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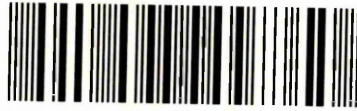
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Interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in city destinations

Rui Su

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Cultural tourism in cities involves cultural resources and the producers and consumers of those resources, with the integration of these elements resulting in different forms of cultural tourism and varied associated relationships. Culture and cultural heritage tourism often feature prominently in city-based tourist activities, and they can assist cities to achieve broad socio-economic and political objectives. Given the importance of urban cultural tourism, it is surprising that few studies have sought to establish a more comprehensive understanding of the processes and issues involved in its production and consumption. Instead, much relevant research focuses only on specific individual aspects or features of cultural tourism. The study responds to the need to understand urban cultural tourism through a holistic approach that also simplifies the relevant complex relationships.

This research develops a holistic, relational and dialectical conceptual model in order to improve our critical understanding of urban cultural tourism. The model draws certain ideas from the circuit of culture conceptualisation of the assembly of contemporary material artefacts and from previous studies of cultural heritage tourism in cities. The central dialectic in the proposed model of urban cultural tourism concerns relationships of interdependence and tension. Urban cultural tourism involves much interdependence, such as between the production and consumption of tourism products, between culture and tourism departments, and between producers of cultural tourism products in the cultural and tourism sectors. Yet, there is also much tension involved in these relationships, such as between the preservation and commodification of cultural resources and between potentially different expectations of cultural tourism's producers and consumers. The model thus focuses on processes of interdependence and tension in urban cultural tourism.

The applicability and value of the theoretical model is considered for the case of the city of Nanjing in China, a distinctive context for urban cultural tourism due to the city's rich cultural resources and the major changes in China's economy, society, politics and governance. The assessment is based on triangulation using a range of sources, including semi-structured in-depth interviews with industry officials and managers and tourists, observation, documents, photographic records, and social media.

The research findings demonstrate the model's value, notably through its integrated approach, its focus on dialectical relationships of interdependence and tension, and the prominence given to four key relationships and their connections with each other and their context. It provided valuable new insights into the relationships in Nanjing between culture and tourism policies and between relevant government departments, between the public and private sectors, between the production and consumption of cultural tourism, and between the encoding and decoding of related messages. These relationships had to be seen as reflecting and affecting China's distinctive political, economic and socio-cultural context. Conclusions are also drawn about the wider applicability and value of the model for researchers interested in cultural tourism in other urban contexts.

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"三人行，必有我师焉。择其善者而从之，其不善者而改之"。

san ren xing, bi you wo shi yan. ze qi shan zhe er cong zhi, qi bu shan zhe er gai zhi.

"Among any three people walking, I will find something to learn for sure. Their good qualities are to be followed, and their shortcomings are to be avoided".

- Confucian Anatects (lun yu 论语)

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 The nature of cultural tourism

Culture is regarded in this study as "the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs" (UNESCO, 2006: 17). Culture also includes historical buildings or monuments, as well as language, festivals, performances and other cultural resources. These elements of culture embody what happened in the past, and also record what is going on in the present. Culture is a broad concept, but for many people it is very important for them to understand their own cultural history and contemporary ways of life, as well as that of others. Many cultural heritage sites, such as the Tower of London, the Great Wall in Beijing, and the works of Antoni Gaudi in Barcelona, are well preserved so that they record the past as well as attract large numbers of visitors every year. Many living experiences, such as the silk craftsmanship in China and the Flamenco in Spain, continue the past into the present, and they enrich the experiences of both visitors and local communities (UNESCO, 2003). These culture and experiences are different across time and space, so they can enable people to understand different histories and to acknowledge different contemporary everyday lives.

Values and beliefs in the past and between different places are important. Many people are interested in culture, not only because culture represents past history and contemporary everyday life, but also because it can help them to understand and appreciate different values and beliefs. Culture represents "beliefs, values, social practices, rituals and traditions" (UNESCO, 2006: 18). Consuming culture is an important experience, which can help people to understand relevant cultural values and meanings in different places and in the past.

Importantly, different cultural patterns and values between places help people to identify differences between themselves and others. Through experiencing these cultural differences in travel, people can feel they learn from where they have been and what they have seen, and this can also help them to establish their own sense of identity. These differences can be useful to help people to realise and re-evaluate who they are and where they belong. In other words, culture enables people to establish their personal identities, including their own sense of worth and uniqueness. As a consequence,

through experiencing culture, people are engaged in a process of sense-making, including seeking a sense of belonging to the place or understanding of the place (Freeland, 2012).

From a tourism perspective, culture can often be a core motivator encouraging people to leave home to gain different experiences by visiting other places. Culture has a close relationship with people's movement. Harris (1990: 284) notes that, "the greater the movement of peoples, the more that culture will come to be fashioned by people from many other resources". When people leave home to visit other places, there is an exchange process that helps to shape culture. For instance, tourists bring their own culture to the places they visit, and their behaviours can affect the local destination from both economic and socio-cultural perspectives. Due to people's cultural need to visit places, much investment can be attracted which may benefit the local destination as well as improve local living standards. Meanwhile, cultural traditions or local life styles can be influenced by the number of visitors from outside. Sometimes local people can also be required to improve the quality of the service that they provide, and that itself can alter the local culture. They often also learn more about the outside world through interacting with external visitors, which is another potential source of socio-cultural change (Besculides, Lee and McCormick, 2002). Thus, the movement of people through tourism can shape culture in destinations on a wider scale (Kringelbach and Skinner, 2012).

In a touristic sense (UNESCO, 2006), culture can provide many different experiences for people interested in the past or in contemporary ways of life. Some visitors particularly enjoy and are more strongly motivated by culture, and they may engage in many different sight-seeing activities, cultural exchanges with locals, distinctive shopping opportunities (Jansen -Verbecke, 2001), and tasting local cuisines and drinks.

As a motivation for travelling, culture can also encourage people to learn about the past and to participate in local activities. People may better understand history when they visit historical buildings, monuments or museums. Culture utilised in tourism may help people to transform their visit by gaining insights into the specific historic context and to learn about cultural differences and similarities. People may participate in festivals or arts performances as a way of understanding local ways of life. Interpretation techniques, such as telling stories, may be designed to make cultural experiences more relevant to visitors, and different interpretive technologies may also be employed to

enhance visitors' engagement (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002). Thus, culture can diversify people's tourist experiences, and cultural tourism can cater for their desire to experience and understand culture.

Cultural tourism links culture and tourism together, and it reflects their multiple and complex relationships. Culture can provide diverse tourist experiences, while tourism can help to revive and revitalize culture and make it more well-known among the public (UNESCO, 2006). Culture and tourism can have "a mutually beneficial relationship which can strengthen the attractiveness and competitiveness of places, regions and countries" (OECD, 2009: 9). In an OECD report on *"The impact of culture on tourism"* (OECD, 2009: 10), cultural tourism is described as "one of the largest and fastest growing global tourism markets and the cultural and creative industries are increasingly being used to promote destinations". As a way of linking culture and tourism, cultural tourism can present unique cultural heritage resources, including local cultural traditions and other distinctive features of places.

Cultural tourism depends on the preservation of cultural heritage resources. Cultural tourism involves using these different resources, and it may also highlight the importance of preservation to sustain the resources, including for the next generation. While cultural tourism provides tourists with different experiences, it may improve public awareness of the importance of preserving cultural heritage resources. Thus, local people may put more emphasis on their cultural heritage resources and they may preserve them for more sustainable development. On the other hand, of course, cultural tourism can lead to cultural resources being damaged, to a loss of cultural distinctiveness, and to the commodification of culture. Thus, cultural tourism necessarily links culture and tourism, as well as reflecting their multiple and complex inter-relationships.

Cultural tourism can play an important role in achieving political and economic objectives. Regarding political objectives, cultural tourism may help to consolidate or alter national identity or national image. Governments in some post-communist countries, for example, use cultural tourism in order to seek to direct political ideology and to influence national identity (Burns, 1998; Light, 2007; Yan and Bramwell, 2008). Through cultural tourism, people can be encouraged to respect past history and cultural values, as well as to have a sense of belonging to a country. For example, government may package cultural heritage resources as patriotic sites, in order to promote shared

social values of patriotism or national unity (Chronis, 2005). History and cultural values can be an important means to encourage people to relate to a shared group. People visiting these sites can be encouraged to understand their own culture and history, and also to find ties with the past. This may be an efficient way to create a sense of belonging, which is an essential part of national identity. Therefore, cultural tourism can help to promote a feeling that people have a shared history and that they have mutual cultural connections with the place they visit.

Cultural tourism can also help to achieve economic objectives, such as through selling relevant products and maximising profits from tourist activities. Culture is diverse, so its presentation for tourist consumption can vary greatly. In response to increasing demands for cultural experiences, cultural tourism can drive the establishment and expansion of businesses, with associated economic benefits.

The use of culture for tourism can add economic value to culture as a product to sell, as well as matching the demands of tourists. A UNESCO report on *"Tourism, Culture and Sustainable Development"* (2006: 17) highlights how "without tourism, culture is not lived, experienced or felt through aesthetic emotions and a comprehension of values it contains and expresses". Yet, tourism is a market-driven behaviour which can encourage the commodification of cultural resources (Richards, 1996), and this has potential negative as well as positive outcomes. For example, some intangible cultural heritage, such as craftsmanship, can be transformed from use-value skills into exchange-value tourist souvenirs, which are sold to tourists as consumers. After appropriate interpretation and packaging processes, these skills can be commodified as products for sale, thus enabling economic value to be exchanged in the market. Ashworth (1994) suggests that a market-oriented commodification of the past means that culture becomes more known by the public, who then can explore its values. In particular, the creativity of people and culture can make tourism products more interesting, unique and distinctive. Whatever the motives or consequences, selling culture through tourism products and relevant services to tourists is becoming more important, and it is a key way to maximise tourism profits and to make economic contributions to local communities (Bowitz and Ibenhold, 2009).

1.2 Cultural tourism in city destinations

Cities are multifunctional as they are complex places in which people live, work and spend their leisure time. Within that, cultural tourism requires the preservation of the city's cultural heritage resources and the representation of local people's ways of life. Cultural tourism has to operate within the many activities and policy priorities of cities, and ideally it needs to support and remain compatible with those city authorities and priorities. This form of tourism can draw on what is distinctive about a city, create local pride and a sense of place in a city, attract tourists and tourist spending to boost the city's economy and it can enhance the city's competitiveness and attractiveness.

Cities are shaped by their many different functions, based on their political, economic, cultural and social functions. Some cities may focus more on some functions rather than others. For example, New York and Hong Kong are regarded as economic cities with global economic importance, while Beijing and Moscow have an important political and symbolical influence (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000; Maitland, 2011). And Paris is famous for its arts collection, while Jerusalem is well-known for its "international cultural-historic symbolism" (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000: 207). For these cities, their functions contribute to the tourism attractiveness, and they often also match the needs of world markets.

Cultural tourism in cities can enhance the attractiveness of cities as a place to live, work and establish business, because it distinguishes "one place from another" and it illustrates "what makes a destination distinctive, authentic and memorable" (Thorne, 2009: 5). Cultural heritage resources, local traditions and other cultural techniques can be preserved and represented in cities which develop cultural tourism. Through this, cities are able to link past and contemporary life together, as well as encourage people's movement. Through cultural tourism, tourists have opportunities to view a city's cultural assets, to participate in the local community, and to gain different visiting experiences. Meanwhile, local people in cities can have their culture represented to themselves and to tourists, creating a sense of belonging to the place and of recording their own everyday life.

1.3 Interdependence and tension around cultural tourism

The concepts of interdependence and tension can provide a focused and relatively simplified way to understand the many differing and complex elements and

relationships around cultural tourism in cities. Interdependence is "a situation of reciprocal effects or mutual dependence" (Nye, 1976: 131), while tension can involve contradictions, incompatibilities and lack of resolution which may emerge from an imbalance of tasks, relationships and processes (Peterson and Harvey, 2009; Wageman, 1995). These two concepts can reflect the way different elements of cultural tourism interact with one another and form their relationships. The relationships of interdependence and tension bind together, for example, the culture and tourism sectors, the public and private sector producers of cultural tourism, and the producers and consumers of cultural tourism. These relationships are key influences affecting cultural heritage resources, the producers and consumers of those resources, and the products and messages in cities.

Culture and tourism, for instance, are often seen as interdependent, with tourism potentially raising awareness of the value of cultural resources and potentially encouraging their conservation. In this way culture can be quite dependent on tourism development. At the same time, however, tourism can create tensions with cultural resources, such as through the over-exploitation and commercialisation of such resources. Thus, the culture sector is often responsible for preserving and protecting assets, while the tourism sector often focuses on marketing and commercialisation in order to promote tourist destinations (Ho and McKercher, 2004). Ap and Mak (1999: 5) indicate that "tourism is a market-driven industry and is more consumer-friendly, while the cultural industry appears to be more product and supply oriented".

The relationship of interdependence can occur between the public and private sectors based on their common interests around cultural tourism. Government agencies, for instance, often take responsibility for planning policies and regulating the industry, while the private sector is regularly the main partner delivering products and services for the consumers. However, their different interests sometimes can cause potential tension; for example, certain government departments may have stronger power in the cultural tourism-related policy decision-making and planning processes. Powerful actors, for instance, can also easily control the meeting process and affect the final decision-making in face-to-face dialogues or roundtable meetings (Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Christie, 2002). By contrast, less powerful actors may lack sufficient opportunities to express their own opinions, so that some real problems associated with cultural tourism may not be tackled with detailed solutions (Christie, 2002). This potential tension

causes actors to remain disconnected with decision-making and also can lead to ineffective working outcomes in distributing resources (Lammers and Galinsky, 2009).

Interdependence can also occur between the producers and consumers in terms of their potential common goals of diversifying the cultural experiences at attractions. Government, private sector enterprises and other producers can work together to develop culture and its relevant creative products in order to provide consumers with unique and interesting experiences. At the same time, tourists and residents can use these cultural heritage resources, but sometimes they may feel it is a little difficult to fully accept or understand these resources. This is because the messages embedded in the cultural tourism products may not match with the consumers' needs and interests, perhaps because sometimes meanings may not be well delivered and thus the consumers cannot fully understand.

Interdependence and tension are very important to understand cultural tourism from perspectives of policy and planning, product development and destination management. First of all, policy makers and the other actors could understand the relationships of interdependence and tension, and planning cultural tourism in a holistic way. A holistic understanding of the market, resource preservation, stakeholder analysis, and tourist behaviours is advantageous for planning cultural tourism.

The relationships of interdependence can help to assemble different actors from government agencies, private sector enterprises, non-profit organizations, and the local community, in order to work together on specific plans or general policy. These actors meet to consult over problems, identify solutions, and achieve final agreements. Yet there can be problems or barriers to such working relationships, and their resolution can require the full utilisation of the actors' abilities, power and negotiating skills. Although all actors cannot achieve all of their goals, there may be on-going processes, such as partnership-working, whereby two or more actors work together on their mutual needs (Murphy and Murphy, 2004). Therefore, the relationships of interdependence and tension can help to understand the way of linking different elements of cultural tourism in a holistic way, as well as of simplifying their relationships in the policy planning process.

Secondly, the relationships of interdependence and tension can help to clarify product development issues in cultural tourism. Cultural tourism is a complex process, including

various cultural heritage resources, such as historical buildings, landscapes and other cultural assets, as well as interesting cultural values and meanings, which are attached to these cultural tourism products. These relationships are a useful means to understand the interactions between cultural heritage resources, actors and places around cultural tourism.

Interdependence can occur in developing cultural tourism products, which have to be packaged from the raw materials and sold to consumer markets associated with a variety of tour packages and sight-seeing trips. Ashworth's research into the heritage industry (1994) identifies the role of consumers' expectations and market needs in packaging cultural heritage resources as tourism products. Through selecting and targeting approaches, the heritage tourism resources are added value, become products and then are delivered to user industries. This relationship of mutual dependence therefore depends on whether the producers understand and match the consumers' needs or not.

However, not all people are interested in cultural values or the meaning attached to cultural tourism products. People can view culture differently, because they may differ from cultural knowledge, education backgrounds or living experience. Some cultural tourists have a strong interest in culture and history that enables them to engage in some depth in cultural tourism experiences, while other tourists just look for an entertaining sight-seeing trip that takes in some cultural heritage sites. Also, not all people can fully understand the cultural meanings, especially when they lack knowledge about the context. In this way, and in the others previously discussed, the concepts of interdependence and tension can provide a helpful generic view about the potential benefits and problems which can be manifested in the development of cultural tourism products.

Thirdly, the relationships of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism can affect destination management. Cultural tourism is helpful to the development of cities as places to visit, live and develop business. At the same time, when tourists participate in different cultural experiences, their behaviours may alter local culture and traditions in these cities, and that can require careful destination management. It must be remembered, however, that local people are also affected by outside environmental factors which can force them to give up or lose some traditions and cultural resources. All of these influences can require careful destination management. These touristic behaviours and residents' preferences often reflect the specific characteristics of

destinations (Maitland, 2011).

Some potential tensions in tourist destinations also influence the interactions between producers and consumers, and between the production and consumption of cultural tourism. More production-oriented processes in order to meet the needs of commercial markets are increasingly likely to be replaced by more consumption-oriented processes (Richards, 2001a). For instance, tension over the consumption of cultural tourism resources may occur between producers and consumers. Sometimes private sector enterprises lack enough awareness of designing or planning, although they packaging cultural heritage resources as cultural tourism products. Tourists, instead of visiting heritage resources or participating in local traditions, may also be pressured simply to purchase local products and souvenirs at tourist sites and other shops. This potential tension may decrease the consumers' interests in certain tourist destinations, while the producers may lose relevant profits or damage their reputations around cultural tourism (Huang and Chiu, 2006; Lin and Ding, 2005, 2006).

1.4 Conceptual gaps in understanding interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in city destinations

There have been few attempts to look at the different elements and their interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in a holistic way. This is despite cultural tourism research having explored issues around the production and consumption of places (Johnson, 2004; Richards, 2011). Much work on cultural tourism in destinations focuses on very specific aspects, but little offers a more holistic view. Many researchers have discussed a narrow area or one aspect of cultural tourism, such as residents' perceptions of the form of tourism development (Besculides, Lee and McCormick, 2002; King, Pizam and Milman, 1993), representation and authenticity in tourism (McIntosh and Prentice, 1999; Wang, 1999), and cultural tourism marketing and related consumer behaviour (Edensor, 2000; Goulding, 1999; Hall, 1999). Such narrow perspectives are very helpful in clarifying individual issues of cultural tourism, but they lack a holistic view of cultural tourism in a dynamic socio-cultural environment. Thus, there is a gap in the literature in terms of viewing cultural tourism holistically. A specific need has emerged for a broader conceptual model to better understand cultural tourism in destinations.

1.5 The need for a generic conceptual model

There is a need for the development of generic conceptual models in order to improve our understanding of cultural tourism in cities. Conceptual models help researchers to simplify and clarify the many complex elements and relationships involved in urban cultural tourism, to consider the relationships between the phenomenon being studied and the wider context, to examine the connections and relationships between the elements, to recognise critical issues, and to evaluate the relevance of these simplifications and explanations in different contexts (Forsberg et al., 2005; Pearce, 2014; Wallerstein, 2009; Xin, Tribe and Chambers, 2013).

This present research develops a conceptual model to simplify the complex relationships around cultural tourism in a dialectical way, including adopting a holistic view of cultural tourism within a dynamic political, economic, socio-cultural environment. This conceptual model helps to fill in the current conceptual gap about cultural tourism in city destinations. A generic conceptual model can map different concepts and their relationships in a complex world (Miles and Huberman, 1994). This study develops a generic conceptual model to explore different perspectives on cultural tourism, as well as simplifying their relationships of interdependence and tension in cities.

First, the researcher adopts a relational and dialectical approach in the new generic conceptual model. A dialectical view is one type of relational perspective which suggests that different aspects of society mutually depend on each other, yet at the same time they also contradict or are in tension with each other. It suggests that separate aspects of society cannot be understood in isolation; rather they are constituted in relation to the other elements of society, and that constitution also reflects the mutual dependencies and contradictions both within and between those elements. Applying a dialectical view in cultural tourism is useful to explore the relationships around cultural tourism as involving both cooperation and conflict (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002), as well as interactions within each of the elements of cultural tourism (inner dialectic), and also between the elements and between the elements and the wider environment (outer dialectics) (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Peet and Hartwick, 1999).

A relational and dialectical view is the fundamental approach used in this study to establish a conceptual model and to understand the interdependence and tension around

cultural tourism. The dialectical approach is used in this study to recognise a complex process of interdependence and tension in cultural tourism, namely, the development of different interrelationships between the producers and consumers, between the culture and tourism sectors, between the public and private sectors, and between the production and consumption of cultural tourism.

Second, the researcher builds a holistic model to link different influences on, and perspectives of, cultural tourism. Richards (2013: 484) believes that "cultural tourism has therefore integrated a growing range of theoretical perspectives from sociology, anthropology, cultural studies, economics and other disciplines". Consideration here is given to an integrated approach, which helps to understand cultural tourism as "dealing simultaneously with the environment and economic development, and with often neglected social, political and cultural issues, such as local communities and cultures" (Loulanski and Loulanski, 2011: 838). Cultural tourism is integrated holistically, relationally and dialectically within these wider contexts and influences, and in turn it affects those contexts and influences.

Three broad models, based on three different perspectives: cultural studies, heritage studies and tourism research, can provide ideas for an integrated model for more specific application to cultural tourism in cities. These models are: Du Gay et al.'s "circuit of culture" (1997); Ashworth's "components of the heritage industry" (1994) and McKercher and Du Cros's "relationships between tourism and cultural heritage management" (2002). However, none of these can alone provide a fully holistic understanding specifically of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in city destinations. The "circuit of culture" (Du Gay et al., 1997) prescribes cultural meaning as being communicated through a process of representation, regulation, identity, production and consumption. Du Gay et al.'s model helps to clarify the relationships between producers and consumers in communicating cultural meanings, but it has not yet been applied to cultural tourism. The researcher here extends this model by giving it a more specific theoretical and conceptual basis, specifically a relational view to explore the dialectical relationships between interdependence and tension, and between resources, actors and places, production and consumption and governance arrangements, around cultural tourism.

Ashworth's "components of the heritage industry" (1994) is a process model which indicates ways of producing heritage products, at the same time as considering

consumers' needs and marketing perspectives. He seeks to understand how cultural history in different places – such as in tourist-historic cities – is transformed into heritage industry products (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000). This model focuses on the processes whereby producers can use different objectives and interpretations to package heritage tourism resources as relevant products, and then to promote them to consumers. Here he notes that it reflects an increasing trend to "a market orientation", a trend that "focuses upon the relics of history as a product, selected according to the criteria of consumer demand and managed through intervention in the market" (1994: 16). He concludes from this trend that "the search for a process model to explain what is occurring must be conducted within marketing science" (Ashworth, 1994: 16). His model, thus, is a marketing-oriented process model designed to link the producers and consumers in the heritage industry.

But Ashworth may underplay the role of the public sector and its planning role. In Ashworth and Voogd's (1990) book of *"Selling the city"*, it is argued the public sector planning was "failed to live up to the expectations that both the practitioner and society as a whole expected" (p.154). The traditional (public sector) planner, however, "has particularly in Western Europe a pronounced weakness in dealing with the marketplace" (p.156). The failure of the public sector in the marketplace, thus, emerges an expectation that to develop "new partnerships of various sorts are defined and manifested through new divisions of responsibility, accountability and executive authority" (p.157). By contrast, the researcher in the present study explores a more integrated process model, particularly with an in-depth and integrated view of the public sector and its roles in regulating the industry, interacting with the private sector, and involving in production and consumption processes of cultural tourism.

McKercher and Du Cros's "relationships between tourism and cultural heritage management " (2002) is a model, which seeks to clarify seven types of relationships between tourism and cultural heritage management. Different actors and their relationships are categorised in a cooperation/conflict continuum. Rather than identifying a typology of relationships in cultural tourism, however, the present researcher focuses on more complex and dynamic processes, including the various dialectical relationships within each of the elements of cultural tourism, between those elements, and also between the elements and the wider political, economic and socio-cultural surroundings.

This research not only develops rationale behind the model, but also applies it to examine cultural tourism in a Chinese city. The conceptual model, thus, helps to clarify general themes of cultural tourism, identify different relationships within and between elements, and allocate them in a dynamic socio-cultural environment.

1.6 The case study application of the generic conceptual model

The model is applied to the case study of the city of Nanjing in China in order to view the complex interrelationships around cultural tourism in a single city destination. This enables the identification of dialectical relationships of interdependence and tension, and it allows for consideration of the relationships involved internally within the elements in the model, between the various elements of the model, and with the wider context.

The case study is used to evaluate the wider applicability of the conceptual model and to understand the complexities and dynamic processes of cultural tourism. Cultural tourism is a broad process, which not only includes the use of cultural heritage resources, but also involves people's everyday life, including people in commerce and in government. When people leave their home to visit other places associated with cultural tourism, there is a process of cultural exchange, of the production and consumption experiences, and of different consumer experiences, and these are all inter-related to wider societal contexts. Thus, a case study is an appropriate approach in the situation where people's behaviours and their everyday life cannot be separated. Yin (2009) also supports the use of a single case study if the contemporary phenomenon and its context are difficult to distinguish from each other.

This research focuses on the Chinese context, and the conceptual model is applied to a former capital city of China, Nanjing. Nanjing is selected for study because it has several very interesting and evolving features in relation to cultural tourism. First, China has undergone a transition from a socialist society to one that now accepts market competition. Since Deng Xiaoping's Open-Door policies were initiated in the 1980s, the Chinese economy, with its socialist characteristics, has been affected by capitalist influences from the West. A shift from "a centralist-planned economy to a new market-based socialist economy" (Anderson, et al., 2003: 310) is evident, and this is seen in the interactions between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism. This shift from a socialist economy to a market-based economy has led to growth in the private

sector. Private sector enterprises in China increasingly establish their own businesses, albeit with a certain degree of control by the Chinese government. Therefore, the socialist economy in China provides good opportunities for cultural tourism because tourism is a growing business sector which is close to the market, and also because there is much enthusiasm for culture to be commodified as products for the tourism industry.

Second, the continuing influence of Communism and of the Communist Party has potential consequences for the production and consumption of cultural and heritage tourism at historical attractions in China, associated with the political and ideological messages of interest to the Communist Party. For example, the Chinese Communist Party can seek to exploit the cultural sphere in order to present ideological messages to the Chinese population which are supportive of the state and the Party (Henderson, 2002; Jessop, 1998; Yan and Bramwell, 2008), and to resist the potential penetration of Western cultural values (Sofield and Li, 1998). China's culture and history are important as potential ways to influence people's beliefs and values, including through changing consumption patterns. The social transition in China, particularly the transition there from socialism towards capitalism, could easily affect what people believe and what they acknowledge. The introduction of capitalism into the Chinese market may, for example, bring about a change in the focus of people's value systems: from shared resources or values to individual profit or market-driven commodification. In contrast to most Western countries, centralisation and collectivism are still dominant features of Chinese policy-making processes and governance. Indeed, China's state government continues to emphasise these cultural values and beliefs in order to guide political ideology and increase civic and national pride.

