order to serve student needs more effectively, as well as developing and distributing a student-specific brochure. In addition, the National Capital Commission (NCC), tasked with promoting the role and significance of the national capital, also offers a number of key services including extensive programmes, pedagogic material and visit planning assistance. They also partner with 'Exchanges Canada' and Rotary to bring students to the city, and attend coach tours; operator trade shows to market the capital; and promote school tours. Individual attractions like the National Gallery of Canada also have special school and teacher programmes including guided visits, discovery visits and studio activities. They also encourage teachers to participate in their school advisory committees designed to keep programmes relevant to the educational curriculum. Furthermore, the National Gallery of Canada similarly targets its

schools programme advertising at coach drivers as they often make travel and itinerary decisions on behalf of teachers.

Canberra has established a consortium of national attractions, accommodation operators, municipal and federal government to promote and develop school excursions to the national capital called the National Capital Educational Tourism Project (NCETP). They have been instrumental in:

- Developing collaborative marketing activities (such as a Canberra school excursion planner, attending education conferences on behalf of the city, hosting familiarizations for teachers).
- Lobbying for government assistance and administering a US\$16.3 million federal government rebate scheme to encourage school visits to the national capital.
- Developing suitable product with partners (such as attraction behind the scenes tours and school-friendly accommodation) such as that outlined in Fig. 14.1.

However, Destination DC, formerly the Washington DC Convention and Tourism Commission (WCTC), does not actively market to this segment as they know they are going to visit anyway, and leave marketing up to the individual attractions (Ritchie and Peirce, 2007). The coordination of different levels of government, who may be responsible in part for promoting or providing school excursion experiences in the national capital, is a major challenge. National agencies tasked with promoting the national capital status dimensions to teachers and students may need to better coordinate their marketing activities with the municipal government or local tourist bureaus to avoid confusion, reduce congestion (noted later in this chapter) and enhance the size and scope of joint marketing activities. However, this is difficult to accomplish without a cooperative group or formal structure (such as the NCETP consortium in Canberra), which integrates the different levels of government, national attractions and the broader tourism industry (see Fig. 14.2 for an outline of their cooperative excursion planner). The need for government coordination is also noted in Chapter 19, in the case of Ottawa.

School Excursion Issues in National Capital Cities

Estimates suggest that around 50% of the volume of school visits are day trips, with the remainder comprising overnight stays (Cooper, 1999). For day trips, the focus of the visit is usually an attraction such as a theme park, museum, art gallery, science centre, garden, zoo or wildlife park. Here, the tourist sector is involved in providing transportation as well as the focus of the visit itself. However, for overnight stays, the accommodation sector also becomes involved. Typically, these trips last up to a week, utilize budget accommodation such as youth hostels or guest houses, and use coach or minibus transport at the domestic level.

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Come and try it, you will come back again, and again and again.

Fig. 14.1. Example of school excursion attraction activities.



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Fig. 14.2. National Capital Excursion Planner 2008 contents.

School excursion management issues can be considered from the perspective of teachers, parents or caregivers and destinations (including attraction managers). For the purposes of this chapter, these issues can be summarized into three main themes: (i) attraction facilities and educational resources; (ii) safety and risk issues; and (iii) infrastructure issues including congestion and facilities for excursion support services, such as coach companies.

Attraction facilities and educational resources

A range of specialist facilities and resources are often required to cater adequately for a school excursion group. As Cooper (1999) suggests that schools and teachers need to be convinced of the curriculum value of a visit. Therefore, managers must ensure that they can adequately supply a range of educational resources and materials relevant to the school excursion market in order to maximize the curricular value of a visit to the national capital.

It is vital that attraction managers provide educational resources including pre-visit packs, on-site facilities including rooms, storage and places for eating, as well as post-visit information materials that make direct links to the relevant curriculum. In Australia, national research found that 76% of teachers indicated that teacher pre-visit education packs were important, while 50% noted that teacher packs at the attraction were also important (Ritchie and Uzabeaga, 2007), indicating the importance of understanding more clearly the information needs of teachers and also the timing of information provision. Therefore, curriculum resources focusing on citizenship, democracy or history need to be well planned and developed, perhaps by education specialists, to ensure they meet the needs of teachers and students and tell the story of the nation.

Many attractions also provide educational officers or a specialist education team to cater towards this market. Indeed, research from Cooper and Latham (1989) and Ritchie and Uzabeaga (2007) found that 44.7% and 50.7% of teachers respectively felt that specialist educational staff were important for school excursion visits to attractions. Ritchie *et al.* (2008) suggest that younger children have different energy levels and may respond better to tactile and physical displays and more input from an education officer than older children, who may be more self-sufficient. Furthermore, Howard (2000) suggests that primary and secondary schoolteachers, and teachers from country and city areas, showed differences in their venue choice for school excursions based on these characteristics.

Understanding the size, scope and nature of the visit group is vital in providing school excursion groups with a quality national capital experience. It is, therefore, vital to plan and provide lively, exciting and memorable material for teachers and pupils. These materials should be both age and subject specific. Furthermore, pre-visit information should also be provided and may include:

- map and details of location;
- details on what there is to see;

- logistics of visit;
- teachers, and possibly student pre-visit packs, with ideas for pre-visit, post-visit and on-site activities; and
- risk and safety assessment information.

Such information does not need to be provided in hard-copy format, but could be provided on attraction websites or destination websites developed specifically for school attraction visits. The development of online learning resources by attractions and relevant government authorities has the potential to enhance the educational and tourism value of a visit for both teachers and students. Nevertheless, such activities may be costly and require frequent updating, consuming limited resources.

Despite the rising expectation of teachers and students for educational resources, there are two major issues facing national capital cities and their national attractions. First, public sector funding cuts to the arts and culture sector in Ottawa, Washington, DC, and Canberra over the last few years has stretched resources in many national attractions. Institutions often have a broad mandate including conservation, education and outreach, stretching their resources immensely. In dealing with this issue, some attractions have introduced entry fees (such as in Ottawa) to counteract the lack of public sector funding. However, this is not possible in some cities, with the national attractions in Canberra and Washington, DC, still remaining mostly admission free. The development of partnerships to help fund the development and production of educational experiences for school excursions is therefore a priority. Nevertheless, Law (2002, p. 65) notes that national capitals have a limited number of other 'profit-making sectors' that are often extremely important in the funding and operation of tourist facilities, such as national attractions. This is particularly an issue for political national capitals that are often smaller cities, secondary to more important commercial, entertainment and financial cities within their nation (Hall, 2002). This requires national attractions to consider innovative partnerships with other stakeholders to help fund school excursion resources. In Ottawa, for instance, the National Gallery of Canada has developed a student and teacher programmes guide with the support of the Royal Bank of Canada as part of their social corporate responsibility activities. The NCETP has in conjunction with their stakeholders developed a 96-page school excursion planner (see Fig. 14.2), funded by the consortium partners as well as industry operators (such as airlines and coach tour companies).

Safety and risk issues

Despite the variety of sources of pressure being exerted on the educational systems of a variety of countries to stop field trips through bureaucratic complexities, curriculum restrictions and financial constraints (Fisher, 2001), probably the largest issue is related to the deaths, accidents and other incidents that occur on school trips, and their media portrayal. For example, in the UK, it has

been estimated that seven children died while on school trips in 2001 and 47 between 1985 and 2001 (Revell, 2002). Considering that these deaths were examined in detail by the media, it is not surprising that Robertson (2001, p. 78) has claimed that 'parents are increasingly nervous about allowing their children to participate in out-of-school activities.'

With teachers and other organizers of school trips increasingly facing criminal charges and the process of public inquires when a child is injured or killed while on a field trip, it is not only the parents who are having second thoughts about educational trips. In addition to death or injury, the revelation that over one-third of British schoolchildren aged 16 or under have had sexual experiences while on holiday, 60% of which involved penetrative sex, shows how schools and teachers may face litigation linked to field trips (Lacey, 2001). Speaking after the publication of the sexual behaviour of children on school trips, Nigel de Gruchy, general secretary of the National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT), which is the UK's second largest teacher's union, suggested that teachers are becoming increasingly held liable by parents for student excursion behaviour (Lightfoot, 2001).

Faced with the threat of legal action as a result of incidences that occur during field trips, the NASUWT now advises its members not to organize or go on school trips (BBC News, 2002). While not participating in field trips removes the risk of litigation and/or criminal charges from teachers and schools, it also robs students of the opportunity to take part in school trips and experience the educational benefits associated with them. In effect, the blame culture and litigation mentality increasingly being cultivated around the world could lead to the end of school trips (Robertson, 2001). The British government has attempted to reduce the risk associated with school trips by providing teachers with highly detailed field-trip preparation guidelines. While these are, in theory, a sensible approach to risk management, as Baker (2001) states, 'just reading them [the guidelines] could frighten you off organising a trip'. A total of 70.9% of teachers in a national Australian study indicated that perceived safety was the most important factor in choosing an overnight school excursion destination (Ritchie and Uzabeaga, 2007), while access to risk and safety information was the seventh most attractive incentive to encourage an overnight school excursion to the national capital (see Table 14.1). A similar study in 1999 indicated that safety and risk issues were not considered an issue by teachers (Coughlan *et al.*, 1999).

Perceptions of safety, particularly in an era of global (in)security, may also be exacerbated in political national capitals due to their administrative and symbolic status. Anecdotal evidence suggested school visit numbers dropped by as much as 30% at attractions in Canberra that placed temporary security structures directly in front of their buildings in response to the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC) suggests that physical security measures in Washington, DC, are not only physical barriers but sometimes overwhelming and intimidating for visitors, and as a result are also psychological barriers. The NCPC (2005) have suggested that federal agencies design security measures that complement or are integrated into a building's existing architecture and surrounding landscapes to increase visitor

Table 14.1. Attractiveness of incentives in their capacity to *encourage* teachers to visit the national capital on an overnight school excursion. (From Ritchie and Uzabeaga 2007.)

Incentives (n = 983–984)	Not at all attractive (%)	Unattractive (%)	Neutral (%)	Attractive (%)	Very attractive (%)	Mean scores
A rebate per student	0.2	0.1	5.3	28.6	65.9	4.60
Discounted accommodation	0.2	0.2	5.9	34.6	59.1	4.52
Special offers and packages	0.2	0.2	6.1	33.9	59.6	4.52
More school-friendly attractions	0.3	0.4	14.8	48.8	35.7	4.19
A destination planner to assist organizing	0.4	0.6	18.2	46.5	34.2	4.14
Better-quality accommodation	0.3	1.1	19.5	47.6	31.5	4.09
Access to risk and safety information	0.8	1.0	22.5	40.8	35.0	4.08
A special event related to your curriculum	0.6	1.1	21.2	44.8	32.3	4.07
Special programmes at attractions (behind the scenes)	0.3	1.2	20.5	47.8	30.2	4.06
Access to parliamentary programmes	1.7	2.3	18.5	46.7	30.7	4.02
Parliamentary sittings	2.8	3.0	16.6	45.9	31.7	4.01
Access to the Electoral Education Centre	1.8	2.6	21.3	41.9	32.3	4.00
Access to online information	0.4	0.9	25.2	48.1	25.4	3.97
Special exhibitions	0.5	1.0	25.0	50.2	23.3	3.95
State-based curriculum programmes	0.7	1.7	26.4	46.0	25.1	3.93
A guarantee to meet your local member	2.3	3.2	24.8	41.1	28.7	3.91
Familiarization tours	1.3	3.3	36.2	38.4	20.8	3.74
Information seminars held in your region	1.3	4.4	44.4	35.4	14.5	3.57

access and improve visitor satisfaction. Risk-assessment and safety materials should be provided by attraction and destination managers to teachers and school coach operators to reduce the concerns that teachers and parents or guardians may have. These risk assessments may be best communicated to teachers in a coordinated way at the destination level, rather than an individual attraction level.

Infrastructure issues

Although school groups are primarily influenced by teachers, and to a lesser extent by parents or guardians, children can influence destination choice based on their physical needs, age and their ability to undertake long trips away from school and home. According to Thornton *et al.* (1997), accommodation, facilities and distance required to travel will determine whether a location is feasible for a school group to visit. If a destination has high-quality attractions with educational merit but poor support infrastructure, such as school-friendly accommodation, poor accessibility from a destination perspective and lacks suitable medical facilities, this could influence teachers' choice of destination (see Table 14.1 for other examples from the Australian perspective).

Primary schools with younger children are more likely to travel shorter distances than those with older children. The behaviour and needs of children can also significantly influence a school attraction visit. According to Cooper and Latham (1988), most educational visits last fewer than 4 hours due to students' inability to cope with travel. Summer months are the most popular time for school excursions in England, while Cooper and Latham (1988) noted in their study that attractions in England did not appear to use school groups to increase their share off-season. Large numbers of school visits in the peak summer season can cause congestion issues and contribute to general visitors' perceptions of school visits as 'noisy and unruly', resulting in a negative perception of both the attraction and the youth population. Congestion and/or capacity issues at many of the attractions and accommodation sites in the three national capitals are also an issue. Many of the school students tend to visit at the same time of the year due to their need to plan in advance, raise funds and link their visits to citizenship curriculum through a visit to key national attractions (such as parliament or the national museum). In Canberra, nearly 40% of all interstate school visits occur in August and September, primarily due to the school year and the sitting dates of parliament (Ritchie and Uzabeaga, 2006). Many schools are now unable to visit some key educational attractions as they are booked out well in advance. This situation is further exacerbated in Ottawa and Washington, DC, where these times are also peak visitor periods for business travellers who are able to pay full accommodation rates. This in combination with a lack of private investment in the school market has resulted in a lack of suitable low-cost accommodation, increasing school excursion costs and forcing some to stay in cheaper accommodation outside of the national capital.

Despite attempts through pricing and promotion to increase the number of school visits to other times of the year, this has proven to be difficult.

For instance, in 2006, an increase of interstate school student numbers by 18.4% from the previous year was recorded in Canberra. However, the first half of the year only received an increase of 12% compared to 2005, while August and September recorded a 11% and 24% increase respectively (Ritchie and Uzabeaga, 2006). One strategy to deal with overcrowding and the potential disturbance of general visitors is for attractions to hold longer opening hours during the peak season or offer school groups after-hours entry possibly including attraction 'sleepovers' (for overnight trips). In Ottawa, the industry and tour operators are working together to encourage travel at different times of the year by offering incentives besides discounts as attractions are often already heavily discounted. These incentives include special activities, behind the scenes tours and studio workshops. Furthermore, some Ottawa attractions also offer sleepover and breakfast services for school students to counteract the undersupply of budget accommodation during peak times. Innovative product development appears to be crucial in not only meeting the needs of teachers and students, but also dealing with congestion and infrastructure issues.

It was suggested earlier in this chapter that teachers require additional support facilities and educational resources. However, the needs of support services such as coach drivers and coach companies are often ignored by urban destination and attraction managers. They too require certain infrastructure or support services in order to help facilitate school attraction visits to national capitals, including:

- easy-to-navigate maps and clear coach signage;
- adequate (perhaps free) coach parking facilities;
- toilets and facilities for drivers; and
- refreshments (perhaps free) for drivers.

The biggest concern for the majority (39.2%) of coach drivers surveyed in Canberra was the lack of sheltered areas for lunches and the lack of parking at attractions (28.4%), while 9.1% of those who made positive comments noted good coach parking and ease of navigation, while 6.8% said Canberra had good signage (Ritchie and Uzabeaga, 2006).

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the importance of the school excursion market to cities, and in particular political national capital cities. There is generally a lack of research into school excursion visits and the role national capital status plays in the management of school excursion visits. It is argued that although many of the issues outlined in this chapter may exist in many urban locations, they may be exacerbated in political national capital cities due to their status and the important role that they play in educating visitors about the role and significance of the national capital. Despite limited research on the size and value of school excursions to national capitals, there is some evidence of their educational and economic importance for cities.

However, increasing both the educational and economic value of school excursions requires an understanding of the educational and tourism needs of the market, as well as the development and marketing of innovative product to meet these needs. This chapter has identified that this is sometimes complex and difficult in national capitals as they often have several layers of government with different mandates and responsibilities for school excursion tourism. Furthermore, there is a lack of private sector industry to support school marketing efforts, due to the dominance of the government sector in political national capitals. Interestingly, however, in the case of Washington, DC, there is an assumption that school visits will continue to occur to the national capital without the need for any destination marketing. These issues in conjunction with a lack of research into the size and value of school excursions has constrained the creation of educational resources as well as support infrastructure, such as school-friendly accommodation and ancillary services for coach driver operators. Destination and attraction managers have had to be creative at marketing to schoolteachers due to a lack of funding by developing cooperative marketing activities and working in partnership with other sectors (such as banks).

This chapter has also identified that schoolteachers and students have specialist needs and constraints, which require them to be certain that a visit to a national capital has curricular value. This requires an understanding of the school curriculum, structural constraints within schools, and the development of high-quality educational- and tourism-related resources before, during and after the visit, in order to enhance the value of a trip. However, risk and safety issues, partly exacerbated by national capitals being the seat of government, are putting pressure on the educational system to stop field trips, despite their educational benefits. Infrastructure problems may occur as school attraction visits during the same period may cause congestion and influence the experience of other visitors (such as cultural tourists). This chapter has provided some innovative examples from political national capitals as to how overnight school excursions could deal with this issue through providing after hours entry or 'sleepovers', as well as incentives to shift demand to other times of the year. However, such activities are not without their costs to national attractions, already facing budget constraints.

Further research is required on school excursions in national capital cities including an understanding of the needs and motives of the market, and the constraints teachers face in school excursion decision making. Key research questions remain as to what specific resources, programmes and infrastructure are required to increase school excursion demand. Destinations and attraction managers require research on the impact of their programmes on student learning about the role and significance of the national capital and the importance of their activities in aiding teachers to communicate the role and significance of the national capital in history and citizenship curriculum. This is particularly important in the context of a risk adverse society and considering the constraints that teachers face in school excursion planning. A lack of research on the economic impact and value of school excursions is also required to help gain financial support in the development of educational resources and

school excursion marketing from the broader, and often smaller, tourism industry in national capital cities.

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15 **Twenty-three Districts in Search of a City: Budapest – the Capitaless Capital?**

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Introduction

This chapter will focus on some of the problems of developing tourism in capital cities that have overly complex administrative structures. The main focus will be on Budapest in Hungary, but comparisons will be made with other capitals such as Prague, Vienna and Copenhagen. The data are derived from a comparative study of cities in 2007, which researched the competitive situation of Budapest (TOB, 2007).

Budapest is the only major international city in Hungary (mainly due to the 'loss' of other large cities following the infamous Treaty of Trianon after the First World War, in which Hungary lost two-thirds of its territory). It is therefore the gateway to the country and the location of almost all national institutions, cultural and tourist attractions, as well as the only major airport. It is also the country's primary tourism destination.

The 'heyday' of Budapest is often quoted as being around the turn of the 20th century, when the city was restructured and many of the most impressive and beautiful attractions were developed, as well as the majority of services and facilities. Following this, it became termed as 'Royal Seat City'. All of this was achieved using a centralized and coherent planning structure. Later, capital cities in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) like Budapest were subject to centralized and restrictive administration during the socialist era, thus the post-socialist efforts to develop autonomous districts of cities have become almost obsessional, massively costly and often inefficient. Planning and management have become completely fragmented, which can create considerable problems for tourism development.

Budapest has a number of world-class tourism attractions, and an article in *The Independent* newspaper noted that cities like Prague and Budapest were already starting to eclipse traditional weekend destinations like Paris and Rome (Demetriou, 2004). Budapest has been rated ahead of other capital cities like

Copenhagen or Lisbon in Euromonitor's (2007) International Top City Destinations Ranking. It was also number six in ICCA's (2007) city rankings. The city has potential for even bigger growth; however, it will be argued in this chapter that its fragmented management structure threatens to hinder the future development of tourism and to jeopardize its competitiveness.

An Overview of Budapest

As the capital city of Hungary, Budapest may be considered the international gateway to the country, thus, it is generally the first (and often the only) destination visited by incoming tourists. It is the only international city in Hungary, in terms of population and area size, political and economic significance or the variety of cultural events. With 1.7 million inhabitants in the municipality, and 2.5 million inhabitants in the agglomeration, concentrating approximately 20% of the Hungarian population, Budapest is one of the largest capital cities of central Europe. Several indicators demonstrate the city's dominance in the Hungarian economy: 41% of the country's GDP is generated in the metropolitan area; its GDP per capita is 208% of the national average; and it concentrates more than half of all foreign capital investments (CSO, 2009). Tourism accounts for 8–8.5% of the city's GDP and the sector employs over 100,000 people. In addition, approximately every third guest night in Hungary is registered in the capital, and about 75% of the country's international tourism revenue is generated in Budapest (TOB, 2008). Due to its capital city status, and the limited meeting infrastructure elsewhere in the country, Budapest plays a major role in business-related tourism. In addition, the city is the hub of Hungary's centralized transport infrastructure where most highways and railway lines meet, and Budapest Ferihegy Airport used to be the country's only international airport for decades (Rätz *et al.*, 2008).

Geographically, Budapest is located along the River Danube that divides the country at approximately equal distance from the western and the eastern borders. This city was created in 1873 by the unification of the independent towns of Buda, Pest and Óbuda, but the hills of Buda and the plains of Pest have been inhabited since prehistoric times, and Buda has been the capital of Hungary since the 15th century. Budapest is the home of the country's major cultural institutions (e.g. the National Theatre, the Hungarian National Museum and the National Gallery) and principal heritage buildings (the House of Parliament, the former Royal Castle, the Chain Bridge and the Millennium Monument at Heroes' Square) (Michalkó, 1999). The city is the setting for the Hungarian nation's culture and history: it embodies the past, the present and the future of the country (Puczkó *et al.*, 2007).

Budapest is divided into 23 districts, which have differing economic, social and cultural characteristics. Most of the attractions, services and facilities are situated in different parts of the city, making it more like a mosaic structure. The central part of the city is defined mainly by its current urban functions (particularly politics, business and culture), built heritage, accessibility and topography, while the difference between the centre and the surrounding parts

is rather well revealed by the differences in architecture, atmosphere and services.

Budapest is one of those European capitals that enjoys a very high amount of international tourism. According to a study by the European Union (EU) (Rátz *et al.*, 2008), Budapest with its 87.5% share is a member of the leading group of capitals – Ljubljana (94.6%), Prague (92.5%), Tallinn (91.2%) Luxembourg (90.8%) and Brussels (88.6%). Budapest is the most important destination for foreign visitors in Hungary, a little over 50% of all foreign tourists visit Budapest (a similar high figure in Tallinn was 59.3% in 2005). The Hungarian capital has a special status in terms of its role in the tourism of Hungary, too.

The Growing Fragmentation of Cities

The contemporary fragmentation of cities is well documented, especially by postmodern urban theorists such as Edward Soja (2000, p. 137), who once described Los Angeles as ‘Sixty Suburbs in Search of a City’. This referred partly to the typical American city planning structure, which provides no identifiable centre, but it also referred to social and spatial polarization and the heterogeneity and cultural diversity of the city. As a result of their historic development, many cities may also be geographically fragmented. Whereas in cities like Prague the main tourism attractions are clustered in the centre, in others like Budapest there is a ‘mosaic’ structure. This makes it difficult for visitors to see all of the city’s attractions in a short time, and transport access might be inconvenient. However, if a city’s main attractions are not naturally clustered geographically and are managed by different districts and municipalities, this can lead to considerable confusion and disharmony. This is the case in Budapest, where tourism is concentrated in different central districts (see Fig. 15.1):

- the Buda Castle (District I);
- inner city (District V);
- Andrásy Avenue and its environs (Districts VI, VII and XIV);
- National Museum and its surroundings (District VIII); and
- Gellért Hill (Districts I and XI).

Although some forms of fragmentation are beyond the power of city authorities, many of them are inextricably linked. For example, new clusters of development may be hindered by the inability of post-socialist governments to create effective partnerships with the private sector. Some government agencies may have problems knowing what to do with their socialist heritage. Cultural diversity may be seen as more of a threat than an opportunity, especially in a country that is trying to rebuild its national identity after years of oppression. An analysis of the complexity of the post-socialist administrative structure in Budapest can therefore help to explain many of the difficulties of managing tourism development.

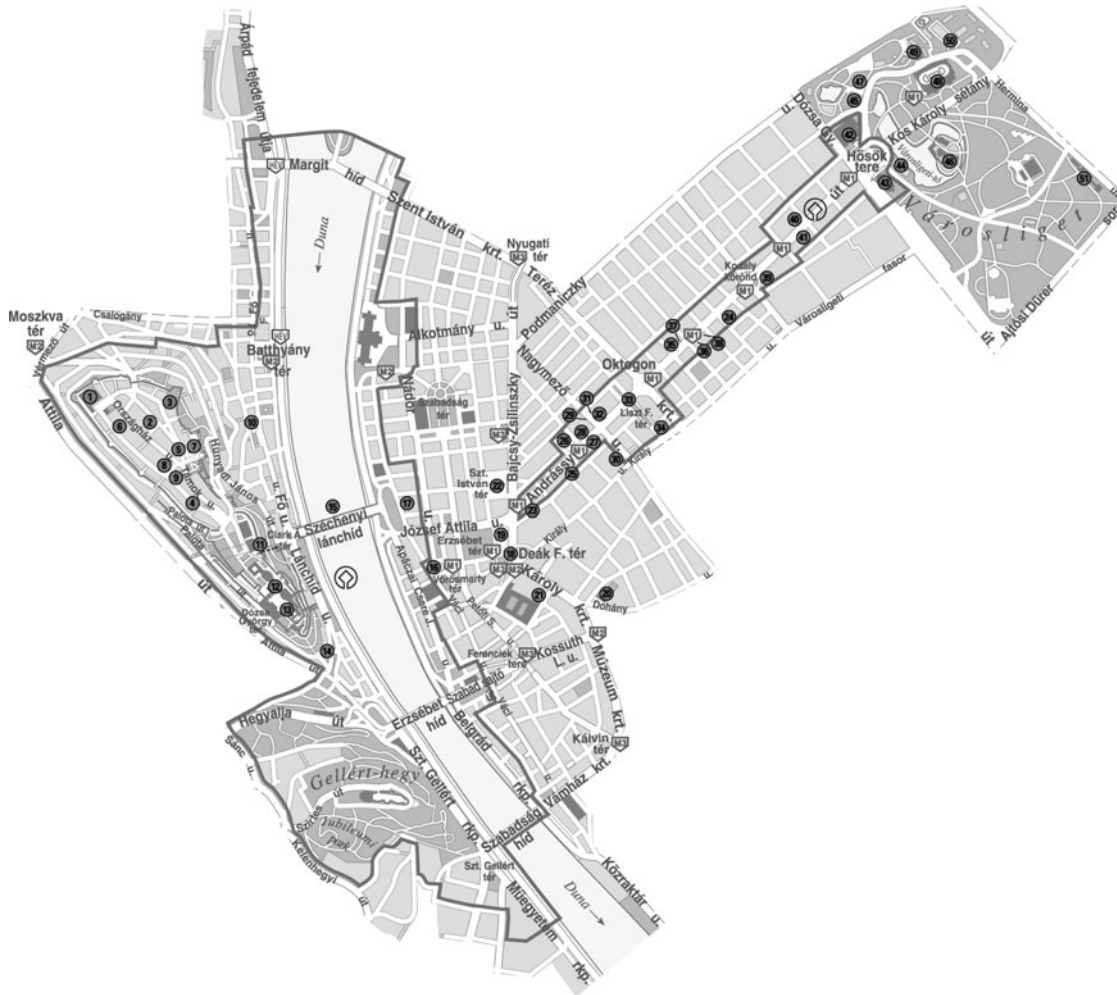


Fig. 15.1. Map of Budapest.

Fragmented administration in Budapest: intra-city tensions

Budapest is a multidimensional and exciting city that is a major challenge to manage effectively. This was especially true in the early 1990s, the period immediately following the socialist era, when the city and its local government had to discard its old ways of functioning and had to create a new strategy to meet the demands of an emerging democracy and free-market economy. The city's new leaders had to replace the centralized, socialist-type approach to local politics with a new one that aimed to adapt to the changing political context by optimizing the resource allocations of the autonomous local governments. Simultaneously, they also had to restructure the executive bodies and the decision-making processes on the local level (Pallai, 2003a).

The change in the Hungarian political system was very strongly influenced by liberal thought, as the establishment of democracy and the market economy – the necessary initial steps of this transition – very much coincided with the liberal drive. The country had to create a legal system for its emerging constitutional democracy, and thus had to redefine individual and property rights (Pallai, 2003b). Thus, a decentralized administrative model was chosen to replace the Soviet-type council system in Budapest, and with the passage of the Act on Local Governments in 1990 (and its major reform in 1994), the capital became an independent two-tier administered city with the same position as a county within the Hungarian territorial governance system. This solution was mechanically based on the national system, which decentralized the majority of local roles to base units of the communities of settlements: in the short transition period from state socialism to democracy, there was neither time nor energy to institutionally handle the individual features of the capital city (Horváth and Péteri, 2003). This was perhaps the point at which Budapest was no longer treated as being special because of its capital city status: the application of the same model to all cities, towns and settlements in the whole country arguably undermined its 'capitalness'. Thus, today each of the 23 districts of the capital disposes of its own resources, carries out its responsibilities and is governed by an independent elected body. Based on the Act, a dual management system was born, as powers are divided between the Municipality of Budapest and the 23 districts. Due to this unusual administrative feature that is almost unique in the OECD countries (OECD, 2001), the allocation of responsibilities and resources between the municipality and the district governments is constantly subject to political tensions and disputes. Within the dual management system, the districts are treated as small, independent municipalities, i.e. there is no hierarchical decision-making relationship between them and the municipality.

This political and administrative fragmentation makes strategic and financial planning rather challenging, binds financial and political resources, and, as a consequence, may have a negative impact on the city's economic and social development. It also makes it difficult for Budapest to function as an 'ordinary capital city', where there should be coordination of the administrative and political functions of the city as a whole. The city of Budapest is responsible for public services, such as public transport, and it provides cultural, educational,

health and social services that cover more than one district. A Regulation Framework on Urban Planning for the whole capital has also been prepared by the municipality, and the district development plans have to be consistent with this framework. The two-tier administrative structure did not prove to be very functional even at the beginning, since the two governments could successfully block each other's development ideas, e.g. the Municipality of Budapest through its zoning authority, while the district government through its right to issue building permissions. The 1994 modification of the Act on Local Governments gave the municipality slightly more rights, especially in strategic planning issues that were relevant for the whole of Budapest (Tosics, 2006).

The peculiar public administration system makes urban governance particularly delicate in the capital, and that has led to a very strong over politicization of decisions (Demszky, 2003). The fact that the city is divided into 23 districts that have no hierarchical relationship affects both the intra-city relations between the districts and the municipality, and the relations between the central state and the city. Since both district and municipality administrations are on the same level, the capital is entangled in an ongoing debate over responsibilities as well as tasks and revenue allocation between the districts and the municipality. In addition, due to the capital's dependence on state grants, the central government exercises considerable power over both the municipal and the district governments. This political and administrative fragmentation makes strategic and financial planning rather challenging, binds financial and political resources, and, as a consequence, may have a negative impact on the city's economic and social development. Ironically, Budapest is sometimes exempt from national funding for certain projects or initiatives in order to redistribute power and resources throughout the country. However, this has the counter-effect of hindering its proper functioning and development as a dynamic capital city. It makes little sense to 'punish' Budapest for being the capital city, as no other city in Hungary is arguably big or significant enough to house the country's major political and cultural institutions.

The redistribution of tourism tax revenues in Budapest gives a good example of how fragmented and contentious tourism management is. The accommodation services are controlled by the district municipalities, but the tourism tax (after every guest night) is levied by the municipality (Table 15.1).

The government provides a special incentive to those cities that introduced tourist tax: after every one Hungarian forint (HUF) an additional two HUF is transferred to the city's budget – this adds up to three HUF. The municipality has been paying back this sum to the districts according to a rather complicated and not at all standard algorithm. The municipality keeps 47% and rebates 53% of the total amount to the districts. This redistribution has very limited direct linkage to performance, though. For example District V generated 48% of tourism tax on city level, but received only 22% of the collected tax back.

Consequently, the political battlefield is much larger in Budapest than elsewhere in the country. The city's and the districts' particular interests tend to clash rather dramatically, and professional issues often assume marked political overtones (Demszky, 2003). Despite the clear definition of district and municipality roles by the Act on Local Governments, district–municipality tensions

Table 15.1. Key statistics by districts (beds, 1998–2006). (From CSO, 2008.)

Districts	Year	Beds	Number of guests	Number of guest nights	Share by guest nights (%)	Share by tourism tax rebate (%)
I	1998	2,092	125,040	312,939	n/a	n/a
	2006	3,502	191,009	478,868	8	0.9
V	1998	5,577	358,627	908,441	n/a	n/a
	2006	7,608	508,620	1,236,691	20	5.8
VI	1998	2,170	143,412	360,704	n/a	n/a
	2006	2,818	182,436	486,354	8	1.5
VII	1998	1,804	90,213	235,470	n/a	n/a
	2006	3,621	250,589	630,293	10	2.1
VIII	1998	939	64,390	144,502	n/a	n/a
	2006	2,282	130,728	311,971	5	2.5
XI	1998	4,941	192,758	500,350	n/a	n/a
	2006	4,739	242,472	625,974	10	3.1
Budapest	1998	37,359	1,788,849	4,664,561	n/a	n/a
Total	2006	44,265	2,483,096	6,226,267	100	100

have been rather high in the last decades, concerning a variety of issues from the allocation to responsibilities to load and revenue-sharing. The strong intra-metropolitan disagreements also absorb political and financial resources, and reduce the capital's ability to clearly express municipal interests at national or even international level.

The impact of administrative fragmentation on tourism attractions

There have been several attempts in Budapest to develop tourist attractions and to make better linkages between sites, which have been thwarted because of administrative conflict. The Castle District is managed by two different agencies – the Municipality of District I and the Ministry of Education and Culture. Attempts by the Ministry of Culture to reuse certain buildings such as the First World War headquarters of the army (e.g. most recently as a multi-functional visitor centre) have been disallowed by District I, which now refuse to give any building permits to the Ministry. The main reasons are untold or termed as a discrepancy between who likes which architectural style. Another example is of the attractions around the Városliget or City Park. This park and its surrounding attractions (e.g. Heroes' Square, the 1956 Revolution Memorial, three art galleries, two museums, a concert hall, the Széchenyi Spa, the zoo, the amusement park, the circus and the ice-skating rink), are variously owned by the state, three Ministries, the Municipality of Budapest and District XIV. Several years ago, a non-governmental organization (NGO) wanted to harmonize the management of the Park and attractions, but the fragmented ownership made this impossible.

There are also problems with contemporary and new developments and attractions. The most popular festival in Hungary now is the Sziget Rock Music Festival in August, which attracts thousands of visitors from all over Europe. However, the future of the festival (which is organized by a private company and enjoys support from the Municipality of Budapest) is frequently in jeopardy because the neighbouring districts want the festival discontinued because of unacceptable noise levels (which are incidentally below the legal level as proved by numerous official tests). One district was even threatening to limit access to the bridge that tourists use to access the island and to get to the festival.

An extension of the city centre and a new cluster of attractions were planned a little outside the city centre, in the so-called Millennium City Centre, which would have created arts, business, leisure, entertainment and residential facilities on a previous brownfield site. However, the public–private partnership (PPP) was not successful, and private investors withdrew. Now, the new National Theatre and Palace of Arts sit in isolation from the rest of the city, with limited surrounding infrastructure or facilities. In another part of the city, in District II, a new cluster of contemporary attractions on the Millenáris brownfield site (e.g. shopping malls, a concert hall, art gallery and museum) is jointly managed by the Ministry of Economics and Transport, the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Municipality of District II, which means there is no coherent future strategy for development and regeneration.

Tourism and City Management

In 2007, a detailed comparative study was prepared by the Tourism Office of Budapest about Budapest and its seven competitor cities, four of which were capitals (Copenhagen, Prague, Tallinn and Vienna). The main objective of the study was to identify and compare all non-attraction-related strengths and weaknesses of the cities. Therefore, the main focus of the research was to look at how tourism was planned and managed at city level. The study applied various research methods such as secondary data analysis, in-depth interviews, mystery shopping and web and brochure analyses.

The research team analysed four aspects of each city. These were city management and tourism, accessibility, experience factors and tourism communication. When asked about the role of districts in the management of tourism, some cities (e.g. Vienna and Copenhagen) failed even to understand the question as their systems are centrally coordinated. Overall, it seemed from the study that Budapest was the most fragmented in terms of the management of the city, as well as the organization of tourism.

In the case of Budapest, the Committee for Tourism had ceased, and tourism issues now belong to the Committee of Economy. The one body that is somehow involved in tourism-related legislation is the Department of Commerce, Tourism and Consumer Rights. Although, one of the vice-mayors is the highest-ranked official in charge of tourism, this seems to be just one of the person's many responsibilities. The mayor's cabinet very rarely, if ever,

addresses tourism-related issues, except major festivals and events. The Tourism Office of Budapest was funded by the Municipality of Budapest and is governed by a vice-mayor. Some of the districts have a tourism committee and may have one person who is responsible for tourism. However, this is not common practice.

Although the Tourism Office of Budapest was seen as being fairly flexible in its organizational structure, it has restricted opportunities for generating its own income and accessing financial support. Overall, the city management was seen as fragmented and district municipalities operate like governments for independent towns. This implies that they care very little about the greater good of the capital, preferring instead to focus on their own autonomous interests. Cooperation is limited in the tourism industry, and the interests of tourism are not taken into consideration either in the preparation of city and district planning documents or during the implementation. Every other competitor capital showed a very different level of cooperation and coordination (e.g. Wonderful Copenhagen is responsible for the whole region of Copenhagen, and is operated by a body that is founded and funded by various parties involved in the tourism industry of the Danish capital).

In terms of the second aspect – accessibility – Budapest performed relatively well. This is important given the geographical fragmentation of the city's attractions discussed earlier. Over ten means of transport are available, many of which partially operated as attractions, and there is a relatively integrated transport system. However, the River Danube is underused, parking for tourist coaches is limited and traffic management is inefficient.

In the survey, three major patterns of attraction mapping were identified:

- Cluster (i.e. most of the major attractions are located in close proximity to each other) – for example in Copenhagen and Prague.
- Satellite or multi-cluster (i.e. major attractions can be found in more than one area of the town) – for example, Tallinn.
- Mosaic (where major attractions are scattered around the city) – such as in Budapest and Vienna.

These qualities make tremendous differences to the visitor experience, as well as city management, as attraction values vary not only by attractions, but by cities if attractions are clustered (e.g. Prague) or in mosaic (e.g. Budapest). Theming becomes especially important for cities with a mosaic type of attraction supply (e.g. linking sites in a heritage trail). The availability of tourist accommodations also tends to follow the availability of attractions (Rätz *et al.*, 2008). Although Budapest has a number of advantages over other (capital) cities in terms of experience creation (e.g. many festivals and events), numerous factors can be seen as disadvantages. These relate to the standardization of new buildings, lack of public space maintenance, inaccessible waterfront areas, few new attractions, limited theming or clusters of attractions and a lack of creative and innovative approaches to development. Many of these are caused by the capital's fragmented structure and the inability of the relevant parties to work together.

Out of all the four categories, Budapest performed the best in terms of tourism communication, even though the Tourism Office of Budapest (TOB) had the lowest budget of all the analysed city tourism offices. This is maybe because communication of the city is managed by one agency (this is true of other cities, but perhaps unusual for Budapest given the fragmentation of other services).

New developments in city and tourism management

There have been some new attempts at better coordinating tourism in Budapest in recent years. The Opposition Party has even suggested a total restructuring of the city's administration if they came into power, reducing the number of municipalities. In 2008, the vice-mayor initiated the foundation of the Tourism Conciliation Committee, whose main objectives were to improve cooperation, efficiency and quality of service, and to organize consultations and discussions. This was a somewhat unexpected move, since before that very little attention was paid to the various issues of tourism. The vice-mayor invited representatives of some 30 bodies and organizations to the initial meeting (Table 15.2).

Table 15.2. Invited members of Tourism Conciliation Committee.

City and national administration	NGOs and professional organizations
Vice-Mayor of Budapest	Hotel Association of Hungary
Advisor for City Image	Association of Tour Operators and Travel Agents
Committee of Economy	Association of Hungarian Event Organizers
Department of Commerce and Tourism and Consumer Rights	Hungarian National Association of Gastronomy
Budapest Tourist Office	Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Budapest)
Hungarian National Tourist Office	Association of Tourist Guides
Tourism Department and Ministry of Local Government	Hungarian Society of Tourism
Budapest-Central Hungary Regional Tourist Board	Association of Tourism Consultants
Office of the County of Pest Municipality	Trade Union for Catering and Tourism
Budapest Transport Company	
Budapest Transport Association	
Budapest Spas Corporation	
Budapest Metropolitan Police	
Municipal Public Space Management Company	
Municipal Public Space Authority	
Municipal Horticultural Company	
District II Municipality	
District V Municipality	
District VIII Municipality	

Originally, only three municipalities were invited to join the Committee. Now, all those municipalities that are directly affected and involved in tourism were invited to join, but most have been unresponsive so far, and many do not even have a representative for tourism.

According to the set of activities agreed, the Committee could run consultations, formulate recommendations and opinions and provide support for all issues that may influence the tourism of Budapest. It can overview the implementation of the Budapest Tourism Development Strategy. Members should work together for the improvement and development of tourist services and are expected to initiate joint projects. The committee has four 'sides' representing all bodies that are somehow involved in tourism: governmental bodies, municipal bodies, districts, and NGOs and professional organizations. No decision can be made if one of the sides objects, therefore the consultation of the bodies involved would be necessary. However, the Committee has not enough power and funds with which to enforce or implement decisions at present.

Destination management

Destination management is something new to the whole tourism industry in Hungary. To many countries, this is what they have been doing for many years, but this was not the case in Hungary (mainly because of socialist centralized power). Since 2006–2007, when the National Tourism Development Strategy was prepared, plans, strategies and background studies were developed, which all aimed at facilitating the launch of destination management in the country. In 2009, every region will announce tenders, in which new destination management organizations can apply for EU support. Some 13 billion HUF will be spent on the creation of destination management organizations all around the country.

One might think that the most important tourism destination of the country, i.e. Budapest would be the most eligible for such support. On the contrary, Budapest is exempt from most of the EU Regional Operative Programme Funds, since the GDP of this region is over the EU's 70%. This leaves Budapest without the opportunity to apply for any support in the destination management scheme, too.

The Tourism Conciliation Committee, however, has assigned the TOB to prepare a strategy document on the issue. In this, based on the existing achievement of the TOB, the formulation of a Budapest Destination Management Organization (BDMO) should be analysed. This document should highlight how complicated this whole issue is, noting that there are districts that are thinking about setting up their own destination management organizations – independently from TOB or the forthcoming new BDMO. Some districts have already developed their own tourism strategies, which is an ongoing sign of their wish to retain their autonomy, despite any collaborations which may be taking place within the city.