Third, and more specifically, the city of Nanjing has a very rich cultural and political history, and also important and diverse cultural and heritage resources. Nanjing was the Chinese national capital during three very important historic periods, including the Six Dynasties (220-589), the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), and the Republic of China (1919-1949) (Nanjing Tourism Bureau, 2004b). In 1949 Beijing replaced Nanjing as the national capital, although Nanjing remains the capital of Jiangsu Province. But its previous role as the national capital during such important historical periods has left a rich legacy of tangible and intangible cultural heritage resources, which are well preserved from the past and continue into the future. This strong historical legacy means

that in practice the prevalent forms of cultural tourism in Nanjing in terms of infrastructure and tourist numbers relate to cultural heritage – the historical or heritage end of cultural tourism – rather than the high arts cultural end of cultural tourism. This is reflected in the main issues explored in the study.

Hence, as one of four ancient capitals of China, Nanjing is steeped in Chinese history, and its rich cultural heritage resources have many overlapping tourism roles (Pearce, 1998b). These cultural heritage resources in Nanjing provide an interesting and important context in which to explain how different elements of cultural tourism interact with one another, and how the relationships among them are formed in Nanjing. It is in this context, therefore, that the study seeks to explore interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in city destinations.

As the capital city of Jiangsu Province, Nanjing is also one of the fifteen sub-provincial cities in the Chinese administrative structure (Xinhua net, 2006c). This status has enabled Nanjing to obtain independent rights from national government to design legislation and manage economic development. In comparison to other Chinese cities, Nanjing has the advantage of having a relatively decentralized and well-developed policy-making process, in which different relationships have developed among the culture and tourism sectors, public and private sectors, and producers and consumers around cultural tourism. Nanjing's former national capital and now provincial capital status, and its wide range of city functions, also provide an interesting lens on the impact of environmental factors on cultural tourism policy planning, and cultural tourism development in urban areas in China.

Nanjing, with its cultural heritage resources and relevant supportive facilities, is an appropriate city destination in which to view changes in people's preferences regarding cultural tourism when visiting cities. Nanjing city government and other cultural tourism producers have made efforts into preserving the city's cultural heritage resources, and also to promote them with a certain degree of commodification. For example, Nanjing city government supports a range of different infrastructural projects and facilities, including the high-speed train programme, open library, and free museums and art galleries. These public facilities have significantly affected people's preferences regarding their travelling behaviours, as well as increasing public awareness of the city's culture sector. Nanjing and its rich cultural heritage resources and relevant service facilities, thus, offer a highly interesting and diverse context within which to

apply the model and assess its practical application.

The Nanjing case and the context of China are illustrative in seeking to understand culture, particularly as it relates to tourism in city destinations. Cities are multifunctional places also for people to live, work and visit. Culture in cities can be regarded as a key motivation for visitors. Tourists and the residents, for example, can gain different cultural experiences from visiting cultural heritage sites, consuming relevant cultural resources and facilities, and participating in local people's everyday life.

As previously discussed, the Chinese state government prioritises China's culture and history and carefully selects some components to meet their political requirements and to influence citizen's beliefs and values. Culture in terms of the "creative industries" or "creative economy" is less well developed and not yet a major policy focus aligned with tourism and culture, although is increasingly a concern in a more developed Western context and in other Asian contexts such as Singapore and Taiwan. The creative culture in China mostly is only really being pushed in cities such as Shanghai or Guangzhou, but not yet in Nanjing. In spite of the possibility that Nanjing city may be well furnished with such "creative industries", they are yet to be seen as forming an integral component of the "culture" of the place, at least not from a tourism and cultural policy perspective, with the nexus of cultural tourism development residing in the more classically accepted or orthodox dimensions of history, heritage and traditions.

Culture in terms of its functions in cities is often focused on its economic role, including (re)imaging the places, urban regeneration particularly in some post-industrial cities, and emerging service or experience economy. As a historic capital city, Nanjing has rich cultural heritage resources, providing diverse cultural experiences for the visitors and the residents. It also helps people to look for their identities as where they can go and where they belong. Both tangible cultural heritage resources and intangible cultural experiences can enhance the attractiveness and competitiveness of Nanjing city, as well as promoting its city image to the visitors. The cultural strengths indeed attract more investment opportunities and business to Nanjing and contribute to the city's economy. The case of Nanjing city therefore can clearly illustrate culture's economic contribution to city development, although it does not directly relate to urban regeneration issues. This is why this research focuses on culture in city destinations rather than just cultural resources.

1.7 Triangulation in this study

The researcher applied data triangulation, involving different resources, points of view from different actors and analytical techniques, in order to avoid personal bias and invalid interpretations and to explore different perspectives on cultural tourism (Bryman, 2001; Decrop, 1999; Pastras and Bramwell, 2013). Cultural tourism is a complex process of dynamic interactions, with people, resources and places interacting with one another in a changeable political, economic, socio-cultural environment. Applying data triangulation can help to identify these elements and their relationships from different perspectives and allow for a more holistic understanding of cultural tourism.

The study uses data triangulation across multiple sources of data. First, a key source was semi-structured interviews to explore the views of cultural tourism producers and consumers in Nanjing. The data were collected in two phases between February-April 2011 and May-June 2012. The first phase was used to confirm the relevance of some general themes indicated in the generic model of interdependence and tension in urban cultural tourism and the associated four elements of different government departments, relationships between the public and private sectors, the production of cultural tourism, and the related consumption of the products and messages. This first phase also allowed the research to establish empirically more specific themes that became the subject of more in-depth questions and discussion in the second phase of interviews.

The interviewee selection was purposive in that they were chosen because they were substantially involved in cultural tourism and were experienced and knowledgeable about the related issues (Creswell, 2013; Teddlie and Yu, 2007). Purposive sampling was also used in selecting tourists who were interviewed in some depth. Time constraints meant that numbers of tourists who could be interviewed was quite small, so tourists were interviewed only if they had a high level of interest in Nanjing's cultural-related attractions. Respondents had to have visited a cultural attraction in the city (where they were interviewed) and to have responded positively when asked whether the city's cultural attractions were the key reason for their visit (Wong and Lau, 2001).

A spread of respondents was obtained across the culture and tourism sectors; among the public and private sectors; and among people involved in cultural tourism production and consumption. The number of interviewees was adequate in order to collect a broad range of interviewee opinions, and important themes and sub-themes clearly emerged

from the numbers interviewed. Interviews were conducted with roughly equal numbers of producers and consumers. Thus, 32 producers and 31 consumers were interviewed in the first phase, and 14 producers and 8 consumers in the second phase.

Second, a range of documents were also used, including relevant policies, plans, newspapers, annual reports, and tourist promotional materials. Further, use was made of official websites and Weibo, a Chinese social media microblog, used by relevant government departments and tourist attractions in Nanjing. These online sites were also used by consumers to post comments on the attractions and the related service in Nanjing's cultural tourism sector, and they were read regularly over the period 2011-2013.

Third, observation was also used to record tourists' behaviours at cultural tourist sites, including their interactions with the products and the interpretation at those sites. Photographs were also taken to record the tourism products and the nature of their interpretation, such as on interpretation panels.

The analysis of the interview transcripts and various other sources, such as documents, field observations and photographs, followed Miles and Huberman's (1994) guidelines on qualitative data reduction. This is a process of "selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming the data" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 10). It focused on developing conceptual interpretations derived from the data and also from the thematic categories arising from the study's conceptual model and related research themes. In the coding and sorting of themes in the interview transcripts, NVivo 10 software was used (Marshall and Rossman, 2010). In the rounds of data sorting and reduction care was taken to allow new categories, themes and interpretations to emerge from the interplay between empirical evidence and theoretical ideas. Details of relevant methods are discussed in the Methodology in Chapter Four.

1.8 Aim and objectives of the research

The research develops a model of cultural tourism in cities, explains the rationale behind the model and then applies the model to examine cultural tourism in a Chinese city. The research here particularly concerns the interactions and relationships between the tourism and culture sectors, which diversify tourism in different forms. From a perspective of tourism, culture as previously discussed includes heritage resources, everyday life, cultural values and meanings, as well as what motivates people to visit

different places. Therefore, the practical application of the conceptual model helps to understand various interrelationships, notably from the policy-making process, industrial operations, product developments and cultural values promoted in a changeable environment that is effected by political, economic, socio-cultural factors. As such, the research has focused both on the tangible heritage resources for cultural tourists, as well as the more intangible and creative forms of culture.

Therefore, the practical application of the conceptual model helps to understand various interrelationships, notably from the policy-making process, industrial operations, product developments and cultural values promoted in a changeable environment that is effected by political, economic, socio-cultural factors. In order to achieve the research aim, the study had four objectives:

- (1) To review literature about the elements of cultural tourism, cultural meaning and governance around cultural tourism in city destinations, different theoretical models for understanding cultural tourism, and power, interdependence and tension around cultural tourism. The details will be reviewed in Chapter Two.
- (2) To develop a generic conceptual model to understand the interdependence and tension around cultural tourism and to apply this to a case study. The broader themes of interdependence and tension were generated based on the literature, and the relationships of interdependence and tension varied between the public and private sectors, the culture and tourism sectors, the production and consumption of cultural tourism, and between cultural tourism and the wider environment. The principles of building the generic conceptual model and these broader themes in relation to cultural tourism will be considered in Chapter Three.
- (3) To examine the broader themes and to apply the generic conceptual model through an assessment of the case of the city of Nanjing in China. The broader themes were evaluated in relation to various sub-themes from policymaking, industrial operations, product development, and promotional messages and they were considered in the specific context of the Chinese political, economic, socio-cultural environment. The detailed results will be examined in Chapters Five to Eight.
- (4) To refine the sub-themes in the detailed conceptual model and to assess the wider potential applicability of the generic conceptual model. The value,

practical application, and contribution of the conceptual model will be discussed in Chapter Nine.

1.9 Structure of the thesis

This thesis aims to understand the interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in city destinations. The purpose, value and approach of this research are discussed in nine chapters, and they are related to the assessment of four aspects of cultural tourism: the culture and tourism sectors within the public sector; the public and private sectors; production and consumption of cultural tourism products; and the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages.

Chapter One is the introduction, setting out what this research is about and how the research question is developed from different theoretical and conceptual perspectives.

Chapter Two then reviews the literature around cultural tourism in cities. It explains the elements of cultural tourism in general, cultural tourism in city destinations and cultural tourism in China. There is a further discussion about interdependence and tension in relation to power relations at the end of this chapter.

Chapter Three discusses the need for a conceptual model in understanding the interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in city destinations. The principles of building the conceptual model are introduced, following by five processes of cultural tourism. After that, the generic themes are identified as the basis for constructing a generic conceptual process model, as well as for applying it to Nanjing city in China.

Chapter Four explains the research design and relevant methods. This chapter discusses the philosophical basis, case study research strategy, methods for data collection, and methods for data analysis.

Chapters Five, Six, Seven, and Eight are the four results chapters, exploring the interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in Nanjing city, China. Each chapter discusses one theme in the conceptual model, as well as considering the broad environmental influence of the political, the economic, and of socio-cultural development.

Chapter Five highlights the interdependence and tension between cultural and tourism policies and between government departments. It provides in-depth insights into the

policy-making process and the roles of government in industrial operations of cultural tourism. Following that, Chapter Six explains the interdependence and tension between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism. It elaborates on how and to what extent the public and private sectors interact in the policy-making process and in industrial operations. Chapter Seven discusses different sources of interdependence and tension between the production and consumption of cultural tourism products. The last results section in Chapter Eight investigates the interdependence and tension between the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages.

The last chapter, the Conclusion, assesses the value of the conceptual model, summarises the key findings, discusses this study's contribution to the knowledge and for future study, as well as considers the limitations of the study.

1.10 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the central concern of this study with interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in city destinations. The research aim of this study is to holistically view cultural tourism and to simplify the dynamic interactions and relationships between different elements of cultural tourism. A key contribution of this research is the establishment of a generic, holistic and dialectical conceptual model and its application in a practical context. The discussion of the Chinese context and the Nanjing case will help to evaluate the wider applicability of the conceptual model. The next chapter is the literature review chapter, which helps to understand the interrelationships around cultural tourism in city destinations.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter critically reviews the literature on culture and society which is helpful to understanding interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in city destinations.

The review, firstly, considers a generic view of cultural tourism, regarding its concepts, its different constituent elements including cultural heritage, interpretations of cultural meanings, and power relations around interdependence and tension. These concepts are reviewed in order to provide a broad picture of cultural tourism, involving cultural heritage resources, actors, places and their inter-relationships. The focus of the review then moves, secondly, to city destinations, which are places where large concentrations of people live, work and do business. Attention turns to cultural tourism in cities, which reflects the complex relationships between the culture and tourism sectors, between the public and private sectors, and between the producers and consumers.

The chapter, thirdly, then reviews cultural tourism in China. China is regarded as an important powerhouse in the world as it has rich cultural heritage resources, and its dynamic economic and socio-cultural environment has a significant impact on cultural tourism. This part of the review discusses the current situation of cultural tourism development in China, as well as the relationship between cultural tourism and China's evolving dynamic environment.

Following that, three conceptual models which come from cultural studies, heritage studies and tourism research are reviewed fourthly. These three conceptual models are helpful to gaining an interdisciplinary view of tourism; however, none of them can provide a holistic picture of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in cities. Going beyond reviewing the content of the three conceptual models, the chapter identifies from the literature significant gaps in understanding cultural tourism. Finally, the last section of the chapter reviews literature relevant to the themes of interdependence and tension in relation to cultural tourism, as this is one of the main focuses of this research.

Thus, the issues discussed in the literature review chapter are: the concept of cultural tourism (Section 2.2); cultural tourism in city destinations (Section 2.3); cultural tourism in China (Section 2.4); relevant models in understanding cultural tourism

(Section 2.5); and power, interdependence and tension (Section 2.6). These issues are interrelated but placed in a coherent sequence in order to construct a theoretical understanding of cultural tourism in city destinations.

2.2 The concept of cultural tourism

Cultural tourism has been comprehensively discussed: from its importance in attracting tourists to its role in the economic development of tourist destinations. People engage in cultural tourism for various purposes, such as "visiting historic or archaeological sites, being involved in community festivals, watching traditional dances or ceremonies, or merely shopping for handcrafted art" (Besculides, Lee and McCormick, 2002: 303). Cultural tourism "covers not just the consumption of the cultural products of the past, but also of contemporary culture or the 'way of life' of a people or region" (Richards, 2001: 7). Tourists and local people can participate in cultural tourism as a way of looking for different experiences (Prentice, 2001), and acquiring knowledge of history and arts knowledge (Richards, 2001; Richardson and Fluker, 2004).

It is argued that in tourism, culture particularly has a very close and mutual relationship with people's movement. Harris (1990: 284) notes, "The greater the movement of peoples, the more that culture will come to be fashioned by people from many other sources". The dynamic movement of people depends on "what people think (attitudes, beliefs, ideas and values), what people do (normative behaviour patterns or way of life) and what people make (artworks, artefacts, cultural products)" (Richards, 2001: 7). In other words, cultural tourism is movement whereby visitors leave their home and look for different experiences and memories in other places (Richards, 1997). Thus, cultural tourism can be defined as an activity that "includes movements of persons for essentially cultural motivations such as study tours, performing arts and other cultural tours, travel to festivals and other cultural events, visit to sites and monuments, travel to study nature, folklore or art or pilgrimages" (World Tourism Organization, 1985:131).

In the following sub-sections, different elements of cultural tourism are reviewed in Section 2.2.1, and cultural meanings and interpretation in Section 2.2.2.

2.2.1 The elements of cultural tourism

Researchers, such as Richards (2001) and McKercher and Du Cros (2002), have attempted to place cultural tourism in different contexts, and illustrate different

relationships among varied elements around cultural tourism.

McKercher and Du Cros (2002) offer a thematic approach, which helps to provide a conceptual view of the constituent elements of cultural tourism, and to what extent these elements work together in different contexts. They consider four elements of cultural tourism: "tourism, use of cultural heritage assets, consumption of experiences and products, and the tourist" (p.6). These four elements are discussed in turn, together with a review of related ideas and literature.

The first element identified by McKercher and Du Cross (2002) is tourism. Cultural tourism can be considered as a broad concept, "covering both 'heritage tourism' (related to artefacts of the past) and 'arts tourism' (related to contemporary cultural production)" (Richards, 2001a: 7). Espelt (2012) summarises cultural tourism within six meanings, namely, cultural tourism, monumental tourism (or culture tourism), heritage tourism, ethnological tourism (or the tourism of cultures), 'touristified' culture, and the extraordinary trip. Indeed, Smith (2003) has conducted comprehensive research on cultural tourism products and the typologies of cultural tourists, and he divides cultural tourism into several categories: heritage tourism, arts tourism, urban cultural tourism, rural cultural tourism, indigenous cultural tourism, and contemporary cultural tourism. These categories help to identify tourist demands and motivational perspectives, and they provide an insight into the comprehensive nature of cultural tourism.

Here cultural tourism is a kind of "tourism", but it is not a type of cultural heritage management. Some researchers from cultural heritage management perspectives, such as Craik (1995), Prentice (2001) and Wang (1999), believe that tourism is the facilitator to supply tourists with various cultural products and cultural experiences, while culture is the main driving force to diversify products and draw tourists to the place. Culture is an initial link to people, places and cultural heritage assets and it contributes to place marketing and urban regeneration (Goodrich, 1997; Zeppel and Hall, 1991). Therefore, cultural tourism should be "based on sound, commercial tourism reasons first and cultural heritage management reasons second" (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002: 6).

Cultural tourism is not exactly the same as heritage tourism. Heritage tourism "refers to visiting places of historical interest and significance such as castles, monuments and museums", while cultural tourism consumes heritage resources and represents people's ways of lives, from products, activities, experiences, and the interaction with tourists

(Southall and Robinson, 2011). Cultural tourism includes heritage resources, but it also provides diverse experiences in relation to "the performing arts, visual arts, festivals, cuisines, history and experiencing nostalgia and other ways of life" (Shirt, 2011: 161).

The second element of cultural tourism identified by McKercher and Du Cros is "making use of cultural heritage assets", with these assets including tangible and intangible heritage assets. Cultural tourism is a process of interaction of people and assets in different places. Associated with intrinsic values and significance, both tangible and intangible resources can provide crucial messages about cultural heritage assets (ICOMOS, 2010; McKercher and Du Cros, 2002). Tangible heritage includes historical buildings, cultural landscapes and other cultural objects, which have a physical structure with a cultural value (UNESCO, 2000a). Meanwhile, UNESCO (2003, Article 2) defines intangible cultural heritage as

"the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. Intangible cultural heritage, which is transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity".

Cultural tourism resources become more interesting and attractive through their interacting with tourists (Richards, 2001). Figure 2.1 is a typology of cultural tourism attractions based on their forms and functions. The form on the vertical axis goes from the present to the past, while the functions on the horizontal axis range from education to entertainment. The criteria of form and of function categorise cultural tourism attractions into different types. The dotted lines in the middle show that not all attractions fall precisely into a particular part of the model, but are more flexible in terms of their forms and functions. This typology of cultural tourism attractions offers a general understanding of cultural tourism attractions, and is was used in developing the sampling strategy for this research.

<i>Present</i>	Language Courses Creative holidays 2	Entertainment Arts festivals 3 Theme parks
	Art exhibitions	
Form	1 Folklore Art galleries Museums Monuments	festivals 4 attractions Historical pageants
	Heritage	
<i>Past</i>		
	<i>Education</i>	<i>Function</i> <i>Entertainment</i>

Figure 2.1: Typology of cultural tourism attractions

Source: Richards (2001a: 178)

Third, cultural tourism involves the element of "consumption of experiences and products", with this being a key aspect in transforming resources into products (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002). Cultural tourism provides opportunities for tourists interacting with the local community and consuming local products. Cultural tourism also helps people to learn about history, make sense of cultural traditions, consume local products, and understand the cultural meanings or values. At the same time, people can look for different experiences and a sense of identity through cultural tourism. It is a dynamic consumption process that enables people to participate in local everyday life (Du Gay et al., 1997; Mackay, 1997). Here, the concept of everyday life in cultural tourism experiences in destinations refers to what Mackay (1997: 7) calls "'the ordinary' – our everyday processes of making meanings and making sense of the world". He considers everyday life in three ways (Mackay, 1997). The first way is "the everyday" as the routine, which is repeated daily. The second way is to see "everyday life" as involving "productive consumption" (Mackay, 1997: 7), with the consumption of goods and services as an aspect of the process of continuous transformation which characterises production. The third way is to connect everyday life with people, goods, and services, which involves close emotional ties. This emotional connection usually happens in a small or local community (Mackay, 1997). The argument here is that the products of cultural tourism are important in people connecting with local everyday life. The production and consumption of cultural tourism are a closely linked process, because "consumption is not the end of a process, but the beginning of another, and thus itself a form of production" (Mackay, 1997: 7).

Cultural tourism is regarded as a product that forms such a link between production and consumption, as well as the producers and consumers. Tourism products and their relevant production can encourage the consumption of cultural experience. Cultural tourism is "quite literally co-produced between the initial producers (say museums, theatres and galleries, or the informal environment of a street market) and the individual tourist" (Prentice, 2001: 11). Tourists engaging in cultural tourism can gain positive experiences if the cultural products match their expectations. Meanwhile, the producers can consider the tourists' needs in packaging and promoting cultural heritage resources. In other words, cultural tourism can help to shorten the distance between the producers and consumers, and to establish close relationships between the products and destinations and the consumers (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2003).

The fourth element of cultural tourism identified by McKercher and Du Cros (2002) is the "tourists". For the tourists the cultural experiences can be the motivation for visiting destinations. Richards (2000b) considers cultural tourists as either specific cultural tourists or general cultural tourists. He argues that, "specific cultural tourists are more likely to consume cultural attractions than general cultural tourists, for whom culture is just one element of their holiday experience" (p.170). Such differences in their purposes for visiting destinations are helpful in identifying the tourists' behaviours in cultural tourism.

McKercher and Du Cros (2002) also categorise five types of cultural tourists based on two criteria (Figure 2.2): the importance of cultural tourism in the decision to visit a destination, and the depth of experience sought. The horizontal axis plots the importance of cultural tourism for people choosing to visit a destination from low to high importance, while the vertical axis describes people's interests in seeking experience from in-depth to shallow.

This typology of cultural tourists helps to identify what motivates tourists, and their behaviours in different visiting experiences. Whether the motivation is strong or not, cultural tourists have different ways of consuming cultural experiences, whether re-producing what they believe in their own imagination or their own recollection of messages, or to establish their own identities and positions. Purposeful cultural tourists are interested in a deep cultural experience, as their primary motivation for visiting destinations (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002). Such "serious cultural tourists are thoughtful: active, interested, questioning and capable of re-assessing the way they view

the world, and they are reflexive about what they experience" (Prentice, 2001: 13). Therefore, classifying cultural tourists often depends on the different levels of involvement of the tourists and on the quality of the connection between tourists and sites (Kerstetter et al., 1998; Timothy, 1997).

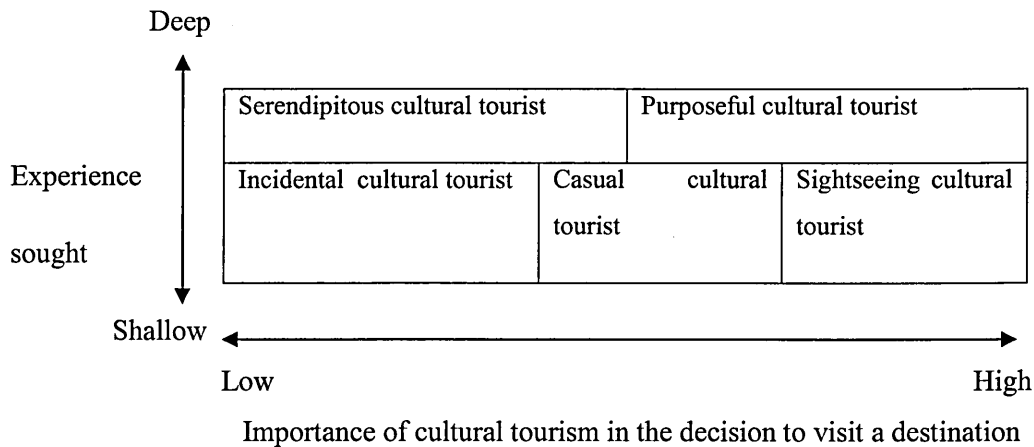


Figure 2.2: A cultural tourist typology
Source: McKercher and Du Cros (2002: 180)

2.2.2 Cultural meanings and interpretation

As a part of people's everyday life, culture makes a significant impact on their thinking, communication, and knowledge systems. An understanding of culture in tourism is "premised on understanding its role and function in everyday life, and developing an appreciation of how meanings are created, communicated, and interpreted both spatially and temporally" (Squire, 1994: 104). Meaning, which is regarded as "shared meanings or shared conceptual map" (Hall, 1997: 18), can be represented through signs in a relational communication (Curtin and Gaither, 2005). In terms of cultural meaning, it is important to understand culture as "a process of identification and differentiation, with identities produced through practices of distinction: we distinguish ourselves by the taste distinctions we make" (Mackay, 1997: 4). Thus, cultural meaning becomes important for tourists and local people in understanding the production and consumption of cultural tourism, and recognising cultural propriety and personal identity (Mackay, 1997; Negus, 1997).

There is a communication process between the producers and consumers of cultural tourism which enables producers to encode relevant cultural messages and the consumers to decode them. Stewart, Lavelle and Knowaltzke (2001: 49) state that encoding "refers to the process of making codes. Producers of texts are said to encode their messages using systems of signs. Institutional issues impact on this process", while

decoding "refers to the 'reading' of coded messages by the receiver. Issues related to the audience have an impact on this process". In cultural tourism, producers are able to make codes meaningful through interpretation, marketing and other value-added approaches, while consumers can receive these codes and messages in different ways. Both producers and consumers can understand and communicate with each other through these messages and their varied embedded meanings (Puczkó, 2006).

Interpretation or telling stories is a necessary for people to understand more easily what happened, for example, in the past, and to identify "varying assumptions about the causes or results of lengthy processes over time" (Finnegan, 1997: 71). In Puczkó's (2006) model of interpretation (Figure 2.3), a consistent process links sender and receiver and transfers messages from one side to the other side. The producers who send the messages are on one side, while the consumers or the audiences are "decoders and receivers on the other" (Finnegan, 1997b: 139). Though an active interaction, messages can be sent between producers and consumers and existing or possibly new meanings can be created in different contexts (Puczkó, 2006). In this flow process, the messages can be transformed into valuable material through various interactive media and tools, such as audio-visual presentations, interpretation panels, and visitor leaflets.