Conclusion

It is important to note that the majority of tourists to a capital city (or indeed any destination) do not know or care about the fragmentation of a city's administration, and district boundaries are meaningless for them. Budapest is currently threatened by a stagnation in new attractions development, the failure to regenerate old attractions and a lack of innovative development. The model of Budapest should be a lesson to other capital cities that the fragmentation of management and the failure to respect the harmonization of activities can undermine a city's 'capitalness'. If it is treated the same as any other city in the country, or even disadvantaged as a result of being the capital, this will hinder future developments and the creation of new and unique selling points. A capital city should provide an exemplary role model for the rest of the country, but it cannot do this unless its 'special' status is supported nationally.

Budapest is communicated and marketed both by the Tourism Office of Budapest and the Hungarian National Tourist Office as the capital of the country. This capital status, however, is not systematically or strategically supported by city and district management. This means that although Budapest is officially the capital, its grandness and grandeur is not valued highly enough compared to other cities in the country and other capital cities elsewhere.

Although capital cities in the region (CEE) have been heavily visited in the last few years, the socialist legacy is of waning interest, especially for repeat visitors, and prices are increasing therefore this will not afford them a competitive advantage for much longer. New and creative tourism development is therefore imperative. Capital cities like Budapest which are the country's main gateway and attraction for tourism cannot afford to lose tourists due to poor planning and management.

It seems that the new Tourism Conciliation Committee and the attempt to establish the Budapest Destination Management Organization signify better collaboration possibilities in the future. However, recent evidence also suggests that there is a certain reluctance or apathy on the part of many municipalities to take part in city-wide collaborations. If the 23 districts insist on maintaining their freedom and autonomy instead of supporting a more coordinated and coherent 'capitalness', it is possible that they will never find their city, and neither will anyone else!

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16 Reinvented National Capital City: the Case of Hanoi, Vietnam

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Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 2, the capital city, as a seat of power and place for decision making, has a strong central function. Many authors have thus seen centrality as a key element in capital city qualities (e.g. Gottmann, 1983; Rapoport *et al.*, 1993). In the socialist world, where ‘the centralization factor reinforces the attractive power’ (Barbier, 1986, p. 46), the capital city holds an essential role as a country’s political, economic, and symbolic centre (Claval, 2001). It forms the ‘symbolic head... of the political territory and nation’ (Logan, 2005, p. 560), and symbolizes national identity, status and power (Rapoport *et al.*, 1993). Underlying the process of forming and reinforcing nationalism, the capital city cultural role is essential (Logan, 2005).

Tourism functions of the capital city are identified as national focus, clustering and concentration of heritage and cultural resources, and connectivity (Ritchie and Maitland, 2007). As the capital city facilitates a large movement of tourists, as a hub and gateway, Barbier (1986, p. 46) states: ‘The capital city can only be a great tourist city. That is particular the case in the Third World... but it also the case, for different reasons, in the socialist world where the centralization factor reinforces the attractive power’. The limited literature on capital city tourism is largely focused on the European context, such as Paris (Pearce, 1998), Dublin (McManus, 2002), Budapest (Puczko *et al.*, 2007) or on the new world (Pearce, 2007; Peirce and Ritchie, 2007). There is very limited literature examining the role of capital city in tourism in the Third and the socialist world context.

Hanoi, the capital city of Socialist Republic of Vietnam, holds many special qualities for visitors, derived from memorials, monuments, museums and cultural sites associated with its almost 1000-year history. This ancient and now re-emergent capital city has become a major urban and cultural destination for growing numbers of international and domestic tourists.

This chapter first examines the qualities of Hanoi as a capital city by investigating national identity dimensions in six selected museums in the city. Second, it examines how Hanoi has successfully reinvented itself for both international and domestic development. Third, it delves into the political and social context for developing tourism in one of the least-studied capital cities in the socialist world. In part, we address a gap in the academic tourism literature on the study of tourism in Vietnam, and the criticisms of Alneng (2002) and others who observed that Western tourism academics either ignore or impose their research perspectives on non-Western tourism. To balance the viewpoint this work is co-authored by a Western researcher and a non-Western (Vietnamese) researcher. This chapter also addresses a gap in the literature on capital city tourism within the Third World socialist context.

Hanoi as a National Capital

The historic city of Hanoi, located on a flood plain of Red River, had been both an imperial and a colonial capital city. The city was first established as the capital during the Ly Dynasty in 1010, and was named Thang Long. It retained this capital position for almost 800 years until the capital moved to Hue in 1802 during the Nguyen Dynasty, at that point Thang Long was renamed Hanoi. This history is represented by relics of the Forbidden City of Thang Long such as Hanoi Citadel and the first and nearly 1000-year-old university, the Temple of Literature, as well as in numerous popular legends.

Under the French (1885–1954), Hanoi was selected as capital of French Indochina. The colonial space in Hanoi was established when ancient buildings were destroyed and French-model building designs were imposed. Hanoi, therefore, reveals the features of a colonial city as a ‘nerve centre’ (Edensor, 1998). The French quarters have distinctive leisure facilities such as Hanoi Opera House located within the central business district between the bank of the Red River and the Sword Lake, and the French residential area situated on the way from the Lake to the ceremonial Ba Dinh Square.

With the collapse of the Nguyen Dynasty in 1945, after the August Revolution led by Communist leader Ho Chi Minh, Hanoi was named the capital of an independent Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In December 1946, after failing to find a compromise solution between the restoration of French colonial rule and Vietnamese independence, the country entered into a 9-year guerilla war for liberation from French control. Hanoi’s Ancient Quarter retains a number of monuments in memory of these 9 years.

After the victory of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, at the Geneva Conference a ceasefire was signed, calling for the departure of the French and the temporary division of the country into a Communist north and non-Communist south. At this point, Hanoi was proclaimed the capital once again, but only of north Vietnam. After the success of the 1975 north Vietnamese offensive and the formal reunification of Vietnam in 1976, Hanoi re-emerged as the national capital under the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

In 2010, Hanoi will celebrate its 1000th birthday. As capital city during the imperial, colonial and post-colonial socialist periods, the city built a physical environment 'stressing status and ritual' (Gottmann, 1983, p. 88) representing achievement and embodiment of pride (Logan, 2005). These characteristics strengthen the country sense of cohesion and identity and reinforce the legitimacy of the current socialist government.

The built environment of Hanoi city is a major tourist attraction because it reflects Vietnamese culture and political history (Logan, 2005). The rich history and culture of the ancient city assures its goal as 'guardian of Vietnamese identity' (Boudarel and Nguyen, 2002, p. 1), which tourists both international and domestic strive to experience in their 'collection' of place.

Capital City Tourism in Hanoi

Vietnam has undergone a radical reform from a central-planned to a market-driven economy since 'doi moi', the policy of economic decentralization and liberalization was introduced in 1986 (Berger, 2005). This shift in economic orientation has profoundly influenced international relation policies. From a closely suspicious diplomatic policy before 1986, Vietnam has opened up to the world. The country is positioned as hospitable and friendly, a characteristic that facilitates international tourism development.

The country is an emerging destination for cultural tourism that is experienced by a growing number of international and domestic tourists. In 2008, the country welcomed almost 4 million international tourists and 19.5 million domestic tourists (VNAT, 2009). International tourist arrivals to Hanoi account for 30% of the total international visitors to Vietnam. On the other hand, the proportion of domestic tourists visiting Hanoi is nearly 40%. Thus, Hanoi is a major focus of visitation for both international and domestic visitors. This steady increase in international and internal visitation to Hanoi (Table 16.1) reflects its status as a major city tourism destination.

As a capital city, Hanoi has distinctive features that set it apart from other cities in Vietnam. In comparison to the biggest city in Vietnam, the 300-year-old Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon), Hanoi has a longer 1000-year history and culture. Hanoi exhibits all three features of a capital city tourism context suggested by Ritchie and Maitland (2007) and discussed below.

First, in the national focus dimension as the location of Vietnam government and authority, Hanoi attracts business tourism, in particular MICE tourism. Hanoi hosted major events including APEC 2007, ASEAN Tourism

Table 16.1. International and domestic visitors to Hanoi. (From Hanoi Department of Culture, Tourism and Sport, available at: <http://www.hanoi.gov.vn/hnportal/>)

Year	2005	2006	2007	2008
International	1,109,600	1,150,000	1,300,000	1,255,000
Domestic	3,901,000	4,700,300	5,665,100	6,595,000

Summit 2007, ASEAN Games 2003 and Francophone Summit 1997. The attraction of the city for conventions and conferences lies in its centralization of power and authority into the government and communist party. To the Vietnamese, the daily media coverage of the capital city of Hanoi aims at educating citizens in the country's history and way of government. This is particularly important for domestic and educational tourism (Ritchie and Maitland, 2007).

Second, in the dimension of clustering and concentration of heritage and cultural resources, Hanoi has been an imperial, colonial and post-colonial socialist centralized capital city. There is an accumulation of heritage sites and monuments relating to national history, development with symbolic value. Writing about the opening up of Vietnam for tourism, Lenz (1993) gave a top rating (four out of five) to Hanoi's cultural attractions. He (2000) observes that Hanoi is the principle gateway city for cultural tourism to Vietnam. Hanoi is characterized for tourism by guide books such as the *Lonely Planet* as an exotic city of 'lakes, pagodas and temples' and as the 'Grand old dame of Asia' (Ray *et al.*, 2007). Hien and Brannan (2006) observe that tourism to Hanoi is cultural tourism as almost all city tourist attractions fall under this category.

Third, in terms of connectivity, Hanoi is a hub and gateway to the northern Red River delta and the north-central region. There are only three international airports in Vietnam: Noi Bai (Hanoi), Tan Son Nhat (Ho Chi Minh City) and Da Nang. The Noi Bai International Airport, 40 km from city centre is the hub to northern Asia as the Chinese, Taiwanese, Korean and Japanese markets account for nearly 70% of international tourist arrivals to Hanoi. The city is well-connected to day-trip-distance destinations, such as the World Heritage Site Ha Long Bay; the Mai Chau valley in the Hoa Binh province; the Friendship gate in the Lang Son province; and the former imperial capital city of Hoa Lu.

The distinctive features of a national capital city in a centrally planned socialist developing country reflect the way tourism industry is managed at a macro level. The transition to market economy in Hanoi in particular resembles the Chinese model, which aims at keeping alive in part centrally planned economic and political governance. The outcome of this restructuring has been the hybrid transition towards a development model that blends socialist planning with market principles (Colantonio and Potter, 2006). In this model, political power and decision making are retained by the socialist leadership, while first state corporations (e.g. Vietnamtourism, Hanoitourist) and later joint-venture and private enterprises have operated 'emerging sectors' of tourism under market principles.

This blending of a market economy under a socialist orientation in tourism influences the way a city is presented and marketed to foreign visitors. Analysing Havana's position, Colantonio and Potter (2006) argued that this is characterized by two diverging forces that are pulling the city in two different directions. One force is the Cuban leadership's socialist ideology (an inward-looking model), while the second force is driven by the global economy and the tourism industry pulling the city into the world market economy and forcing the city to

look outwards rather than inwards. Hanoi is to some extent experiencing a very similar situation.

In this centrally planned situation in Hanoi, the roles of the Ministry of Culture, Sport and Tourism and its departments as well as of the local Hanoi Peoples Committee and the Hanoi Tourism Administration are influential in developing tourism to the capital city. The Ministry and its affiliated agencies also control the development of the cultural sites in the city. The central management of the cultural assets of the state through the Ministry of Culture and its various divisions is advantageous from the dissemination perspective. Management of the cultural heritage assets through the city is also important to international tourism (Logan, 2000).

Hanoi displays the capital city tourism features in all three dimensions analysed by Ritchie and Maitland (2007). A useful distinction to elucidate the capital city dimensions suggested by Pearce (2007) might be made between governmental institutions, of which houses of Parliament are the most emblematic and clearly express the political role of capitals (Griffiths, 2000), and national monuments and institutions such as art galleries and museums that reflect symbolic functions and cultural capital accumulation. This chapter concentrates on the later dimensions of the Pearce (2007) classification analysing the symbolic functions of museums in Hanoi in building national identity.

National Identity and Museum Visitation

As the symbolic head of a nation, Logan (2005, p. 560) argues that government and the people expect the capital city to represent them, to reflect their achievement not just for internal purposes but also in the international stage, to other governments and people. The emphasis of the cultural role of capital city 'is essential in nation forming, underlying the efforts by national governments to form and reinforce a national sense of identity and to use it to tie the citizenry together into a more comprehensive and cooperative entity'. To reconcile both goals, tourism has been chosen as an effective tool. Hanoi is reinvented capital city in the sense it reconciles political education with international tourism, representing a new Vietnam in the international stage with the development of domestic tourism for national unity.

Pitchford (2008) classifies the types of attractions that are relevant to nationalism and national identity building as part of 'identity tourism'. In this type of tourism, the interpretation of history and culture is central to national identity building because of its narratives of the nation, recovered or invented culture and traditions as key resources for constructing nationalism with pride, affection and loyalty. As Katriel (1993, p. 70) argues 'museums and historical sites have, indeed, become major participants in contemporary efforts to construct culturally shared, historically anchored representations of "self" and "other"'. The museums, monuments and historic sites of Hanoi also reflect the three spatial components of symbolic sites characterized by Edensor (1998) in the case of the Taj Mahal (India) as colonial, sacred and national space.

A number of museums in Hanoi have been identified as contributing to the national capital identity. Both the symbolism (Table 16.2) and visitation (Table 16.3) to four museums are reviewed: the Revolution Museum, the Ho Chi Minh Museum, the Fine Arts Museum and the History Museum. This choice was dictated by the availability of visitor statistics. However, with strong national themes these museums could be considered representative of those in the city that deliver key state messages that relate to the Vietnamese identity, freedom and patriotism. In addition, Hoa Lo Prison Museum and the Museum of Ethnology will be examined for their contribution to nationalism, even though the visitor figures to those sites are not available.

The colonial legacy has been influenced by nation state involvement with participation of former colonizers and political allies in the design and construction of important cultural sites (Sutherland, 2006). Logan (2005) observes that the cultural importance of the capital city in many Asian countries is associated with colonization. Four out of six sites reviewed here are housed in the former colonial buildings. However, those museums that combine new and old elements of the national story appeal differently to the international and domestic tourist.

Table 16.2. Hanoi sites' significance.

Attraction	Theme	Significance
Revolution Museum	Commemorates Vietnamese Revolution	Presents history of the Vietnamese Revolution; located in central Hanoi
Ho Chi Minh Museum	Commemorates Ho Chi Minh	Dedicated to Hoi Chi Minh's life, commemorates struggle for freedom; located in national capital precinct of central Hanoi
Fine Arts Museum	Presents the Vietnamese fine arts	Housed in the former French Ministry of Education; located in central Hanoi
History Museum	Represents Vietnamese history	Housed in the former old archaeological research institute of the École Française d'Extrême Orient (EFEO) or French School of the Far East; located near Hanoi Opera House in central Hanoi
Museum of Ethnology	Represents 54 different ethnic groups in Vietnam	Modern museum exhibiting culture and history of Vietnam's ethnic groups; located in a suburb area
Hoa Lo Prison	Commemorates Vietnamese leaders in revolution against the French and known as Hanoi Hilton in the Vietnam War	Major part of the prison demolished in 1996. Portions of walls and the main gate were retained as vestiges for historical reasons; located near Hanoi central district

Table 16.3. Visitors to Hanoi sites. (Vietnam Academy of Social Science.)

Year	History Museum		Revolution Museum		Ho Chi Minh Museum		Fine Art Museum	
	Domestic	Inter-national	Domestic	Inter-national	Domestic	Inter-national	Domestic	Inter-national
1998	45,000	37,000	173,000	2,097	942,983	49,397	22,000	17,751
1999	46,000	35,900	172,927	3,221	1,331,957	132,446	27,700	21,004
2000	70,000	27,000	182,232	3,747	1,520,747	89,113	29,031	23,228
2001	57,000	45,000	155,425	4,936	1,465,280	90,101	30,200	21,004

The History Museum is adjacent to colonial landmark architecture in Hanoi – The Opera House. The museum is housed in the former old archaeological research institute of the *École Française d'Extrême Orient* (EFEO) or French School of the Far East. Visitation to the History Museum is well balanced between domestic and international tourists. The international visitation proportion ranges from 30 to 45% annually. There is the same figure of 45% for international visitation to the Fine Art Museum, located in the former office of French Colonial Ministry of Education. The French involvement in contemporary times has been in the design and development of the Museum of Ethnography. The museum has a focus on the 54 ethnic groups in Vietnam, a theme attracting a higher proportion of international visitors at 59%.

The links to the colonial past in the present is remarkable with 80% of French tourists arriving in Vietnam to visit Hanoi, the former Indochina colonial capital. The interest of international tourists in the museums reflects what they may perceive as the guardian of a nation identity: its history, arts, ethnicity and architecture.

Beyond museums, Hanoi as a capital city presents a sacred space. Many sites in the city are symbolic sacred locations. As capital city of a socialist country, respect towards the leaders of the communist party such as Ho Chi Minh (paralleling reverence of Lenin in Russia and Mao Tse Tung in China) has created a 'ritual' visitation to places like the Ho Chi Minh Mausoleum and complex that includes the Ho Chi Minh Museum. In this aspect, tourism is a kind of pilgrimage to what Giebel (2001) refers to as a 'museum shrine'. The surrounding Ba Dinh Square is sacred space for many national events and military marches. In this sense Hanoi's Ba Dinh Square has a role similar to that of the Red Square in the former Soviet Union or Tianmen Square in Beijing, China. The museum attracts both sets of tourists, the Vietnamese for patriotic duty and the international visitors to think about one of the significant political leaders of the 20th century. Each year the museum reports welcoming more than a million tourists, of which less than 10% are international. To the Vietnamese, the Ho Chi Minh Mausoleum Complex is a must see place, an ultimate tourism goal for many rural Vietnamese. To them Hanoi has the same meaning as Ho Chi Minh.

In Edensor's national space dimension, Hoa Lo Prison Museum and the Revolution Museum capture the national story for both international and domestic visitors. During the Vietnam War, Hanoi was seen as an opposite embodiment to the USA (Logan, 2000), representing a hard-to-forget experience of the American involvement through the image of the so-called Hanoi Hilton (Hoa Lo Prison, now the Hoa Lo Prison Museum), where American pilots (including former Republican presidential candidate John McCain) were imprisoned. Hoa Lo Prison Museum is an important part of national pride and is interesting to international tourists, particularly the French and the Americans.

The same type of victory and evolution of Vietnamese over the French in gaining independence is the central theme of Revolution Museum. The lesson of Vietnamese victory is delivered intensively, especially for schoolchildren. As Anderson (1991, p. 178) argues 'museums, and the museumizing imagination, are both proudly political'. International visitors account for a modest proportion of less than 5% of museum visitation indicated as the priority is the national story for the Vietnamese audience. The dominant medium is text, mainly newspapers and letters. Thus, it is not easy for foreigners to understand the exhibits as little contextual or interpretive material is provided.

Discussion

In terms of national capital tourism, contemporary Hanoi represents a number of types of national capitals portrayed by the editors in Chapter 1 (this volume; also see Table 16.4) because of its long and varied history. Even today, Hanoi through its historic sites demonstrates characteristics from all of these phases that are employed in interpretation, both as sites of patriotic education for the Vietnamese and as attractions for international tourism.

Hanoi is a planned capital. The national capital precinct now plays an important and planned role in reinforcing the national character of Hanoi (Logan,

Table 16.4. Typology of national capital tourism in Hanoi.

Types of capital	Observations regarding Hanoi
Planned capital	Hanoi has had four distinct phases as a planned capital that are interpreted. First: the Imperial City of the Ly Dynasty; second as the South-east Asian administrative centre of the French colonial administration; the communist period led by Ho Chi Minh; and now the capital of the reunited Vietnam
Political capital	Hanoi has been a political capital of royal dynasties, of the French colony, of the communist regime and now of the reunited Socialist Republic of Vietnam
Historic capital	Hanoi is a historic capital with a rich royal and political background reflected by significant historic sites and museums
Former capital	Hanoi is a former capital of royal dynasties, of the French colonial administration and the communist North Vietnam

2000). The Hanoi of today reflects a layering of the planning undertaken during the imperial, colonial and post-colonial socialist stages of the history of the city. Throughout the history of Hanoi it has always been a political capital. For the longest part of the history of Hanoi it was a royal imperial capital. Now, the partial restoration of Hanoi Citadel and recent archaeological finds of the Hanoi Forbidden (Imperial) City has reinforced the royal city identity of Hanoi. As Logan (2000) notes, each regime has sought to define which elements of the urban environment would be symbolically significant for the people.

In 2010, Hanoi will celebrate its 1000th year of history. The Vietnamese government aims to stage related events for both international and domestic audiences (Logan, 2005). The international audience will be tourists who will be attracted by festivals. With the opening up of Vietnam for tourism since early 1990s, the historical city of Hanoi has attracted a large number of French, other European, Asian and Vietnamese overseas visitors. The international tourism income is an important source of revenue for the Hanoi municipal government accounting for 7% of the GDP of the city. In addition, rising household incomes in Vietnam are driving growth of domestic tourism. In the 2000–2010 Master Plan for Hanoi Tourism, the local tourism authority puts an emphasis on policies geared to this market.

As the global economic crisis has led to a slump in the international market since late 2008, the domestic market has become a lifeline for the city's tourism industry. An aggressive marketing campaign with heavy discounts for domestic visitors has been part of a government stimulus package. Developing domestic tourism to capital city's heritage sites is a tool to strengthen the unity of the country, as well as reinforce the patriotic duty and legitimacy of the current government and one-party system (Logan, 2005).

Conclusion

Hanoi has successfully reinvented itself as a capital city tourism destination, because the popular sites (museums in particular) combine old and new elements of the national story that appeal differently to international and domestic audiences. These heritage sites perform as 'multifunctional goods' that serve multi-motivated users (Ashworth, 2001). Even though the objectives of tourism development are different for international tourism (generating revenue) and domestic tourism (national unity and patriotism), Hanoi has reconciled a national story in which both international and domestic tourists can find appropriate interpretations.

How then can the case of Hanoi contribute to our understanding of national capital city qualities for tourism? This case demonstrates the value of employing the historic sites of a national capital city to create experiences for diverse international and domestic audiences. It also demonstrates the physical evolution of a capital city environment that commemorates key elements of the past while creating a relevant story for the present.

The reinvented capital city of Hanoi portrayed as an imperial, colonial and socialist capital city exhibits a cluster of cultural resources used for tourism and

the symbolic construction of the national identity. With its evolving role as a capital city in the past, Hanoi is in every way a reinvented capital city. Despite the different objectives geared to international and domestic visitors, Hanoi's cultural sites narrate the national story. The national museums and historic sites play an important cultural and political role, reflecting Hanoi's status as a national capital, nurturing cross cultural communication with international visitors and evoking nationalism for the Vietnamese.

The dual purposes of catering to the interests of international tourism and nurturing Vietnamese nationalism for domestic tourism through key iconic sites in Hanoi may shape visitor perceptions, contributing to the nature of the reinvented capital city. As documented through this chapter, Hanoi's historic sites cater to the needs of visitors by emphasizing old and new aspects of the national story in the museum sites of the city. As an emerging reinvented capital destination, Hanoi has built on its historic sites to illustrate a story about the capital that resonates with both international and internal audiences.

A limitation of this chapter has been the reliance on secondary information sources as well as of the authors own experiences as visitors to, and researchers in, Hanoi. Future research should be undertaken to investigate visitor perceptions of national capital identity as they visit the museums and historic sites of Hanoi and as they move through the historic tourist city environment. It is possible that observations recorded in visitor books at museums could be analysed using methods proposed by Noy (2008) and Andriotis (2009). This research could also be undertaken by surveying visitors before, during and after their visits or by asking visitors to keep a diary as they visit these sites.

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17 Resurrecting Phoenicia: Tourist Landscapes and National Identity in the Heart of the Lebanese Capital

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Tourists . . . gaze in total wonder at the spectacular rebirth of the Lebanese capital. ‘Switzerland of the Middle East’, ‘Gate of the Arabs’, ‘Crossroads of East and West’ . . . Surnames previously adorning Beirut re-emerge while touring the vibrant central district busy with its banking, commercial and touristic activities. [This] is the great tour de force that is the rebirth of Beirut, Ancient City of the future.

(Trawi, 2003, p. 7)

Introduction

This chapter examines the rebuilding of Beirut with a specific focus on the development of heritage tourism in the capital city. Based on ethnographic research conducted between summer 2005 and winter 2006, I argue that rebuilding Beirut is not simply an architectural and engineering project, but fundamentally a memory and heritage project. While attracting tourist dollars is a well-established strategy for promoting post-civil war economic recovery, such processes do not necessarily reflect local experiences and histories. In preserving the city and its landscape, Beirut serves as a museum – a repository for memory evoking narratives of belonging, authenticity and identity in the heart of the national body. This process must be understood as embedded within local, regional, political and global contexts. After briefly contextualizing the redevelopment of Beirut, I follow with a discussion on national memory and identity in the Lebanese context, with specific emphasis on the role of archaeology, and conclude with a discussion of the city’s heritage narrative tourism redevelopment strategy.

Beirut was proclaimed the capital of Lebanon on 1 September 1920 by General Gouraud, establishing the French Mandate administration for Greater Lebanon. Since its independence in 1941, Lebanon has experienced

several crippling wars, the most devastating and prolonged being the civil war from 1975 to 1990. This conflict drew together internal and external political forces with devastating consequences for the nation and its capital city. By the time of reconstruction in 1995, an estimated 130,000–250,000 civilians had been killed as a result of the civil war, another 1 million people were injured, and many thousands more were internally displaced (Khalaf, 2006). The years of destruction left the city and the country with a non-functioning government, little state legitimacy, its population spatially and politically divided and its capital city destroyed. Although the protracted violence has officially ceased, political assassinations and car bombings remain common.

Soon after the conflict ended, the then Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri and his new government pushed forward a plan to rebuild the city and return it to its previous splendour as the tourist and commercial capital of the region. Beirut was not an ordinary city; it was the capital city, an ancient city and the symbolic 'heart of the nation'. These factors complicated its reconstruction and utilized competing national, public, political and financial interests. Financially crippled, the Lebanese state lacked the revenue and the administrative and technical means to carry forth the massive reconstruction of Beirut. The head of the engineering company, OGER Liban (owned by Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri) was appointed head of the Council for Development and Reconstruction (CDR); a government agency responsible for the 4.5 million m² of the city designated for post-civil war redevelopment. This action represents a clear conflict of interests. In effect, this allowed the 'main private organization in the building industry [to take] over the official planning advisory board' (Sarkis, 2006; Makdisi, 1997a). The agency that the government used to control private development was itself privatized.

Based upon CDR and Rafiq Hariri's recommendations, a single company was the preferred solution to the problems of financing and coordination of the massive reconstruction project. This marriage between state and private commercial interests bore The Lebanese Company for the Development and Reconstruction of Beirut Central District (BCD), known by its French acronym *Solidere*. Formal establishment of this private firm for the sole purpose of reconstructing BCD was established on 5 May 1994. This partnership raised criticisms against the Lebanese state and Hariri, who personally held significant shares in *Solidere*. '[T]he single firm concept has been argued in terms of the governments supposed inability to pay for the infrastructure – and hence the need for private investment as opposed to public expenditure', yet this has critically challenged the role and function of the state in securing the public interest (Makdisi, 1997a). *Solidere* and the CDR-focused development on the BCD as a primary means of rebuilding the nation, at the deliberate exclusion of the surrounding suburbs and the rest of the country. The State, *Solidere*, and Hariri appear to overlap in their interests, and at times even stand in for one another. As such, public interests are subsumed by private interests. As Greater Lebanon was extracted from Greater Syria, Beirut's central business district is extracted from the city and the nation.

Beirut: Archive of National Memory

Solidere promotes amazement at the grand rebirth of Beirut through strategic display in the BCD. Images of the pre-civil war city, its famous squares, commercial centres, government buildings and tourist sites are on billboard display throughout the BCD and in front of the Parliament building in Nijmy Square. These 'before' civil-war images, experienced in the 'after' reconstruction city alters the experience of the rebuilt landscape. The narrative display of these temporal moments – 'before' and 'after' – narrates the rebirth of the city, yet jumps over the gap of 15 years of civil war. The civil-war period is compartmentalized and cleansed from the story of the city and the nation. This is perhaps because the gap containing violence is too difficult to face and too terrifying to remember, or because the years of war are so counter to Beirut's self-imagined identity as a place of plurality and cosmopolitan harmony, that they are conveniently 'forgotten'.

Whichever the reason, the causes of the civil war remain unaddressed in the redevelopment of the city and nation. The war serves as a memory artefact; constructed as an aberration in the centre-stage performance of reconstruction, development and modernity. The pre-civil-war causes of armed violence and their connection to current redevelopment strategies are not tackled, but rather buried under the rubble of forgotten memories, as is evident in Solidere's slogan: 'Beirut – An Ancient City for the Future.' The present city and its need for reconstruction become irrelevant.

Pre-civil war remembrance of the city through the narratives of those who witnessed its destruction is difficult to recognize in the current rebuilt landscape. The selection of politically valid memories for Solidere's development plan presents multiple challenges. Memories themselves are expressions of experiences cast through the prism of difference (age, gender, class and religion); yielding multi-varied memory repositories detached from the rebuilt environment. Such memories are not politically recognized as valid and do not fit Solidere's historical narrative. One-third of Beirut was destroyed by the civil war and another one-third destroyed by Solidere's redevelopment strategy (Makdisi, 1997a,b). In this commercial process of reconstruction, Beirut is 'stripped away [from] the past', with the surface of the city laid bare as 'sheer surface – spectacle – and nothing more' (Makdisi, 1997a). Solidere, in promoting its commercial and financial interests, along with the Ministry of Tourism, are both in the business of exhibition and sightseeing. Both tourism and financial industries are the largest profit sectors of the Lebanese economy. Managing conflicting images and narratives about Beirut involve selective 'reconstruction' and 'preservation' of some spaces while others, deemed less memorable and insignificant to the city's history, are desecrated; refilled with new historical imaginings and invested with new meanings. As Forty (2001) reminds us, memory and remembering are the results of an organic and dual process of both remembering *and* forgetting. To remember is also to forget.

Memory and forgetting involve both practices of *artefact* creation and *iconoclasm*. Forms of construction and reconstruction involve simultaneous

erasures (Connerton, 1989; Nerone and Wartella, 1989; Nora, 1989; Halbwachs, 1992; Forty, 2001; Kuchler, 2001; Lowenthal, 2001). In the case of Beirut, iconoclasm is a reminder of the artefact that is no more. As such, destruction of the city through reconstruction has a destabilizing and disorienting effect similar to the destruction caused by the war itself. Destruction overlaid upon destruction does not eradicate the city in the memories of those who experienced such destruction. Rather, destruction draws attention to the absences and propels the urgency to hold back the terror of looming oblivion through creating memory. Generating meaning through the environment and lived landscape is an important aspect of forging old and new identities. Memories serve as a means of imagining, constructing and framing the self in a larger social terrain. Connection to place shapes and mediates identity and meaning within a larger social world of significance and symbols (Frisch, 1986; Freeman, 1992; Malkki, 1992, 1995; Booth, 2006).

The emptied space of BCD, made ready for reconstruction, is described as a 'vital void...wiped out – not by the war but by the reconstruction project' (Sarkis, 2006). This interpretation draws on the complex interrelationship between artefact and iconoclasm. Physical spaces and objects are remembered through experience, and it is through experience that memory is generated (Frisch, 1986; Freeman, 1992; Archibald, 1999; Forty, 2001; Booth, 2006). The relationship of objects to memory is dynamic and involves the participation of individuals and collectivities at multiple scales.

For some (Khalaf, 2006; Sarkis, 2006), the razed city centre holds a new potentiality for openness and tolerance; it offers hope for mediating across communal difference. In this respect the void is a vital one, necessary for the recovery of the city and its people. However, by drawing attention to what is unrecognizable and no longer seen, the void itself makes history and memory more apparent – the absence itself points to a presence; a reminder of what was once there:

Levelled and open spaces can once again offer rare opportunities to reclaim a measure of freedom and spontaneity within the enclosure of the city. All adjoining areas radiating from Beirut's centre are increasingly commoditized, deliberately monitored and exploited in ways that are bound to discourage any spontaneous appropriation or unplanned development.

(Khalaf, 2006, p. 180).

The freedom and spontaneity associated with the BCD and specifically Martyr's Square, is problematic. First, the fact that a space has been physically opened does not directly imply freedom in appropriating space. Freedom to access space and feel a sense of ownership and legitimacy may not be present in the sheer fact of 'openness', but must be experienced through daily practice. Romanticizing Martyr's Square as a place of free socio-political expression, evidenced by demonstrations, negates alternative remembrances of the square as the fault-line (Green Line) dividing combative factions and warring identities into their separate enclaves between Christian east and Muslim west Beirut.

Second, Martyr's Square, conventionally a space of protest, is by no means the exclusive site of such political action, which just as often moves organically through the streets as witnessed by the street marches and labour strikes

blocking the road to the airport in 1997 and again in 2005. Currently, the city centre is also a heavily fortified militarized zone surrounded by the military and under the constant threat of state violence and political repression against such appropriations of 'freedom'.

The dislocation and disjunctures experienced by the additional destruction of the remaining city involves a further destabilizing effect on memory – a re-wounding rather than healing. The power for recovery and transformation in Solidere's reconstruction strategy for the BCD is overstated. An alternative perspective views the city centre's open void as an erasure of vital elements of its social fabric, as a fundamental loss of history, heritage and social memory (Makdisi, 1997a). The rebuilt downtown spaces are emptied of history; reconstituted to serve alternative (more commercially profitable) imaginings of heritage and belonging. Beirut's significance lies in its capacity to invoke national memory, bearing the archival record of identity and national legitimacy. This archival power marks national capitals in profound ways.

Archaeology's Contentious Landscape

Unless the public is informed about the meaning of their past and their connection with it, they cannot be expected to preserve and protect the archaeological vestiges which embody it.... Indeed, the job of urban archaeologists is reconstruction. They reconstruct and revive the memory of a town or city by rescuing evidence from above and below ground. Urban archaeology helps reconstruction by retrieving vital information to clear the way for building the future. It revives a dimension of the past in order to avoid creating alien spaces.

(Seeden, 1993, pp. 6–9)

Archaeology's partnership with urban development is neither new nor coincidental. Both archaeology and urban development serve as constructive tools of collective identity formation, working as partners (although at times antagonistic) in collective memory making projects. Used as ideological technologies by state and development authorities, the evidence they collect serve to support the formation of a cohesive identity in line with predominantly Maronite claims to a Phoenician–Greco–Roman past tied to Western civilization.

French intellectuals and mandate authorities, with the support of the Maronite Patriarchate, attempted to resurrect a coherent Phoenician past with strong historical and cultural affinities with France (Dawn, 1973; Zamir, 1985; Makdisi, 1996, 2000; Kaufman, 2004). This Phoenician historical project, not purely an academic endeavour, served as justification for the political and cultural separation of Lebanon (under the tutelage of French authority), from Greater Syria after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1918 until independence in 1942. Under the mandate, Muslim and Christian *zu'ama* (political leaders) cooperated with the French authorities in order to share in the economic and political privileges granted by the French authorities to the Maronite community. Part of this cooperation included a tacit recognition of both Western legitimacy and the ancient Phoenician origins of Lebanon (Kaufman, 2004).

During the Mandate and the post-independence eras, Lebanon witnessed a fundamental shift in its economic development strategy. Economic investment turned from agriculture to tourism and the service sectors of banking and commerce. Projecting a Lebanon rooted in a Phoenician, non-Arab historical past for tourist consumption brought economic benefits for Christian and Muslim (predominantly Sunni) urban merchants and those involved in commercial and industrial investments (Asad, 1976; Owen, 1976; Fawaz, 1983, 1994; El Khoury, 2001). During the post-civil war era, this same focus continues with all government and business investments directed towards development of tourism and finance services infrastructure. The urbanized Sunni Muslim and Christian bourgeoisie continue to follow the Maronite line of Phoenician identity representation as such imagining persists to serve tourism and their financial investment interests in Beirut's downtown redevelopment.

Currently, over 500 prehistoric sites throughout Lebanon and approximately 50 sites in Beirut have been surveyed (Solidere Annual Report, 2004). Beirut's reconstruction plans include two large-scale archaeological digs which will serve as open-air museums. These restored and preserved sites occupy the centre of the most highly valued commercial land in the heart of the capital. Partnered with United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Solidere worked with several international archaeological in seizing the opportunity to dig under the city, which had previously been unimaginable. The Lebanese government, acting in the interests of Solidere, came to an agreement with UNESCO, signed 27 April 1993, to coordinate their efforts in both preservation and reconstruction (Solidere Annual Report, 2004). Once razed the BCD became hotly contested by project participants, each with competing interests.

No stronger evidence than the land itself to 'speak' its legitimate identity to the nation's inhabitants. Identity is written in the stones of the archaeological excavations. Of the 50 archaeological sites in Beirut, two open-air museums were selected for in situ preservation. In this section, I explore the role of these sites in the overall model and image of the new city.

The first open-air museum selected for preservation was near Martyr's Square. It is bordered by Place de l'Etoile to the south, St Joseph Orthodox Church to the west, Martyr's square to the north, and St Joseph's Maronite Church to the east (Fig. 17.1). This large open site, dug approximately 4.5 m deep, contains several Greco-Roman columns, capitals and remnant stone-walls. The second site, located near the Serial (the old Ottoman barracks converted to a government administrative building), is the Roman baths (Fig. 17.2). In preserving the site, Solidere developed a beautification scheme that required the planting of trees, a small wood arbour, and the installation of several benches.

Marked for national heritage, and worthy of preservation, these sites politically fit the plan to mix ancient and modern structures in a city; attracting both tourist and financial industry revenues (Rosenzweig, 1986). Redevelopment in interests of finance, commerce, and tourism, at the exclusion of large segments of the local population is a risky endeavour in a country with such a bloody past. The result is continued contestation over belonging and legitimate



Fig. 17.1. Open-air museum surrounded by the Maronite and Orthodox churches. (Source: author.)



Fig. 17.2. Roman baths preserved as an open-air museum. (Source: author.)

identity: Lebanon as a cosmopolitan Western-oriented nation with historical roots in a Phoenician past, and Lebanon as an Arab nation with Eastern roots and an Islamic cultural heritage. The struggle between these two political identities exploded in the streets of Beirut during the 1975 civil war, and find expression through the processes of clean-up and rebuilding, as the city manifests spatial segregation reminiscent of the civil war division between east and west Beirut (Salibi, 1976, 1988; El-Khazen, 1991; Hiro, 1992).

Tourism and banking figure prominently in the city and the nation's economic recovery plan and the making of identity. The political use of archaeology in national heritage formation and tourism rests upon the narrative of an 'ancient' commercial cosmopolitanism. This theme is evidenced in an advertisement published in *Cedar Wings* plays on the fusion of identity and commerce as a 'natural' geographical aspect of Lebanese culture itself. A marketing campaign presents the image of a Phoenician figurine in front of a modern computer, and the heading, 'Trade where trade was born' (Middle East Airlines, 1996, p. 30). Commissioned by the Investment Development Authority of Lebanon, the advertisement makes the following claim:

When the time came for trade to be born, natural selection took its course and the Lebanese coast was chosen. Located in the heart of the Middle East and between East and West... Lebanon shall stand as one of the top ranked spots for regional trade. Because there's one thing history can't change; that's geography.
(*Cedar Wings*, 1996, p. 30)

Another billboard advertisement in Hariri International Airport reads: 'We invented the alphabet so we could say welcome'. These references to a Phoenician past draw upon discourse and material culture, forming a coherent story about self, belonging, and identity. Each advertisement, aimed at business professionals and tourists, constructs the capital city as a commercially modern and culturally open cosmopolitan centre.

The claim to a Phoenician–Graeco–Roman heritage and identity is most remarkably conveyed through the efforts of genetic researchers self-described as 'genetic archaeologists' (Gore, 2004). Phoenician authenticity is not only found in the land and its artefacts, but also in the blood's DNA. A 2004 study by two geneticists, Spencer Wells at Harvard, and Pierre Zalloua at American University of Beirut (AUB), funded by the National Geographic Society, used modern DNA testing to understand the relationship between the contemporary Lebanese and their *assumed* 'Phoenician ancestors'. Aiming to identify the descendants of the Phoenicians, Wells and Zalloua attempt to show the continuity of Phoenicianity over time, comparing genetic markers, 'mutations that arose in Phoenician times [that] can still be found in blood today', with DNA samples from known Phoenician mummies (National Geographic, 2006). Guided by the belief that Lebanon was the Phoenician homeland, the geneticists drew upon the legitimizing discourse of science and biology. As a technology of 'biopower' genetics was deployed in this case to settle the conflicts over identity (Foucault, 1977). They expected to find specific Phoenician mutations in the Lebanese DNA pool. However, they concluded that there was no genetic difference between Christians and Muslims; they formed one people.

Additionally, they found no difference between the inhabitants of the Lebanese coast, the Lebanese mountains and people living further inland in the Syrian interior. These conclusions contradict the political claims by some advocates of a Phoenician Lebanese identity; of Lebanon's uniqueness and fundamental differences that legitimate its separation from the rest of Syria. DNA, in revealing biological 'truth', can be subverted in social truth-making processes in favour of a more politically viable interpretation.

Archaeology, used as a tool of collective memory and national identity, creates memory artificially because contemporary individuals do not remember the distant past (Lucas, 1997; Kohl, 1998; Mourad, 2006). Yet, precisely because the ancient past cannot be remembered, societies need to create it, using land or blood (MacCannell, 1979, 1984; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). However, such endeavours fail to incorporate other complex interconnections. In the case of Lebanon, the Phoenician strand of Lebanese history is connected to wider processes in the archaeological record, that include Phoenician-Graeco-Roman sites in Syria, Palestine, Israel and Jordan, which are conveniently 'forgotten' in efforts to form a singular identity narrative (Said, 1978). Genetics and archaeology are tools identity projects evident in the nation's urban landscape.

Reconstructing Tourism and Heritage

Lebanon's imagining of itself as an embodied nation – the nation as a body possessing a defined and bounded territory, and a distinct history, culture and heritage – is an important aspect of all nation formation. These distinctions were made most clearly by Western travellers, missionaries and scholars in the early 19th century. Perceived distinct cultural, religious, ethnic and historical differences were used to justify the separation of Lebanon from Greater Syria (Al-'Aqqi, 1959; Said, 1978; Akarli, 1988; Makdisi, 1998; Kaufman, 2004). These constructions of difference continue to shape Lebanese identity:

Among all the reconstruction projects launched by Mr. Hariri, Beirut city centre was a top priority. He believed then that rebuilding the heart of Beirut would bring life to all of Lebanon. He proved to be right. Beirut is now a meeting place for all, a solemn place to express their sadness and voice their opinion, but also a congenial place for work, living and employment.