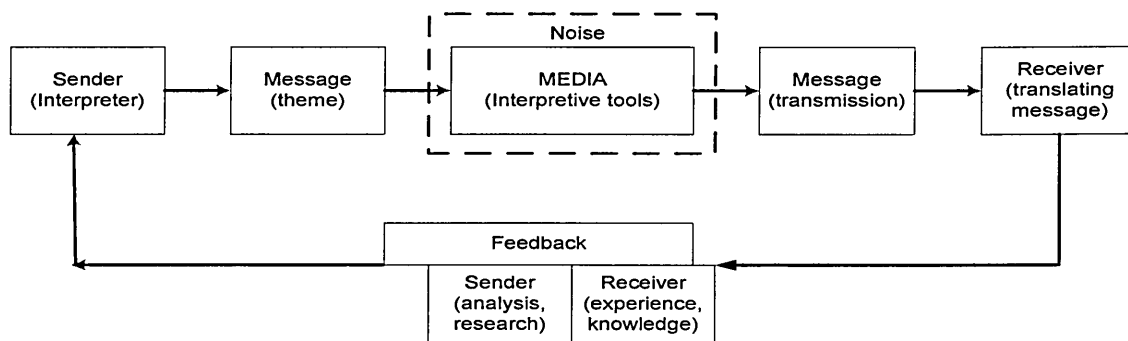


Figure 2.3: The process of interpretation
Source: Smith and Robinson (2006: 228)

Different contexts can cause messages to be interpreted differently and this may create different meanings. These meanings as they are internalised by people help to distinguish one person from another. Experts such as Lee and Balchin (1995), Rockmore (2004), and Xu, et al. (2013), have also highlighted the different interpretations applied in Western and Eastern contexts. Eastern and Western aesthetics are very different, because "Western aesthetics are concerned with beauty as well as truth and knowledge. By contrast, Chinese aesthetics follow rules and methods of

attaining enlightenment and emphasise naturalness and regularity" (Xu et al., 2013: 118).

Differences between Western and Eastern perspectives can lead to diverse interpretations of experiences in cultural tourism. Western tourists can regard cultural tourism as a way of looking for knowledge and truth, while Chinese tourists often put emphasis on imaginative memories and cultural values. A Chinese interpretation is very important to understanding Chinese cultural tourism, as it is tied up with the spiritual experiences deriving from China's more than 4000 years of history. In Chinese history, emperors established different dynasties, and many historic resources are embedded as "emperor-gods and animistic spirits" within "mountains, rivers, lakes, and other natural features" (Sofield and Li, 1998: 366).

In addition to these imaginative messages and poetic contexts, broad Chinese contextual factors, such as the history of wars, population migrations, dynasty change, and social changes, have affected the development of different cultures and created different cultural values and meanings in China. Some cultural messages associated with tourism products in China are influenced by political, economic, and religious factors, especially when they are approved of by the state as enhancing national unity and social ideology (Sofield and Li, 1998). These cultural values and heritages are "a powerful influence in decision-making in physical planning, generally, and tourism planning" (Sofield and Li, 2011: 502). Sofield and Li (1998: 367) note that in China, "these images bring spiritual unity even if the people have never visited them; but when they do visit the importance of these images is reinforced".

2.3 Cultural tourism in city destinations

Cities are places for people to live, work and do business. Cultural tourism can occur through rural tourism, city tourism and tourism in other places and contexts. Cities, with their multiple functions and with their varied political, economic and socio-cultural influences, are a complex context within which to understand the complex relationships around cultural tourism.

Historic cities, for example, often have rich cultural assets, because people have lived there for long periods of time and they have often left many cultural heritage resources and diverse cultural traditions. These cities have a history of capital accumulation, and they regularly display their wealth and power through impressive buildings, public facilities and monuments. They are increasingly active in exploiting their cultural and

heritage infrastructure and cultural capital to encourage tourism. A tourist-historic city can assist local residents in many ways: directly through employment around leisure shopping, catering or other personal service; and indirectly through offering arts or entertainments to tourists which may then be available for locals (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000). Yet there are many economic activities in cities which benefit residents and these may be affected by the policies and practices of cultural tourism in cities, and both cultural tourism and the other economic activities need to be mutually compatible and supporting of each other. Thus, it is necessary to view cultural tourism in the wider context of the diverse activities and policy priorities in cities, which are places to live, as well as places to visit. In other words, cities can be shaped by touristic behaviours, a range of other economic activities, residents' diverse preferences and government policy preferences (Maitland, 2011).

Cultural tourism is an umbrella term for diverse related activities, "including historical tourism, ethnic tourism, arts tourism, museum tourism, and other" (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002: 6). Cultural tourism also plays an important role in city destinations, and it can be "perceived and interpreted differently by different groups and individuals because social and cultural meanings are subjective and differ between individuals" (Iwashita, 2003: 336). Thus, cultural tourism is often prominent in city-based tourism, with numerous tourists in cities visiting the cultural and heritage-related attractions often concentrated there (Law, 2002).

Tourism and cities have a close relationship. Tourism in cities has often been more consistently promoted and developed since the 1980s, and it has continued to expand rapidly in the late 20th century and 21st century (Maitland, 2011). Tourism can contribute 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" (Maitland, 2011: 4). Facilities such as museums, monuments, historic buildings, and public space are often key elements in cities and, besides serving local people, they are a powerful means of attracting tourists (Therborn, 2002; Wang and Zhao, 2001; Zhu and Feng, 2002). Tourism can also help cities to gain recognition for their past cultural and historical achievements, legacy of cultural and heritage assets, and current cultural activities and vibrancy (Richards, 1996). Cultural and heritage tourism can enable cities to develop positive images as sophisticated and cultured and as places that have been influential, and such re-imaging

may assist in the competition among places for the location of economic activities (Ashworth, 1994; Bramwell & Rawding, 1996). Tourism development initiatives and tourist spending also bring direct economic benefits for cities.

Cities may experience temporary fluctuations in numbers of visitors but they are often able to recover quickly, especially in cases such as terrorism, natural disasters or other emerging public order issues (Judd and Fainstein, 1999; Maitland, 2011). Cities can provide opportunities for tourism development, while tourism can be a driver for the growth of cities from economic and social perspectives.

Residents also consume cities in their everyday life. Not only cultural tourists, but also residents seek to have a sense of belonging to a place and "enjoy the same activities as visitors, and consume the new urban culture" (Judd, 2003: 32). For residents cities are important as places for living, and they also have to meet people's leisure and other daily needs. Maitland (2011: 9) notes that "It is better to think in terms of a range of city users with a series of demands, behaviours and practices that reflect their widely different incomes, power and urban preferences". In some cities, residents are able to behave similarly to tourists in visiting families and friends or attending business conferences (Maitland, 2007; 2011). Therefore, tourist behaviours and residents' preferences can overlap, especially if tourists participate in local everyday life (Franklin and Crang, 2001; Lash, 1990; Maitland, 2011; Urry, 1990).

Culture and cities have significant relationships with the economic development. Culture becomes the biggest source of advantage to improve the attractiveness and competitiveness of cities. Culture and heritage are key elements in exploring competitiveness in many places, because "in all regions, poor and rich alike, competitive advantage will be gained through the exploitation of local sites (and sights), culture and heritage" (Robins, 1997: 31). Both tangible and intangible heritage assets can be placed in the centre of forming cultural products, image promotion projects, or other urban development strategies (Pearson and Sullivan, 1995; Richards, 2001a). The production of cultural heritage particularly benefits cities in terms of diversifying cultural experiences and improving the competitiveness of the urban area.

Culture can be incorporated in a city's image, enabling cities to "identify and differentiate themselves from competitors" (Trueman et al., 2007: 21). Urban imagery based on culture can increase the spending power of visitors, and can attract investment

in the industry and services (Robins, 1997). Cities such as the creativity city of Barcelona, and Liverpool, the European cultural city, possess rich cultural heritage resources and are well placed to compete with other cities on city image and city marketing (Maitland and Newman, 2009). As a result, cities must "adapt their culture to attract and accommodate the types of international economic activities they desire" (Behrman and Rondinelli, 1992: 119).

In particular, capital cities have different unique characteristics in different contexts. A capital city defined as "a seat of power and a place of decision making process" (Gottmann, 1983: 88) has a unique symbolic status (Maitland and Ritchie, 2011). It often commands more attention from the national government, which gives priority to its cultural assets or celebrates its cultural events (Maguire, 2005). Researchers, such as Claval (2001), Pearce (2007), and Taylor (2004), have categorised capital cities based on their resources and power relations. Hall (2006) identifies seven types of capital city: multi-function capitals, global capitals, political capitals, former capitals, ex-imperial capitals, provincial capitals, and super capitals. Based on Hall's work, Maitland and Ritchie (2011) classify capital cities as: planned and political capitals, global and multifunctional capitals, and historic and former capitals, and (re)emerging capitals.

Cities with capital status are well placed to contribute to tourism development. Capital cities are normally established because of considerations of national consolidation and economic and social development (Maitland and Ritchie, 2011), and they can determine "the role, type, scale, and impact of tourism experienced there" (Pearce, 1998: 473). The status of capital city is helpful because it conveys "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" (Maitland and Ritchie, 2011: 16).

Capital cities can easily command attention from the national government in relation to local issues, and local issues can become a national priority and can represent high symbolic importance (Kolbe, 2007; Maitland and Ritchie, 2011). Capital status can be advantageous to the development of cultural tourism because government and the private sector tend to prioritise the capital city's cultural assets and celebratory events, which can be used to represent the city's image and attract marketing promotion (Maguire, 2005). However, there is a lack of in-depth discussion about how and to what extent cultural tourism is developed in capital cities. Maitland and Ritchie's (2011) book,

"City tourism: national capital perspectives", provides rich case studies, but it focuses mainly on capital cities at a national level, and not on capital cities at provincial or more local level. The book indeed states that "one category is that of the provincial capital, (which is) not relevant to our discussion" (Maitland and Ritchie, 2011: 17). This represents a potential theoretical gap, and the discussion of cultural tourism in cities in this study explores a provincial capital city in China, albeit a former national capital. The discussion moves next to consider literature on cultural tourism in China.

2.4 Cultural tourism in China

The dynamic political, economic and socio-cultural surroundings have a significant impact on Chinese cultural tourism. The rapid growth of the socialist economy has led to significant changes in Chinese society. This review of the Chinese context will facilitate general understanding of the macro-environment of China's cultural tourism. This section reviews two issues in China: the governance of cultural tourism (Section 2.4.1), and the economic context of cultural tourism (Section 2.4.2).

2.4.1 Governance of cultural tourism in China

Governance can "refer to any mode of co-ordination of interdependent activities" (Jessop, 1998: 29). Governance of cultural tourism plays a leading role in the relationships of mutual dependence between government and non-government organizations in China (Bramwell, 2011; Newman and Clarke, 2009).

China has various political leadership groups which, based on their functions and characteristics, are categorised into a form of organization called "xitong", (系统) (Saich, 2001). This system ("xitong", 系统) facilitates the coordination of different groups within society, and some use this term to "refer to all the units within the jurisdiction of a particular ministry or commission, while others might be referring to the broader group of functionally-related bureaucracies that cross individual ministry or industry lines" (Saich, 2001: 108).

Two rules of lines ("tiao", 条) and pieces ("kuai", 块) combine to form a system ("xitong", 系统) (Mertha, 2005). "Tiao" presents vertical interactions in top-down or bottom-up approaches, while "Kuai" indicates horizontal cooperation on the same level. Saich (2001: 109) describes "Tiao" and "Kuai" in the Chinese political system as,

"Tiao indicates that a ministry at the central level has control over all the units at the lower levels that come under the scope of its jurisdiction. As a result, the flow of information and command runs vertically up and down the system. Kuai indicates that the party committee at each level would be the primary point of authority coordinating the activities of the organizations within its geographical jurisdiction".

Both the "Tiao" and "Kuai" rules affect the interactions between Culture and Tourism Departments, and also among other government departments. The "Tiao" rule, for example, allocates administrative responsibilities from the national level to the local level. The "Kuai" rule helps to identify the potential common interests around different government departments at a similar administrative level. It is argued that "Tiao" and "Kuai" rules can be used in the Chinese policy planning process, including those affecting cultural tourism.

Cultural tourism in China is affected by the political system and its associated "Tiao" and "Kuai" rules. The Chinese government takes the main responsibility for designing policies or regulating the industry. The policies related to cultural tourism can be implemented from top to bottom using the "Tiao" rule. At the same time, the Culture and Tourism Departments at the same level can follow the "Kuai" rule to coordinate their actions together and to share common administrative responsibilities.

The "Tiao" and "Kuai" rules both also affect interactions and relationships between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism. The Chinese state government can use "Tiao" and "Kuai" rules to clarify responsibilities, and also to exercise its power in the governance of private sector enterprises. Many enterprises in China are now being encouraged to cooperate through "amalgamation rather than closure, and instead of privatization" (Sofield and Li, 2011: 505). This has happened because the Chinese government has started to use its power to reduce the number of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) (Naughton, 2007). The public and private sectors are thus working together in a transformation process which is "modifying, amending and/or reforming that existing system " (Sofield and Li, 2011: 505).

The tourism industry in China is an emerging sector that has "evolved from serving a political objective (showcasing the progress of China's communist regime) to an important tertiary industry aligned with Deng's reforms and now to a multi-purpose 'pillar industry' of the twenty-first century that includes economic, social, political and environmental contributions to national development" (Sofield and Li, 2011:513). The

Chinese state government, thus, can depict its role as "working for the collective interests of population", while there are emerging "opportunities to hold the state politically accountable for its actions, especially in democratic systems" (Bramwell, 2011: 461).

The Chinese government still plays an important role in the governance of cultural tourism, particularly in activities related to the forming of Chinese value systems. Since the introduction of Deng's Open Door policies and economic reforms, starting in 1978, the number of private sector enterprises has grown fast and they have often made large profits (Sofield and Li, 2011). The values of capitalism have affected Chinese traditional culture and people's value systems. Sofield and Li (1998) indicate that the Chinese government is developing the cultural sector in order to avoid the potential penetration of Western cultural values. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP), for instance, directly guides political ideology in the debates between society and government (Henderson, 2002; Jessop, 1990; Yan and Bramwell, 2008). The approach to the governance of cultural tourism is usually to adapt it in line with China's socialist market economy, but sometimes it is used to promote national identity or the national image (Baggio, Scott and Cooper, 2010; Burns, 1998; Light, 2007; Yan and Bramwell, 2008).

However, relatively very little research has discussed the integration of cultural and tourism policies in the Chinese context. Richards (2010: 49) argues that, "integrating culture and tourism policy can be difficult". Research by Sofield and Li (1998) is one of the only studies to explore cultural policies in Chinese tourism. The policy-making process can improve the representation of heritage resources and social identity, clarify residents' cultural needs, and support marketing diversification and leisure experiences around cultural tourism. However, Sofield and Li (1998) focus on the ethnic minorities, which are limited in terms of representing the characteristics of the Chinese people. Therefore, the researcher takes account of this potential gap and explores it in order to gain a new understanding of cultural and tourism policies.

2.4.2 The economic context of cultural tourism in China

Domestic tourism in China has grown fast in line with the improvement in the national economy and people's living standards, since it is affected by the rapid urbanization and the increase in citizens' incomes. As the third World's top tourist destination, China has

rich cultural heritage resources, which attracted 57.7 million foreign tourists in 2011 (United Nation World Tourism Organization, 2012). These rich resources and the shift in socio-economic development are having an impact on the tourism industry in China. In 2007, around 1610 million Chinese people spent 777billion Chinese Yuan (CNY) (£77 billion) on tourism in China (China National Tourism Administration, 2008).

China has achieved significant economic development during its transition from a centrally-planned economy to a market economy. The market structure and relevant business activities are influenced by styles from the West, and many foreign investors have entered the Chinese market. In turn, the resulting capital exchanges have brought more development opportunities for China's cultural and tourism enterprises (Caulfield, 2006; He and Pan, 2010).

Cultural tourism has a close relationship with economic development in China. Sofield and Li (1998: 373) state that cultural tourism opportunities "as a major pathway to improve living standards, have been a key in bringing minority communities into mainstream tourism development". Consideration is given here to the market in terms of the complex social, economic, and cultural conditions that are intertwined with Chinese tourism. There are two main forms of economic-social transmission in China: "(1) from a centrally planned economy to a more market-oriented economy 'with Chinese characteristics' and (2) from a traditional agricultural to a modern industrial society" (Sofield and Li, 2011: 503). Both of these modes of transmission can be exploited to deal with poverty issues in urban areas, improve local living standard, and create new business opportunities.

Cultural tourism also encourages interactions between producers and consumers in China. Many tourists enjoy leisure and spiritual experiences through cultural tourism, and they reflect "the increase in the disposable income of mainland Chinese" (Mok and

Defranco, 2000: 100), and they contribute to wider economic growth and local economic development. The increasing demand for cultural tourism in China at the same time pushes the producers to improve the quality of cultural tourism products and to diversify visiting experiences to match the consumers' different needs. This push factor sometimes can encourage competition among different producers and their production of cultural tourism. As a result, production-oriented processes are likely increasingly to be replaced by more consumption-oriented processes which meet the needs of commercial markets (Richards, 2001a).

2.5 Relevant models in understanding cultural tourism

Researchers often explore a relatively narrow area of cultural tourism, such as the representation and authenticity of cultural resources in tourism development (Io, 2013; McIntosh and Prentice, 1999; Wang, 1999), and destination marketing and consumer behaviour in relation to cultural tourism (Edensor, 2000; Goulding, 1999; Hall, 1997), but very specific individual features of cultural tourism, with few providing a holistic view. Some other researchers consider cultural tourism as an additional product which assists in promoting tourist destinations that mainly depend on the other core product (Hall, 2001; Pechlaner, 2000). This gap also applies for cultural tourism in city destinations.

This present research focuses on cultural tourism specifically in cities, adopting a holistic, integrated and dialectical viewpoint. Cultural tourism is a complex process that involves many diverse relationships between the city, its resources, its people, its policy-makers, its tourism industry, the messages, and its tourists (both domestic and international). There are complex relationships between the many different producers of cultural tourism products, between the products and their consumers, between the images and messages associated with the products, and around how they are perceived and received by tourists. These relationships are also affected by both internal and external influences, and they change and evolve over time and across space and spatial scales (such as in the relationships between city and national government and between tourist businesses in the city and tourism intermediaries and tourists based elsewhere).

There is a need to develop integrated conceptual models in order to improve our understanding of cultural tourism in cities. Consideration is given here to three relevant theoretical models: Du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay and Negus's "circuit of culture" (1997), Ashworth's "components of heritage industry" (1994), and McKercher and Du Cros's "relationships between tourism and cultural heritage management" (2002). These three conceptual models can provide different perspectives on the linkages between culture, heritage and tourism and they have potential value for researchers interested in understanding cultural tourism in a more holistic way. These three models are now reviewed.

2.5.1 The "circuit of culture" model

The first relevant model considered here was developed by Du Gay, et al.(1997) in order to understand "the ways in which culture works in late-modern society" (Du Gay et al., 1997: 2), and more particularly in "the assembling or putting together of contemporary material cultural artefacts" (Du Gay et al., 2013: Xiii). It is discussed in relation to its relevance to cultural tourism and its related literature.

There are other reasons for reviewing Du Gay et al.'s "circuit of culture". First, the model provides an insight into how cultural meanings are produced and consumed in a dynamic cycle. Hall (1997: 2) argues that "culture is concerned with the production and the exchange of meanings – the 'giving and taking of meaning' – between the members of a society or group". Cultural meaning is used to link the producers and consumers, because it is "not simply sent from one autonomous sphere – production, say – and received in another autonomous sphere – consumption" (Du Gay, 1997: 10). Meaning is a process of "the time, the space, and the point of view" (Champ, 2008: 88). Many cultural experts, such as Anderson and Gale (1992), Bennett et al. (1986), Hall (1997), and Jackson (1993), view cultural meanings as important in linking cultural production and consumption processes, and they bring other theoretical perspectives into the debate.

Producers and consumers need to communicate by using understandable language or shared knowledge. This means that producers and consumers have to understand each other and their meanings in the communication process. Meaning cannot be imagined but is intertwined with different connections of moments and process (Curtin and Gaither, 2005; Hall, 1997; Thompson, 1997). The process of making cultural meanings can link the production-consumption relationships (Braham, 1997). Robins (1997: 10) explains this process as: "meaning-making functions less in terms of a 'transmission' flow model, and more like the model of a dialogue. It is an ongoing process".

Second, Du Gay et al. model is a relational one based on the idea of "the articulation of a number of distinct processes whose articulation can and does lead to variable and contingent outcomes" (Du Gay et al., 1997: 3). The term "articulation" refers to the process of connecting disparate elements to form a temporary unity. An 'articulation' is thus the form of connection that can make a unity of two or more different or distinct elements, under certain conditions. And the articulation in the model is holistic because, "rather than privileging one single phenomenon – such as the process of production",

instead, meaning and an understanding of that meaning emerge through "a combination of processes – in their articulation" (Du Gay et al., 1997: 3).

Cultural meaning in tourism is important, reflecting the value people put on leisure activities and the importance of attracting different visitors to tourist destinations (Cheung, 1999; Gruffudd, et al., 1999; Michael, 2002). Ateljevic (2000: 370) notes that "No sooner had a theoretically embedded new economic geography of tourism begun to be embraced, than there were calls for a cultural perspective on tourism consumption". It is necessary to understand people's involvement in cultural tourism, because "people use tourism experiences to negotiate and redefine other social and cultural values" (Squire, 1994:104). In other words, cultural meaning in cultural tourism really matters.

The Du Gay et al. model includes five key elements from cultural studies: "regulation", "production", "consumption", "representation" and "identity", and it connects them within an integrated model (Figure 2.4). They are connected because with any cultural product "one should at least explore how it is represented, what identities are associated with it, how it is produced and consumed, and what mechanisms regulate its distribution and use" (Du Gay et al., 1997: 3). The model is in the form of a circuit, and it "does not much matter where in the circuit you start, as you have to go the whole way round before your study is complete"...each part of the circuit is taken up and reappears in the next part" (Du Gay et al., 1997: 3). Thus, production becomes an element in the next process, that of consumption, and so on.

The five elements are located in a dynamic process to provide an integrated perspective of cultural moments. The model can be broken into at any point, as it follows no particular sequence. Although five different processes are identified as separate elements of the circuit of culture, "in the real world they continually overlap and intertwine in complex and contingent ways" (Du Gay et al., 1997: 4).

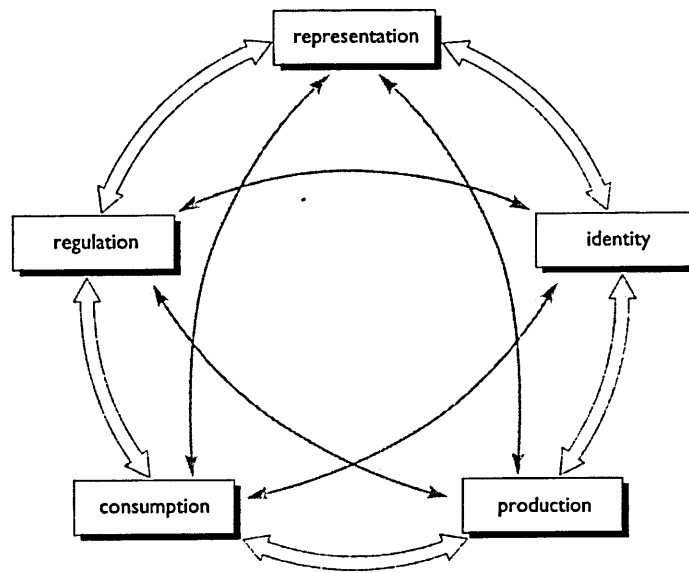


Figure 2.4: The circuit of culture
Source: Du Gay et al. (1997: 3)

"Regulation" in this context means to "regulate and organize conduct and practices – they help to set the rules, norms and conventions by which social life is ordered and governed" (Thompson, 1997b: 1). "Regulation" is affected by economic pressures and power relationships, and it can regulate and control the interactions at individual, organizational, and national levels (Curtin and Gaither, 2005; Thompson, 1997b). It is feasible for policy makers in cultural tourism to use "regulation" in order to design rules and orders in the policy-making process.

"Production" means "an integral part of the company way of life that informs intra-organizational decisions and activities" (Du Gay et al., 1997: 43). In the production of cultural tourism, it becomes a process for transforming and exchanging cultural assets from raw resources into valuable cultural products (Ashworth, 1994; Richards, 1996). The producers in cultural tourism take main responsibility for the assembly, selection, and packaging of resources as cultural products (Ashworth, 1994; Richards, 1996). These resources can be relocated, or they can be given additional new meaning and messages ideologically (Curtin and Gaither, 2005).

Equally important as production, "consumption" contributes to understanding how the cultural object is used and how negotiation with production occurs (Curtin and Gaither, 2005). Consumption is an active process which is "often celebrated as pleasure, and the consumer has even become elevated to the status of citizen, the principal means whereby we participate in the polity" (Mackay, 1997:2). The consumption of leisure and

tourism is often depicted to express different identities and social phenomena (Featherstone, 1990; Miller, 1995; 1997). It is very important to clarify meaning and sense of belonging, as a platform for explaining the strategic relationships between individual identity and cultural tourism (Tomlinson, 1990). Consumers can construct their identities through seeking their own personal sense of belonging to the society.

"Representation" includes two processes: "the 'system' by which all sorts of objects, people and events are correlated with a set of concepts or mental representations which we carry around in our heads and language" (Hall, 1997: 17).

"Representation" of culture can follow three approaches: the reflective approach, the intentional approach and the constructionist approach (Hall, 1997). Even though people cannot communicate in terms of different languages, representation approaches with shared contexts can make the delivery of cultural meanings easier and more effective. Appropriate representations can construct different elements, including people, objectives, and activities, in a conceptual way, as well as providing an identity of belonging to the same ethnic group or culture. Attention is given by Du Gay et al. (2013) to the shared contexts or knowledge systems between the producers and consumers. When producers interpret the message in a roughly similar way, then consumers can often accept and construct their own understanding, as a way of sharing a common meaning and cultural background. Further, language is necessary to represent these cultural relations, particularly between the idea in a human being's mind, and the concepts as expressed in signs comprising "written words, spoken sounds or visual images" (Hall, 1997: 18). It is crucial to interpret cultural meaning in a way that reflects people's personal experience, because this can "help to bring about liberating changes in the epistemologies of people, families, and groups" (Holland, 1999: 471). As well as the signs themselves, their symbolic functions enable the concepts to be communicated efficiently and make the meaning more explicit.

"Identity" reflects the meaning that people attribute through the "representation" moment, and it can be formed in cultural production and consumption processes. Identity can be defined as "who is included and who is excluded" (Woodward, 1997: 15), as well as comprising a group of social constructions, like "class, ethnicity, nationality, and gender" (Curtin and Gaither, 2005: 101). Although these identities are defined and redefined differently, a common understanding of identity is that "it is an ongoing process or agreement upon an interpretation among producers and consumers" (Botan

and Soto, 1998: 22).