(Solidere Quarterly, 2007, p. 6)

The city encapsulated all of Lebanon, justifying the focus post-war redevelopment on the rebuilding of Beirut. Additionally, the nation conceived by Solidere is described as wounded and reborn from the ashes of destruction:

Solidere has reinfused life and soul into the heart of the capital, making it a meeting place for all Lebanese and a symbol of the country's unity... Beirut today radiates hope for a bright future and is determined to maintain a leading role as a beacon within its Arab environment.

(Solidere Quarterly, 2005, p. 12)

The capital city itself is not the primary focus of reconstruction, but rather the BCD served exclusively as the essential part of the city and nation, housing the financial and commercial centre. In this schema, the wounds of the financial and tourist sectors take precedence over other wounds. In effect, downtown Beirut was extracted by Solidere from the national body and fenced in with a militarized perimeter and encircling overpasses. The financial, tourist and government spaces occupy a segregated militarized space, yet memories of violence are not forgotten in militarized spaces.

The National Museum had been severely damaged by the war and much of its collections destroyed. Rebuilding of the museum began in 1995 under the patronage of the Ministry of Culture, the Directorate General of Antiquities and the National Heritage Foundation. The museum was partially reopened in November 1997, which 'had as its main objective to recreate a contact between the Lebanese and their Past' (Beirut National Museum, 2005). This past is not a pre-given natural essence that is only to be revealed, but is one that must be created. The museum, in its displays and organization of artefacts, is a critical site for this creative process.

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) argues that ethnographic objects are made into artefacts. Artefacts, as special kinds of objects, are seen to carry significance through a direct connection to the past. The meanings objects are seen to bear and communicate do not reside in the objects themselves, but rather, attached to them through their manner of arrangement, catalogue and display. This 'agency of display,' where objects *reveal* their truth is a form of fiction. Exhibitions are fundamentally theatrical in that they perform meaning (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). Meaning is here deployed through several strategies of display, removing objects from their original social context and translating them into new contexts. This rescripting locates artefact within a new context and system of meaning. This in-context strategy of reading meaning into objects is used in powerfully political ways creating and displaying identity in the Beirut National Museum.

Struggles over national identity, since the early formation of the Lebanese nation state, continue through public space. The National Museum, as an archival institution houses the 'authentic' national story. The objects on display and their manner of 'speaking' to tourists and the contemporary nation – at its heart (Beirut) – become of vital importance in competing nationalist discourse. This is evident in the National Museum's presentation of Lebanese history. In-context display techniques are evident in the spatial organization of the National Museum into separate rooms identified by historic era. The seven eras used in the filtering, ordering and translation of artefacts are *Prehistory* (1M–3200 BC), *Bronze Age* (3200 BC–1200 BC), *Iron Age* (1200 BC–333 BC), *Hellenistic Period* (333 BC–64 BC), *Roman Period* (64 BC–395 AD), *Byzantine Period* (395 AD–636 AD) and *Arab Conquest/Mamluk Period* (635 AD–1516 AD) (Beirut National Museum, 2005). On first observation, the framing of temporal categories (after prehistory), bound by the reference to 'Age' or 'Period', appear benign in their factual description. At another level of observation, one may notice that the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods are not described as 'conquests', when compared to the Mamluk period of Arab conquest. This

inconsistency in labelling is indicative of something beyond a benign display of factual chronological stages of history (Said, 1978; Makdisi, 1998). A display for tourists and locals alike, the museum legitimizes a particular representation, placing national origins at the base of Western Phoenician-Graeco-Roman civilization. However, tourism project itself threatens this construct of Lebanese national identity.

During the summer tourism season (May–September), visitors descend upon Beirut. Lebanese expatriates and foreign tourists from European and Gulf take holiday in Beirut's luxury shopping, nightclub entertainment and beach activities. Based on Hariri's Saudi business partnerships, much of the money invested in Beirut's redevelopment comes from Saudi investors. Since the events of 9/11 and the US 'war on terror', travel to Europe and North America has been limited for most tourists from the Gulf States (Khaleej), making Beirut a welcome alternative. A common perception by local Beirutis, behind Khaleeji wealth is moral 'filth' evidenced by their 'traditional' beliefs and practices. One Beirutis stated:

Half the people downtown don't buy anything. It's nice, but there are nicer and cheaper places. It's [downtown] not for us; it's not for the Lebanese – not for the wages of two days work for one night here. It's made for tourists, mostly al-khaligiya [Arabs from the Gulf]... the Saudi tourist goes two places, downtown with family and supernights with prostitutes.... Saudis are filthy, I wouldn't work painting their homes. When you work for them, they own you. The Khaleej are dirty and if you sit with them, you get disgusted watching them eat – even though they have money, they stink.

(Interview – Rami, 2005)

The city's downtown is not perceived as belonging to the Lebanese, but rather for tourists, specifically the Khaleej. BCD becomes marked during the summer months as a place that permeates with moral corruption and presents a danger to Lebanese society as a whole. Another Beirutis said she does not visit the BCD at night during the summer, especially not with her young 15-year-old daughter. She explains that, 'The Khaleej come every summer and destroy our city. They have money, but they are still dirty and uncivilized. They are a bad influence on our society and young women' (Interview – Nancy, 2005). Although needed for economic growth by the state and the tourism industry, Gulf involvement in Beirut is seen to make Lebanese culture vulnerable to uncivilized Khaleeji morality. This contradiction is further compounded by yet another, namely the tension between conflicting notions of morality and civility. As Lebanon struggles to assert itself as a modern nation state with roots in Western civilization, Eastern civilization in the presence of Khaleeji tourists challenges the spatial narrative of heritage and identity.

Conclusion

Beirut is promoted as a place of cosmopolitan cultural diversity, a multiple blend of cultures, from both the East and West. In this respect, Beirut is a museum

of sorts, an archival collection of multiple cultures. The transnational networks connecting expatriate Lebanese, via Beirut, with their towns of origin and the convergence of Eastern and Western travellers and traders in the city maintains this concept of Beirut. Not only does the city represent the unique characteristic features of Lebanese society, but the heart of Lebanese national identity. The myths of modernity and rebirth drape the narrative of Beirut. The language deployed by Solidere in its marketing of the city constructs Beirut as the heart of the nation, reducing the survival of Lebanon to the development of the BCD. This fallacy neglects the fact that Lebanon continued to exist and survive throughout the more than 15 years of protracted violence. Life, with its social exchange and cultural rituals – weddings, funerals, births and holidays – continued although transformed by the dangers of the civil-war landscape.

Through the prevalent myths of Beirut's resurrection, contradictions emerge between Western modernity and moral corruption on the one hand and Khaleeji morality and tradition on the other. In one sense, they are both viewed as corrupting by different segments of the population. Middle and upper class communities, desiring their own pleasures and economic benefits from westernization and Lebanon's inclusion in the global economic system, mimic Western styles and mannerisms. The presence of Khaleeji tourists during the summer months offends the sensibilities of many self-defined 'cosmopolitans' residing in the city. Khaleeji men walking with their two or three wives and their children in tow through downtown Beirut fills many Lebanese with concern and threatens the perception of Beirut as a modern, cosmopolitan, city with a characteristic 'Lebanese culture' and identity.

The threat to Lebanese cosmopolitanism and modernity through the Khaleeji presence is neutralized by the archaeological endeavours witnessed in the BCD. Excavating the city to find its identity – its true national self – is projected on to the DNA gene project that investigates the blood of contemporary Lebanese as evidence of authenticity and a Phoenician-Graeco-Roman identity, rooted in Western civilization. Through preservation and demolition, the city centre is manifest as an active site for the creation of meaning. The decision over which tourist places – buildings, neighbourhoods and archaeological sites – are preserved, reconstructed or demolished is highly value laden; entrenched within the politics of collective memory and national identity. This creative endeavour requires space – surfaces – upon which to build, organize and display new creations of the national self. To this end, the historic souks, homes and sidewalks were levelled, clearing the area like a blank slate wiped clean and made ready for a new creation – the rebirth of Beirut.

The concern and contestation over tourist development in Beirut is precisely because of its symbolic and mythic qualities – the city as archival repository – in translating and communicating identity to the national-self and the rest of the world. The questions of communal identity, national belonging and modernity remain close at hand in the reworking of place and space. These processes are fundamentally intertwined with tourism practices, and narratives about belonging, identity and legitimacy, and will continue as tourism remains the primary focus of social development.

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18 Diversifying the Tourism Product in Brussels: European Capital and Multicultural City

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Introduction

The present chapter develops and extends the earlier discussion in Chapter 11, city tourism and changing capital city roles, by highlighting the attempt of Brussels' tourism authorities to diversify the tourism offer by using aspects of 'capitalness' of the city. It analyses the different perceptions of the capital destination, Brussels, in guidebooks and by tourist authorities highlighting the latest destination management developments and the use of changing city attributes. It also explores the different stakeholders and examines how far these strategies boost (or don't) leisure tourism in the areas under scrutiny.

The rather recent development of integrating new quarters in the city's promotion is mainly the result of political circumstances that influence, to a large extent, tourism management issues in Belgium. This is due to the complex political situation of the country as a whole and Brussels in particular. The federal state of Belgium is in fact composed by three linguistic communities (French, Flemish and German) and three political regions (Flandres, Wallonia and Brussels). The communities are only partially overlying the regions as they do not have the same geographical boundaries (Fig. 18.1). Each of those entities has a government and a capital. Brussels with its million inhabitants is the capital of several of these entities (all excepted Wallonia and the German community). It is therefore not what could be called a 'classic' capital of one country.

Brussels is the capital of Belgium, Flanders and the Brussels' region (to be considered separately in a federated state) and last but not least, the capital of Europe. All these entities have their parliaments in Brussels, which add up to at least four different parliaments in the same city. Being the capital of a country and at the same time of a region is not unusual. Yet, the overlapping of two regions with the same capital is rather uncommon. In a more unofficial and symbolic way due to historical reasons, related to Belgium's colonial role, it is



Fig. 18.1. Map of Belgium with communities and regions.

also considered by the central African community as some sort of capital for their community in northern Europe (Oyatambwe, 2006). Indeed, after the independence of Congo, numerous students came to live and study in Brussels. Their presence spawned the opening of numerous shops with specific goods, bars, restaurants and nightclubs, some of them emblematic sites for exiled Africans from Europe. After political changes and conflicts in several sub-Saharan countries, the former upmarket student migrants have been replaced by a more diverse group including refugees with less economic power.

While numerous studies focused on the presence of European institutions in Brussels, and their consequences, and the image of the city (e.g. Magosse, 2005; Calay, 2003; Corijn *et al.*, 2008), only a few studies questioned the tourism development in the European district in relation to capital aspects (e.g. Jansen-Verbeke *et al.*, 2005; Corijn and De Lannoy, 2000). The African quarter received even less attention, particularly for tourism related issues (Corijn, 2004; Oyatambwe, 2006).

However, Brussels appears to have to fulfil a variety of the capital city roles discussed in Chapter 2. If we consider Hall's sixfold categorization (Hall, 2000) Brussels can be integrated into at least five of them. The city is a multifunctional capital combining national and regional governance functions. It is also a global

political capital, for most European institutions have their seat in Brussels. In comparison to other more recent political capitals that have been chosen for their 'neutrality' within the country (an example would be the choice of Bonn in Germany after Second World War), Brussels has an important colonial past (Congo and Rwanda) and therefore fits equally in the ex-imperial capital category. The city also played an important historical role in the European history as capital of Charles V and other emperors until the creation of Belgium in 1830. Last but not least, due to the presence of the European Institutions, a lot of international organizations have their headquarters in the city adding the super capital category. In terms of the categorization used in this book (Chapter 2) Brussels could be viewed as a planned and political capital (reflecting its imperial past); a global and multifunctional capital (reflecting its developing role as a supranational European capital) and as a historic former capital (reaching back to the city's roots before the creation of the Belgian state). All these perspectives have validity and offer different insights into the city's capital qualities.

This might suggest that Brussels has numerous assets to be a 'successful' tourist destination. However, Brussels has to struggle to remain competitive on the international tourism market. The tourism authorities compare the city to Amsterdam and Vienna. The comparison is based on size, number of inhabitants¹ and accessibility. Yet, in terms of arrival numbers (about 1 million fewer for Brussels than Amsterdam and Vienna) and overnight stays (5 million for Brussels, 8.8 million for Amsterdam (OPT, 2008) and 9.6 million for Vienna (Vienna Tourist Board, 2007)) the comparison does not stand up. One of the reasons is the image of Brussels as an 'administrative' city in an identity crisis (Calay and Magosse, 2008; Magosse *et al.*, 2008). While Brussels has to fight this image, Amsterdam and Vienna benefit of a more attractive image due to their ability and strategy of combining their flourishing past (commercial for Amsterdam and cultural for Vienna) with an omnipresent look into future (LIToTeS, 2009).

Brussels has therefore to face the challenge of creating a new and more attractive image of the city. The three following aspects play a significant part in that context:

1. The multilayered realities of the 'capital' nature of Brussels. In Brussels, it is indeed the 'capital's' potential that makes the choice of marketing strategies difficult. For Belgian visitors Brussels is their capital, disputed by French and Flemish communities. European and non-European visitors focus on Brussels, capital of Europe and multicultural city for those who come from Africa. Therefore, in order to avoid critical debates, tourism promotion in Brussels focused on historic aspects assuming, as Featherstone (1998) puts it:

that particular cities are cultural centers containing the art treasures and cultural heritage of the past which are housed both in museums and galleries and in the fabric of the buildings and layout which represents the prime source of their cultural capital.

Authorities promote only a globalized and well known heritage to visitors as well as what is considered to be local historic culture avoiding conflicting issues between French-speaking and Flemish-speaking communities.

2. The split of tourism competences between the communities and the regions. This split between the communities (cultural issues) and regions (economical issues) adds to the difficulties of managing and promoting tourism in the city. Brussels' authorities, in a federal context, have to represent and promote equally all the 'official capitals', making it difficult to build a coherent capital image (Baeten, 2001). Being confronted to the complex political issues of Belgium, the promoted image of Brussels sticks therefore to neutral classic heritage assets such as the historic centre, the 'organic' images of Brussels (Law, 2002). The 'Grand Place' and, in some search for a bygone modernity, the 'Atomium' in the outskirts of the city are the branded landmarks of Brussels and overall shown (one may add the Manneken Pis). While tourism authorities continue promoting these organic images of Brussels, guidebooks highlight more diversified images of the city.

3. Urban tourism development issues. As discussed in Chapter 1, urban tourism has developed strongly since the late 1980s. The demand of the city trips' visitors has widened over the years from the classic assets such as monuments, heritage, museums, etc., to more specific requests (Maitland, 2008). As time spent at a destination becomes shorter, 'traditional' elements of a tourist visit to a city develop towards a more lifestyle-orientated activity, including walks through a city, dining, joining events, etc. Also the type of visitors changed over the years: the 'typical cultural tourist' between 40 and 60 (Richards, 2001) has been joined by other consumer segments, such as youth and seniors. With them, the 'classic' educational barriers have expanded (Bourdieu, 1979) and demand for more diversity has amplified, and consequently the economy of cultural goods has needed to increase.

This need for a broader offer leads inevitably to a diversification of the tourism product including areas within the city that have not been considered as a potential tourism destination before. At the same time, the regeneration and revitalization of cities through tourism nowadays become a regular feature of urban development schemes (Zukin, 1995; Fainstein and Campbell, 2002; Law, 2002; Hayllar *et al.*, 2008). The post-Fordist era has seen an increase in the promotion of diversity and underprivileged areas are now integrated into urban tourism, planning schemes undeniably adding to the overall diversity of the city. At a global level, this concept is integral to a new vision of 'the city of quarters' (Roodhouse, 2006). On a local level, the development of tourism in these districts is seen as an opportunity for economic and cultural community development. Cities that suffered from 'a long-term decline in middle-class residents and the erosion of commitment by business elites have gradually begun to view the diversity of "urban lifestyles" as a source of cultural vitality and economic renewal' (Zukin, 1998).

Due to these aforementioned developments, increasing competition and vacant hotels, particularly on weekends, Brussels' tourism authorities were

forced to rethink their strategy and marketing policies. As in many other cities, a diversification process has set in, promoting multicultural assets being one of them (Shaw *et al.*, 2004; McEwan *et al.*, 2005; Roodhouse, 2006, Rath, 2007). In 2005, authorities organized the 'Assise du tourisme' (a sort of round table on Brussels' tourism issues) resulting in new tourism strategy for Brussels (Ramboll-OGM, 2005).

Similar to Landry's concept of the 'creative city' (Landry, 2000), Brussels' authorities used existing cultural resources for the creation of new tourism assets and products, with the aim of establishing new images of the city and attracting more tourists. The focus is on more 'sexy themes' such as design, fashion and lifestyle. Events are developed and created to improve Brussels' image (fantastic film festival, roller parade, Brosella folk and Jazz festival, etc.). The promotion and expansion of congress facilities is another strategy to diversify the offer. There is also a dynamic to be creative in communication matters (itineraries, MP3 guides, guided visit by bike, etc.). One strategy exists in the 'creation' and promoting of specific quarters. Central to such strategies is the rhetoric of local difference and diversity (Stevenson, 2003).

New Promotional Strategies: Promoting Diversity

Alongside fashion and 'lifestyle' quarters, two districts are particularly promoted as representative of the multicultural aspects of Brussels. The aim of these strategies is to highlight and reveal other aspects of the city to the traditional ones for which Brussels is primarily known. If the process of diversification in Brussels includes, among other things, the promotion of seven quarters, this chapter focuses on the development of two of them. Although not promoted as such, both quarters relate to and explore indeed the 'capitalness' of Brussels: the European quarter as major asset of the official European capital and the African quarter 'Matonge'² as the informal and symbolic northern European capital of Central African (sub-Saharan) community.

At first sight, apart from their capital character, neither district seems to have much in common, for in terms of urban development their appearance is quite unlike. First of all, urban development strategies are very different in both quarters. While Matonge's urban landscape is left to decline by local authorities, the European quarter is confronted with 'fragmented and inefficient planning systems almost devoid of participatory possibilities and a Kafaeque political and administrative domain' (Groth and Corijn, 2005), reorganizing and renovating the urban cityscape since about 2000. The successive plans integrate the creation of urban spaces, such as squares and parks, something considerably missing in the Africa quarter. Also, the socio-cultural and economical background of users and residents is undeniably different in the EU quarter and in the African quarter. For the EU quarter, the arrival of upmarket users influenced the life of the quarter and initiated a development dynamic, while the African quarter is subject to a lack of investments and social problems. The African quarter offers sub-Saharan grocers,

hairdressers, fabric shops and ethnic restaurants, constituting in fact an important 'commercial belt' (McLaughlin and Jesilow, 1998), meaning that the ethnic community uses the area for commercial exchange, but does not necessarily live there (anymore). In that context, Matonge also plays a significant social role for sub-Saharan community in northern Europe. On the contrary, the European quarter may be more considered as an 'administrative belt' with users coming in for work, but most of them living in other districts in Brussels. Commercial activities related to EU home countries involve mainly national restaurants or bookshops. Almost all EU countries have their restaurant in the quarter.

Yet, examining the different elements that compose both quarters, similarities appear (Fig. 18.2). First of all, both quarters are closely linked to Belgian history: the African quarter for its historical links through colonization (Congo and Rwanda) and the European through its present status within the city of Brussels. Furthermore, the two quarters have in common the image of being a central part of a capital (formal for European and informal for African quarter) but also the fact that they both respond to the definition of an 'ethnic quarter'.

Ethnic quarters integrate in reality different aspects of multiculturalism and social mixture. They can be enclaves of linguistical, religious, and family and friend entities becoming important reserve storehouses of heritage that are often disappearing in developing home countries (Smith and Maryann, 2001) or understood as a 'nostalgic tourism attraction' for community members or their children who never lived in their home country. Currently, the 'ethnic quarter', has in fact become a melting pot of many different cultures, composed of locals, immigrants, residents and users (Chang, 1999), providing specialized services and goods. Due to the 'supply' of ethnic goods and services, the quarter

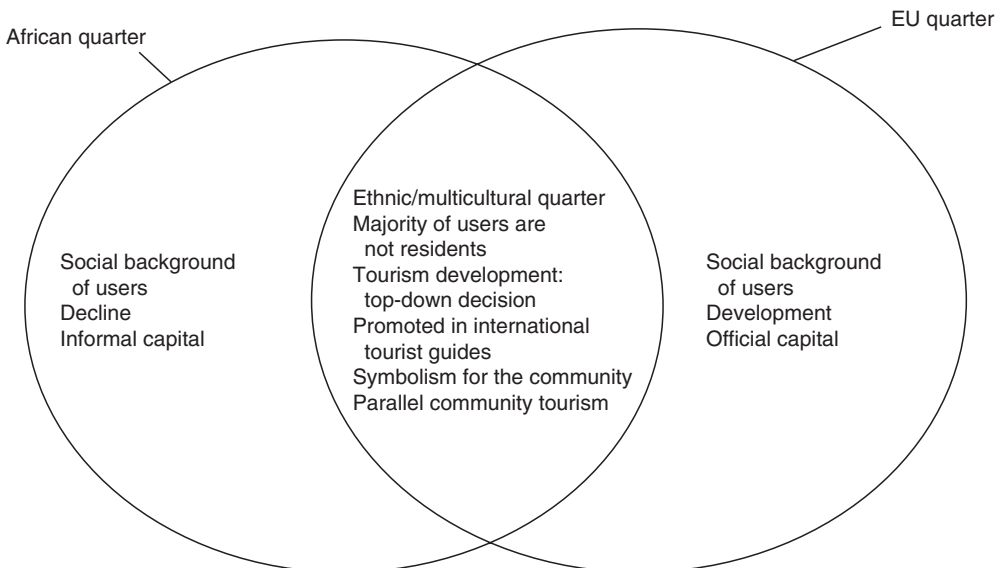


Fig. 18.2. Differences and similarities between the African and the EU quarters.

performs the function of a forum, where the members of the community can gather and distinguish themselves from the host country, and where in day-to-day life they are probably well integrated. There is, of course, a paradox between integration and separation. The ethnic quarter is the place where community members find and reaffirm their identities, consciously living out their segregation from the host country (Diekmann and Maulet, 2009). This description is valid for the European as well as for the African quarter. In both quarters, there is not one particular community from one specific country, but a mixture of different origins having in common the distance from their home country.

In fact, both quarters are not migrant quarters through their population (residents), but through their users. In Matonge,³ only 7% of the population are from Central African countries (Corijn, 2004) and of the ±40,000 EU expats living in Brussels and the outskirts, only 1753 'Europeans' live in Etterbeek (Gall, 2005).

This similarity between the two quarters has many consequences. First of all, tensions and conflicts between residents and users exist in relation to urban development issues and uses of the urban spaces (Groth and Corijn, 2005). Among others, this is due to the fact that the user group is not composed of one specific community, but a multicultural one. Yet the recently promoted 'ethnicity' of both quarters depends on them. Residents of the districts are not even considered by tourism development authorities. In both quarters, neither local authorities nor local businesses or resident-associations were involved in the process of tourism development. Tourism development started from the outside and from the private tourism sector. There were no public development strategies by tourism authorities involved (no infrastructure existed then; in terms of information for tourists, signage or public transport). Foreign guidebooks, however, integrated both areas from the 1990s onwards. The analysis of randomly chosen guidebooks of the last decade (e.g. *Rough Guide*, *Blue Guide*, *Petit Futé*, *Time out*, *Baedeker*), shows that they identified the two quarters under scrutiny as interesting tourism assets for their 'capitalness' aspects.

One example is the importance and use of the term 'capital of Europe' in these guidebooks, compared to the notion of 'capital of Belgium'. Few guidebooks do not attribute any capital aspects to Brussels but refer to it as the political centre or headquarter of the EU (Table 18.1). The other capital aspects of the city (Brussels region, Flanders) do not appear at all in the examined guidebooks. Brussels as European capital is a political entity and thus an official term. Yet, it is only within recent years that the term 'capital of Europe' is used for tourism promotion on the official tourism websites of the city, with the aim to create a new image. It should, however, be noted that in terms of contents, Brussels is often presented as an ambiguous city and the EU quarter often as an unattractive area (Calay and Magosse, 2008).

For the sub-Saharan quarter, the situation is slightly different. Although recognized and considered by the African community as their informal capital, the term is not used as such in guidebooks. Matonge appears in most guidebooks since around the end of the 1990s, but with a great variety of terms used to

Table 18.1. Terms used in guidebooks to describe Brussels' capital function.

Guide	Country	Year	Brussels, European capital	Political centre of EU	Head- quarter of EU	Brussels, Belgium capital
Lonely Planet	UK	2003	X			
Rough Guide: Belgium and Luxemburg	UK	1999		X		
Michelin Vert	France	1996			X	
Baedeker	Germany	2003		X		X
Marco Polo	Germany	2005				X
Merian	Germany	2005	X			
Brüssel, Petra Sparrer	Germany	2006	X			
Brüssel, DuMont	Germany	2005	X			X
Petit Futé Belgique Luxembourg	France	2000	X			
Guide du Routard Belgique	France	2005	X			
Blue Guide	UK	2000		X		
Bruselas	Spain	2006	X			X
Time out: Brussels, Antwerp and Bruges	UK	2004	X			
100% Brussels	Netherlands	2004	X			
Frommer's Belgium, Holland & Luxemburg	USA	1999	X			
Un grand WE à Bxl, hachette	France	2004	X			

describe the quarter: first city, centre or hub (all synonyms of the word capital) of the African community. Several guides insist on the very emblematic and symbolic character of the quarter and the attraction for sub-Saharan communities from outside Brussels and Belgium. The existence of cultural goods and services is highlighted, as is the important presence of wholesale agents for importing and exporting goods in and from homelands.

The European quarter has not been considered as an asset by tourism authorities due to its image as a bureaucratic and institutional neighbourhood. However official sightseeing tours included some major buildings (without visiting them from the inside). At the same time, a parallel tourism activity has developed. Tours of the 'European capital' consisting exclusively of a visit to the European quarter and European institutions were and still are organized by the European representations of the member states (LIToTeS, 2006). Due to the lack of interrelations with local tourist authorities, these groups hardly ever visit Brussels' centre, but continue their trip to Bruges or Amsterdam, considered more interesting by the organizers. As the visits of the Europeans buildings (booking in advance, group visits only, etc.) are managed directly by the European building's security, no other information is given on Brussels tourism activities. A EU tourist information point focuses on European aspects in one of the buildings. Very nearby, the Brussels' authorities eventually placed a few years ago an information point to promote the city but, according to tourism officials, it is mostly used by local users and residents rather than tourists or city-trippers.

The same phenomenon occurs with the African quarter. It attracts most African visitors coming from outside Brussels or Belgium for specific services or goods, or for social exchange with community members. For a large majority, these visitors are not interested in visiting the rest of the city. There is no tourism information available within the district, either for the specific visitor groups or for outside visitors interested in Matonge. The only available official information is on Brussels' public websites and in the brochure displaying the itinerary around the quarter. Some guided 'ethnic' tours are organized by local associations.

The above mentioned official tourism development in the quarters, as well as the activities considered by authorities as 'parallel tourism', evidence the incoherent and disorganized promotion; for little or nothing is put in place to address and integrate the more specific visitor groups and stimulate visitors to go beyond the boundaries of their primary destination (either European quarter, either the sub-Saharan quarter).

The recent initiative of the Brussels' tourism authorities to promote new quarters through the creation of itineraries could have been an opportunity to ameliorate the image problems of Brussels. Yet, the simple implementation of an itinerary does not turn districts into a tourist destination per se. The incoherence of tourism policies also touches the image building process of the city. The 'capitalness' of the freshly promoted quarters is not solely related to the quarters, but appears as a general 'new' promotion strategy of the city. Finally it is up to the visitor to create the link between the capital aspects and the quarter he or she is visiting.

Unfortunately, no statistics for the number of visitors of the quarters exist. However, some indicators suggest – at least indirectly – a certain ‘success’ in terms of visitor numbers and certainly confirm the existing visitors’ demand. About 100,000 exemplars⁴ of a new guidebook titled *My European Village* were distributed by the Brussels tourist office between spring 2007 and 2008. At the same time, a survey of passers-by in the African quarter showed that only 4 out of 100 interviewed declared themselves tourists (Diekmann and Maulet, 2009). It might be assumed that visitors are not taking all the different suggested walks, but choose one or two including – according to public authorities – the European quarter.

Although, for Matonge, the promotion on the Internet and brochures has increased, the majority of clients and visitors (tourists) come from the sub-Saharan African community. As ‘community-member tourists’ tend more to stay with friends and relatives, they are not necessarily considered by the local community as tourists, although they clearly come for a short period to purchase specific goods and meet people from their community and enjoy cultural events, such as concerts of African artists, and then leave again for their home town (either in Belgium or neighbouring countries). Also visitors from Africa come to Matonge to visit and meet community members. These ‘tourists’ are not addressed in the official promotion campaign that clearly focuses on the ‘Western client’, promoting Matonge as an exotic asset and insisting more on distinction and diversity than on integration.

A survey with the commercial sector of the quarter showed that 65% of the shopkeepers are not even aware of the initiative of the public authorities to promote the quarter as a tourism asset (Diekmann and Maulet, 2009). Some businesses are not conscious of the tourism potential of their quarter and the attraction for ethnic communities in urban tourism activities. Consequently, they do not participate in any promotional or strategic product supply. Independent from economical aspects of tourism development, some groups of stakeholders do not wish to be put on display and are opposed to the present tourism development, for they fear commodification of their quarter (Oyatambwe, 2006). This explains also the absence of souvenir shops or items for tourists in the existing shops.

The whole tourism development process in Matonge appears to be a top-down decision by tourism authorities without any local involvement and is therefore likely to be unsuccessful in the future if current policies continue.

For the European quarter, the promotion on the Internet and brochures has increased too. But the situation is slightly different, for long before official authorities started promoting the place, private initiatives and the commercial sector provided goods and services for visitors, even at a very small scale; most of the European souvenir shops being located around the Grand Place in the historic centre. As for Matonge, users and residents are not involved in the tourism development process. Yet, there is less resistance from the concerned communities than in Matonge, for the quarter has long been considered as an important tourism asset by the users and residents, and incomprehension relates more to the long-lasting hesitation of the authorities to promote the area. As a matter of fact since 2001, several initiatives (public or semi-public) saw the light

with the aim to valorize Brussels as the capital of Europe but these projects hardly ever addressed tourism issues (Calay and Magosse, 2008).

Yet, one essential question is to know whether there is a demand from the community user and/or resident side for tourism at all. Would organized tourism development foster their socio-economic conditions and, in the case of Matonge, help regenerate the quarter? It could be assumed that in the European quarter, there is little interest by the local businesses to get more involved in tourism, for the economic activities and benefits are covered by the local users. But research would be needed. In Matonge, small businesses have not yet recognized the potential benefit due to a lack of information and communication with local and regional authorities (Oyatambwe, 2006). Yet, there are examples where tourism development has regenerated and brought cultural as well as economical renewal, such as Harlem (Hoffman, 2003).

Conclusions

The chapter highlights examples of new strategies (since 2007) of tourism development in Brussels. The aim of these new strategies is to be competitive and improve the image of the city through diversification of the tourism product. Along with being a 'new' asset of Brussels' tourism supply, the two examined 'freshly' promoted quarters are symbols for capital aspects of Brussels.

However, the comparison of the two 'new' quarters promoted by the tourism authorities highlights a number of incoherencies and problems as to their potential success as a tourist attraction. Although the urban development and socio-economic background of the two quarters is rather varying, a number of similarities have been tackled and tourism development has been analysed in the light of the latter. Both quarters are activity belts for the promoted community and the residents are only very partially part of the community. That raises the question of how interested they are if the quarter they live in becomes a tourist destination, particularly without their involvement. Detailed analysis showed that these resemblances indeed influence tourism development, more than the different social conditions of users and residents. It may therefore be suggested that the potential attraction of a tourist destination is not essentially linked to social standards or well-maintained buildings but to the participation and interest of its users and/or residents.

In terms of visitors, tourism policies address only specific categories, mainly non-community members. Promoting particularly in Matonge the 'exotic' side of the African quarter excludes community members and fosters a parallel tourism activity. The policies show a deficiency of field reality knowledge by the tourist authorities, resulting in a lack of adapted response to the demand. The absence of almost any tourism infrastructure, such as signage, presentation and interpretation tools on site may be attractive to some visitors seeking to get off the beaten track and away from overcrowded tourist areas (Maitland, 2008; Maitland and Newman, 2009). On the other hand, it might impede less adventurous tourists to go there at all, or this lack of any support may result in either an unsatisfying visit or a negative experience. The presence for a long time of both quarters

in international tourist guidebooks is obviously not a sufficient condition to bring visitors about. Particularly in Matonge, local businesses are not aware that their quarter is promoted and displayed in international guidebooks.

The reasons for putting the European and African quarters on the tourism map are fuzzy and more due to competition aspects and general supply issues, than to any regeneration or local development strategies. Furthermore, the creation of itineraries in 2007 evidences a very late response to the demand side and international tourism guides that integrated the two quarters under scrutiny for at least 10 years.

In order to compete with other European capitals, tourism authorities should further explore and promote Brussels' 'variety of capitalness'. However, this capital potential is not used in a coherent way by the authorities to develop tourism. The capital image given on official websites and brochures is not clearly and directly linked to the quarters representing best the various 'capitalness'.

The same reproach can be made for the development of the sub-Saharan African quarter. Although the quarter is considered and handled by a big sub-Saharan community as its informal capital, this symbolic aspect is not taken into account. Increasing interest of urban tourists for ethnic districts and the need for diversification of the tourism on offer seems to be the major motivation for the tourism development, rather than promoting the district for its 'capitalness'. The lack of involvement of the 'promoted' community furthermore raises questions on the acceptable degree of commodification. The top-down approach in both quarters excluding users and residents from this process hinders the development of an attractive offer benefitting all concerned parties.

Tourism is not only a matter of supply and demand but also an important driving force behind the image of a city. Although 'capital' aspects (particularly the European capital) have been used by guidebooks as key images of Brussels for years, the tourism authorities integrated them only recently. Due to complex political and institutional circumstances, tourism policies focused for a long time on historical heritage assets and missed out one of the most attractive particularities of the city. It is questionable how far the tourism development and promotion of these quarters might influence and change the image of the city of Brussels, for the tourism development process in both districts lacks clear and integrative strategies involving all stakeholders, and therefore holds back balanced tourism growth.

Notes

- ¹ Amsterdam with 740,000 inhabitants and 220 km², Vienna with 1.5 million inhabitants and about 400 km² and Brussels with 1 million inhabitants and 160 km².
- ² Name derived from a famous quarter from Congo's capital Kinshasa.
- ³ The 'greater' Matonge includes the district as perceived by the community and not by the local authorities, see Diekmann and Maulet (2009).
- ⁴ English = 40%, French = 24%, Dutch = 11%, Spanish = 8%, German = 7% and Polish = 6%.

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19 Modern Tourist Development and the Complexities of Cross-border Identities Within a Planned Capital Region

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Introduction

This chapter examines Ottawa–Gatineau, the national capital region (NCR) of Canada.¹ The particularity of that region is that it is one NCR (one economic region according to many observers; Tremblay, 2003; Paquet *et al.*, 2004) but that it is two cities, in two provinces. In all forms of planning and development, there is tension between the one and the two (Andrew and Chiasson, 2008). In terms of tourism, this tension means there is an ongoing competition between some actors promoting the image of one national cross-border capital, and others that put forward distinct local brandings on either side of the border. This tension or competition between different identities (Judd and Fainstein, 1999; Lowes, 2002) builds upon the linguistic, cultural and socio-economic divisions: with the Ontario side being majority anglophone and the Quebec side, majority francophone. Intersecting with these divisions is the historical socio-economic imbalance between a more prosperous Ontario and a more economically challenged Quebec side.

The objective of this chapter is to illustrate how this ongoing tension structures tourism planning and development. More specifically, this chapter is organized around two logics. First, we will look at Ottawa–Gatineau’s tourism development from a chronological point of view. After presenting the initial setting, we have divided modern tourism into two different periods: the period of buildings, and the period of festivals. These periods are different not only in terms of the tools used to attract tourist (buildings or festivals), but also in terms of the actors involved and their respective ascendancy on the conduct of tourism development in the region. The period where new buildings dominate is led by the federal government, centrally controlled; an active role for the National Capital Commission (NCC) and with the intent of conveying a common image for the Ottawa–Gatineau region through monumental buildings. The second period, geared towards festivals, does involve the federal government,

but also an increasing number of players and tends to be more decentralized, usually operating on one side of the border as opposed to both sides.

Second, we will look at an overarching theme in the region's tourism development: the attraction of nature. This theme is especially important on the Quebec side as the tourism mandate is clearly regional and focuses on the attractiveness of the natural environment. Ottawa's tourism also builds on this 'green' image, but is nature that has been shaped by human activity. 'Man-made' nature would be a historically accurate description, if gender insensitive.

From Planned Capital to Decentralized Tourism Development

The initial setting: Ottawa–Gatineau as a political and planned capital?

In many ways, Ottawa–Gatineau could be considered a 'political capital' according to Peter Hall's (1993) typology. As Hall explains, political capitals are '[c]reated as seats of government, political capitals often lack other functions, which remain in older, more established commercial cities' (p. 69). Before being selected as the national capital by Queen Victoria in 1857 (NCC, 2008), Ottawa was essentially a lumber town (Gaffield, 1994). Unlike Montreal or Toronto, it could not claim to be an industrial or a financial capital of any sort. Even now, while being the fourth largest urban agglomeration in Canada, it remains much smaller than either Toronto or Montreal and even Vancouver.

Already in the early 20th century, there were some calls to make Ottawa, and what is now Gatineau, a coherent planned capital region. Wilfrid Laurier, who had proposed the idea of a federal district comparable to the District of Columbia in the USA, named a Commission, presided by William Bennett, with a mandate to draft a plan for the capital region (Gordon, 1998). This plan was forgotten, but the idea of a coherent capital region resurfaced in the most significant planning document for the capital, the Greber Plan (Gordon, 2001). This plan was started just prior to the Second World War and finished after the war. For Greber, the Quebec side was primarily seen as recreational, and a space for civil servants to relax and prepare themselves for the arduous task of governing the country. The Ontario side would develop as the capital, with the downtown core for the important government offices and suburban development for the single family homes, where the women tended the children and provided a tranquil environment for the weary 'knowledge workers' of the federal civil service. The Greber Plan promoted the Gatineau Park and the consolidation of it as a park under the responsibility of the NCC. At the same time, the plan led to the establishment of the Greenbelt on the Ottawa side, in an imitation of Ebenezer Howard as an attempt to concentrate urban development within a green space. The Greber Plan also promoted the development of major roadways running through parklands and therefore both sides of the river were given images of 'green', but the Quebec side is more associated with recreational activities. The experimental farm, situated within the Greenbelt on the Ontario side and now surrounded by the city of Ottawa, started as the federal government's department of agriculture greenhouses and field

laboratories. The scientific work has diminished over time but the experimental farm, with farm animals, trees and seasonal flowers, remains a hugely popular destination for families with young children, for avid gardeners and for wedding photographers.

National identity building(s)

The Greber report gave credence to the idea that the region should be planned in order to better fulfil its role as an NCR. This planning role was to be assumed by the NCC, the federal government's agency responsible for the NCR. This shift towards a 'planned capital' paved the way to the first modern period of tourist development through the emphasis on new buildings. This period of buildings is one of the legacies of Pierre Elliot Trudeau. As prime minister, he decided to build a permanent National Art Gallery (its location in temporary structures having existed for a number of years) and a new building for the former Museum of Man (renamed Museum of Civilization after a brief, but intensive public-pressure campaign, led by a number of feminist organizations). Trudeau decided that the two buildings would be world-class. Moise Safde was the architect for the National Gallery and Douglas Cardinal, a well known First Nations architect, was charged with the Museum of Civilization. The location for the two buildings was an integral part of the vision of a bilingual NCR; they were both situated very close to the provincial border (the Ottawa River), the Museum of Civilization on the Quebec side twinned to the National Gallery on the Ontario side of the Interprovincial Bridge. They were both within walking distance from each other on the boundary between the two provinces and the two cities, linking predominantly francophone Gatineau and predominantly anglophone Ottawa. In 1968, Trudeau had the provincial premiers agree that Ottawa and Gatineau together formed the NCR and the placing of the museums in the very heart of the NCR poised on either side of the river was part of the same strategy.

Both have become major tourist destinations, but much more so the Museum of Civilizations. Its architecture symbolizes the Aboriginal presence in Canada and the museum is certainly part of the discursive attempt to reconstruct the vision of Canada, recognizing the Aboriginal reality. And, indeed, the Great Hall and the adjoining rooms have on display works of art by the various aborigines of Canada that place their artistic creativity on a world-class level. The Casino in Gatineau is the most popular tourist destination in the region, but the Museum of Civilization follows as a close second. Studies of tourism by the NCC indicated that locating the Museum of Civilizations in Quebec has shifted some tourist spending to the city but that the movement of tourists to Quebec tended to be to the Museum and then back to the Ontario side. The opening of the two museums was definitely the recent high point of tourist promotion through buildings and also of the centralized 'one' vision of Ottawa–Gatineau.

For the 'new buildings' period, the NCC saw planning as its major mandate and this mandate was upheld in a fairly centralized fashion. As a number of

local critics have pointed out, local municipalities were not often consulted in the master plans of the organization regardless of the fact that its decisions often significantly affected the local municipalities of the NCR. There was no formal coordination mechanism between the NCC and the municipalities on either side of the Ottawa River. The NCC's central role meant that the idea of a coherent 'planned capital' was the main thread of tourist development for that period overpowering other forms of more localized tourist attractions. Indeed, the NCC continues to play a role in the promotion of the symbolically important buildings and particularly the museums. The marketing and communications division of the NCC has a committee that brings together representatives from the museums with the objective of coordinating the activities and the promotional campaigns of the museums.

The trend from buildings to festivals is not, of course, perfectly linear. Recently, there have been other new buildings, notably the War Museum, still close to the Ontario–Quebec border (Andrew, 2007). The idea of building a new War Museum to replace a very small and old-fashioned museum was aided by the work of Jack Granatstein, a Canadian political historian, who had denounced the discipline's turn to social history, working class history and feminist history and had suggested that the War Museum would rewrite Canadian history emphasizing the role played by the two world wars in the creation of Canada and of a Canadian perspective. The triumphalism of the vision was associated with the masculine virtues of soldiers, guns and regimentation. But somewhere along the way, Granatstein left his position with the War Museum and the architect chosen to design the Museum was a Japanese–Canadian architect, Raymond Moriyama, whose family had been interned in British Columbia by the Canadian government during the Second World War. The triumphalism of war was combined with the tragedy of war and the resulting building, although with some beautiful detail, does not really convey a clear story. Although relatively close to the other museums, it is not really in an urban setting and is in fact encircled by large parking lots. It has quickly become a very popular tourist location, primarily for families but also, perhaps a sign of the times, its grounds have become a site for concerts of the Ottawa Bluesfest.