Many researchers emphasise some or even all of the five elements of the Du Gay et al. model, but few researchers have evaluated the "circuit of culture" or even similar conceptual ideas in cultural tourism. Curtin and Gaither (2005: 97) suggest the circuit of culture "provides a model to guide theoretical development that privileges these constructs and allows practice to inform theory". As well as cultural meaning, regulation, representation and identity are important to cultural experience diversification, and need to be connected to production and consumption. Producers in cultural tourism, not only provide different cultural products, but also take responsibility for creating meaning and communicating with tourists. Tourists, especially cultural tourists, have opportunities to look for different experiences, participate in the local communities and engage in their everyday life. A theoretical understanding of "the circuit of culture" potentially facilitates recognition of each moment and their interactions in a reflective process system which is relevant to cultural tourism.

2.5.2 The "components of the heritage industry" model

The second model relevant to an understanding of cultural tourism is the components of the heritage industry (Figure 2.5) developed by Greg Ashworth (1994). He develops a model to understand the process by which cultural heritage resources are being assembled, packaged and sold to consumers. Heritage tourism is an essential part of cultural tourism comprising the past culture of the place and the continuities from the past into the present. Heritage tourism "typically falls under the purview of cultural tourism, is one of the most notable and widespread types of tourism and is among the very oldest forms of travel" (Timothy and Boyd, 2006: 1). Cultural heritage resources are often the most important resources consumed by tourists when visiting destinations. Many studies of heritage tourism have discussed motivation and marketing approaches

(Bennett, 1995; Poria, Butler and Airey, 2003; Seale, 1996; Timothy, 1997). Among the heritage resource there are cultural traditions and what people traditionally think and their continuing everyday ways of life, and these living cultural features of heritage can be of much interest to tourists visiting attractions and places (Littrell, 1997).

However, there is a lack of a model that integrates the various elements of heritage tourism. Many research themes, such as authenticity (Wang, 1999), representation (Hall, 1997; Moscardo, 1996), preservation (Wang and Bramwell, 2011) and consumption

(Richard, 2001), have emerged in studies of heritage tourism, but these studies do not adopt a comprehensive cultural tourism perspective.

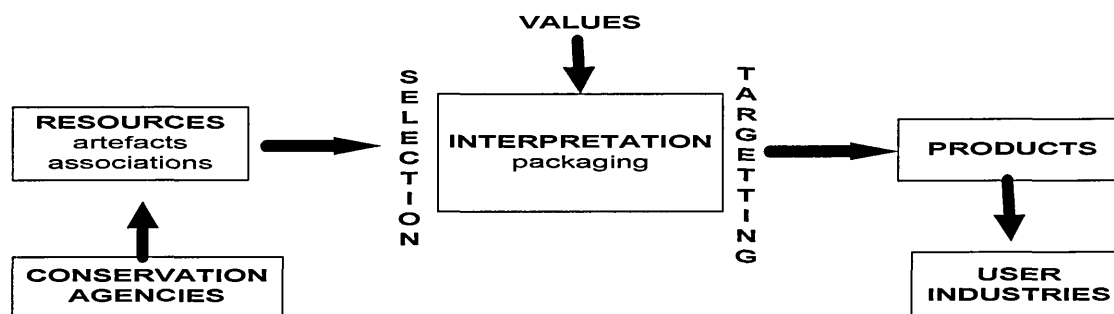


Figure 2.5: The components of the heritage industry
Source: Ashworth and Larkham (1994: 17)

Ashworth's research provides a process model which contributes a market-oriented understanding of commodifying the past. The initial assumption of the model is that heritage is "an industry in the sense of a modern activity, deliberately controlled and organized with the aim of producing a marketable product" (Ashworth, 1994: 16). The model clarifies how different components interact with one another, and it locates their positions in the commodification of the heritage industry. Ashworth particularly explains the components of the heritage industry as focusing on producing a marketable product that satisfies consumers' expectations. Appropriate selection and packaging contribute to the interpretation process, in which raw resources become commercial products. Adopting a marketing-oriented perspective, Ashworth identifies the role of consumers, who create "many of the difficulties for the producers, but also the possibilities for their solution" in heritage resources (Ashworth, 1994: 18).

One objective of Ashworth's model is to shift to a market orientation which "focuses upon the relics of history as a product, selected according to the criteria of consumer demand and managed through intervention in the market" (Ashworth, 1994: 16). He provides a basic idea that customer needs and market requirements are important for the diversification of the tourism experience. His model places heritage in a commodification process by which heritage resources are transformed into products by meeting marketing needs. Many raw resources take mainly symbolic roles in representing the past and forming the attractions of places, including historic towns and cultural sites (Ashworth and Larkham, 1994).

Taking regard of history as a product, Ashworth's model is helpful in understanding the development of historic resources into heritage resources, and also the packaging and promotion of heritage products. Ashworth himself also sees the cultural heritage products in places or localities as serving a wide variety of consumer markets, being "multi-sold" to different users (1994: 23). Further, he explains that the selection of the cultural heritage content of places or localities has to contend with various tensions, such as around whether to have a generalized or more particular heritage product. It is, thus, a process model that has relevance to an understanding of the production and consumption processes in the heritage industry.

The focus in Ashworth's model on the processes and linkages between the components of cultural heritage, on products being "multi-sold" to different users, and on tensions in developing and marketing cultural heritage products, is also adopted in the present theoretical construct. Ashworth (1994: 14) himself notes that his model "is thus intrinsically a planned system; the questions of who plans, for what purposes, remains open, not the necessity for intervention as such". Although he addresses different components of the heritage industry, the model remains a theoretical construct without consistent, in-depth practical application to studies of specific destinations. Without such applications the model remains to be evaluated in relation to specific practices in different heritage contexts. His model does, however, begin to alert us to the fact that the processes of cultural tourism have not been explored in an integrated manner. Designed from a Western perspective, Ashworth's model has also not yet been applied in an Eastern context.

2.5.3 The "relationships between tourism and cultural heritage management" model

The third model of relevance for understanding cultural tourism is McKercher and Du Cros's (2002) model of the relationships between tourism and cultural heritage management (Figure 2.6). This identifies different typologies – a series of categories of types – of the relationships through which various stakeholders interact in cultural tourism. Their model also assists in an understanding of the potential interactions between different actors in the tourism and cultural heritage sectors. They indicate that relationships between the culture and tourism sectors are an important factor in shaping destinations, linking the past history and people, and stimulating capital and profit generation (Jamal and Kim, 2005). The interactions between "mechanisms, industries

and stakeholders" are crucial in this respect (Jamal and Kim, 2005: 57).

Of most conceptual value from their study, McKercher and Du Cros (2002) categorise seven types of relationships between tourism and cultural heritage management, and place them in a cooperation/conflict continuum, with the categories forming a typology of seven different types of relationship. Their model is a cooperation/conflict continuum, and there is no absolute separation between cooperation and conflict except at the ends of the continuum. The seven types or categories are: (1) Full cooperation, (2) Working relationships, (3) Peaceful Co-existence, (4) Parallel existence/Blissful ignorance, (5) Mild Annoyance, (6) Nascent Conflict, and (7) Full conflict. Such a typology of relationships can explain the interactions between "tourism and those people who advocate the conservation of tangible and intangible cultural and heritage assets" (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002: 15).

"Full Cooperation", "Working relationships", and "Peaceful Co-existence" are three relationships which represent varying degrees of cooperation between tourism and cultural heritage management. First, "Full Cooperation" happens when limited numbers of stakeholders agree a set of management objectives and work together. "A clear power/management hierarchy" involves mutual appreciation between tourism and cultural heritage management, with a clear hierarchy enabled to emerge as a result (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002: 17). Second, there is a "Working Relationship" based on the different assets or shared legitimate interests between these two sectors. In this relationship, stakeholders can balance their interests and ownership of assets, so that their power relations and interactions "remain relatively stable" (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002: 19). Third, "Peaceful Coexistence" can exist if the stakeholders show little interest in sharing resources. Even though tourism and cultural heritage management share historic streets or other common resources, over-consuming tourist behaviours may damage the conservation of such historic streets and buildings, as well as the working interests of cultural heritage management. Thus, there may be an amicable standoff between the two sectors, where they do not cooperate but they are not in direct conflict.

Cooperation/partnership			Conflicts			
Full Cooperation	Working Relationships	Peaceful Co-existence	Parallel Existence/ Blissful Ignorance	Mild Annoyance	Nascent Conflict	Full Conflict
True partnership for the mutual benefit of both sectors	Realization of common needs and interests	Sharing of the same resource	Separate and independent	Goal interference attributable to one stakeholder	Problems defying easy solutions emerge	Open conflict between stakeholders
		Derive mutual benefits from its use, but still largely separate and independent	Little or no contact	Lessened satisfaction	Changing power relationships with emergence of one dominant stakeholder whose needs are detrimental to the other established stakeholder	
Likely imposed or heavily managed	Work to ensure that both interests are satisfied	Some dialogue, but little cooperation or recognition of need to cooperate	Out of sight, out of mind	One stakeholder exerts adverse effects, but little real conflict		
				Lack of understanding between stakeholders		

Figure 2.6: Possible relationships between tourism and cultural heritage assets
Source: McKercher and Du Cros (2002: 16)

The remaining four types of relationships show a continuum process from relatively less conflict to open conflict between tourism and cultural heritage management. First, "Parallel Existence" exists on the condition that "tourism and cultural heritage management operate independently and tourists have little interest in a destination area's cultural assets" (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002: 19). In that situation, tourism and cultural heritage management have little contact opportunity, and no cultural tourism products are used in promoting the destinations. Second, "Mild Annoyance" can decrease satisfaction if one set of stakeholders has an unfavourable management or relevant adverse impact that negatively affects the other sector. Third, "Nascent Conflict" continues to build on the mild annoyance, and leads to problems or adverse effects, which can eventually become serious. During nascent conflict, stakeholders' power relations change fundamentally and negative effects cannot be avoided. The last relationship, "Open Conflict", involving more overt clashes of various types, is likely to happen if "real or perceived differences exist between stakeholders and how they view assets" (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002: 21).

McKercher and Du Cros (2002: 232) also contributed an understanding of partnership in heritage and tourism in contexts where "tourism and cultural heritage management still largely function in parallel". In their model, relationships are described as "weighted toward the conflict end of the spectrum, with blissful ignorance and mild annoyance being the most common attitude expressed" (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002: 21). Failure by either cultural interests or tourism interests can lead to worsening of actors' interactions. Therefore, partnerships are essential in order to develop appreciation of different stakeholders' interests and values, and also the benefits that the management of each side can offer (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002). Such a partnership can integrate tourism and cultural heritage management based on their common driving forces, shared legitimate needs and interests, individual roles, and common understandings in relation to consumers.

In related work, McKercher, Ho and Du Cros (2005: 542) further assess the typologies of possible relationships between tourism and cultural heritage management based on the specific case of Hong Kong City. Their assessment identified five conditions or factors influencing the position on the typology as: "(1) the independent evolution of tourism and cultural heritage management (CHM); (2) the politically imposed power balance between stakeholders; (3) the diversity of stakeholders with different levels of

knowledge; (4) the diversity of heritage assets under consideration; and (5) the different ways in which assets can be consumed". The application to Hong Kong City was intended to provide a comprehensive view of the elements which potentially affect the relationships between tourism and cultural heritage management.

There are some similarities but also notable differences between the approach of the current study and that used in McKercher and Du Cros's research. Just two of the differences are discussed next.

First, based on the case study explored here this research is not the same as McKercher and Du Cros's argument that "tourism and cultural heritage management still largely function in parallel" (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002: 232). In the case of Hong Kong City, McKercher, Ho and Du Cros believe (2005: 546) that "tourism and cultural heritage functioned best in parallel, with each group performing the role it performs best, but with little interaction between groups". By contrast, the current researcher believes that the relationship between the cultural and tourism sectors can and possibly should vary according to the specific circumstances found in particular places at specific time and in relation to the local interests and power relations. The range of possibilities for the relationship is wider than the tourism and cultural sectors working together to achieve better performance. Consequently, there is a need for more in-depth research and discussion about how different stakeholders influence one another, and how power can mediate the relationships between tourism and cultural heritage management (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002).

A second difference is that the McKercher and Du Cros model was only evaluated in the context of Hong Kong City. By contrast, this research considers such elements as cooperation/conflict from their arguments within the somewhat different context of mainland China. Hong Kong, previously a British crown colony, was returned to the People's Republic of China in 1997 (Chan and Cheng, 2002), but there are significant legacies from the previous period. Thus, Deng Xiaoping's formulation of "one country, two systems" allows Hong Kong City to operate its own capitalist economic and political system, while mainland China still uses the socialist system (Huang, 2003). The differences between Hong Kong City and the mainland China's context have been depicted as "a host of imagined fundamental clashes such as colonialism vs. nationalism, capitalism vs. communism and East vs. West" (Pan et al., 1999: 99).

In particular, cultural value and production and consumption in Hong Kong City, as a former British colony, have been fundamentally affected by the capitalistic market and system (Tse et al., 1989). The cultural values in Hong Kong may well have been affected by Western values, which are in contrast to those that pertain in mainland China. Chan and Cheng (2002: 388) highlight the differences as follows: "some cultural values (such as collectivism, respect for elders and tradition) are more typical of eastern culture whereas other cultural values (such as individualism, youth and modernity) are more representative of western cultures". The current research will adopt an Eastern Asian perspective, specifically a Chinese perspective, in order to understand the complex relationships around cultural tourism in city destinations in mainland China.

2.6 Power, interdependence and tension

Power is a key element in the relationships between people, resources and places. Different power relations can encourage interdependence and cooperation, while it can also lead to tensions among different groups or elements. Powerful actors might exert more influence than actors with less power in the final decision-making process or product design (Baggio, Scott and Cooper, 2010; Bramwell, 2011). Power exists in a process and it is found in differing ways in many different situations (Berger, 1999; Weber, 2002), in the sense that "in any given situation an entity may possess more or less power than in another situation because power continuously shifts, it is in process, ever changing and ever renegotiated" (Curtin and Gaither, 2005: 96). Power relationships affect working relationships between the tourism and cultural heritage sectors (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002), as well as being influenced by the surrounding political, economic, and socio-cultural context.

This section reviews the following sub-themes: the concept of power (Section 2.6.1); ~~power and interdependence (Section 2.6.2); their relationships in cultural tourism~~ (Section 2.6.3); power and tension (Section 2.6.4); and their relationships in cultural tourism (Section 2.6.5).

2.6.1 The concept of power

Many researchers, such as Argyris and Schön (1996), Bramwell and Meyer (2007), Coleman (2004), and Mowforth and Munt (1998), have documented power issues and power relations between people in organizations and in the policy-making processes. Power can be defined as "the ability to control resources" (Lammers and Galinsky, 2009:

67). This is similar to Salancik and Pfeffer's (1977: 3) statement that power is "the ability to bring about desired outcomes". Most researchers are influenced by Dahl, who believes power is "an ability to get another person to do something that he or she would not otherwise have done" (Dahl, 1957: 158). Power can encourage both cooperation and competition. Power also can be distributed from national level to provincial level and to the local level in the governance and relation of the industry, the market and the environment (Airey and Chong, 2010; Sofiled and Li, 2011; Su et al., 2007).

Power is the driving force for many human interactions and in forming different human relationships (Tjosvold and Wisse, 2009). Many actors, including governments, private sector organizations, tourists and local people, interact with one another to form different power relationships. Powers is the ability to own, control and manage societal resources. Associated with the influence of political and economic interests, power relations reflect social relationships (Cohen, 1976; 1979; Macleod and Carrier, 2010). Questions about who has the resources and how people use the resources thus become important to the relationship between people and resources (Colson, 1977; Russell, 1960).

2.6.2 Power and interdependence

Interdependence varies among resources, people and organizations. It is defined as "a situation of reciprocal effects or mutual dependence" (Nye, 1976: 131). Factors which affect interdependence include: "(1) task inputs, such as the distribution of skills and resources and the technology that defines the work; (2) the processes by which members execute the work; (3) the way that goals are defined and achieved; and (4) the way that performance is rewarded" (Wageman, 1995: 146). This means that interdependence can be affected by tasks, processes, outcomes and rewards. These factors can work together or interact with each other to varying degrees, but with each remaining independent.

Power, as a key factor in human interactions, is very important to understand interdependence "between persons and groups as it involves the extent to which people are dependent upon each other" (Tjosvold and Wu, 2009: 84). Power, as a fundamental aspect, particularly links "responsibility and within group cooperation" in an interdependent culture (Lammers and Galinsky, 2009: 68). The weighting of interdependence of different elements of cultural tourism should hence be considered carefully.

Understandings of power and interdependence can vary based on different cultures and philosophies. For example, East Asians have become relatively interdependent, while Westerners remain relatively independent (Lammers and Galinsky, 2009) in dealing with power relationships. East Asians tend to inhabit power and take responsibility interdependently, while Westerners use power to ensure freedom and to achieve their desires independently (Zhong et al., 2006). East Asians consider more about how their personal behaviours influence others and their external environment. By contrast, Westerners may give more consideration to individuals and self-activities (Anderson et al., 2001; Lammers and Galinsky, 2009).

Different understandings of power and interdependence give rise to different uses of power and forms of interdependence among East Asians compared with Westerners. First, Westerners respond to awarded-oriented interests more than East Asians, who focus more on responsibility-related work (Zhong et al., 2006). Second, Westerners more often pursue power in relation to self-interest (Galinsky et al., 2003), while East Asians exhibit less of this kind of behaviour and focus more on "potential preservation of a commonly shared resource" (Lammers and Galinsky, 2009: 75). Third, Westerners often regard power as having a negative impact on cooperation; however, East Asians often believe power is positively related to cooperation (Anderson and Galinsky, 2006; Lammers and Galinsky, 2009). These understandings reflect the different philosophical perspectives in the West and East, and they offer useful insights into power and interdependence for this study.

2.6.3 Power and interdependence in cultural tourism

Power and interdependence are factors that facilitate understanding of the complex relationships around cultural tourism, particularly in the sharing of power, tasks, responsibilities and resources among different actors. Pearce (2013: 5), for example, summarises two variables used to link the tourism activities in Bonetti, Petrillo and Simoni's (2006) work: "(1) the degree of interdependence among the system's stakeholders as determined by the density of relationships, the degree of willingness and the degree of mutual trust; and (2) the degree of centralization of the system governance functions, which is affected by recognition of the governance body, the degree of strategy formalization, and the degree of centrality of the organizations".

Interdependence is a key source of relationships in tourism, including cultural tourism. Cultural heritage resources, people and places are independent elements, along with their different resources, tasks, interests or responsibilities. Interdependence can be formed through a sharing approach, which includes "participation in goal-setting, policy-making, problem-solving and change; delegation of authority; worker autonomy; structural decentralization; information-sharing; and sharing rewards, profits, and other valued outcomes" (Coleman, 2009: 135). Powerful actors can share resources and information and encourage cooperation. Empowerment at the higher level particularly can motivate interaction and communication with actors at lower levels (Murphy and Murphy, 2004; Peccei and Rosenthal, 2001).

A sharing approach is encouraged in order for different actors, who have different political, economic and socio-cultural interests in cultural tourism, to work together. The political interests around the cultural tourism policy-making processes affect power relations in the governmental hierarchy (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007). Private sector tourism businesses engage in relationships of mutual dependence with the state sector to contribute to the national economy (Jefferson, Rawski and Zheng, 1992; Lau, 1999). Quality of life on the supply side can be improved and the image of the local tourist destination can be promoted, in line with the delivery of products and other facilities (Clements, Schultz and Lime, 1993; Weikert and Kertstetter, 1996).

Nevertheless, enlarging cross-cultural communication can motivate interdependence between the producers and consumers in cultural tourism (Mathieson and Wall, 1984). There is a process of power exchanging, in which the actors can share their common interests and resources in mutual engagement (Stynes and Stewart, 1993). When producers promote their culture and serve visitors from outside, it enhances the sense of local pride and of belonging to the place. Tourists can refresh their knowledge system through involvement local people's lives, traditions, and behaviours. At the same time, it is a way for local people to learn more about the outside world, rather than simply selling culture as a commodity (Besculides, Lee and McCormick, 2002).

2.6.4 Power and tension

Tension is defined as "emerging over the relative responsibilities of different actors (individuals, communities, business, government, environment groups)" (Blake, 1999: 257). Tension also depends on "goal incompatibility and value clash" (McKercher, Ho

and Du Cros, 2005: 540) between different stakeholders, and it can occur when different actors cannot agree on interests, goals, behaviours and values (Jacob and Schreyer, 1980). When the goal of one actor group is not compatible with other actors' goals and behaviours, the tension can emerge that potentially leads to conflict.

Tension can have both positive and negative impacts on actors and their interactions. Theorists, such as De Dreu and Weingart (2003) and Jehn (1995), suggest that tension can lead to conflict and is bad for cooperation across people, groups and organizations, because it "hurts the feelings of those directly involved, creates tension for others in the group, and distracts everyone from the work at hand" (Peterson and Harvey, 2009: 282). On the one hand, it is necessary to be aware to what extent conflicts can benefit working relationships between people and organizations. Conflicts can bring different positive outcomes, which include improving working efficiency under certain pressures, making group decisions more effective, and more widely acknowledging the different actors involved and their interests (Jehn, 1995; Nemeth, 1986; Peterson, 1999; Peterson and Harvey, 2009). On the other hand, not all conflicts are beneficial, and often they may cause problems.

Power depends on human interaction and the usage of resources, and it can lead to significant tensions that affect different people and organizations. Coleman (2009: 139) argues that, "the more power A has, the less power available for B". People with fewer resources are less powerful than others (Fiske and Berdahl, 2007; Lammers and Galinsky, 2009).

Power and tension in Western eyes often represents competition, with win-lose perspectives. One side wins and is successful, which means the other is a loser and has failed (Tjosvold and Wu, 2009). The discussion about power and tension has been evaluated from varied multidisciplinary perspectives in relation to the issues of leadership (Maner and Mead, 2010), observation of tourism (Cheong and Miller, 2000), and cultural tourism (McKercher, Ho and Du Cros, 2005).

In the context of competition, tension is a feature of power that can help actors to remain independent and can also lead to different goals and ineffective outcomes. Tension arises between groups and individuals, depending on different tasks, relationships and processes (Peterson and Harvey, 2009). If information or values cannot be easily exchanged, then negative opinions can emerge among the leaders of

groups, as well as disturbing a group's work (Lenski, 1966; Peterson and Harvey, 2009).

2.6.5 Power and tension in cultural tourism

Power and tension can be manifested in the relationships between the cultural and tourism sectors. The cultural sector is responsible for preserving and protecting assets, while the tourism sector sometimes focuses on marketing to consumers (Ho and McKercher, 2004). Their different priorities may cause tension related to their political, economic and socio-cultural surroundings.

First, different political goals can lead to the imbalance of power relations in the policy-making process. Power relations are "a pervasive characteristic of society, and consequently the concerns of less influential groups can easily be marginalized as a result of partnership arrangements" (Bramwell, 2004: 543). It is sometimes difficult, for example, to achieve a practical agreement when actors share ideas or engage in face-to-face dialogue and roundtable meetings (Bramwell and Lane, 2000). Powerful actors often control the political processes and they can even decide the final result, which adversely affects powerless actors, who probably lack sufficient opportunities to express their opinions in any cooperation or in the policy-making process (Christie, 2002). As a result, some real problems may be neglected or discussed at a superficial level, and consequently there may not be the achievement of detailed related proposals.

Second, maximizing economic benefits is often a focus in the tourism sector, while the cultural sector's priority is often to the cultural capacity and the issues of protection and preservation. Increasing globalization and commercialization encourage the tourism sector to develop quickly in line with economic growth (Curtin and Gaither, 2005). But this purpose may well differ from the cultural sector's aim of protection and improving the quality of people's everyday life (Craik, 1995). The tourism sector puts effort into creating new facilities in order to attract more tourists to the destination and gain income. However, this approach may harm long-term cultural preservation. Indeed, some tourism products with huge benefits have been developed without proper planning, and potentially cause conflicts with traditional culture, which are of concern to cultural managers. The significance and quality of heritage resources and the host community are considered as core issues in the cultural sector's mandate (Lowenthal, 1996). At the same time, however, hotels and restaurants are established at tourist sites to serve tourists and meet their increasing requirements. The tourism sector therefore can

overdevelop in order to satisfy economic interests and it can greatly exceed the cultural carrying capacity.

Third, the changeable socio-cultural environment affects the old and new generations in relation to the cultural and tourism sectors. Local community attitudes show significant linkage with cultural tourism (Murphy, 1981; 1983). Changes in the external environment also have a significant impact on older and newer residents (Allen et al., 1993). Such change affects different attitudes and power relations between the old generation and the new generation in the local community. Older residents may want to retain their existing traditions and inherit their original resources from the last generation. They may refuse to go outside of the community, and they can reject an exchange of information with people from outside of the community. They are aware of people from outside as people who could potentially change the authenticity of traditions and replace them with their own cultures. However, newer generations might prefer different methods, to move forward into the future. Many old traditions and local cultures can disappear when a new generation loses interest in inheriting. The new generation may not value the old intangible cultural traditions, which are regarded as feudal and superstitious, but they endorse new core products with modern techniques.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed literature and relevant key ideas and approaches on cultural tourism which are directly relevant to the present study. It has evaluated the elements of cultural tourism, cultural tourism in city destinations, cultural tourism in China specifically, three theoretical models around cultural, heritage and tourism, and power relations in terms of interdependence and tension. Cultural meanings, the governance of cultural tourism, and power relations relevant to cultural tourism have been discussed in relation to city destinations, and the Chinese context.

This review of literature has demonstrated that previous research has lacked a more holistic view of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in cities. Based on this review, it is evident that there is a need to develop a more holistic and integrative model to view the many different elements of cultural tourism, as well as to clarify the complex way in which they are interrelated in cities. The next chapter develops this more holistic, integrated and dialectical conceptual model of cultural tourism in preparation for its application to the case study city in China later in the study.

Chapter 3 The conceptual model

3.1 Introduction

The present research develops a conceptual model in order to understand the relationship of interdependence and tension around urban cultural tourism. A conceptual model can be developed as a means to understand a phenomenon and its related critical issues. Such models have been described as "a representation of the real thing used to depict a process, investigate an opportunity or a risk, or evaluate an attribute...they focus attention on critical issues while stripping away less important details" (Forsberg et al., 2005: 11). The conceptual model developed here is intended to fill the current theoretical gap about cultural tourism identified in the earlier literature review. It seeks to simplify the complex relationships between cultural heritage resources, people and places associated with cultural tourism, and to evaluate these relationships in the context of internal and external changing political, economic, socio-cultural processes and influences.