The continued development of new museums was halted, at least for some time, by the recent decision (in Autumn 2008) by the federal government to stop the development of the Portrait Gallery. It had been promoted for the previous 5 or 6 years at first clearly to be in Ottawa across from the Parliament buildings, before the Conservative government under Stephen Harper opened up the possibility of placing it in another Canadian city. This deeply disappointed the Ottawa promoters as it seemed a slap in the face to the city's, or the region's, vision of itself as the capital, housing all the national cultural institutions.

The most recent buildings on both sides of the river can in fact be seen as transitional, in the change from tourism focused on major buildings, to tourism focused on events. The Casino in Gatineau was opened by Lotto Québec, the Government of Quebec's lottery and gaming commission. It attracts visitors, both from the region and tourists who are already in the region. The Casino is

the location of a variety of events (theatre, art exhibits, galas), as well as a very expensive restaurant, attempting to build an image of a high-end attraction (Lake Leamy Casino, 2009) and to dispel the negative images sometimes relayed by the regional media of a venue that bankrupts the poor and drives compulsive gamblers to suicide.²

On the Ottawa side the newest building is a greatly enlarged convention centre, agreed to in 2008 with a multi-level funding agreement (federal, provincial and municipal). The convention centre is seen by the business community and the tourism industry as allowing Ottawa to bid for larger and more attractive events, and therefore as a boost to tourism. It is of course a building, but its focus is on events and certainly not on the symbolic representation of the national capital.

A period of festivals

Festivals and events involve some different forms of tourism planning, promotion and development. They tend to follow a more focused 'niche' approach to planning and promotion as the subject of the event defines, at least to some extent, the audience likely to be interested. The first specifically organized festival in the region was 'Winterlude/Bal de neige', created to take advantage of the fact that the Rideau Canal had been developed (thanks to Douglas Fullerton, a former chair of the NCC) as a skating rink in the winter. Winterlude also was scheduled during the 'down' time for the hotels and restaurants, during winter and after the Christmas and New Year festivities. It also built on a theme of healthy outdoor activities and building on the benefits of the canal. It did include both sides of the river, as Jacques Cartier Park, immediately on the Quebec side of the Interprovincial Bridge, was organized for children to play, with mountains of artificial snow made to create slides and play structures. To some extent this division of activities echoed back to Greber's vision of the Quebec side being the recreational playground for the region. The Ottawa side does do the ice-sculpture competition but its basic attraction is the canal, the 'world's longest skating rink'.

Festivals since then have been increasingly located on one side of the river and promoted as such. Gatineau's best known festival is the 'Festival des montgolfières' – the hot air balloon festival where, weather permitting, the sky becomes alive with a wonderful parade of hot air balloons of all shapes and colours. On a wider regional scale, Buckingham has a western festival and Kitigan Zibi, the First Nations Reserve near Maniwaki has a Circle of All Nations Spiritual Gathering each year in early August, under the leadership of the elder William Commanda, on the theme of international peace and global understanding.

Ottawa has the Tulip Festival, in honour of the fact that the Dutch Royal Family spent some of the war years in Canada and after the war gave tulips to the city in recognition. The city took up the idea of planting tulips and the festival marked the beginning of spring. In its early years, there was an element of programming with an international dimension and the NCC was involved,

but it lost most of its public funding and in recent years it has become a much less significant event.

Music festivals dominate the summer in Ottawa – the Jazz Festival, the Blues Festival and the Chamber Music Festival. None is organized directly by the government although all receive some public grants coming from all levels of government (federal, provincial and municipal) and from other sources, such as the Casino. Locations are spread around Ottawa in a wide variety of venues.

The Franco-Ontarian festival celebrating St Jean-Baptiste Day (24 June) has, like the Tulip Festival, gone through cycles of different types of programming, funding and governance structures. It has been primarily a series of musical events, sometimes over a number of days and evenings and, recently, over a shorter period of time. It is the first of the festivals organized around a specific ethno-linguistic community – the Franco-Ontarian festival has not been about a bilingual NCR; it has been about the Franco-Ontarian community's artistic expression. Although there are traditional francophone communities within Ottawa, the current demographic distribution of the francophone population in Ottawa is more and more spread out across the city.

There are now a growing number of festivals that celebrate specific ethnic communities. The Italian community in Ottawa has an Italian week, the Turkish community a two-day festival, the Greek community a day-long festival and so too the Lebanese community. These recent festivals celebrate cultural diversity within the region, but not a national bilingual identity such as the buildings of the Trudeau era. Different cultural communities increasingly come together to reaffirm their identity while living in a variety of multicultural neighbourhoods instead of more ethnically concentrated areas. They are organized by the communities themselves and are both an occasion for bringing the community together but also for showing the larger Ottawa community the vitality and the organizational life (and, of course, the food) of that particular community.

We have tried to indicate some of the varieties of the festival period – increasingly decentralized in its organization and therefore increasingly localized on one side of the river. 'Winterlude/Bal de neige' continues to be the largest of the festivals although the 1 July celebrations on Parliament Hill need to be mentioned. This is of course not a new festival but it has become increasingly formalized, in part due to the rapidly growing size of the crowd. It has become a tourist attraction, drawing people from beyond the immediate region. Indeed, the 2006 NCC study of Canada Day indicated that 37% of the participants were visitors to the NCR, a clear majority of these being Ontario residents living outside the immediate region. Festivals and events are continually being created, as promotions for communities, neighbourhoods or even streets. Sparks Street Mall has just celebrated its second Ribs Festival in which rival stands sell ribs and invite participants to vote for their favourites. Another example of a very local festival is in Gatineau, the Festival de l'Outaouais emergent, a showcase for professional and semi-professional artists from the Outaouais region.

The 'festival' period entails a more decentralized governance for tourist development in the region. The previous period gave the NCC a prominent role with little formal articulation with the local tourist sector. In the current period, the demise of centralized planning by the NCC has given way to a more visible role by local organizations representing the regional tourist sector.

Both Ottawa and Gatineau have a central organization that brings together all the stakeholders of the tourism industry: Ottawa Tourism and Tourisme Outaouais. Both are membership-based organizations and both share similar objectives. 'Ottawa Tourism's objectives are to promote the destination, increase visitation, and enhance economic impact for the industry and its membership'.³ 'Outaouais Tourism... is responsible for regional dialogue, welcome and reception, information, promotion and tourism development'.⁴ Both work closely with their respective provincial body; the Ontario Tourism Marketing Partnership Corporation (OTMPC) and Tourisme Québec and Ottawa Tourism also link to the Canadian Tourism Commission.

The structures of both organizations are somewhat similar in that they both have boards of directors that represent the different stakeholders (by sector in Ottawa and by sector and territory in Gatineau). In addition, both have executive structures, based along functional lines. This illustrates the central dilemma of these organizations; trying to service and therefore to unite widely disparate members, who vary enormously in terms of size, sector, location, sophistication and wealth and at the same time trying to act collectively on behalf of the industry.

Both organizations have relatively large boards of directors: in 2008, 32 members for Ottawa Tourism and 22 for Tourisme Outaouais. The very detailed breakdown of the sectors represented illustrates the difficulties of creating a strong collective voice across such a fragmented industry. Tourisme Outaouais' board of directors has sectoral representatives but also territorial representatives, two from Gatineau, two from a periurban territory (the Collines de l'Outaouais) and six representatives from three more rural areas. This is an indication of the fact that it has a regional mandate as one of the tourism regions of Quebec while Ottawa Tourism representation is urban and solely sectoral.

It is interesting to note that Tourisme Outaouais, as well as the regional cross-border association of hotels (the Ottawa–Gatineau Hotel Association) are represented on the Board of Ottawa Tourism, but that Ottawa Tourism is not on the Board of Tourisme Outaouais. This would suggest that coordination between the two is seen as something for Gatineau to do – or that Ottawa sees itself as planning tourism for the entire urban region and therefore includes Tourisme Outaouais in its structures.

Tourism Ottawa has just recently had the benefits of the Destination Marketing Fund of the Ottawa Gatineau Hotel Association and this enabled them in 2006 to develop a four-pillar branding strategy. The four pillars are: capital, nature, culture and relaxation, and the description of the capital theme is as follows: 'Ottawa is Canada's capital, a showcase city of impressive national sites, monuments, symbols and ceremonies, where visitors can discover the best of our country, all in one place.' The case of Tourisme Outaouais 2008

had seen the development of a granting programme jointly financed by the Quebec Ministry of Tourism, Tourisme Outaouais and the Conférence régionale des élus destined for tourism development projects that fall within the priorities of the region.

This overview of the structures of tourism promotion and development in the region suggests that the two structures, Ottawa Tourism and Tourisme Outaouais, both struggle to serve their widely diverse membership and both offer concrete services to convince their membership of the importance of major collective publicity efforts. They are both active, each having between 20 and 30 staff and dedicating many of their activities to services for members. The orientation of Tourisme Outaouais is quite clearly regional, and Ottawa Tourism is more focused on the urban core.

A 'Green' Capital Region

Our final category of tourist development and promotion in the region of Ottawa–Gatineau relates to the enhancing of the natural attractions. These attractions – the canal, Gatineau Park, the Ottawa River – are not new, but what is new to some extent is the way that these are enhanced and marketed for tourists. The 'green' image of the region has been extremely powerful and, despite periodic efforts by the NCC to counter this image with a more urban one, its ongoing strength has meant that much of the tourism promotion is focused around the 'green' attractiveness of the region.

Ottawa promoters have recently succeeded in having the Rideau Canal designed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. This is seen as a significant event, a sort of tourist 'good housekeeping' seal of approval while confirming the importance of the canal for the image of the capital and especially Ottawa. On the other side of the border, Gatineau Park is marketed for the fall colours under the name of Fall Rhapsody, and the 'classic' tourist passage in the region includes, as well as the Parliament and the Museums, the ByWard Market and a tour of Gatineau Park. A 2005 study of Fall Rhapsody by the NCC (2007) indicated that over a fifth of the respondents to the study were from outside the NCR, indicating a tourist development potential.

A train trip from Gatineau to Wakefield had been organized in 1992 through considerable local-community effort and had become very popular (it attracted 55,000 passengers in 2007). It is an interesting example, both of the regional framework of tourist development in the Outaouais and of the multiplicity of interests and orientations that are present, and active, in tourist development. The tensions between the local impact of tourism and the overall regional impact, coupled with the tensions between development orientations; between ecotourism and more urban-oriented and less physically active forms of tourism. The Wakefield train ran from Gatineau to Wakefield, a small attractive community situated on the Gatineau River and which had, over time, developed food and lodging for upscale tourism. The rail line and adjacent land are the property of the Compagnie de Chemin de fer de l'Outaouais (CCFO), whose board of directors includes the mayors of the

three municipalities that the train line crosses (Gatineau, LaPêche and Chelsea). The train was operated by a private company, essentially a family concern. In the early part of the summer of 2008, the owners of the train halted the operations on the ground that a landslide near the tracks made the operation of the train dangerous. Concerned about the security of the railbed, the train operator decided to cancel a scheduled trip for the following Wednesday and reported the landslide to the CCFO, who then decided to order the operator to cancel all trips until further notice, pending the assessment of the damages along the rail line and the security risk to the train and its passengers. This led to a brief, but active, period of negotiations, led by the three regional members of the Quebec National Assembly to discuss the situation and put the train back in service on time for the upcoming tourist season. These ultimately failed, despite an expert decision by the Quebec Ministry of Transport that there was no danger from the movement of land. The CCFO maintained its decision to halt the train's operations for the summer and the owners of the train confirmed their decision to halt operations, arguing that they had no options but to obey the order. They then cancelled all trips for the entire summer of 2008. Finally, at the end of the summer, an intergovernmental agreement was arrived at and the three levels of government (Economic Development Canada, Quebec Ministry of Transport and the municipal level, divided up among the municipal players) each promised US\$3 million to repair the rail line. The outcome does illustrate the importance of the train as a tourist attraction and as part of the 'green' image, as the train ride, besides appealing to the nostalgia associated with steam engines, is essentially a ride through attractive river and forest environments. However, this story also illustrates, very vividly, the difficulties of reconciling differing local and sectoral interests.

The 'green' image relates to the entire region, but it operates differently on the Gatineau side and the Ottawa side. Gatineau is seen as having more natural scenery, dominated by forests and rivers and providing spaces for active outdoor recreation, such as skiing and cycling. Ottawa has a more cultivated nature, the canal as an early engineering feat and the experimental farm showing farm animals to urban children and varieties of irises to urban gardeners. But in both cases the idea of nature is a major pole of tourist promotion and one that has remained at the core of the development of the tourist industry.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we come back to the tension between the one and the two – is tourism development in Ottawa–Gatineau driven by an overriding vision of the region as the capital of the country or is it driven by numerous actors with multiple visions in multiple sectors? If the latter is true, to what extent do the provincial boundaries play an important role in organizing the different visions?

As we have stated earlier in this chapter, the vision of Ottawa as a planned capital reached its high point with the Greber Plan in the post-war period and

continued through the building of the two major modern museums according to the bilingual and bicultural unified federal capital vision of Trudeau. The planned capital period relied on having an activist federal agency playing an important role in planning and this was the role played by the NCC in the early post-war years. But this role has changed and with the increasing planning role of the two municipalities, Ottawa and Gatineau, the NCC is no longer the central planner of the region and Ottawa–Gatineau might have evolved into something partially different from a ‘planned capital’ as defined by Hall. And, whatever the future political direction of the region will be, a centralized planning function is not a likely outcome.

Certainly, at the present time, the federal government is not interested in the development of the Ottawa–Gatineau region, fearing the political backlash to developments seen as favouring the federal government. But at the same time neither of the municipal governments is governed by a mayor interested in playing an activist regional role and therefore one cannot talk of a municipal regionalism in the Ottawa–Gatineau area. One could imagine a number of themes of a municipal regionalism – the increasing ethno-racial diversity of both Ottawa and Gatineau could be a major theme in tourism development and in niche marketing for a more diverse tourist clientele.

Another theme is the liveable city – using Richard Florida’s recent high rating given to Ottawa–Gatineau (Florida, 2009, p. 229) – and building on the urban liveability of the region. Paradoxically, a municipal regionalism could lead to a rather similar vision across the region, although driven by the visions of a multiplicity of social actors.

The tensions of the two and the one continue to play themselves out – the new leadership of the NCC want to play a more active role in the governance of the region – building on the themes of environmental sustainability and environmental stewardship. This is a not a planned capital vision, but it does build on the ‘green’ image of the region. At the same time the civil societies on both sides of the river are beginning to organize in opposition to the existing municipal disinterest and/or disorganization, and this may lead to a more active municipal role in one or other of the two municipal governments. This more active role could well lead to a clearer tourism development strategy, attached as we have suggested to ethno-racial diversity, to urban liveability or to cultural or environmental development. So the story ends as it began – the tension between the one and the two.

Notes

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² Gatineau’s well-known activist, Bill Clennett, has been successful in winning a battle to obtain information about suicides and attempted suicides at the Casino.

³ <http://www.ottawatourism.ca/en/what-is-ottawa-tourims/about-ottawa-tourism.html>

⁴ http://www.tourismeoutaouais.com/outaouais_tourism/index_e.asp

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20 **Conclusions and Future Directions for National Capital Tourism**

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Introduction

In this chapter, we draw together some of the main strands that have emerged from the discussions that have been developed in the previous chapters. This is a difficult task. The chapters have covered a very wide range, in terms of the different types of capitals, their roles, functions and size and their geographical location. Authors have used an equally wide range of intellectual standpoints in order to explore and interrogate their subjects. This work is not susceptible to easy summary, or to being condensed into a simple series of bullet points. We feel that a virtue of the framework we have developed to investigate tourism in national capitals is that it reflects some of the complexity of the subject, and the different perspectives that can be adopted. The material can be reviewed in different ways. Here we order our discussion around the structure of the book. We begin by reviewing what we have learned about the commonalities in tourism between capitals and other cities, and between different capitals – and about the differences, and how we can account for them. We go on to consider the different aspects of capital city tourism and examine the commonalities and contrasts that emerge from the discussions. Finally, we draw some overall conclusions, and outline priorities for further research.

National Capital Tourism: Commonalities and Contrasts

As our discussion in Chapter 2 made clear, national capitals have shared qualities, but are at the same time highly heterogeneous; the quality of ‘capitalness’ that they bring to tourism is hard to define, and attempts at generalization run the risk of doing too little justice to their richness and diversity. The detailed discussion of a series of capitals in the book highlights both commonalities and contrasts. We begin with the commonalities, between capitals

and other cities, and between different capitals. The cases investigated illustrate how capitals share characteristics and concerns with other cities, as suggested in Chapter 1. Unsurprisingly, tourism's role in economic development proves to be at the fore, whether in terms of attracting new visitors markets, manipulating image and representation or as part of city development. The dissolving boundaries between different types of visitor market, and between tourism and other mobilities are also commonly noted – both in terms of the range of markets capitals are seeking to serve and in the different and overlapping mobilities involved – tourists, students, migrant workers and so on. And in many cases visitors' and residents' experiences are blurring and overlapping, and there is a de-differentiation between touristic and other practices.

At the same time, despite the differences between types of capital, their shared features are clearly illustrated – although they manifest themselves differently in different types of capital. Capitals have a series of advantages in terms of their tourism potential. First, and unsurprisingly, they readily recognize that their roles as centres of power and seats of government provide opportunities to manipulate image and establish or try to alter a brand. This applies to planned capitals with apparently well-defined roles like Canberra (Chapters 4 and 7), to emerging and re-emerging capitals like Cardiff (Chapter 3) and to well-established capitals seeking a changed image to reflect changed national circumstances like Pretoria/Tshwane (Chapter 6) and to a lesser extent Hanoi (Chapter 16). It applies equally to cities struggling to make the most of their assets in image and marketing terms – for example Budapest (Chapter 15). Second, their roles as centres of power and heads of their nation have profound effects on the nature of the built environment and on the attractions they offer. Capitals (or areas of the capital in larger cities) frequently boast clusters of cultural attractions – like national museums, galleries, theatres, arts centres and memorials – as well of course as buildings housing seats of government and their accompanying bureaucracies. These facilities are designed with an emphasis on their symbolic as well as functional roles, and the result is displayed through street layouts, building types, zones of prestige, historic monumentality and contemporary icons reflecting present or past power and influence. We can see this in places as diverse as Valetta (Chapter 10), Ottawa–Gatineau (Chapter 19) and Beirut (Chapter 17). Attractions and monumentality have obvious tourism potential, which cities seek to exploit, but symbols are contested and may be a source of conflict, and the way in which visitors experience and appropriate them is varied and open to only limited influence (e.g. London's icons; see Chapter 8). Third, capitals have advantages in a globalized world, usually enjoying comparatively high levels of connectivity and profile, even if their size and economic functions are comparatively modest. As seats of government capitals tend to be privileged in investment in buildings, cultural attractions and in infrastructure too (although there are exceptions – see the discussion of Wellington, Chapter 9). Combined with their other assets this can give them significant potential advantages over competitors, particularly in certain tourism markets, such as business and conference tourism and education tourism (see Chapters 12 and 14 for discussions).

While commonalities are clear, however, so are contrasts. These stem in part from the different capital types, but also from differing histories. In Chapter 2, we pointed out that the rapid growth in the numbers of political capitals could be seen as a consequence of the end of empires, the adoption of federal or devolved governments and the gradual emergence of supranational capitals. We also argued that the period of rapid growth was at an end and that we could expect more stability. The discussion of capitals in the book makes clear that while there may be stability in the numbers and designation of capitals, historic forces are still having crucial effects on the cities and how they represent and focus their efforts in tourism. In part, this reflects continuing development and change in the nation state. Capitals present themselves as 'the symbolic heart of their nation' (Capitals Alliance, 2003, p. 1) or the 'showpiece of the nation' (see Chapter 2), and this is seen as conditioning their tourism role. However, it presupposes that we can identify *the* nation, which they represent, and in an increasingly pluralist and contested world, this presents difficulties. Rather, capitals inevitably represent a series of national perspectives and different national groups. Brussels perhaps particularly illustrates this, with its multiple formal and informal capital roles (Chapters 11 and 18), but similar tensions between emerging and developing national identities and capital roles can be seen in many of the other cities we have examined. This contextualizes the different ways in which heritage, monuments and other symbols are presented and represented in different places, and at different times.

Capitals are at the centre of processes of national change and this is not always a comfortable place to be. The research presented in the book shows that they also suffer other disadvantages. First, as seats of government they may be burdened with the image that accompanies government and public bureaucracy – which is generally rather negative. Administrative functions give rise to perceptions that a place will be dull or boring and discourage visitation. This seems more of an issue in planned capitals, where governmental functions are more dominant (e.g. Canberra, Ottawa–Gatineau; see Chapters 4, 7 and 19), but it affects other cities too. Second, capital status may lead to administrative complexity in terms of how the city is governed. National governments invariably have special interest and influence in the city in which they are based, and the division of responsibilities between national–federal or regional–provincial and local government can be complex. At the same time, as pressures for decentralization develop, national governments may wish to avoid appearing to privilege the capital and choose to build new or move existing national attractions elsewhere. This makes planning future tourism developments and organizing marketing more challenging (e.g. Pretoria/Tshwane, Brussels, Dublin and Budapest – see Chapters 6, 11, 13, 15 and 18). Finally, the symbolic roles played by capitals may mean priority is given to preserving and displaying heritage and monuments at the expense of the everyday life of the city and its residents. While this may benefit some types of tourism, it can undercut the appeal of the city for visitors seeking the 'real' city as well as disadvantaging residents (e.g. Valetta, Brussels, Beirut – Chapters 10, 11, 17 and 18).