The chapter, firstly, explains some of the principles of building up a conceptual model. These principles explain how the concepts and themes are identified and how their relationships are interpreted within the process model. The focus of the model building, secondly, moves to the identification of the different processes of cultural tourism which underpin the elements of cultural tourism and their interrelationships in a wide societal context. These principles provide a fundamental understanding of the research area to which the process model is applied.

The discussion, thirdly, explains the themes included in the new conceptual model of cultural tourism. In this part of the discussion the researcher identifies the key themes in the model necessary to evaluate the complex relationships within each theme, to understand the potential interactions between different themes, and to place the complex relationships in a dynamic societal context. The themes are generic and they are much influenced by the previous literature reviewed in the last chapter.

This chapter, fourthly, considers the model's wider application and it explains why and how it was applied to the specific case of the former capital city of Nanjing, China. The discussion here explains why the context of China, and more specifically of Nanjing, were selected in order to evaluate the model's application.

Thus, the issues discussed in this chapter are: four principles behind the building of the conceptual model (Section 3.2); four processes of cultural tourism in the model (Section 3.3); the specific themes of the conceptual model (Section 3.4); and the practical application of the conceptual model (Section 3.5).

3.2 The four principles for building the conceptual model

This study develops a generic conceptual model to explore different features and processes of urban cultural tourism, with this providing a simple model to understand the relationships of interdependence and tension associated with cultural tourism in cities.

Four principles are central to the development of the conceptual model and to identify the different concepts and their relationships within a clear structure (Pearce, 2001). These four principles are that the model should:

- (1) Be holistic, relational and dialectical;
- (2) Focus on interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in cities;
- (3) Draw on useful components from different theoretical models and place in a wide societal context;
- (4) Have a generic value for wider applicability.

3.2.1 Be holistic, integrated and dialectical

The first principle is to develop a holistic, integrated and dialectical conceptual model in order to understand the social phenomena and its related complex reality. Many sources of data can indicate the reality attached to cultural tourism, but "in the absence of an integrative approach little holistic analysis had been undertaken" (Pearce, 2001: 930).

This principle aims at a conceptual model providing a general picture of this complex phenomenon and of its associated process. Urban cultural tourism is a complex process involving many diverse relationships between the city, its resources, its people, its policy-makers, its tourism industry, the messages, and its tourists. There are complex relationships between the many different providers or producers of cultural tourism products, between the products and their consumers, between the images and messages associated with the products, and how they are perceived and received by the tourists (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002; Prentice, 2001; Richards, 2001). These relationships

are also influenced by both internal and external influences, they change and evolve over the time and across space and spatial scales. This conceptual model, thereby, is holistic so as to "explain, either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied – the key factors, concepts, or variables – and the presumed relationships among them" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 18).

The present research develops a conceptual model focused a holistic and relational approach, which is quite similar to the approach adopted in the Du Gay et al (1997) model of the "circuit of culture". A relational perspective is a broadly drawn approach that examines the many relevant processes that affect a phenomenon, examining them without predetermined boundaries and at all spatial scales, and including the many interactions within and between the social, economic, political and environmental domains (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Yeung, 2005). This perspective considers the connected and circulating relations among actors, micro-processes, and the macro-structures in society that often interact in complex and rich ways, including through interactions with the wider context or environment (Bathelt, 2006). These connected and circulating relations are conceived as causal mechanisms of continuities and changes. This holistic and relational approach is gaining some prominence in the social sciences (Urry, 2003).

Attention in this study is also given to a dialectical approach in order to better understand the complex relationships around cultural tourism in cities. A dialectical approach helps to view a "dynamic and changeable" reality (Nisbett, et.al, 2001: 301), and to identify the elements and their relative opposite elements in societal relationships (Peng and Nisbett, 1999). Dialectics has some similarities with the Chinese philosophical thinking of "yin" and "yang". "Yin" and its opposite side of "yang" are opposing elements, but simultaneously they are connected to each other in active harmony (Peng and Nisbett, 1999). As a tradition of Eastern philosophy, this particular dialectical approach simplifies the complex interrelationships in society within three principles: the principle of change, the principle of contradiction, and the principle of relationship (Nisbett et al., 2001; Peng and Nisbett, 1999). Hence, the dialectical view adopted here helps holistically to conceptualize the elements, clarify the relationships within the elements, understand the relationships between the elements, and evaluate the relationships between the elements and the wider environment.

Applying a dialectical view to cultural tourism is useful in order to explore the relationships around cultural tourism. It suggests that these relationships involve both cooperation and conflict (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002), and it directs attention to the interactions within each of the elements of cultural tourism (inner dialectic), between these elements and also between the elements and the wider environment (outer dialectics) (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Peet and Hartwick, 1999). Dialectical relations between elements involve both the dependence between the elements, such as between production and consumption of cultural products, and also the tensions and contradictions that emerge in those relationships between elements, such as the tensions around cooperation between actors that can also entail conflict. The researcher takes into account, for example, the producers, such as the government agencies and the private sector, as well as the "opposite" element of the tourists involved in cultural tourism. A dialectical approach, therefore, is considered to offer an improved understanding of the complex relationships involved in cultural tourism, particularly because it does not look at elements – such as the heritage resources, the people and the places – in isolation, rather it sees them as interdependent and in tension.

3.2.2 Focus on interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in cities

A second principle is that the model should focus on the relationships of interdependence and tension associated with cultural tourism in general, and with cultural tourism in cities more specifically. The government agencies, the private sector enterprises, the local community and the tourists, are in relationships of mutual dependence with each other in cultural tourism activities, yet they also have their own positions in terms of their different roles, responsibilities, priorities and participation in cultural tourism. These differences entail potential or actual tensions and even overt conflicts. These relationships of interdependence and tension bind together, for example, the culture and tourism sectors, the public and private sector producers of cultural tourism, and the cultural tourism producers and consumers. These relationships are key influences affecting cultural heritage resources, the producers and consumers of those resources, the products and messages, as well as the many cultural tourism interactions in cities.

A focus on interdependence and tension embraces all aspects of cultural tourism, and it simplifies the "complex, situated, problematic relationships" (Stake, 2005: 448). It provides a coherent way to better understand the character of cultural tourism in cities

and its various activities, such as product development, product consumption, policy and planning, and destination management. Culture and tourism, for instance, are seen as interdependent, with tourism potentially raising awareness of the value of cultural resources and potentially encouraging their conservation. At the same time, however, tourism can create tensions with cultural resources, such as through the potential over-exploitation and commercialization of the cultural resources (Ap and Mak, 1999).

3.2.3 Draw on useful components from different theoretical models and place in a wide societal context

The third principle is that the model should take components from different theoretical models on cultural tourism, and adapt within a relational process model. This can help to establish the wider implications of the conceptual model, and it can assist to better understand the complexity of cultural tourism in cities. Pearce (2012) argues that tourism research should seek to be holistic and borrow and integrate ideas from other related fields, so that it brings together tourism, leisure and recreation (Mieczkowski, 1981), tourism and hospitality (Faulkner, 1998), "tourism and management, marketing or sociology" (Pearce, 2012: 31), as well as using geographical perspectives on tourism (Gibson, 2008; Pearce, 1999).

However, there is a clear theoretical gap in relation to cultural tourism in cities, as very little related research provides a holistic, relational and dialectical view of the associated interdependence and tension. The present conceptual model integrates a wide range of perspectives on cultural tourism, including from cultural studies, heritage studies, and tourism research. The model is based on a series of very new ideas and approaches, developed by the researcher. But it was also developed by taking components from different theoretical models in relation to cultural tourism, by reconsidering their potential relationships, and by reconstructing them in a new process model. The components of the new conceptual model, their influences and their consequences can only be understood through also drawing on diverse "theoretical perspectives from sociology, anthropology, cultural studies, economics and other disciplines" (Richards, 2013: 484). In adapting ideas from other models, the new model adapted selected ideas from three models reviewed in the literature review chapter, namely, the "circuit of culture" model developed by Du Gay et al (1997), the "components of the heritage industry" model devised by Ashworth (1994), and the model of "relationships between tourism and cultural heritage management" as proposed by McKercher and Du Cros

(2002).

First, the researcher adapts from Du Gay et al.'s (1997) "circuit of culture" and the focuses on a holistic or comprehensive view of the diverse elements of cultural tourism, and of the associated influences and consequences. Cultural tourism involves similar cultural elements or processes of culture as in the circuit of culture model – notably, the processes of production, consumption, identity, representation and regulation. By contrast, unlike the "circuit of culture", the present researcher integrates different elements within a specific dialectical perspective on cultural tourism in cities. Thus, consideration is given to the reciprocal and mutual dependencies and tensions between the production and consumption of cultural tourism, to the representation and cultural meanings and messages given to the cultural products developed by the producers and also consumers and to the regulation of the production and consumption of cultural tourism, with these all affected by the power of the actors involved in the governance and policy-making processes.

Second, the researcher follows Ashworth's (1994) model of "components of the heritage industry" as it looks at cultural tourism through a focus on processes between components. Using a marketing perspective, he proposes a model of the heritage industry's components, where resources for heritage products are selected, assembled, packaged and interpreted, and where this "product development is a consequence of market segment identification and targeting, rather than the reverse" (Ashworth, 1994: 17). He asserts that "the nature of the heritage product is determined, as in all such market-driven models, by the requirements of the consumer, not by the existence of the resources" (p. 18). It is a marketing-oriented process model designed to link producers and consumers in the heritage industry. However, Ashworth's (1994: 14) model is presented as a "planned system", and there has been little sustained practical application and assessment of the model in any specific destination.

By contrast, the present research focuses on the reflexive and dialectical processes connecting the diverse elements of cultural tourism, with their dynamic, two-way relationships and interconnections, and with the reciprocal interactions with the wider social contexts. Two-way arrows show that the researcher considers the relationships and interactions between the elements of cultural tourism as reciprocal. The relationships between producers and consumers, for example, are usually a two-way interacting process, because, while the producers sell products to the consumers, at the

same time the producers must respond to the responses of the consumers, otherwise they will fail to meet the needs of their market and some may go out of business. This two-way interaction often helps the producers of cultural tourism products to understand the consumers' preferences and potentially to improve the producer-consumer relationships in cultural tourism.

Third, the researcher extends the idea in McKercher and Du Cros's (2002) "relationship between tourism and cultural heritage management" by, for example, placing the complex relationships of cultural tourism in a wider political, economic and societal context. Further, McKercher and Du Cros identify seven types of relationships between tourism and cultural heritage management in a cooperation/conflict continuum, but this simply describes levels of cooperation and conflict in a static and descriptive typology, rather than exploring their dialectical and dynamic relationships. The present research places the issues in their dynamic political, economic and societal surroundings and evaluates their impacts in relation to the reciprocal, complex and dynamic internal processes of cultural tourism. This includes the various dialectical relationships within each of the elements of cultural tourism and also between those elements.

3.2.4 Have a generic value for wider applicability

The fourth principle is to develop a model with fairly wide generic value, and while assessing its application to a specific case study, to develop its features so that they have potential applicability in several contexts. This principle encourages the researcher to develop a model that reflects the complex and changeable reality and is relevant to, or can easily be adapted to, other contexts. The concepts in the model are generic and thus they are intended to be relevant for a range of contexts.

The present research develops a new conceptual model of urban cultural tourism that is assessed in one practical case, but that is intended to have wider generic applicability.

Pearce (2012: 38) highlights the need to combine model building with empirical assessment based on a single or several case studies, noting "the balance in emphasis between developing a conceptual model and applying it, for empirical work will often reflect the complexity of the constructs and concepts being brought together, the extent to which these have been clearly articulated and the degree of consensus about their use".

The generic features were identified by the researcher based on sustained critical reflection and on an assessment of several existing related theoretical models in the literature, with the generic features being intended to "guide the empirical research" (Pearce, 2012: 38). Each model was judged to offer an interesting perspective on cultural tourism, but also to have limited value, and that includes in relation to their assessment through practical application to case studies. The first model of "the circuit of culture" (Du Gay et al., 1997), for example, has only been applied to a limited extent, specifically by Squire (1994) in relation to literary tourism and by Ateljevic (2000) in the context of tourism geographies, but rarely to cultural tourism. The second model of the "components of the heritage industry" (Ashworth, 1994) is a planned normative model, but there has not been much assessment in practice, and none in Eastern destinations. And, finally, the third model of the "relationships between tourism and cultural heritage management" (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002) is a typology of these relationships, but it is static and only concerned with categories, and it is applied only in Hong Kong, a city that predominantly reflects the capitalist system.

Thus, the present research develops a new model of urban cultural tourism, it explains the rationale behind the model, and then it applies the model to an assessment of cultural tourism in a Chinese city. The section that follows discusses the different processes associated with cultural tourism which the conceptual model includes and which may be found in other different case study contexts.

3.3 Four processes of cultural tourism

Cultural tourism is a dynamic process and its complexity depends on the interactions between different resources, people and places. In general, it is argued that cultural tourism is a process including the relationships between cultural tourism and the macro environment within which it operates, between the production and consumption, between the cultural and tourism sectors, and between the products and messages. It is asserted that these relationships provide a holistic and relatively comprehensive picture about the key elements and interrelationships included in cultural tourism. The discussion next introduces each of these relationships individually in order to indicate the general character of the complex and dynamic process of cultural tourism in cities.

3.3.1 Process between cultural tourism and the environment

First, cultural tourism is regarded as in an interacting process with the environment in which it operates. Cultural tourism cannot be understood without placing it in its dynamic political, economic, and societal surroundings, especially which can provide "a broader cultural context of tourism" (Craik, 1995: 88). The complex relationships of cultural tourism in the present research are not fixed, rather they changeable. They are affected by the dynamics of actor interactions and the interactions with the wider societal environment. Pearce (2013) considers tourism to be an innovation system which is able to "bring out not only the interaction among the agents but also the impact of macro-environmental factors" (Pearce, 2013: 5; Prats, Guia and Molina, 2008).

The influences of the wider environment on cultural tourism have two aspects: the positive and negative influences. The positive influences on cultural tourism can include different political, economic, socio-cultural and technological elements, with for example political motives behind attempts to better coordinate the governance of cultural tourism (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002; Yüksel, Bramwell and Yüksel, 2005). Similarly, a relatively healthy economic environment can boost the confidence of private sector enterprises involved in cultural tourism doing business in the destinations. Both hosts and guests, furthermore, can be influenced positively by the cultural values exchanged in the societal context. Social media and technology can also have a significant positive impact on the behaviour and enjoyment of consumers around cultural tourism, as well as affecting their communicational approach between both producers and consumers.

Negative influences of the macro environment can affect cultural tourism in cities, such as through them acting as barriers to cultural tourism developing in tourist destinations.

Political factors, such as war or terrorism, can damage the preservation of tangible heritage resources and the development of the tourism industry. Economic recessions may also limit the funding available for cultural tourism diversification. The change of history and of the times may alter the tourists' interests and their preferences in cultural tourism. Technologies can also confuse or polarize the interpretations and exchange of meanings between the producers and consumers of cultural tourism.

3.3.2 Process between production and consumption

Cultural tourism can be viewed as an interacting process between production and consumption. The production of cultural tourism involves the producers in assembling, selecting and packaging cultural heritage resources as products. The consumption of cultural tourism involves tourists in understanding the cultural meanings and experiences, such as of people's everyday life (Du Gay et al., 1997; Mackay, 1997). Cultural resources such as the arts, music, craft demonstrations and various visual techniques often represent cultural experiences differently to the tourists and to the residents (Tribe, 2008). Through the processes of cultural consumption tourists have more chances to recall the past and to participate in local's everyday life.

Consideration here is given to the producers and consumers of cultural tourism as the stakeholders, including "shareholders, customers, suppliers and distributors, employees and local communities", and other "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the (organization's) objectives" (Friedman and Miles, 2006: 13). These stakeholders and their relationships are important to deliver the tourist experiences in cultural tourism (Denicolai, Cioccarelli and Zucchella, 2010; Pearce, 2013).

The producers, including stakeholders or actors in the public and private sectors, for example, contribute to the production and consumption of cultural tourism. The government in some developing countries, for instance, can give priority to the provision of public facilities and local welfare in relevant policies and planning (Andersson and Donald, 2009; Pearce, 1992). Government often plays an important role in the policy-making processes and in regulating the industry (Hall, 2005). The private sector can offer sufficient resources to expand their operational scales and market share, and they contribute to practical operation and marketing of cultural tourism to the consumers. These private sector organizations often provide the products and services relevant to cultural tourism in order to meet the consumers' needs, and to secure their relevant profits (Coalter, 1998).

The consumers are important in cultural tourism. Here assessments of tourist flows are a good analytical tool to estimate the size and trends in specific tourist markets (Song, Witt and Li, 2009). Tourism managers can evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of tourist destinations from the numbers of tourists in different market segments and the

growth of these segments. Such market research by cultural tourism producers potentially can considerably enhance the tourist experience in cultural tourism.

Production and consumption of cultural tourism can help to increase the overall demand for cultural experiences in tourism and to diversify tourists' flows to the destinations (Manente and Cerato, 2000; Pearce, 2013). Producers may put effort into providing effective interpretation in cultural tourism that meets consumers' different tastes, so that consumers are satisfied with what they have visited or feel that they have engaged in relevant cultural experiences. These cultural tourism products and cultural experiences encourage the participation of consumers, and this then forms the consumption of cultural tourism in cities.

The relationships between production and consumption of cultural tourism are changeable. Relationships of mutual dependence can be formed between and within both production and consumption, such as based on the common interests, priorities and tasks of producers and consumers around cultural tourism. Conflicts are also found here, and the balance between interdependence and conflict can change over time. Commodification, for example, can increase over time and can bring barriers or cause difficulties in the preservation of cultural heritage resources. The dynamic political, economic and societal factors also influence the relationships differently between and within the production and consumption of cultural tourism (Richards, 2011).

3.3.3 Process between the cultural and tourism sectors

Cultural tourism is a broad concept with many elements and many stakeholders, and the different stakeholders may mainly focus on the cultural sector or on the tourism sector. The cultural sector closely relates to people's everyday life or to their creative arts activities, and it represents different spiritual and emotional experiences. By contrast, the tourism sector seeks to develop and diversify tourist experiences within various cultural contexts and historical backgrounds. Further, while the cultural sector may emphasize the representation and preservation of cultural heritage resources, the tourism sector is often most interested in the consumers' needs and in the tourist market. Cultural tourism, thereby, is often regarded as a process involving the interrelationships between the cultural and tourism sectors.

Attention needs to be given to both cultural and tourism sectors in order to identify people's behaviour at cultural heritage sites (Buzinde and Santos, 2009; Park and

Stephenson, 2007; Richards, 2001). Different from other types of tourism, cultural tourism can be a leisure travel activity for people who are interested in local people's lives, cultural traditions, arts works, and other cultural performances. Culture particularly is a key to link people, places and cultural heritage assets in developing tourist destinations. To integrate both the cultural and tourism sectors, thus, can help to diversify the cultural products and relevant visiting experiences, increase the number of visitors, provide job opportunities, and strengthen the competitiveness of destinations.

As well as the benefits, there are often some problems in integrating the cultural and tourism sectors. Not all cultural resources can be adapted to the demands and pressures of tourists, with tourism potentially creating an imbalance around the preservation and commodification of cultural tourism resources. The cultural sector often puts much effort into preserving cultural resources so that they can achieve people's spiritual needs, while the tourism sector usually focuses on marketing, such as through promoting to the tourism industry so as to attract different international and domestic tourists. Such different interests between the cultural and tourism sectors may mean it is difficult to integrate these two sectors in cultural tourism.

3.3.4 Process between the products and the messages

Cultural tourism as a process involves not only the production and consumption of products, but also the production and consumption of meaning and messages attached to these products. Cultural tourism products are connected with different histories, cultural contexts and marketing promotional approaches, while cultural messages are more subjective about people's cultural background, knowledge systems, and personal experiences. Cultural tourism, thus, depends on different objective resources and relevant subjective understandings.

The interactions between products and messages can reflect the interrelationships between the production and consumption of cultural tourism, between the producers and consumers, and between the cultural and tourism sectors. The products of cultural tourism, for example, often need to be sold to the consumers through appropriate value-added approaches or other promotional strategies. Cultural meanings and relevant messages may make products more unique, interesting or even much competitive than others. Cultural tourism can offer this opportunity for people who plan to promote cultural heritage resources to the tourists, or for people who are interested in their own

cultural, history and other relevant visiting experiences.

The products and messages of cultural tourism help to diversify cultural experiences and meet people's spiritual needs. Many cultural performances and tourist attractions are often represented through various interpretations and interpretative media and techniques, and the resulting messages are often the main motivation for tourists visiting other places (Michailova and Hutchings, 2006; Palmer, 2005). However, it is often difficult to combine cultural tourism products with relevant and appropriate messages. Different interpretations and different associated messages may deliver different meanings, and at times this can even result in the products of cultural tourism not be fully accepted by their consumers. The meanings of cultural messages may be the key influence on audiences in choosing what they plan to visit and what type of experience they seek to have. These cultural tourism messages can be interpreted differently, and different messages may be embedded simultaneously in the same products (Reisinger and Steiner, 2006b; Spiggle, 1994).

The discussion here has identified four key processes in cultural tourism which need to be understood for a more comprehensive view of cultural tourism's interdependence and tension. These four processes are the interactions between cultural tourism and the wider environment, between the production and consumption processes, between the cultural and tourism sectors, and between the products and the messages. These processes are evaluated in this study using a dialectical relational perspective, and it is contended that this focus and approach allowed the researcher to simplify the complex and dynamic relationships of cultural tourism.

The four principles of model building outlined earlier, together with the four processes of cultural tourism presented here, are central features of the new conceptual model of the relationships of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in city destinations. This new conceptual model helps to simplify the complex relationships of cultural tourism and to understand its relations with the dynamic changes in its political, economic, and societal surroundings. The next section discusses the specific themes and their dynamic relationships in the conceptual model.

3.4 Specific themes in the conceptual model

The generic conceptual model used in the study is presented in Figure 3.1. The figure shows what themes are included and the broad patterns of dialectical interactions

between these themes with one another around cultural tourism. The model explores the dialectical and reflexive relations within the themes, between the themes, and between the themes and the wider societal environment.

Two considerations should be noted here that affected the building of the conceptual model of cultural tourism in cities. First, use is made of two-way arrows to "integrate different approaches, lines of investigation, or theories that no one had previously connected" (Maxwell, 2005: 35). Two-way arrows are used here to interconnect different elements around the resources, activities and people of cultural tourism (Bonetti, Petrillo, and Simoni, 2006), and to evaluate their relationships within the theme and also across other themes of the model. The government agencies, for instance, often take main responsibility for regulating the industry and balancing the relationships with the private sector enterprises around cultural tourism. Meanwhile, private sector enterprises may affect the policies through sharing resources with the public sector or contributing to their practical industrial experiences. The public and the private sector are in a dynamic interaction in the policy-making process. The two-way arrows show this interconnection between different elements of the model. These dynamic two-way processes shown by the two-way arrows are dialectical, with positive and negative feedback and with the entities not discrete and separate but rather being interdependent and with relations of mutual dependence and conflict between them.

A second consideration is that the model is based on a fully interconnected circuit. This circuit facilitates a view of the relationships of cultural tourism as being holistic and mutually integrated. Here the conceptual model continues the idea of the "circuit of culture", in which "each part of the circuit is taken up and reappears in the next part" (Du Gay et al., 1997: 4).

This approach means that the present conceptual model is relational and holistic, exploring the many varied aspects of cultural tourism in cities, including governance and policy planning, actor involvement and interactions, production and consumption of products, and the representation of the products and the cultural meanings. This general approach relates to the broad scope and many influences on cultural tourism in cities (Pearce, 2012). This approach means also that the themes in the conceptual model are interconnected and they can be broken into at any point in the Figure 3.1. There is no order for which one is the first or the last. Cultural tourism is a process with different elements and inter-relationships, and understanding this process involves "break(ing) a

whole (thing or idea) into its elements, and then identify(ing) the crucial elements to see how they are connected" (Leiper, 2000: 570), but there is no one place in which to begin that process because all the constituent parts are mutually interdependent. Here four themes were identified as relatively separate (but also inseparable) parts of cultural tourism, but they are actually highly interconnected, and their separation is suggested in order to simplify the complexity of cultural tourism. It is contended, therefore, that the identification of these four loose and mutually inter-penetrating themes can assist the researcher to assess the complexity of cultural tourism in different contexts.

The conceptual model of urban cultural tourism includes four themes: (1) interdependence and tension between cultural and tourism policies and between government departments (the top box in Figure 3.1); (2) interdependence and tension between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism (the bottom box in Figure 3.1); (3) interdependence and tension between the production and consumption of cultural tourism products (the left box in Figure 3.1); and (4) interdependence and tension between the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages (the right box in Figure 3.1).

First, the top box of the conceptual model covers the "interdependence and tension between the cultural and tourism policies and between government departments". This theme helps to understand the interrelations between the cultural and tourism sectors in the steering and regulation of cultural tourism. For example, cultural policies may give priority to the preservation of cultural heritage resources and they may facilitate tourism development and encourage complementary tourism policies. However, there may potentially be much tension between the cultural and tourism policies, such as through tourism policies seeking rapid development to exploit cultural resources in inappropriate ways. The extent to which the policies and inter-departmental relations

associated with cultural tourism are complementary or conflicting will depend on the extent to which there are different priorities among the cultural, tourism and other policy makers, and whether or not they can reach agreed compromises.

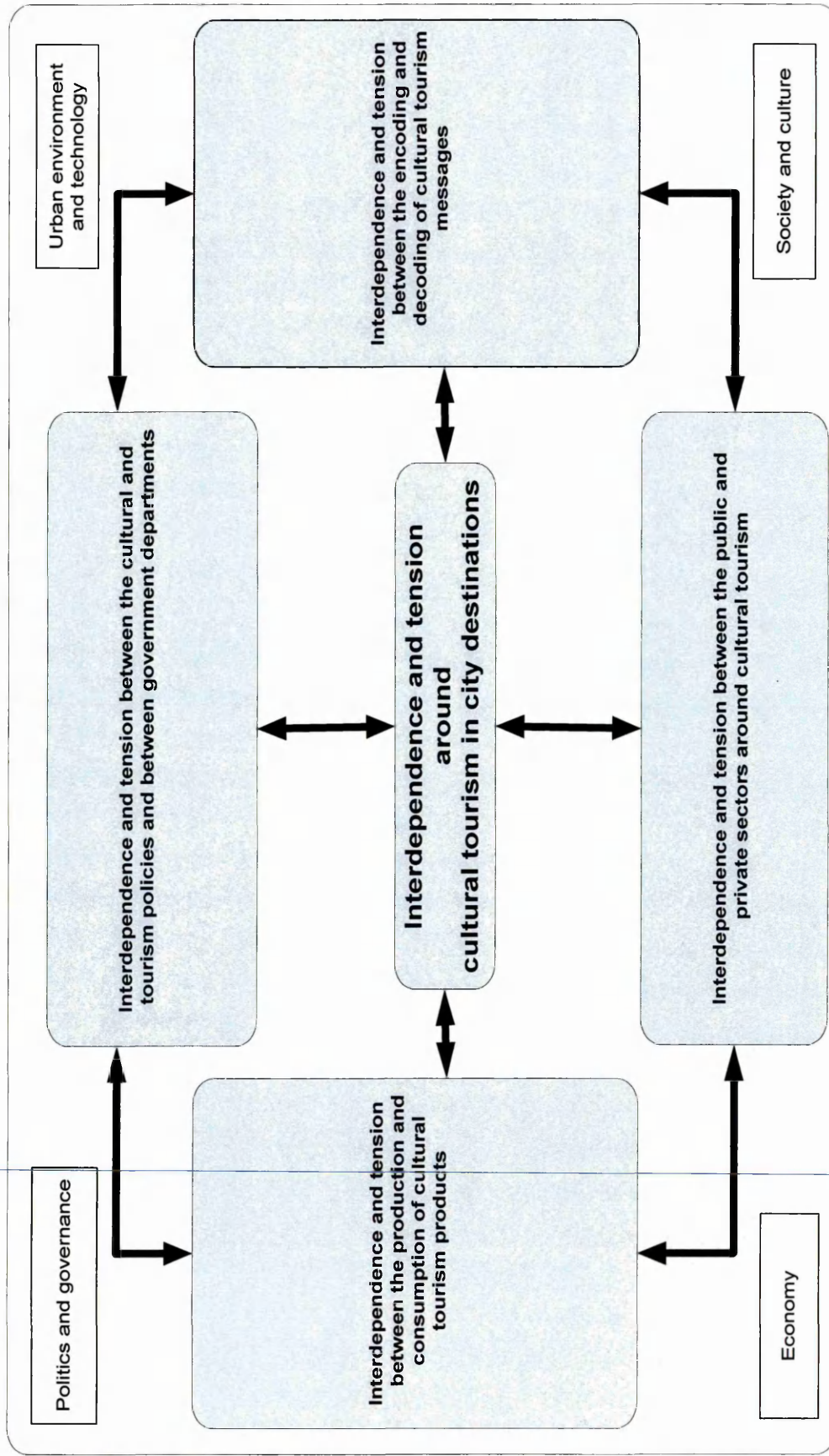


Figure 3.1: The conceptual model

These interrelations can be affected by (and in turn affect, through dialectical relations) the specific political, economic, socio-cultural context surrounding cultural tourism policies (the outer part of the Figure 3.1). Some policy contexts, for instance, are more supportive of conservation and others are strongly pro-development, and some policy contexts want to celebrate the distinctive character of local culture while others may want to present cultural resources in a way that meets political objectives more than cultural authenticity or community development objectives.

Second, the bottom box covers the "interdependence and tension between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism". This theme identifies relationships between the private and public sectors around cultural tourism, such as in relation to their development and marketing activities. The public sector may seek to work in cooperation with the private sector because the public sector regulates many cultural attractions, but the private sector may well bring many tourists to the destination and it may provide much of the tourist accommodation. Further, the private sector may have the financial resources to fund the protection of cultural resources and to provide high quality tourist facilities. The public sector often also sets the regulatory environment that affects many of the private sector's operations, such as through health and safety and consumer protection requirements. In such ways the public and private sectors are often strongly interdependent. However, there may be tensions between the two sectors as the public sector may not want to work with commercial operators who are more interested in profits and large tourist numbers and who may want to promote tourism in strongly commercial ways.

The wider socio-economic and political context clearly can affect public-private relationships, such as whether there is a joint focus between the sectors on achieving local economic development. There can be a "growth coalition" between the public and private sectors encouraging their cooperation around cultural tourism as a growth sector to boost employment and the image of the destination. In socialist countries, however, there can be mutual suspicion between the two sectors.

Third, the left box covers the "interdependence and tension between production and consumption of cultural tourism products". This theme concerns the production of cultural tourism products and how they are represented, interpreted and marketed to tourists or consumers. It relates to the way cultural and tourism resources become

cultural tourism products and to how these products are consumed by tourists. It thus combines the processes of production and consumption, and it encourages simultaneous consideration of both the producers and consumers of cultural tourism and of their relationships. It encourages, for example, consideration of how and why producers package and present specific cultural tourism products, and whether and how the presentation, interpretation and marketing appeals to the tourists and consumers and whether it provides them with appropriate levels of understanding and enjoyment (Du Gay et al., 1997; Mackay, 1997; Tribe, 2008).

The production and consumption of cultural tourism closely relate to other themes in the model, such as it often being regulated by government, being operated and promoted by the private sectors, being consumed by the consumers, and also being affected by continuities and changes in the wider environment, such as by changing consumer tastes and new techniques and technologies for the presentation of culture to audiences.

Fourth, the last box on the right covers the "interdependence and tension between the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages". This theme relates to the encoding and decoding processes associated with the messages involved in cultural tourism, and to the relationships between the producers and consumers associated with those processes.

There is interdependence in these relationships as the purpose of encoding by cultural tourism producers is to produce decoding that meets some objective established by the producers. The producers, for example, may present certain messages thinking that they are doing so in ways that match with consumers' needs and interests, and this may meet their objectives to promote cultural understanding or to boost tourist numbers. However, these messages may not match with the consumers' needs and interests, perhaps as sometimes the producers do not clearly think through their delivered meanings and the consumers cannot fully understand them, or else the producers may have other, perhaps political agendas in the messages that they promote. In such ways, there can be tensions or contradictions between the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages – notably around the differing requirements and perceptions of the producers and consumers.

This theme, as with the others in the model, is inter-connected with other themes in the model. The encoded and decoded messages, for example, are often embedded within the cultural tourism products, so that there are strong connections with the production and consumption of those products. The process of encoding is also often led by the public and private sectors, and it may well reflect their differing policy objectives.

Again as with the other themes, the changing wider environment can affect the messages that are encoded and also how the messages are decoded by tourists. The encoding can reflect, for example, changing political priorities and the decoding may vary by rising levels of education or by the character of that education.

In sum, the present conceptual model (Figure 3.1) helps to understand different elements of cultural tourism and their complex relationships of interdependence and tension in cities. It provides a more holistic, relational and dialectical approach to evaluating these relationships within the elements of cultural tourism, between the elements, and between the elements and the wider political, economic, and societal surroundings. The next section introduces the purposes behind, and the approaches to, the practical application of the conceptual model in the city of Nanjing, China.

3.5 The application of the conceptual model

The model is applied to the case study of Nanjing in China in order to use it to evaluate the complex interrelationships around cultural tourism in a single city destination. The purpose is to evaluate the applicability of the model, the new insights that it can provide, and it identifies areas where it might be less valuable, limited or deficient as an aid to understanding cultural tourism in cities.

It was decided to apply the model in the context of China because it offers some very distinctive societal features and it is a context that is changing rapidly and in fundamental ways. Further, it is a situation where there have been dramatic increases in tourism in recent decades. It is also a context that the researcher is very familiar with by birth and understands well, and where the researcher is well placed to access information and also key personnel with much knowledge of cultural tourism.

China is increasingly becoming a global economic and political powerhouse (Chu, 2010), and it has in recent years become a highly important tourist destination in global

terms, contributing profits and large numbers of tourists to the world tourism system (United Nation World Tourism Organization, 2012). China still keeps the socialist system from Mao Zedong's communist revolution in 1949, but since the "Open Door" policies introduced in China from 1978 by Deng Xiaoping the country has allowed the development of numerous marketized enterprises and private sector business partly with the capitalist characteristics (Caulfield, 2006; Lan, 1999). The Chinese tourism industry and its growth have close relationships with these fundamental shifts in the country's socio-economic, and political development (Sofield and Li, 2011; Yan and Bramwell, 2008; Ying and Zhou, 2007). Since the "Open Door" policies are initiated, China's economic-social transmission has affected cultural tourism and it has raised many interesting questions about appropriate ways to develop cultural tourism. Thus, the practical application of this conceptual model in China contributes both to identifying the relationships of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism, and to a fuller understanding of the changing position of cultural tourism within the context of the social transmission between the socialist and capitalist systems in contemporary China. Some of the most significant features of China's context that are relevant to this study are introduced in Section 3.5.1.

The discussion of the application, secondly, moves to the Nanjing case in Section 3.5.2. The application in Nanjing allows for a practical assessment of the character of the relationships of interdependence and tension in one specific cultural tourism destination, with Nanjing being a city with very significant cultural resources for tourism development. The Section 3.5.3, thirdly, explains how the generic process model was used in terms of the study's research design.

3.5.1 Three features in the context of China

There are three major features of contemporary China that provided a distinctive and very interesting context for the practical application of the conceptual model.

First, China has undergone a transition from a socialist society with a pre-eminent position for the Chinese Communist Party to a socialist society that also now accepts and in some, but not all, ways positively integrates market competition. The socialist marketization in China differs from a free market, with gradualist steps being taken over a period of years to "open up" to the market but within a system still led by the Chinese

Communist Party. This process of gradualist transformation has been exploited by Chinese enterprises, including China's township and village enterprises, and China's state-owned enterprises (Christoffersen, 1998). It has been argued that China has operated these economic reforms to "maintain social and political stability in order to promote economic growth while at the same time strengthening the Party's own legitimacy" (Chao and Dickson, 2001: 5). Private sector enterprises in the economic reforms have contributed to "modernization, marketization, and competitiveness in the national economy and the construction of a genuine labor market" (Chao and Dickson, 2001: 10), and the reforms have resulted in "significant changes in relationships between the plan and the market, and the party and the economic decision-making apparatus, with previous regime practice significantly liberalized" (Saich, 2001: 219).

Second, in China there has been a continuing influence of Communism, with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) retaining a crucial influence over many aspects of society, politics and the economy. The continuing influence of the Communist Party has many potential consequences for the production and consumption of cultural tourism, such as those associated with the political and ideological messages of interest to the Communist Party. The Chinese government is still powerful, and it has been described in relation to tourism governance as having an "overwhelming role, which is highly bureaucratic and which has been coping with major changes" (Airey and Chong, 2010: 295). It is suggested that the main purpose behind the Chinese government's involvement continued involvement in many aspects of society is to "strengthen socialism and by extension to the communist system in China and the CCP in particular", and to set up for "being either transformed or abandoned in order to facilitate economic reform and opening and to sustain their momentum" (Chao and Dickson, 2001: 6).

The often centralization approach to the governance of Chinese cultural tourism differs from the more decentralization approach often found in other Western countries. This centralization is found in many Chinese government agencies, and it also affects private sector organizations and even the local community (Yan and Bramwell, 2008). It has tended to slow down the processes of decentralization found in many other countries, processes that involve "a transfer of authority to perform some service to the public from an individual or an agency in central government to some other individual or

agency which is 'closer' to the public to be served" (Turner and Hulme, 1997: 152). Many private sector enterprises in the West, for example, are not fully or directly affected by the state, and they are predominantly affected by demand from the market and from consumers.

A third distinctive feature of Chinese society is its characteristic collectivism, which differs from the strong societal emphasis on individualism in many Western countries. This difference in societal values relates to an interesting debate about the potentially different broad value systems between the East and the West. In Chinese cultural values and the individual should behave as part of a community group and their individual values and expectations should be guided "by the expectations of the group" (Nisbett, 2001: 292). Being harmonious is a key principle of collectivism in China, and it enables the collective of China's different ethnic groups to concentrate on harmonious cooperation, value sharing and common goals (Ali, Taqi and Krishnan, 1997; Koch and Koch, 2007). By contrast, individualism found in many Western countries commonly emphasizes individual values and achievements rather than societal groups or the common interests or social good of society. Individualism in the West tends to encourage people to be more competitive, independent and self-concerned to achieve their individual goals (Chatman and Barsade, 1995; Wagner and Moch, 1986).

In this context the Chinese Communist Party presents itself as the champion of the collective good of society in China. It is also suggested that the Party seeks to exploit the cultural sphere in order to present ideological messages to the Chinese population which are supportive of the state and the Party as the legitimate holder of influence over the common good (Henderson, 2002; Jessop, 1998; Yan and Bramwell, 2008). Since Deng Xiaoping's "Open Door" policies were initiated in 1978, the tourism industry is growing up and it is becoming important in representing cultural heritage resources, as well as contributing to societal modernization (Sofield and Li, 1998; Yan and Bramwell, 2008). Cultural tourism can also celebrate the national achievements of Chinese society, including the achievements of the Communist Party in securing gains and advances for the collective benefit of the Chinese people. Developing cultural tourism, therefore, may present an approach for the Chinese government both to hold power and authority in the industry's governance and to avoid the potential penetration of Western cultural values (Sofield and Li, 1998).

These three major features of contemporary China, therefore, provided a distinctive and very interesting context for the practical application of the conceptual model. It is essential to take full account of these wider influences in understanding cultural tourism in Chinese cities. It is necessary to have this more holistic understanding of China's wider political, economic, and societal context in order to apply, and also to evaluate the applicability, of the model.

The model includes the wider context of any case within the various contextual features shown in Figure 3.1. These issues also affect all parts of the model. The issues around centralization and decentralization, for example, are relevant to the roles of the public and private sectors in cultural tourism, while socialist marketization and the increasing influence of the free market are important for the relationships between producers and consumers, and also between the production and consumption of cultural tourism products. The different value systems between collectivism and individualism are also potentially important for the different messages, beliefs, and levels of knowledge in cultural tourism.

The next section introduces the purposes behind, and the approaches to, the practical application of the conceptual model specifically in the Chinese city of Nanjing.

3.5.2 The case of Nanjing city

Nanjing was selected for study here because it is a major city in China which previously was the country's national capital, and as a consequence it has very rich cultural resources for tourism development. The researcher applies the conceptual model to Nanjing, in order to evaluate the applicability of the conceptual model to one case study context, and to understand the relationships of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in the specific context of a Chinese city.

The case of Nanjing city here is different from the city of Hong Kong, which is the case study examined by McKercher and Du Cros (2002) in evaluating the applicability of their model. Hong Kong is a former British colony, and the city's cultural tourism production and consumption has been substantially more affected by the capitalist system and by market forces and pressures. In contrast to Hong Kong City, Nanjing's numerous cultural heritage resources and its cultural tourism industry reflect the influence of Mainland China's very different historical development and its distinctive

and evolving socio-economic and political features.

Nanjing is the capital of Jiangsu Province, and it is located on the relatively wealthy eastern coast of China. The city is situated quite near to the major city of Shanghai (Figure 3.2) and it is part of an economically advanced region within China as a whole, in terms of its manufacturing and service sector industries. It is a major metropolitan city, but it also benefits from close economic links with numerous other major cities in the wider Yangtze River Metropolitan area of the east of China (Nanjing Tourism Bureau, 2010).

Nanjing is a major tourism city within China. According to the Nanjing Statistics Department, the city's tourism industry revenues in 2009 were 82 billion CNY, representing 19.7% of Nanjing's GDP (Nanjing Tourism Bureau, 2010). The city attracted over 1 million inbound tourists and over 55 million domestic tourists in 2009, serving by 450 travel agencies and 131 hotels (Nanjing Statistics Report, 2010).

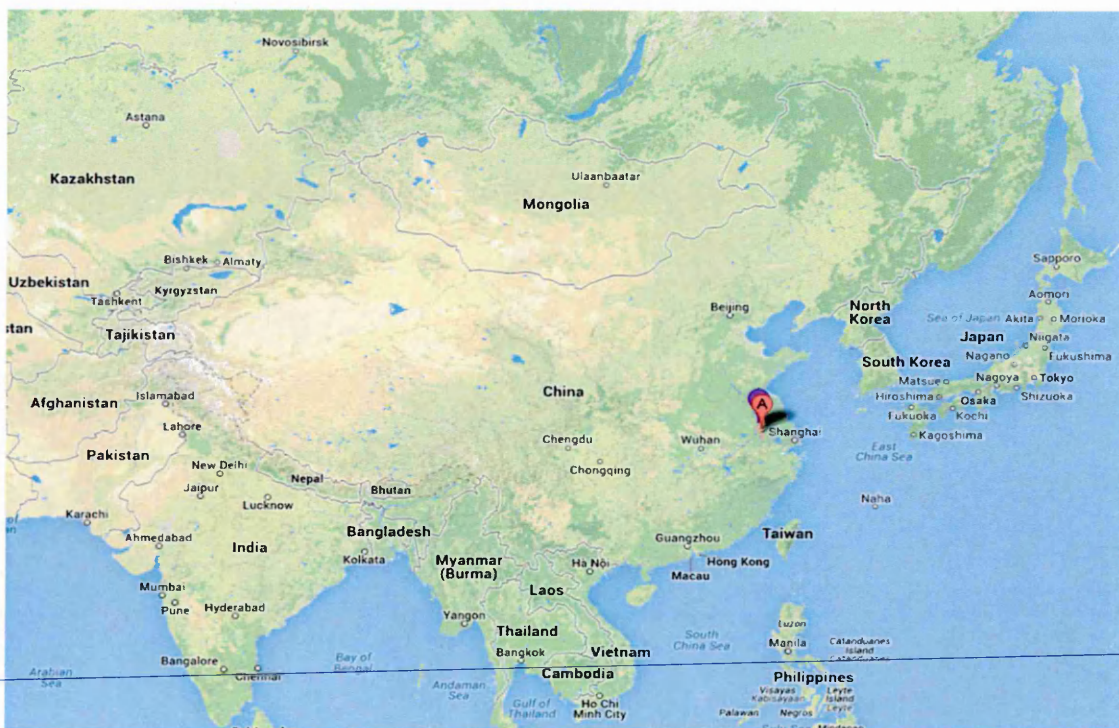


Figure 3.2: Geographical location (point A) of the city of Nanjing within China

Source: [Online]. Last accessed on 6th September 2013 at URL: <https://maps.google.co.uk/maps>

Cultural tourism in Nanjing is particularly focused on three important historic periods, namely, the Six Dynasties (220-589) period, the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) period, and the Republic of China (1919-1949) period. In the latter period, the city is well known for the Nanjing Massacre which took place during the Japanese invasion of China

(1937-1945), which many Nanjing residents were killed by Japanese soldiers (Nanjing Tourism Bureau, 2010).

The city has been China's national capital during each of these three periods, and this helps to explain why these periods have a rich historical and cultural legacy in the city. Thus, Nanjing was the national capital of the Six Dynasties (220-589) era, which was an important historic period for Imperial China. Its national capital at that time reflected a shift that the economic and political centre of power, which moved from China's north to the south after the downfall of the Western Jin Dynasty (265-316). Many artisans and aristocrats migrated southward and their traditional culture and skills also moved to Nanjing, which was then the biggest city in ancient China and it became a new cultural focus (Nanjing Tourism Bureau, 2010). The Six Dynasties was the most important period for the development of Chinese poetry and also for the development of Buddhism, which became a major religion in China (Jinling library, 2013).

Nanjing was also the national capital during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), the last dynasty ruled by the Han ethnic group of people in China (Nanjing Tourism Bureau, 2010). Zhu Yuanzhang, the dynasty's first emperor, established Nanjing as the national capital. Nanjing's economy thrived in the Ming Dynasty, encouraged by many new enterprises and by with new navigation technology prompting an expansion of foreign trade between Asian and European countries. Zheng He, a famous navigator in the Ming Dynasty explored many foreign countries to the Indian Ocean (Nanjing Tourism Bureau, 2010). Meanwhile, the literature, poetry, music and other cultural performances were widely appreciated by many social classes in Nanjing. The Ming Dynasty in Chinese history has been described as one of the greatest eras of orderly government and social stability in human history (The Applied History Research Group, 1997).

Finally, Nanjing is also well-known as the capital city in the Republic of China period (ROC) (1912-1949), a historic period when the Qing Dynasty ended, and this period also marked the demise of the imperial system in China. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, "the founding father of the ROC" (Rampal, 1994: 76), established a new national government in Nanjing in 1912 after the fall of feudalism and in many ways this new institutional order and related socio-economic system paved the way for China's present socio-political system. It was a remarkable historical period that was accompanied by rapid industrialization. Subsequently, however, the civil war between the Nationalist

government and the Community party, and the second Sino-Japanese War (1936-1945) damaged China's newly established modernity at that time. Nanjing also witnessed the killing of around 300,000 people in the notorious "Nanjing Massacre" early in the 1937 to 1945 Japanese invasion (Zhu, 2007).

In these important historic periods Nanjing gained many tangible and intangible cultural heritage resources, reflecting the changing dynasties and the people's cultural traditions. Nanjing's rich legacy of cultural heritage resources provides an interesting and important context in which to examine how the different elements of cultural tourism interact with one another, and how the relationships among them are affected by wider influences. For example, the Xiaoling Tomb of the Ming Dynasty, a World Heritage Site, and the Emperor's Mausoleum culture (Nanjing Tourism Bureau, 2010) attract many international and domestic tourists every year. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum and the Presidential Palace are also unique places to represent the Republican history and they too attract many international and domestic tourists. Further, the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall is an important patriotic educational site, as well as a place for international communities to pray for peace. There are not only tangible attractions in Nanjing, but also arts, festivals, traditional skills which enrich the city's cultural tourism. The important intangible cultural heritage resources of people's everyday ways of life found in Nanjing include calligraphy, paper-cutting skills, the craftsmanship of making Nanjing Brocade (Yunjin), and Jinlin Lantern Show.

The cultural environment is also an important feature of Nanjing's cultural tourism. Many culture, arts and media activities have become important to diversify tourists' visiting experiences and to meet residents' spiritual needs. There are around 70 museums and art galleries which are free of an entry charge, while about 600 research centres and associations get policy and financial support in contributing to science and social science (Nanjing Tourism Bureau, 2009).

Nanjing attracts both international and domestic tourists and it provides an attractive environment for residents. In 2008 Nanjing Municipal Government was awarded the "United Nation Habitat Scroll of Honour Special Citation" for its efforts in redeveloping, revitalizing and improving the Qinhuai River in Nanjing city (UNHabitat, 2008). These rich cultural heritage resources, diverse related products, and the relatively peaceful cultural environment, therefore, provide a good opportunity to explore the issues around

interdependence and tension associated with cultural tourism in cities.

3.5.3 The application of the conceptual model through the research design

The conceptual model was applied to the research design, notably through the design of the research questions, the sampling strategies, and the methods used for data collection. Firstly, the four themes and the contextual issues in the conceptual model affected the design of the research questions. Secondly, the four principles behind the development of the conceptual model influenced the design of the sampling of respondents in the data collection. Thus, the stakeholders selected for the interviews reflected the balance and mix of roles and responsibilities involved in cultural tourism, such as between the public and private sectors and between the cultural and tourism sectors. Thirdly, the conceptual model suggested that a triangulation approach was appropriate, based on the differing perspectives of the diverse relevant actors or stakeholders on cultural tourism. In such ways the conceptual model influenced the research design, with details of the design explained in the next chapter, which considers the methodology used in the study.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter explained the four principles that underpinned the building of the conceptual model of cultural tourism used in this study. These principles were that the model should "be holistic, integrated and dialectical", "focus on the relationships of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in cities", "draw on useful components from theoretical models that have relevance and that consider cultural tourism in relation to its wider societal context", and "have a generic value that is suitable for wider applicability". Consideration was also given to four processes of cultural tourism that are at the centre of the model. These provided a more holistic view of cultural tourism by considering the many features of interdependence and tension, by relating cultural tourism to its wider environment, and also by assessing the relationships between production and consumption, between the cultural and tourism sectors, and between cultural tourism products and messages.

The researcher also discussed the four specific themes within the conceptual model: these being the "interdependence and tension between the cultural and tourism sectors in the public sector"; the "interdependence and tension between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism"; the "interdependence and tension between the

production and consumption of cultural tourism products"; and the "interdependence and tension between the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages". The contexts of China and of Nanjing were also evaluated in the chapter so as to understand why these places were selected for the practical application of the conceptual model and also to appreciate their more distinctive features. The next chapter covers the study's methodology, including the general and more specific aspects of the research design.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the research approach taken and the methods applied in this study. The design of the methodology for this research includes consideration of the research philosophy, research strategy, methods for data collection, and methods for data analysis.

The researcher, firstly, discusses critical theory as the study's research philosophy (Section 4.2). After that, the researcher moves on to explain the case study research strategy (Section 4.3), which was chosen in order to identify a complex range of phenomena and relationships around cultural heritage tourism in one case study location (Dul and Hak, 2008; Stoecker, 1991; Yin, 1994).

Three research methods are used in the study in order to collect primary data and secondary data (Section 4.4). In this research, semi-structured interviews and observation techniques were used to collect the primary data, and documents and other online information were collected and analysed as the secondary data. To draw out the complex relationships within cultural tourism, the researcher used NVivo for the data analysis (Section 4.5), having identified major themes and issues from the previous literature as well as newly emerging sub-themes from the practical application of the conceptual model in the case study location.

4.2 Research philosophy

The philosophical position of the research is critical theory, which "subscribes to historical realism, an ontological conception in which reality is regarded as apprehensible but shaped by and enmeshed in a combination of factors such as social, political cultural, economic gender, ethnic and so forth" (Tribe, 2009: 73). Critical theory is an appropriate stance to facilitate an understanding of cultural tourism, which is a complex process with dynamic interactions around cultural heritage resources, people and place. Applying a critical perspective can assist the researcher to understand people's values and experiences, and to identify "changes in how people think; encourage people to interact, form networks, become activists, and form action-orientated groups; and help individuals examine the conditions of their existence"

(Creswell, 2013: 31). The underpinning philosophy of the research includes what the world is about (ontology), how to understand the world (epistemology), and the process of how to collect knowledge about the world (methodology) (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). The following section discusses these philosophical issues in turn.

4.2.1 The ontology of critical theory and cultural tourism

The researcher's ontological stance is historical realism, in which reality exists but the many different actors and their relationships can change what they display. Critical theory tends to view reality through the ways in which it changes. This change has been affected by "social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: 195). Kincheloe and McLaren (2005), for example, consider that the relationship between production and consumption is never stable and this changeable relationship can mediate reality. In their view, "the relationship between concept and object and between signifier and signified is never stable or fixed and is often mediated by the social relations of capitalist production and consumption" (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2005: 304).

Based on this ontology of what the world is about, cultural tourism is considered to be a complex and changeable phenomenon, comprising different relationships of involved elements, values and processes. These relationships are also affected by both internal and external influences, and they change and evolve over time and across space and spatial scales. Bruner (1994: 407) notes that, "We all enter society in the middle, and culture is always in process". Culture, for example, can change over time and it is able to diversify the presentation of tourism activities and experiences in different contexts. Because cultural resources can be different across time and space, they also enable people to acknowledge themselves as part of the society and to view the world differently.