Aspects of National Capital Tourism

Image and brand

This part of the book focused on issues concerning the imaging and branding of national capital cities, covered by four chapters.

One of the key questions that arises from these discussions is how national capital cities are perceived, how far promotion efforts can affect their image and how marketers seek to brand them. Is this different to other city marketing? The answers are complex, due to the diversity of national capital types, the range of their tourist products and their approach to integrating capital status in destination marketing. National capital status provides both advantages and disadvantages to imaging and branding the city in a post-industrial era. It can help develop competitive advantage or a unique selling proposition for the city. The extensive range of monuments and iconic attractions can be used as part of that city marketing effort in a unique way (e.g. Canberra, Pretoria/Tshwane – Chapters 4 and 6). Not only can this help in the branding of the city, but also in rebranding or repositioning the nation to the wider world, as national capitals have multiple audiences (including foreign companies and countries, international tourism and their own domestic and local residents). However, as White (in Chapter 4) suggests, questions remain as to how specific national capital imagery, signs and symbols can be integrated into branding in the most effective way for multiple audiences.

As outlined in Chapters 3 and 6 in the context of Wales and Pretoria/Tshwane, the branding and development of the capital city also reflects the branding of the nation itself on a wider stage. As the nation changes over time, then so too does its need to rebrand itself or market its reflection of the broader developments and successes of the nation itself. As Eades and Cooper note in the case of Tokyo (Chapter 5), the city has made itself into a high-tech global capital, while the ancient capitals of Nara, Kamakura and Kyoto provide examples of historical former capitals. Changing national power relationships and contested stories can manifest themselves in the representation of the nation to the wider world. The key challenge for marketers will be not to erode any competitive advantage that capital status affords through the simple replication of the strategies of other cities and the loss of distinctiveness and authenticity – reflecting the concerns about standardization that are a theme in city tourism more broadly.

The imaging and branding of national capital cities are not without challenges. There are contested views and interpretations about what values the national capital is meant to represent and how to communicate these to residents and tourists alike. 'It is frequently organic communication processes, developed through the arts, education and the media, which have the strongest and most pervasive influence on the image of a destination' (Hankinson, 2004, p. 11). This means that tourism marketers, in order to attract visitors, need not only to ensure that a desirable image is conveyed in the market place, but also to manage the media. This concern is particularly relevant to national capitals since as the seat of government they have high media

exposure, and hence bear increased opportunity for being portrayed in both a positive or negative light. The role of politicians as ambassadors to increase awareness and improve promotional activities in a national capital is an interesting strategy. It could be a relatively low cost and effective marketing approach, however Jansen-Verbeke *et al.* (2005) observe that care must be taken as informal marketing can also be difficult to regulate and negative feelings about politicians may present a threat to positive marketing aspirations.

Planned and political capitals can suffer particularly from stereotypical images linked to governmental roles: for domestic visitors especially they can be seen as cities that are 'dull', 'boring' and 'sleepy', as outlined in Chapter 2 and throughout this book. That makes creating and transmitting a favourable image to potential tourists in target markets a high priority for such national capitals. However, countering powerful organic images is difficult, and the process is made still more complex by the fragmented development of tourism and the range of agencies involved in promoting and developing tourism in planned and political capitals. Capital city status inhibits developing a cohesive and unique brand in these cases.

Visitor experiences

Part III of the book focused on issues concerning visitors' experiences in national capital cities and was covered by four chapters.

Looking at capitals from the visitor perspective underscores the difficulty of projects intended to manipulate their image. The qualities of capitalness further complicate a process that is complex in any city. Research reported in this book shows that capitalness plays an important role in the visitor experience of cities. Visitors respond to a series of intertwined qualities. Capital city status affects the built environment of cities, with the whole place or particular zones of prestige laid out in a formal manner with monumental buildings, spaces and sites. Canberra and Valetta are far apart in many ways – geographical, cultural and historical – yet share characteristics of monumentality that shape the visitor experience. Capital status also provides visitor attractions, especially those that reflect and interpret national culture and history, like museums, galleries and performance spaces, and they too condition visitor experience. And finally, it provides a series of symbols and images to which visitors respond and react – not always in ways which would be expected or desired by city marketers.

Yet, capitals' many advantages do not automatically translate into an experience that visitors find positive or enjoyable, as the discussion of Wellington (Chapter 9) makes clear. Despite its attractive location, concentration of cultural facilities and historic buildings, and carefully marketed food and beverage culture, visitors seemed unwilling to spend much time in the city. Their perceptions of the place seemed to focus on mundane matters of inadequate parking and signage. Capitalness as a memorable feature for visitors thus seems to go beyond an accumulation of environmental advantages and a variety of cultural and consumption opportunities. This reflects the fact that visitors play much more active role in consuming what the capital has to offer than is often acknowledged. Stevenson and Inskip's examination (Chapter 8) of

how visitors perceive and interpret even the most familiar images – in this case, Big Ben and the London Eye – illustrates this. These are well known images, used as symbols of London and of Britain by tourism authorities, the commercial tourism industry and government at all levels. Yet, these iconic images both represent London and can be taken by visitors, migrants and visitors and interwoven with their own personal stories, histories, connections and memories. Capitalness gives them particular power, but they are appropriated and their meanings developed and changed.

Capital qualities can contribute to the visitor experience, and be important to local people – yet also undermine elements of what attracts visitors to cities, and the quality of life for local people. Smith's discussion of Valetta (Chapter 10) shows that the city's monumentality plays a pivotal role in attracting cultural tourists and in how Malta is represented to itself and the world. But this focus has undermined the liveability of the city, to the detriment of residents, and to those visitors who want to get 'off the beaten track' to discover the 'real' city of everyday life. The tension between preservation of nationally and internationally important historic environments and adaptation to the changing needs of everyday life is familiar enough, but given added complexity in small capitals with their roles as national symbols.

The visitor experience of capitals revolves around tensions, contradictions and contested interpretations of symbols. This emerges clearly from the study of the visitor experience of Canberra (see Chapter 7). Capitalness is essential to the experience of the city, yet reveals tensions and contradictions. The formality and monumentality of the capital has a distancing effect, making it feel soulless, sterile and isolated. The essence of the experience revolves around juxtaposed notions of detachment and engagement about the meaning of the place and about interpreting capital qualities and symbols. The examination of the visitor's experience in this and the other chapters show that visitor experiences are complex and not easily susceptible to simple summary. Authors here and elsewhere in the book point to the *multilayered* character of capital cities and of the experience that they offer to visitors and which visitors take from them – a character that needs to be acknowledged in planning and marketing capitals.

Tourism markets

The four chapters of Part IV examine particular visitor markets in capitals.

As the broader literature suggests, national capital cities can attract many government and private-sector business travellers, who visit on business trips and for conferences and events and who are an important market because of their potentially 'high spending' (e.g. in Brussels, Cardiff, and Dublin – Chapters 11, 12 and 13). However, there is limited research or knowledge on the extent to which capital city status attracts these key market segments. As noted in Chapter 13 by Skinner and Bryne, international organizations in Europe are more likely to identify with Dublin (and its attributes) as a business destination than Ireland as a whole. Their images, although not directly related to capital city status, are indirectly a

result of government and external investment in the capital, and development and presentation of cultural attractions that help portray Irish identity to the wider world. Interestingly, these perceptions were found to differ by location suggesting this may be a result of geographical and cultural distance. This is a similar issue for Wellington (Chapter 9), which showed that international tourists place more importance on national capital status in their decision to visit than do domestic visitors.

Capital cities may also attract lower spending, but important groups such as school excursion parties, whose members hope to enhance their understanding of the national capital, may as a result change their perceptions of it and may in fact return to the destination in the future (see Chapter 14). As mentioned above, capitals have particular appeal for cultural tourists because of the array of cultural resources, monuments and icon attractions that they afford (see Chapter 11 on Brussels in particular, but also Chapter 10 on Valetta and Chapter 16 on Hanoi). In some respects these resources and support from government provide competitive advantages compared to other cities. However, they can also cause problems and issues in developing leisure tourism opportunities, because of the nature of capital city status. Many of the attractions are free, which create limited opportunities for developing commissionable product. This problem may also restrict or 'retard' private-sector investment in tourist attractions and innovative product, as identified in the case of Wellington (Peirce and Ritchie, 2007).

Capitals have great advantages for business tourism, but it is also evident that being a strong conference or convention city may give rise to exhibition and accommodation capacity problems (as indicated in Chapter 13), and when hotel occupancy and room rates are highly dependant on weekday business travellers (such as in Wellington, Ottawa and Canberra), leisure travellers may be discouraged by the high costs (Pearce *et al.*, 2004, p. 398), and it may be difficult to develop school excursion accommodation (Chapter 14). Furthermore, such cities may have infrastructure problems at key tourist precincts and locations (as indicated in Chapter 9) due to low levels of funding and physical space constraints. These issues might not be so important for some types of capital cities (global and multifunctional capitals or historic and former capital cities). For 'late' capitals, such as political or planned capitals, these may be more problematic, as they have developed around their administrative functions, they lack other industry sectors, and as indicated in Chapter 1, they may foster a bureaucratic rather than an entrepreneurial culture. This suggests the importance of imaging, branding and diversification of the city outlined in the Part III as well as good planning and development of the city, outlined in Part V.

Tourism development

All the four chapters in Part V acknowledge the challenges and complexities in planning and developing tourism in national capital cities.

Within many national capitals there exist multiple levels of government (federal, state and municipal), all with an influence on tourism, and furthermore, because the national capital region may cross various jurisdictional borders, more than one tourism organization may be responsible for the marketing, planning and development of tourism (e.g. see Budapest and Ottawa–Gatineau in particular, in Chapters 15 and 19). This creates unique interesting challenges in coordinating tourism marketing and development activities. In some cases, it may lead to a lack of coordinated marketing due to confusion over what to market and whom to market to. This is clearly shown in the case of the Ottawa–Gatineau capital region, with different organizations marketing different parts of the product to different audiences, depending on whether they are franco-phone or anglophone.

Further, these organizations often have competing mandates and demands, and consequently, as observed by Hall (2002, p. 239), ‘the planning of capital cities along with the planning of tourism in capital cities can be somewhat problematic’. The mandates of many of the national agencies are to plan for, protect and promote only the capital dimensions (such as that of the National Capital Commission in Canada or the National Capital Authority in Canberra). Others have provincial or city development responsibilities for the local or regional community (e.g. Brussels), alongside national and international roles. Although their activities may not be mutually exclusive, they do create problems in coordinating goals and overlapping responsibilities and actions. Brussels (Chapters 11 and 18) is also handicapped by institutional fragmentation in a similar way to Budapest (Chapter 15) and Ottawa–Gatineau (Chapter 19). Budapest displays a complex administrative structures (23 districts) and a fragmented capital city tourism development which can be partly related to past history. The result is difficulties for visitors in accessing attractions spread throughout the city and is related to a lack of public- and private-sector cooperation and private sector investment in tourist product (outlined earlier). Although national capitals may be well endowed with tourism-related resources, they may not be fully integrated into tourism marketing or planning.

As noted throughout the book, tourist resources in national capitals are often located in precincts, zones or quarters. The planning of tourist precincts and quarters may also create problems. First, as noted by Diekmann and Maulet in Brussels (Chapter 18), there is no clear rationale for developing two particular quarters for tourism, with no clear connection to the role or nature of the capital and a lack of involvement of the local people in their planning. One of these precincts seems to have emerged as a result of tourist interest in everyday life in the city (increasing important in city tourism – see Chapter 1), while the other reflects Brussels’ emerging role as a supranational capital. Some precincts may be more about monumentality and may not engage visitors (see Chapter 7 on Canberra). A lack of interpretation or visitor guiding may also restrict the ability of visitors to understand what they are seeing, and more importantly, what this may mean to them (Chapter 18 on Brussels quarters).

Where cultural or business resources are isolated in precincts or 'bubbles', there may be limited 'trickle-down' benefits or dispersal throughout the rest of the city – an issue in city tourism more broadly. This occurs in the case of Valetta (Chapter 10), and has been noted as a general concern in tourist precincts in other cities (Ritchie, 2008; Chapter 1). According to Smith (Chapter 10), this could create tensions and divisions among the local population, which could lead to resentment and damage to the long-term development of tourism. In some national capitals, space within precincts is becoming increasingly precious and good planning is required to allocate land for future museums and monuments, and balance that with the demand for tourist facilities and other economic activities. However, few national capitals have long-term plans for their precinct areas, with one exception being Washington, DC. This is particularly important as political and planned capitals begin to diversify their economies.

As the authors note in the discussion of Budapest (Chapter 15), a more holistic approach to planning and developing tourism in national capitals may be required. The irony is that if this does not emerge from existing administrations, then yet another overarching whole-of-destination structure may need to be created to ensure that collaboration does occur. Special themes (such as an anniversary of the city) may also create opportunities for multiple stakeholders to collaborate. Failing that, perhaps the current economic crisis and cuts to government spending due to reduced revenue, may ensure collaboration out of necessity.

Conclusion and Future Research Directions

As indicated in Chapter 1, not only has there been neglect in examining city tourism, but this has been even more pronounced in national capital cities. Yet the significance of tourism marketing, planning and development in these cities has been ignored and little is made of the significance of capital status in the tourism literature (Hall, 2005). This book addresses the neglect in understanding national capital tourism, and in doing so, contributes to knowledge of city tourism. Tourism in capital cities highlights issues concerning the imaging and branding of cities generally, the experience and perceptions of visitors in cities and how tourism is developed and planned in such cities.

This book shows that the neglect of national capital tourism is unjustified. Commonalities and contrasts between capitals, which are outlined above, mean that there is much to be learned from examination and comparative study between capital cities. Although there is a wide range of types of capital cities, and classification of these cities may be debatable, core concepts and questions remain: to what extent is capital city status or capitalness integrated into imaging, branding or planning of these cities? To what extent does capital city status influence visitor decision making and experiences? The work in this book confirms that capitalness exists and is important to tourism. It combines to create functional attributes of the city, influences the built environment, and uses icons

and symbols of the city in development and marketing, which are contested and debated. Capital city status is a quality recognized and promoted by cities themselves – in various ways. It is acknowledged by visitors, who interpret and appropriate it, and whose reactions are both engaged and detached, reflecting ambivalent responses to nation and to government. So capitalness does exist – but it is elusive and difficult to define.

We feel that in this book we have made a useful start in developing our understanding of tourism in capital cities – but we have had to start from the low base of the very limited research undertaken to date. More research and work are required to understand the influence and integration of capital city status in tourism marketing, planning and development. Furthermore, we need to establish consistent and systematic approaches, and to develop more comparative studies in order to understand better the idea of capitalness, how it varies between different categories of city, what it adds to a city's offer, how it affects the tourist experience and how capitalness should be integrated into tourism marketing and branding strategies.

We believe that now is an interesting time for this work to occur as the rapid creation of new capitals has slowed and there is some stability. However, the historical and cultural processes that have driven the growth in numbers of capitals continue and are still being played out in the ways in which cities present and represent themselves for tourism and the means by which they incorporate tourism in their economies. We need to develop the intellectual basis to examine diverse experiences systematically and consistently so that lessons can be learned. The framework we have developed for this book is useful and has helped develop a more systematic understanding of capital city tourism. It could be further refined to provide a stronger basis for better understanding capital city tourism.

Research directions and priorities can be considered at a macro level and a micro level. At a macro level there are two main research priorities. First, we need to develop deeper theoretical understanding of the range of phenomena in national capital cities and how such cities add to the broader field of city tourism and mobility. To do this tourism researchers need to engage with researchers from a range of theoretical backgrounds and fields (such as marketing, urban development and planning, urban geography and psychology), to create deeper insights into capital city marketing, planning, development and visitor experiences. These deeper insights could also lead to a better understanding of how to manage and plan national capital cities. Second, we also need detailed examination of more cities – on a consistent and comparative basis. Most of the limited research that exists has been conducted in Western Europe, and in planned capitals in the new world. Developing world and post-socialist capital cities (Chapters 6, 15 and 16) are especially interesting in terms of changing roles and development, but are particularly under researched and should be a priority for further work.

At a micro level, the chapters within this book have both individually and collectively raised a number of research issues and possible future research questions and topics to explore. Table 20.1 attempts to capture some of these research questions and issues within each part of the book. In furthering our understanding of national capital imaging and branding, questions arise as to how to apply

Table 20.1. Book themes and potential research questions and topics.

Image and brand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What images and perceptions do different audiences have of the capital (international and domestic tourists, politicians and local residents)? • How are images of capitals represented – especially through websites and newer media? • How does capital city status play a part in these images and perceptions? • Does this differ based on the core function or type of capital city? • How should the capital city actually manage its contrasting images and perceptions among a range of target audiences? • Does, can or should the brand of a capital city differ to that of other place brands? • Can a national capital brand be seen as a flagship brand of the nation? • Does this create brand equity value? Can this brand equity be measured in some way? • Are the symbols, icons and signs linked to capital status and integrated into branding or marketing communication activities? • If so, how are they integrated and how could this integration be improved? • What types of image-changing agents can be used to better market capital cities? • What role can diplomats and politicians play in marketing the city?
Visitor experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changing nature of visitors – beyond tourism to wider mobilities. • How do a wide range of visitors ('tourists' and other mobile visitors) experience capital cities? What are their travel behaviours and motivations? • What characteristics of the city appeal to them? How do capitals compare with other cities? • How do they navigate and find way in capital cities? Does this differ based on visitor experience levels? • What roles do familiar tourism precincts and 'off the beaten track' areas play in the visitor experience? • How far can visitor dispersal techniques reduce congestion and spread visitors across the city? • What is the long-term impact on domestic visitors' national identity as a result of a visit to a capital city?
Tourism markets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the main tourist markets in capital cities? • In what way are they attracted to the city due to the capital dimension? • Are the advantages of capital city status being used in promoting to and developing specific markets (such as conference, business and school excursions)? • What are the key opportunities and threats associated with their development? • To what extent are these opportunities and threats related to capital city status? • How can these be resolved?

Continued

Table 20.1. Continued.

Tourism development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can distinct experiences be created or turned into commissionable product at cultural attractions? • How should the multilayered capital be represented to these diverse markets? • What incentives could be used to attract markets during peak times (such as parliamentary sitting times)? • What are the levels of private or public sector investment in tourism products in capital cities? • In what ways can private sector investment be increased? • Should levies or fees be applied due to market failure in capital cities? • What is the current level and nature of collaboration in capital cities? • What appropriate collaboration strategies could be adopted to improve cohesion? • What governance structures may be the most appropriate for developing tourism and reducing rivalry? • How can local residents be involved in planning and marketing tourism? • What community engagement models could work in these cities? • How do policies of non-tourism agencies impact upon tourism and vice versa? • How should tourist precincts be designed and integrated into the city landscape? • How can collaboration between cities be improved?
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marketing concepts to cities, and how the brand equity of the capital could be measured. Questions also arise about how visitors' images of capitals are formed, and the extent to which capital status imagery, icons and symbols are integrated into marketing efforts and the actual images and perceptions different audiences have of the capital city. The use of image-change agents and the most effective types (especially for planned or political capitals) could also be explored.

Visitor experiences in national capitals require much more investigation – reflecting a gap in our knowledge in city tourism more generally. We need to acknowledge that increasing motilities mean that visitors to capitals go beyond tourists as conventionally defined and include other groups – students, temporary migrants, contract workers and so on – who will also want to explore the city. Different visitors will seek different experiences from the capital, and while icons, landmarks and cultural attractions remain important, some visitors will be more interested in getting off the beaten track and engaging with the everyday life of the city. We need more research to understand the visitor experience in capitals and to compare that with visitor experience in other cities – for example world tourism cities (Maitland and Newman, 2009), some of which are capitals and some of which are not. This requires studies to reveal the tourist experience and explore expectations and desires. It means using newer technologies such as global positioning system (GPS) to gain a greater understanding of how visitors use and experience cities – the itineraries they construct, the places where they linger and the images they choose to capture.

Insights gained from this research can feed into improved visitor experiences, shaping of city images and developing techniques to manage visitors to reduce congestion and spread the benefits of tourism across the city.

Key questions on tourism markets are mainly related to uncovering the actual types of markets and the extent of capital status in the 'pull' of capital cities. The leveraging of capital status to attract key markets such as business, conferences and school excursions is not well understood. Nor are the constraints to developing these markets, which may be partly related to limited private-sector investment in some types of capital cities. The issue of free attractions creating commissionable product experiences is noted, as is the issue of seasonality. Seasonality may be an issue for specific types of capital cities depending on their functions. Choice modelling studies of consumers could help managers to understand how to deal with seasonality (through focusing on elements of the marketing mix), or even help identify commissionable product options and pricing.

Finally, key questions and research topics related to tourism development include how to increase the level of private-sector investment in these capitals and increase public-private-sector collaboration. Other questions and topics are concerned with how to create more cohesive and collaborative structures that reduce the fragmentation that exists in many capital cities. The engagement of local residents in the decision-making process and the role of non-tourism agencies in planning are also issues that need further research. To examine issues concerning tourism development, stakeholder collaboration and governance theory and concepts could be applied in future research. In particular, network analysis and an examination of stakeholder power and control could highlight particular challenges for the future governance of capital city tourism.

In conclusion, we hope that this book has contributed towards better understanding national capital tourism, and city tourism more generally. Capitals are fascinating places: important destinations in their own right, pivotal in national representation and image and frequently gateways to their countries – yet little has been written about them. We hope that this book will inspire more research and thinking about the special role that capitalness could play in the marketing, planning and development of tourism within these cities, which have special significance for such a wide range of people.

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