The reality of cultural tourism can be formed by a structure-agency process (Jessop, 2001). Many researchers, such as Bramwell and Meyer (2007), Long (2001), and Urry (2003), explore the structure-agency relationship in different areas. In Su's (2007: 76) thesis she examines heritage tourism in Lijiang, China, and she notes that "social structures constrain people's capacities to effect social change, and also human agency renews and challenges prevailing social structures". The power of capital and

bureaucracy thus form an essential component of a conceptual model to facilitate our understanding of the place identity of heritage tourism. A similar opinion emerges from Long's research (2001), where he views individual actions in different specific contexts, together with the role of individual's lives and actions, which profoundly influence the social structure. The researcher considered herself as a critical theorist in the evaluation of social structure, and of the underpinning reasons and relations which need to be critically assessed (Lincoln and Guba, 2003).

Cultural tourism and its elements, particularly the stakeholders who are involved, are in a structure-agency relationship. Cultural tourism is a dynamic process and it is regarded as a 'structure' with different 'agencies': officials of the government agencies, managers of private sector organizations, tourists and even the local community residents. These stakeholders take different roles in cultural tourism, they interact with one another, and they form and change reality in a dynamic process. Understanding structure-agency relationships can aid in exploring how reality is formed by and through the social structure and the social activities of individuals (Fairclough, 2001). Therefore, the structure-agency approach helps to understand the way that these stakeholders react to different social contexts and to clarify the processes by which cultural tourism is formed through the relationships of different stakeholders.

The world and its different elements can be constituted in a dialectical way (Carr, 2000; Fairclough, 2001; Kersten, 2000), because "no aspect of our life world can be understood in isolation; one cannot understand the object of criticism without understanding its opposites and oppositional forces" (Ogbor, 2001: 592). As one type of relational perspective, a dialectical view shows that different aspects of society mutually depend on each other, yet at the same time they also contradict or are in tension with each other. Therefore, dialectics is considered to offer an improved understanding of the complex relationships involved in cultural tourism, particularly because it does not look at elements – such as the heritage resources, the people and the places – in isolation, rather it sees them as interdependent and in tension.

Cultural tourism and its elements, thus, are constituted dialectically in a dynamic political, economic, and socio-cultural environment. The producers and consumers of cultural tourism, for example, can be viewed as in the relationships of interdependence and tension. The producers assemble and package cultural tourism products by

considering the consumers' interests and needs, yet at the same time the consumers influence or feedback on the products and services they consume around cultural tourism. However, their relationships may be in tension because their interests or priorities in cultural tourism are difficult to be achieved properly. The dialectical approach, thus, provides a holistic view of the world and more particularly of cultural tourism, in which any aspects of the society or the elements of cultural tourism can be in relationships of interdependence and tension, as well as forming reality.

An understanding of power relations is important so as to make sense of reality and contemporary phenomena, particularly the dialectical relationships between and within different elements of cultural tourism. As the most important structural feature of critical theory (Legro and Moravcsik, 1999), power relations can mediate the thoughts about what is socially and historically constituted (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2005: 304), and can affect the ways in which "discourses are implicated in relations of power and how power and knowledge serve as dialectically reinitiating practices that regulate what is considered reasonable and true" (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2005: 305).

Power relations can be a reason affecting the relationships of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism. Actors who own enough resources may have powerful rights to decide on policy and planning, while the less powerful actors may lack opportunities to contribute to the decision-making process. It is noted that the relations of power may cause tensions between the actors in cultural tourism. A critical theory approach, thus, can help the researcher to view cultural tourism through how people are able to understand each other, interact with one another, and perhaps form reality within different social contexts (Fjellman, 1992; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004).

4.2.2 The epistemology of critical theory and cultural tourism

The epistemological stance of critical theory is "transactional/subjectivist" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: 195) that reality could be mediated by people's different values (Maxwell, 2005). The present researcher believes that, as reality is interpreted by a set of beliefs and feelings and is constructed through people's behaviours (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; Wang, 1999), then as Kincheloe and McLaren (2005: 305) would have it, "critical research can be understood best in the context of the empowerment of individuals". This means that self-identity is constructed through social interaction and

that different meanings are created and communicated only when they are placed in their relevant contexts. Thus, people and their activities are situated in a social context with its multiple and different norms and subjectivities (Barkin, 2003).

Culture and its meaning can be interpreted subjectively through people's personal values, beliefs and knowledge, which are themselves apart from the ontological reality of the world. It is argued that the critical researcher views the world within a form of self-conscious criticism (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2005). The critical theory approach, in other words, helps the researcher to be aware of "the ideological imperatives and epistemological presuppositions that inform their research as well as their own subjective, intersubjective, and normative reference claims" (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2005: 305-306).

For example, stakeholders as one element of cultural tourism, including employees in government agencies, tourist attractions, travel agencies, as well as tourists and local community members, play an important role in cultural tourism and their behaviours can affect the forms of cultural tourism. These stakeholders have different priorities and opinions about cultural tourism. Their views about reality can affect the communication and interactions between the producers and consumers of cultural tourism. Meanwhile, their different views and behaviours can mediate and alter the reality, including the economic and socio-cultural environmental factors.

People may have their different opinions about social phenomena, but they may not, however, fully understand the processes in operation behind the said phenomena. It is necessary to use critical theory to understand the subjective world of personal values and perspectives, as well as the world of structures. People may express different opinions about the world, but they tend to lack an awareness of putting all elements in a relational picture – this is the role of this research.

Equally, in cultural tourism, different actors with their varied roles can have differing understandings of the products, messages, and people involved. They may, however, lack a holistic understanding of their interactions and relationships around cultural tourism. The researcher uses critical theory in order to make sense of these different values and beliefs and to link different actors with their power relations to the context in which they are operating.

The researcher used critical theory to view cultural tourism with an interdisciplinary view of cultural studies, heritage research and tourism research. Critical theory here enabled the researcher to better understand the complex relationships among cultural tourism, and to view cultural tourism in a more holistic way. Cultural tourism includes a wide range of relationships among cultural heritage resources, different actors and places, and these relationships can be changeable over the time and with the social and historical structures (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2005). The researcher used critical theory to explore the reasons behind these complex relationships and how these relationships reflect people's interactions and interests around cultural tourism. Thus, it is a better approach to understand cultural tourism, in which the researcher is able to clarify how people understand the world differently, and to mediate the differing views about interdependence and tension around cultural tourism.

4.2.3 The methodology of critical theory and cultural tourism

Qualitative research was conducted in order to attempt to arrive at an understanding of the real experience of cultural tourism, as derived from "thick descriptions that are vivid, nested in a real context, and have a rich of truth that has a strong impact on the reader" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 10). Using qualitative research can help to develop a rich understanding of people and their interactions around cultural tourism resources, as well as helping to locate them in "the events, processes and structures of their lives" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 10). Cultural tourism is a process of interacting between cultural tourism and the environment, between producers and consumers, between the cultural and tourism sectors, between production and consumption processes, and between the products and messages, and in that context a qualitative research approach is considered important to help us to more fully understand these complex interactions and dialectical relationships around cultural tourism.

In contrast to a quantitative and positivistic approach, which believes that reality exists independently of people's values and their interactions, this research took a qualitative approach to understanding the way people think, why they think that way, and the other diverse relationships between society and tourism (Heron, 1991; Marshall and Rossman, 1999; Ruyter and Scholl, 1998). Taking a critical theory perspective, the qualitative approach provided the researcher with insights into the complex contemporary phenomena which surround cultural tourism. Considering reality to be subjective and

value-mediated, qualitative research can be applied to investigate actors' behaviours, attitudes and opinions about cultural tourism, as well as their interactions and relationships.

This research therefore takes a dialectical approach (Maxwell, 2005; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004) to identify different sources, actors, understandings, and relationships around cultural tourism. This dialectical view is taken to clarify the elements, and their opposites, and contradictions (Peng and Nisbett, 1999). In critical theory, reality should be understood by a dialectical approach with collected information and knowledge (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Thus, to understand interdependence and its opposite side of tension around cultural tourism, a dialectical approach is of importance.

4.3 Case study as research strategy

A case study approach was used here to identify and interrogate a complex range of phenomena around cultural tourism (Stoecker, 1991; Dul and Hak, 2008; Yin, 1994). A case study can be conducted in the six steps: (1) justify how and when to use a case study; (2) design the case study; (3) prepare to collect the case study evidence; (4) collect the case study evidence; (5) analyse the case study evidence; and (6) report on the case study (Yin, 2005).

First, it is necessary to justify whether a case study approach is appropriate to answer the research questions or not. Yin (2009) suggests a case study is often used to examine contemporary events and to answer "how" and "why" questions. The nature of the research question and the potential research questions, thus, should be considered in relation to the scale of the social experience being studied (Berg, 1998).

In this research a case study approach was taken so as to view cultural tourism in a holistic way, associated with different and case-specific political, economic, socio-cultural, ethical and aesthetic factors, and their specific interactions in each case (Stake, 2005). Contextual factors such as the different concerns of groups, the varying interests, and the specific activities involved, make cultural tourism more interesting (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Bryman and Bell, 2011; Ryan, 1995; Stake, 2005). It is due to this contextual complexity that a case study can be an appropriate approach to deal with the complexities and processes of cultural tourism, and it can be adapted to different situations, including "policy, political science, and public administration research,

community psychology and sociology, organizational and management studies, and city and regional planning research, such as studies of plans, neighborhoods, or public agencies" (Yin, 1994: 1).

Second, the research design should consider whether to take a single case or multiple cases (Yin, 2009). Yin (2009: 26) himself further explains that research design is "a logical plan for getting from here to there, where here may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered, and there is some set of conclusions (answers) about these questions". A well planned design for a case study, therefore, is necessary to collect and analyse data, and to draw conclusions in relation to the research questions.

A single case study is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between object of study and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2003: 13-14). Yin (2009) summarizes five rationales for a single case design: testing a theory in a critical case; representing an extreme or a unique case; highlighting a typical case; investing a revelatory case; and illustrating a longitudinal case.

The researcher chose a single case study to understand the research topic here. As well as being comprised of manifestations of the past, cultural tourism is also a part of people's real-life, and as such it is difficult to distinguish the phenomenon from its context. It is helpful to use a case study approach to discover phenomenon based on real experiences and to understand a situation or knowledge in relation to all of its features (Dul and Hak, 2008; Yin and Davis, 2007).

Furthermore, the researcher chose a single case study to evaluate the application of the conceptual model. The main purpose for conducting a single case study was to "test the theory, confirm, challenge, or extend the theory", and to "represent(ing) a significant contribution to knowledge and theory building" (Yin, 2009: 47). It is argued here that using a single case study should be well planned so as to "minimize the chances of misrepresentation and to maximize the access needed to collect the case study evidence" (Yin, 2009: 50).

The researcher set up the unit (sub-cases or sub-units) of analysis (Yin, 2009) so as to collect relevant information for the initial research questions. The reason for applying the subunits was to "add significant opportunities for extensive analysis, enhancing the

insights into the single case" (Yin, 2009: 52). The researcher was also aware that new research orientations and new research questions are likely to emerge as the case study proceeds. Therefore, the four sub-cases were defined broadly in relation to the four themes of the conceptual model: cultural and tourism policies, the public and private sectors around cultural tourism, the products, and the messages around cultural tourism. These broad sub-cases were used to explore the wider applicability of the conceptual model, as well as being flexible to amendment or to the addition of new sub-cases in the specific case.

There were many reasons for selecting Nanjing as the specific single case study. The first reason is that Nanjing, as a former national capital city, provides an important context in which to evaluate many interesting discussions about China, and also to reflect on the dynamic Chinese political, economic, socio-cultural and technological factors influencing urban cultural tourism. The Chinese economy has developed quickly since the "Open Door" policies were initiated in 1978, and this economic growth has encouraged cultural production through the increasing demand of the tourist market. The growing business opportunities have also boosted the marketization of cultural and heritage resources in order to meet consumers' needs.

The second reason for selecting Nanjing for the case study is that the Chinese Communist Party still holds high authority in the governance of cultural tourism there, and its prominence enables it to present political ideological messages or to resist the potential penetration of Western cultural values (Sofield and Li, 1998; Yan and Bramwell, 2008). The Nanjing case thus is helpful to understand how the environmental factors affecting cultural tourism policies and the associated complex relationships.

The third reason for selecting Nanjing is the city's rich cultural and heritage resources and related service facilities, with these being key elements of cultural tourism and an important source of relationships of interdependence and tension. The high-speed train programme in China (that connects Nanjing), for instance, has provided a significant boost to cultural tourism because people can change their travelling behaviours and it also can increase national pride in Chinese civilization and achievements.

The fourth reason why Nanjing was chosen concerns the researcher's previous personal knowledge of the city which facilitated networking and which helped to access a wide

range of relevant stakeholders. After four years of studying and living in Nanjing, the researcher's contacts were very helpful in order to gain access to people involved in most cultural tourism areas, and saved much cost in a time-limited research. This prior knowledge and networking greatly helped the researcher to get in-depth relevant information and to provide a broader picture of Nanjing's cultural tourism.

The third step of conducting the case study involved preparing to collect case study evidence. There are four stages in the preparation process, and next each issue is explained in order.

The first stage of preparing the case study work was to determine the study's data triangulation so as to "look at the same phenomenon, or research question, from more than one source of data" (Decrop, 1999: 158). Cultural tourism is a broad area and it is difficult to achieve an absolutely balanced "interrelationships between theory and method" (Graham, 1999: 80). The main purpose for triangulating data is to identify different realities (Stake, 2005), and to avoid invalid interpretation and the personal biases arising from personal experience (Bryman, 2001; Decrop, 1999).

The researcher applied data triangulation to draw on multiple sources of data, including primary data and secondary data. The researcher conducted semi-structured interviews, on-site observation and the gathering of secondary data to gain an understanding of cultural tourism in the case study location, as well as scrutinising a range of documents, such as newspapers, promotional materials (Bramwell and Rawding, 1996), and other online sources. In particular, the researcher took photos to record tourists' behaviours, and the representations of cultural tourism. Taking photos can also limit personal biases, because "information coming from different angles can be used to corroborate, elaborate or illuminate the research problem" (Decrop, 1999: 158). These multiple methods can assist the researcher to interpret cultural tourism more objectively and with less personal assumptions, and to limit methodological biases.

The second stage of preparing the case study work was the desk research to build up a general understanding of the research questions and the contextual background. This was conducted between November 2010 and February 2011, by widely reviewing books, articles, journals, conference papers, and websites related to the research topic. During this process the researcher had chances to revisit the research aim and objectives,

develop a further understanding of the research area, refine the concepts in the conceptual model, and prepare the design of the case study questions.

The third stage preparing the case study work involved designing appropriate interview questions. A clear interview structure and key themes were developed to steer the interviewing process and to ensure the quality of the interviews. The reason for a clear interview structure was to ensure the interviewer remained focused on the research questions, and to prevent the interviewees straying from the topic (McCracken, 1988; Liamputtong and Ezzy, 2005).

The clear interview structure and themes allowed the researcher to listen, collect and categorise the rich and detailed responses of the interviewees within the limited timeframe of the research. It was not always necessary to ask every question or to strictly follow the order of the interview schedule, as the interviewees in many cases covered the themes or questions without prompting. The interview structure helps to organise responses against various subjective questions and to further explore the interviewees' own creative insights into the world. Spiggle (1994) suggests that deeper insight can be gained through the consistent analysis and integration of opinions from respondents.

The interview questions associated with the conceptual model were generic, in line with the principles of building the conceptual model. The questions were designed to identify the relationships of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in city destinations. Four themes were used to understand the relationships between the cultural tourism and environment, between production and consumption processes, between producers and consumers, between the cultural and tourism sectors, and between the products and messages.

These four themes are: (1) Interdependence and tension between cultural and tourism policies and between government departments; (2) Interdependence and tension between the public and private sectors; (3) Interdependence and tension between the production and consumption of cultural tourism products; (4) Interdependence and tension between the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages. Table 4.1 lists the interview questions for the first phase of interviews with respondents in the public sector, the private sector, and with tourists.

- **A. Interview questions for the producers of cultural tourism (the public sector)**
- **Theme 1: Interdependence and tension between cultural and tourism policies and between different government departments**
- 1. What are the main responsibilities of your department in relation to Nanjing's tourism and cultural sectors? What's your role in your department in relation to the tourism and cultural sectors in Nanjing?
- 2. Does your department regularly work with other government departments within the tourism/culture/ heritage sectors in Nanjing?
- 3. Are you fully aware of any policies or plans for the development of cultural and heritage-related tourism in Nanjing?
- 4. Has your department been fully involved in policy-making processes associated with cultural and heritage-related tourism in Nanjing? Who makes the final decisions on those policies?
- 5. What sorts of benefits does your department get from catering for tourists?
- 6. Does your department have good working relationships with government departments in the culture, heritage and tourism sectors in Nanjing?
- 7. Do you think your department exactly provides the sorts of experiences of cultural and heritage-related tourism that the tourists desire?
- 8. Are there any difficulties when your department works with other government departments right across culture, heritage and tourism sectors in Nanjing?
- 9. Which resources does your department target when developing policies and products associated with the culture and heritage-related tourism in Nanjing?
- 10. Which tourists market does your department target when developing policies and products associated with the culture and heritage-related tourism in Nanjing?
- 11. Does your department plan for the long-term development of its cultural and heritage-related tourism products and services?
- **Theme 2: Interdependence and tension between the public and private sectors**
- 12. Does your department regularly work with private sector organizations within the tourism/culture/ heritage sectors in Nanjing?
- 13. Does your department have good working relationships with private sector organizations right across the culture, heritage and tourism sectors in Nanjing?
- 14. Does your department experience barriers when trying to work with private sector organizations right across the culture, heritage and tourism sectors in Nanjing?
- 15. Have private sector organizations been fully involved in those policy-making processes? How are they involved in those processes?
- **Theme 3: Interdependence and tension between production and consumption of cultural tourism products**
- 16. Do tourists who visit Nanjing get exactly the sorts of experiences of culture and heritage that they desire?
- 17. How do local people obtain benefits from the development of cultural and heritage-related tourism in Nanjing?
- 18. How does the development of cultural and heritage-related tourism draw upon local traditions, local ways of life, and the cooperation of local people?
- 19. Does the development of Nanjing's tourism industry have any negative consequences for the culture and heritage of local people?
- 20. Do local people fully understand the potential benefits they can get from the development of culture and heritage-related tourism in Nanjing?
- 21. How does your department balance the relationships between getting economic returns and protecting culture and heritage?
- 22. Why and how does your department package together appropriate cultural and heritage-related tourism facilities for tourists in Nanjing?
- 23. How important is it for tourists that your department provides good shopping

opportunities and catering services within the cultural and heritage-related tourism facilities in Nanjing?

- 24. How successful do you think Nanjing's cultural and heritage facilities are in providing good shopping opportunities and catering services?
- 25. In general, how satisfied are the tourists with the cultural and heritage tourism facilities in Nanjing?
- 26. How satisfied are the tourists that they get genuine and in-depth insights and experiences of the cultural and heritage at the facilities that your department has responsibility for?
- 27. How do you know whether or not you've been successful in your promotion of Nanjing's cultural and heritage resources for tourists?
- 28. Do you consider that your department is fully successful or only partly successful in your marketing promotion of cultural and heritage resources for tourists?

- **Theme 4: Interdependence and tension between encoding and decoding cultural tourism messages**

- 29. Are the tourists visiting Nanjing's cultural and heritage facilities seeking a genuine and in-depth insight and experience?
- 30. What are the objectives of your department in interpreting the cultural and heritage-related tourism resources for tourists?
- 31. How do you know whether or not you have been successful in your interpretation of Nanjing's cultural and heritage resources for tourists?
- 32. Do you consider that the image of Nanjing that is promoted to tourists fully reflects the cultural importance and spirit of the city?
- 33. What are the objectives of your department when you do marketing promotion of the cultural and heritage resources for tourists?
- 34. How does your department find out about the tourists' views concerning Nanjing's cultural and heritage facilities?
- 35. How does your department seek to respond to aspects of the experiences at cultural and heritage facilities in Nanjing that tourists are not fully satisfied with?

- **B. Interview questions for the producers of cultural tourism (the private sector)**

- **Theme 1: Interdependence and tension between cultural and tourism policies and between different government departments**

- 1. Are you fully aware of any policies or plans for the development of cultural and heritage-related tourism in Nanjing?
- 2. Has your organization been fully involved in policy-making processes associated with cultural and heritage-related tourism in Nanjing? Who makes the final decisions on those policies?
- 3. Are there any private sector organizations who have been fully involved in those policy-making processes? How are they involved in those processes?

- **Theme 2: Interdependence and tension between the public and private sectors**

- 4. What the main activities of your organization in relation to Nanjing's culture, heritage and tourism sectors? What's your personal role in your organization in relation to tourism and cultural sectors?
- 5. Does your organization regularly work with other government departments around cultural/heritage/ tourism sectors in Nanjing?
- 6. Does your organization regularly work with other private sector organizations relevant to cultural/heritage/ tourism sectors in Nanjing?
- 7. Does your organization have good working relationships with government departments in the cultural, heritage and tourism sectors in Nanjing?
- 8. Does your organization have good relationships with other private sector organizations right across the culture, heritage and tourism sectors in Nanjing?

- 9. Are there any difficulties when your organization (privately owned cultural and heritage resources) works with other government departments right across culture, heritage and tourism sectors in Nanjing?
- **Theme 3: Interdependence and tension between production and consumption of cultural tourism products**
- 10. Do tourists who visit Nanjing get exactly the sorts of experiences of culture and heritage that they desire?
- 11. What sorts of benefits does your organization get from catering for tourists?
- 12. Do local people obtain benefits from the tourists going to Xiaoling Tomb of Ming Dynasty or Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall these kinds of attractions?
- 13. Could you briefly tell me about the development of cultural and heritage-related tourism drawing upon local traditions, local ways of life, and the cooperation of local people?
- 14. Does your organization exactly provide the sorts of experiences of cultural and heritage-related tourism that the tourists desire?
- Does your organization exactly provide the facilities supporting the experiences of cultural and heritage-related tourism that the tourists desire?
- 15. Does your organization experience barriers when trying to work with other private sectors organizations right across the culture, heritage and tourism sectors in Nanjing?
- 16. Does the development of Nanjing's tourism industry have any negative consequences for the culture and heritage of local people?
- 17. Do local people fully understand the potential benefits they can get from the development of culture and heritage-related tourism in Nanjing?
- 18. Which resources does your organization target when developing products and services associated with the cultural and heritage-related tourism in Nanjing?
- 19. Which tourists market does your organization target when developing products and services associated with the culture and heritage-related tourism in Nanjing?
- 20. How does your organization balance the relationships between getting economic returns and protecting culture and heritage?
- 21. How does your organization package together appropriate cultural and heritage-related tourism resources for tourists in Nanjing?
- 22. Does your organization plan for the long-term development of its cultural and heritage-related tourism products and services?
- 23. How important is it for tourists that your organization provides good shopping opportunities and catering services within the cultural and heritage-related tourism facilities in Nanjing?
- 24. How successful does your organization think Nanjing's cultural and heritage facilities are in providing good shopping opportunities and catering services?
- 25. What are the objectives of your organization when you do marketing promotion of the cultural and heritage resources for tourists?
- 26. Do you consider that your organization is fully successful or only partly successful in your marketing promotion of cultural and heritage resources for tourists?
- 27. How do you know whether or not you've been successful in your promotion of Nanjing's cultural and heritage resources for tourists?
- **Theme 4: Interdependence and tension between encoding and decoding cultural tourism messages**
- 30. Are the tourists that visiting Nanjing's cultural and heritage facilities seeking a genuine and in-depth insight and experience?
- 31. What are the objectives of your organization in interpreting the culture and heritage-related tourism resources for tourists?
- 32. How do you know whether or not you have been successful in your interpretation of Nanjing's cultural and heritage resources for tourists?
- 33. Do you consider that the image of Nanjing that is promoted to tourists fully reflects the cultural importance and spirit of the city?

- 34. In general, how satisfied are the tourists with the cultural and heritage-related tourism facilities in Nanjing?
- 35. How satisfied are the tourists that they get genuine and in-depth insights and experiences of the cultural and heritage at the facilities that your organization has responsibility for?
- 36. How does your organization find out about the tourists' views concerning cultural and heritage facilities in Nanjing?
- 37. How does your organization seek to response to aspects of the experiences at cultural and heritage facilities in Nanjing that tourists are not fully satisfied with?
- **C. Interview questions for the consumers of cultural tourism**
- **Filter Questions**
 - 1. Which area (country) are you from?
 - 2. How long will you stay in Nanjing?
 - 3. What's your main purpose for coming to Nanjing? Besides this purpose, are you interested in other aspects in Nanjing?
 - 4. Are the cultural and heritage-related tourism facilities what attracted you to visit Nanjing rather than other cities?
- **Theme 1: Interdependence and tension between cultural and tourism policies and between different government departments**
 - 5. Does government department fully take responsibility for culture and heritage-related tourism activities in Nanjing?
- **Theme 2: Interdependence and tension between the public and private sectors**
 - 6. In what ways do you find out about cultural and heritage-related tourism attractions and activities in Nanjing?
 - 7. Did you look for any materials and information about cultural and heritage-related tourism attractions and activities before visiting Nanjing?
 - 8. Will you pick up these materials after you arrive at Nanjing? If Yes, in what ways?
 - 9. Do private sector organizations fully take responsibility for culture and heritage-related tourism activities in Nanjing?
 - 10. Have you been fully participant into some activities which have the cooperation between government departments and private sector organizations in Nanjing?
 - 11. Do you have any bad experiences in terms of the lack of good cooperation between government departments and private sector organizations?
- **Theme 3: Interdependence and tension between production and consumption of cultural tourism products**
 - 12. Do you get the sorts of experiences of cultural and heritage-related tourism that you would like to get in Nanjing?
 - 13. Do you have good tourism experiences of the cultural and heritage sectors in Nanjing?
 - 14. Do local people directly get benefits from the development of cultural and heritage-related tourism in Nanjing?
 - 15. Do you think the development of cultural and heritage-related tourism can draw upon local traditions, local ways of life, and the cooperation of local people?
 - 16. Do you think the current cultural and heritage-related tourism facilities and services in Nanjing fully match your expectation?
 - 17. What is the implication to you if you go to other Nanjing tourism resources without including specific cultural and heritage elements?
 - 18. Does the development of Nanjing's tourism industry have any negative consequences for the culture and heritage of local people?
 - 19. Do you have any suggestions to improve the development of cultural and heritage-related tourism in Nanjing?

- 20. What kind of resources around culture, heritage and tourism sectors mostly interests you in Nanjing?
- 21. In your opinion, what kind of people do cultural and heritage-related tourism resources mostly attract in Nanjing?
- 22. Would you like to see the cultural and heritage-related tourism resources with better protection but less commercial or more commercial but worse protection?
- 23. Do you prefer for travel independently or go with travel operator?
- 24. Would you be interested in an offer package that includes more than one cultural programmes (museum entry tickets, attraction entry tickets, theatre tickets, etc.)?
- 25. How could you balance different resources into your travel schedule when you plan a self-service trip?
- 26. Are the shopping facilities and catering services very important for you when purchasing cultural and heritage-related tourism resources in Nanjing?
- 27. In general, how successful are Nanjing's culture and heritage-related tourism resources in your opinion?
- 28. What kind of promotional activities attract you to purchase those cultural and heritage-related tourism resources in Nanjing?

- **Theme 4: Interdependence and tension between encoding and decoding cultural tourism messages**
- 29. What kind of genuine and in-depth insight and experiences do you seek in visiting Nanjing's cultural and heritage facilities?
- 30. Have you been particularly noticed the interpreting tools with different tourism products and services?
- 31. Which attractions do you think can be good example to reflect Nanjing's cultural meaning and background?
- 32. Do you understand the cultural meaning and background through those interpreting tools and processes?
- 33. Does the official image of Nanjing fully reflect the cultural importance and the spirit of the city to you?
- 34. How satisfied are you that you are getting genuine and in-depth insights and experiences of cultural and heritage-related tourism in Nanjing?
- 35. Did you learn something from genuine and in-depth insights and experiences of cultural and heritage-related tourism in Nanjing?
- 36. In what ways do you usually deal with those insights and experiences of cultural and heritage-related tourism resources after your trip?
- 37. What do you usually do if you're disappointed after purchasing experiences in Nanjing's culture and heritage-related tourism resources?

Table 4.1: Themes and interview questions for the first phase interviews

The fourth stage of preparing the case study work was to contact potential interviewees. These interviewees were targeted based on the key themes in the conceptual model. The researcher firstly had prepared an introduction letter in order to send it to all producers around cultural tourism. Then the researcher prepared the sampling plan and sampling strategy ahead of conducting the fieldwork (Creswell, 2013; Marshall and Rossman, 2010), although the actual number of interviewees was left with some flexibility based on the practicalities in the field.

The perspective of Chinese Guanxi helped the researcher to access the interviewees in the fieldwork. Guanxi (关系) in China has referred to three issues: "(a) the existence of a relationship between people who share a group status or who are related to a common person, (b) actual connections with and frequent contact between people, and (c) a contact person with little direct interaction" (Bian, 1994; Fan, 2002: 546).

Guanxi was important for the researcher to expand the number of interviewees, particularly given the limited time and budget for the fieldwork. The researcher, first of all, used her personal networking to make contact with professors who had been involved in the policy and planning process in Nanjing and in Jiangsu Province. Then these professors could introduce the researcher to their contacts who had relevant industrial experience or knowledge related to cultural tourism in Nanjing city.

This Chinese Guanxi perspective may not constrain the application of the model, but further evaluate the value of the model in the specific context. Due to this Guanxi is a snowballing sampling process, the researcher had enhanced opportunities to access a wide range of interviewees around urban cultural tourism, including the government officials from the Culture and the Tourism Departments, the managers or directors of the private sector around cultural tourism, the experts in the sports and construction sectors, and the researchers around urban planning and the design of cultural policies. These interviewees with their different perspectives were important to understand the complex relationships in urban cultural tourism, which was the focus of this study.

Being Chinese furthermore supported the researcher to collect the secondary data not only in English, but also in Chinese. It is necessary to explore the understanding of urban cultural tourism not from the Western perspective, but also from the Chinese perspective. Understanding Chinese was helpful to collect relevant official documents and reports, which were not translated in English. Understanding Chinese was also beneficial to the researcher, who could collect online information, particularly where this was only available on Chinese mainstream websites and on social networking. The information collected in Chinese, associated with others in English, therefore, provided different perspectives for the researcher to understand urban cultural tourism in an objective way, and to avoid potential personal bias.

Other non-Chinese researchers might have difficulties to conduct similar research in

other Chinese cities, without a full awareness of Chinese Guanxi perspective. They might face problems in collecting primary data. They, for example, might not find it easy to gain trust from the interviewees, or find it difficult to access certain interviewees, who had relevant industrial experience and in-depth understanding of Chinese urban cultural tourism.

As such, the Chinese "Guanxi" perspective did facilitate access to high-level policy makers and practitioners in Nanjing, and this access to "gatekeepers" and key policy-makers and practitioners is something that would need to be considered by future researchers seeking to apply the conceptual model in other contexts and city destinations.

There were three principles of targeting interviewees before conducting the interviews. The first principle was to identify people from the production and consumption sides of cultural tourism. This study aims to understand interdependence and tension around cultural tourism, by linking different elements of cultural tourism and their different relationships. The producers and consumers and their interactions are very important as they relate to the different relationships around cultural tourism. Therefore, it was necessary to target people who played a role as the producers, as well as the consumers in cultural tourism (Table 4.1 and Table 4.2).

The second principle was to identify people who were in the public and private sectors (Table 4.1) around cultural tourism. The researcher used purposive sampling to target interviewees on the producer side, who were interested in, or experienced in, cultural tourism. These interviewees were identified as being actively involved in cultural tourism, and having sufficient knowledge and awareness to be able to answer the research questions related to interdependence and tension around cultural tourism (Maxwell, 2005). They could provide in-depth answers to the research problem, indicate the character of the general phenomenon, and represent the main characteristics of the research populations (Creswell, 2013; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003; Teddlie and Yu, 2007).

The researcher targeted the Culture and Tourism Government officials, and managers from travel agencies, hotels and souvenirs shops. They were "uniquely able to be informative because they are expert in an area or were privileged witnesses to an event"

(Weiss, 1994: 17). Many interviewees from the producer side were key stakeholders in cultural and heritage tourism in Nanjing, who either had a strategic view about Nanjing tourism or had rich industrial experience from marketing promotion to policy and planning. The expertise and in-depth knowledge provided by these respondents were essential to provide a clear and holistic picture of cultural heritage tourism in Nanjing. In particular, the researcher paid attention to the private sector, which increasingly has had opportunities to participate in cultural tourism development, despite the state still owning most of the cultural and heritage resources in China. As a result, the researcher used her networking and also online sources to target interviewees mainly from the public sector and from the private sector.

The third principle of targeting interviewees was to consider the consumers of Nanjing's cultural tourism resources. It was difficult to target the tourists before the fieldwork, because the researcher was studying at the UK and not in the case study area. The researcher, however, continued to research website information to identify tourists who posted on the consumer sites for tourist attractions in Nanjing. Also, the researcher considered McKercher and Du Cros's (2002) typology of cultural tourists and Richards' (2001a) typology of cultural tourism attractions to identify the potential interviewees on the consumer side. In McKercher and Du Cros's work (2002), cultural tourists are identified on the basis of their experience of, and motivations towards, cultural tourism. Meanwhile, Richards (2001a) clarifies cultural tourism attractions based on the forms from past to present, and the functions from education to entertainment. Cultural heritage attractions and related products are important experiences and products available for consumption by, and able to match the expectation of, cultural tourists, who often seek different cultural experiences (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002)

Various selection criterion (Wong and Lau, 2001), thus, were applied to filter the respondents among tourists to be interviewed in the field and to reduce the sample size to a specific target considering the limited time and budget. Many approaches are helpful for selecting tourists. Two elements, travel product preferences and travel-related behaviour, have previously been used to select different tourists in visiting Hong Kong (Wong and Kwong, 2004). Kerstetter et al. (1998) and Timothy (1997) particularly classify cultural tourists based on different levels of involvement and the connection between tourists and sites.

In this study the researcher selected a purposive sample of cultural tourists in order to "add(s) credibility to the sample when the potential purposeful sample is too large" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 28). The selection criterion, thus, to target interviewees on the consumer side (tourists) for interviews in the field were:

- Respondents who sought a cultural experience through experiencing Nanjing's history and culture.
- Respondents who identified cultural tourism as the most important purpose for visiting Nanjing.
- Respondents had been to Nanjing's cultural tourism attractions (they were already at such an attraction when interviewed, and thus all people approached met this criterion).

The fourth step of the case study approach was to collect case study evidence. The qualitative data were derived from six main sources of evidence: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observation, and physical artefacts, together with other complimentary sources of evidence, such as "films, photographs, and videotapes" (Marshall and Rossman, 1999; Yin, 2009: 101). The researcher here used in-depth semi-structured interviews, observation and various documents in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of urban cultural tourism. The details of this part of the research design are discussed in Section 4.4.

The fifth step of a case study approach was to analyse the case study evidence. It is argued that instead of following other guidance, researchers should analyse data depending on their "own style of rigorous empirical thinking, along with the sufficient presentation of evidence and careful consideration of alternative interpretations" (Yin, 2009: 127). The researcher here used content analysis, assisted by NVivo 10 software, to analyse a range of qualitative data: interview transcription, site photos, site observation and documents. This process is explored in Section 4.5.

The sixth step of case study work was to report on the case study evidence. The researcher planned the structure for reporting the study results, and the results are presented in Chapters Five to Eight.

4.4 The main methods for data collection

A combination of a deductive and inductive approach was taken, using a deductive approach to examine the key themes in the conceptual model, while also an inductive approach was taken to reframe the concepts based on the practical application of the generic conceptual model. It is a process "which commences with an established theory or generalisation, and seeks to see if the theory applied to specific instances" (Hyde, 2000: 83). Three main qualitative methods were used to collect data: in-depth semi-structured interviews; on-site observation; and the collecting of secondary data from a range of both physical and online documentary sources.

4.4.1 In-depth semi-structured interviews

Two phases of in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted to enhance the credibility of the research data and to explore the generic applicable value of the conceptual model. The main purpose for conducting an in-depth semi-structured interview is to understand the complexities and processes of cultural tourism, as it "explore(s) the complexity and in-process nature of meanings and interpretations that cannot be examined using positivist methodologies" (Liamputtong and Ezzy, 2005: 56). In comparison with questionnaires and other quantitative methods, the in-depth interview can demonstrate the complex relationships and issues rather than indicating a few surface problems.

The researcher sought roughly equal numbers of producers and consumers, and she achieved an adequate number and depth of responses to the research questions. It is believed that the number of interviewees was reasonable to collect a range of opinions so that the study's interpretive themes and sub-themes were sufficiently clear. One could continue with interviewing more respondents, but it was concluded that there was sufficient rich data to be able to interpret the findings in relation to the study's conceptual model, especially in the context of limited time and financial resources. The researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with 32 producers and 31 consumers (tourists) in the first phase, and with 14 producers and 8 consumers (tourists) in the second phase. Snowball sampling was used to identify the producers around cultural tourism, in part because the researcher could use her existing contacts to identify potential interviewees and to achieve the target sample size within a limited time (Ryan, 1995; Teddlie and Yu, 2007).

In addition to applying the selection criterion, the researcher conducted observation at different cultural tourism sites in Nanjing prior to targeting the consumers. The researcher observed people's behaviours, such as reading interpretation boards, taking photos of exhibitions, and listening to the tour guides, which were taken as indicating their interest in cultural tourism. Their interest was also assessed using filter questions. These interviews took place at Nanjing's different cultural tourism attractions.

4.4.1.1 The first phase of interviews

The first phase of interviews with the producers took place from February 2011 to April 2011. The intention was to gain a holistic view of cultural tourism, and this first phase helped to establish the scope of the key elements and issues of cultural tourism in Nanjing. The researcher in that period sought to assess the relevance of the study's main themes and to identify key themes and issues associated with interdependence and tension around cultural tourism. The first phase of interviews did indeed help to validate the research themes and the relevance of the sources of data and sites selected for the purposes of the study.

First of all, the researcher had to book an appointment and then to confirm the interviewing schedule at least two days prior to the appointment with the government officials and private sector managers. Sometimes it was difficult to get confirmation, often because the interviewees changed the plans at the last minute. The researcher therefore had to be patient, re-confirming the interviewing schedule, and where necessary looking for alternative interviewees using snowball sampling, given the limited time-scale.

Secondly, the researcher ensured there was a suitable interviewing environment for the interviewees. A suitable environment here included two conditions to help the interview go through smoothly. One related to interviewing facilities, such as having a tape recorder, digital recorders, notebook, and a quiet meeting room, which were arranged prior to the interviews. Some interviewees preferred a quiet environment to assist with their concentration, which also ensured the quality of the recordings (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998). The researcher prepared two tape recorders to record the interviews (where this was agreed), with one as a back-up device. These preparations avoided accidents in the interview and reduced the background noises for a high-quality voice recording. Only two interviewees refused to be recorded, and in these cases the

researcher had to take notes quickly during the interview, and then to flesh out these notes while the interview was still fresh in her mind.

The other condition needed was the skills of the researcher in managing the interviewing process. Many interviewees were not relaxed at the beginning as they were not sure what questions would be asked. Thus, the researcher had to create a welcoming environment, and here she used different interviewing techniques to encourage the interviewees' participation. Probing was often used, such as when the researcher asked about people's particular behaviours (Berg, 1998; Hair et al., 2007; Morse and Field, 1995). Some phrases such as "I see" or "That is very interesting" helped the researcher to get the respondents to expand and extend what they said, and she also encouraged the continuity of their responses (Seidman, 1991). The interviews lasted approximately 1 hour on average, and the longest interview was 3 hours and the shortest interview was 15 minutes.

Thirdly, the researcher took into account ethical issues in conducting the interviews. Although all the appointments were booked by telephone and email, a formal interviewing request letter was prepared for every interviewee. The researcher confirmed that all interview data were confidential and would only be used for academic purposes. The researcher also requested the interviewee's permission for recording before commencing the interview. At the same time, the researcher confirmed that the interviewees would remain anonymous and their names would not appear in the thesis. The researcher also requested the email address from each interviewee so that she could send them a transcription after the interview.

Snowball sampling was used to identify the other interviewees and to explore other perspectives about the research questions. The researcher asked the interviewees whether they knew other people who were interested in cultural tourism, worked in cultural tourism, or had relevant experience related to cultural tourism (Clark et al., 1998). This sampling approach helped the researcher to get access to other people, particularly those government officials and managers of private sector enterprises who had more industrial experience and knowledge around cultural tourism. The chain of interviewees, therefore, was explored quickly and directly based on the current interviewees' social relationships with their colleagues, friends or relatives.

Interviews were carried out with respondents from government agencies at provincial, city and local (district) levels, and from the private sector relevant to several main tourist attractions, museums and galleries, and some research institutions. There were 15 respondents from the public sector and 17 from the private sector in the first phase of interviews (see Table 4.2).

The Producers (32 in the 1st phase of interviews)		
Public sector (15 in 1st phase)	Roles/responsibilities relevant to cultural tourism	Numbers of interviewees in the 1st phase interview
The tourism sector (8 in 1st phase)	1. The Director of the Tourism planning and Statistics Department, Jiangsu Provincial Tourism Bureau, Jiangsu Provincial Government	1
	2. The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department, Nanjing Tourism Bureau, Nanjing Municipal Government	1
	3. The Vice-Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department, Nanjing Tourism Bureau, Nanjing Municipal Government	1
	4. The Director of the Tourism Product Quality Management Department, Nanjing Tourism Bureau, Nanjing Municipal Government	1
	5. The Director of the Tourism Marketing Development Department, Nanjing Tourism Bureau, Nanjing Municipal Government	1
	6. The Director of the Tourism Industrial Operation Department, Nanjing Tourism Bureau, Nanjing Municipal Government	1
	7. The Director of the Tourism and Garden Management Department, Nanjing Tourism Bureau, Nanjing Municipal Government	1
	8. General Administration Office, Tourism Department in Xiaguan District, Xiaguan District Government, Nanjing	1
The cultural sector (4 in 1st phase)	9. The Director of the Cultural Communication office, Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department, Jiangsu Provincial Government	1
	10. The Vice-Director of the Museum Department, Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department, Jiangsu Provincial Government	1
	11. The Director of Jiangsu Intangible Cultural Heritage Preservation Centre	1
	12. The Vice-Director of the Culture and Cultural Relics Bureau, Nanjing Municipal Government	1
	13. The Director of the Culture and Cultural Relics Bureau, Nanjing Municipal Government	
Others (3 in 1st phase)	14. The Director of the Planning and Development Department, Jiangsu Provincial Transportation Bureau, Jiangsu Provincial Government Jiangsu Provincial Planning and Development Department	1
	15. The Assistant Director of the General Secretariat of Jiangsu Provincial Sports and Leisure Administration Bureau, Jiangsu Provincial Government	1

	16.The Director of Nanjing Transportation Department, Nanjing Municipal Government	1
Total respondents in the public sector in cultural tourism		15
Private sector (17 in 1st phase)	Roles/responsibilities relevant to cultural tourism	Numbers of interviewees in the 1st phase interview
Research institutions (6 in 1st phase)	1.The Director of Nanjing Tourism Research Institution	1
	2.Professor, The Director of the Institute of Tourism and Landscape Architecture, Nanjing Southeast University; Owner of Jiangsu Orientscape Planning Group	1
	3. Professor, The Director of the Tourism Centre, School of Geography Science, Nanjing Normal University	1
	4. Professor, Institute of Tourism and Landscape Architecture, Nanjing Southeast University	1
	5. Professor, Institute of Urban Planning and Design, Nanjing University	1
	6. Lecturer, Tourism Centre, School of Geography Science, Nanjing Normal University	1
	7.Marketing manager of Presidential Palace	1
Attractions (3 in 1st phase)	8.The Director of the Tourism planning office in Zhongshan Mountain National Park	1
	9.General manager of Nanjing Treasure Dockyard Relics Theme Park	1
	10. Senior Administrator of China Comfort Travel Service, Nanjing Branch	1
Travel agencies (3 in 1st phase)	11. General Manager of Nanjing Jin Zonglü Travel Agency	1
	12. The Director of the Marketing Department, China International Travel Service, Jiangsu Branch	1
	13.General manager of Grand Metro Park Hotel	1
Hotels (3 in 1st phase)	14. Marketing manager of Westin Hotel	1
	15.General manager of Nanjing Motel 168	1
	16.General manager of Jiangsu Provincial Art and Craft Centre	1
Others (2 in 1st phase)	17.General manager of Underground Shopping Mall in the Confucius Temple area	1
Total respondents in the private sector in cultural tourism		17
Total respondents as the producers in cultural tourism		32

Table 4.2: Interviewees as the producers of cultural tourism

In the first phase, again from February to April 2011, the researcher also interviewed tourists at 11 Nanjing's cultural and heritage sites. Considering the selection criterion and limited time in the fieldwork, the researcher used purposive sampling and sought:

- Respondents who sought a cultural experience through experiencing Nanjing's history and culture.
- Respondents who identified cultural tourism as the most important purpose for visiting Nanjing.

- Respondents had been to Nanjing's cultural tourism attractions (they were already at such an attraction when interviewed, and thus all people approached met this criterion).

The researcher firstly arrived at the sites early to observe the interpretation and relevant facilities at the sites and to find a relatively quiet environment in order to gain high quality recordings without too much background noise. Then the researcher targeted the interviewees who showed interest in cultural heritage resources. The researcher observed people's behaviours, such as reading the interpretation board, taking photos, watching relevant videos and other interpretation in order to identify potential cultural tourists. After a short discussion with these potential interviewees, the researcher asked whether they would accept a further interview or not. The discussion involved the following filter questions:

- Which area (country) are you from?
- How long will you stay in Nanjing?
- What's your main purpose for coming to Nanjing? Besides this purpose, are you interested in other aspects in Nanjing?
- Are the cultural and heritage-related tourism facilities what attracted you to visit Nanjing rather than other cities?

Tourists were interviewed further if they were staying overnight and if they identified cultural tourism as the most important purpose for visiting Nanjing.

Among 31 tourists at 11 sites (Table 4.3), the researcher also interviewed 7 international tourists who matched the selection criteria. The reason for also considering international tourists was to evaluate the interrelationships of cultural tourism from different perspectives. In particular, international tourists may have had different value systems or knowledge backgrounds about Chinese cultural and heritage resources, and they, therefore, could provide different views about the production and consumption of cultural tourism products in Nanjing. The researcher thus also included international tourists in order to further understand the interrelationships of urban cultural tourism. However, the number of international tourists captured in the same was substantially less than the number of domestic tourists as that reflected the overwhelming numbers of domestic tourists over international tourists who visit Nanjing (71 million domestic

tourists compared with 1 million international tourists in 2011) (Nanjing Tourism Bureau, 2012). Thus, the sample of international tourists was relative reasonable smaller than the sample of domestic tourists in Nanjing. The other reasons of such as not matching selection criterion or having limited time as part of interviewing difficulties, as well as potential consequences, are discussed in Section 4.5.1.4.

The consumers (31 in the 1st phase of interviews)		
Tourist at different cultural tourism resources	Names of cultural tourism resources	Numbers of interviewees in the 1st phase interview
Tourists at heritage attractions (16 in 1st phase)	1.Xiaoling Tomb of Ming Dynasty	1
	2.Confucius Temple and Qinhuai Scene	4(2 international tourists)
	3.Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum	4 (1 international tourists)
	4.Presidential Palace	4(1 international tourist)
	5.Jiming Temple	3
Tourists at theme park/garden/ mountain (5 in 1st phase)	6.Zhongshan Mountain National Park	2
	7.Xuanwu Lake Park	3
Tourists at museums/ monuments (9 in 1st phase)	8.Nanjing Museum	4(2 international tourists)
	9.Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall	4 (1 international tourist)
	10.Yun Brocade Museum	1
Tourists at exhibitions/ galleries (1 in 1st phase)	11.Jiangsu Provincial Art Gallery	1
Total respondents as the consumers in cultural tourism		31

Table 4.3: The list for the producers who did not accept the interview

4.4.1.2 The second phase of interviews

After the first phase of interview, the researcher conducted the transcription and analysed the data as the preliminary results. Both interview data and secondary data including government documents and official reports were analysed according to the conceptual model. The concepts in the model allowed the researcher to categorize the themes and subthemes according to the Nanjing case, as well as providing the researcher with a generic picture of Nanjing's urban cultural tourism. The researcher identified the key broader issues and specific examples around urban cultural tourism, after the first phase of analysing data.

However, these key broader issues and specific examples were not detailed to illustrate the dialectical relationships around cultural tourism in the context of Nanjing. Many

themes could aid to clarify some "what" questions such as "what are the key responsibilities of the Culture Department in Nanjing", "who are the key players in Nanjing's cultural tourism", and "what is the city image of Nanjing". These questions and relevant answers helped to establish the fact that cultural tourism was increasingly important in Nanjing's case, but they were too descriptive to illustrate the interactions between different actors and complicated relationships in the urban context.

In addition, some new sub-themes emerged from the Nanjing context specifically. Some of them were particularly new, in terms of the rapid development in Chinese political, economic and socio-cultural surroundings. This changeable social environment also directly affected Chinese urbanization, including in Nanjing city. Thus, the sub-themes, which emerged in Nanjing, were further in-depth explored in the second phase of interview to understand the dialectical relationships of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism.

As a result, the researcher conducted a second phase of interviews between May 2012 and June 2012. This allowed the researcher to explore important issues around cultural tourism in Nanjing which emerged from the preliminary data in the first phase of interviews. These research issues were more place-specific, contextual and related to specific issues that emerged in the Nanjing situation that the researcher wanted to explore in more detail. Thus, the second phase of interviews helped the researcher to focus on the specific emerging research issues in the case study context and to refine the contextual detail arising from applying the conceptual model.

The researcher carefully expanded the interview questions (Table 4.4), according to the preliminary results of the first phase of interviews. At the same time, the researcher had continued the theoretical reading and had updated the second phase of interview questions accordingly. It is very important to consider the combination of theoretical understanding and the detail of the practical case, and the researcher believed that this was very helpful in exploring the theoretical and practical value of the generic conceptual model.

The second phase of interviews focused more on the integration of different elements of the conceptual framework, and also on the emerging key issues of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in Nanjing. Some of the preliminary results from the

first phase interviews were quite broad and at times the information on the themes was slightly descriptive, although the specific themes and issues that emerged were largely prompted by the respondents' own agendas and concerns. Thus, in the second phase the researcher developed some new sub-themes for the in-depth analysis of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism, with the questions focused much more on the emerging issues from the first phase. Due to the limited time and budget, the researcher again concentrated on interviews with the producers and consumers and their different perspectives. Table 4.4 lists the main themes and interview questions for the second phase of interviews, for both the producers and then for the tourists.

A. Interview questions for the producers of cultural tourism

Theme 1: Interdependence and tension between cultural and tourism policies and between different government departments

Q 1. The policies and activities associated with culture and tourism in Nanjing seem to be much influenced by higher tiers of government, such as national and regional government. In your view is this an advantage, or a disadvantage, for cultural tourism in Nanjing?

Follow up: Can you give any specific example of when the influence of higher tiers of government has been an advantage, or a disadvantage, for cultural tourism in Nanjing?

Q 2. Do both the Culture Department and also the tourism department in Nanjing have sufficient powers and ability to make policies and do practical work associated with cultural tourism?

Follow up: Does either the Culture Department or the tourism department sometimes have more powers and ability than the other to make policies and do practical work associated with cultural tourism? And, if they differ, why is that?

Theme 2: Interdependence and tension between the public and private sectors

Q 3. The public sector reforms in China have created fewer but larger government departments, although this seems more so at the city level rather than at provincial and national levels. Have the public sector reforms helped the Culture and Tourism Departments in Nanjing to work together better, or at times a little less well?

Follow up: Can you think of any specific example where the creation of larger government departments in Nanjing has helped the Culture and Tourism Departments to work together better, or else a little less well?

Q 4. Has the creation of fewer but larger government departments meant that the Culture Department and the tourism department in Nanjing have found it easier to work with other departments in their own larger department and less easy to work with other departments outside their own larger department?

Q 5. Are private sector businesses regularly involved with the public sector in making policies for cultural tourism in Nanjing, and does this work well or not?

Follow up: Can you give any specific example of where private sector businesses are involved, or are not involved, in this way in Nanjing?

Follow up: Why do you think that the private sector works well, or does not work well, with the public sector in Nanjing in making policies for cultural tourism in Nanjing?

Q 6. In your view do private sector businesses with interests in cultural tourism in Nanjing often work together and cooperate with each other to pursue their common interests?

Follow up: Can you give any example of where private sector businesses with interests in cultural tourism in Nanjing have worked together well, or have not worked together well?

Follow up: Why do you think that private sector businesses with interests in cultural tourism may not work together more often?

Theme 3: Interdependence and tension between production and consumption of cultural tourism products

Q 7. Do you consider that culture and tourism in Nanjing have been brought together in beneficial ways for both the cultural resources and also for the tourism industry?

Follow up: Can you give any specific example of how culture and tourism have been brought together in ways that clearly benefit each other in Nanjing?

Follow up: Can you give any specific example of how culture and tourism have been brought together in ways that do not fully benefit each other in Nanjing?

Q 8. The inclusion of cultural sites in Nanjing on international and national preservation listings, such as on the UNESCO World Heritage listings, may focus the attention of tourists and also investment decisions on those sites. Is this focus on the sites on international and national preservation listings a good thing?

Follow up: Can you give any specific example of where the focus on these sites has been a good thing, or a bad thing?

Q 9. Do you consider that the relationships between the preservation of cultural resources and their commercialisation for tourism in Nanjing have generally been positive in Nanjing?

Follow up: Can you give any specific example of where the relationships between the preservation of cultural resources and their commercialisation for tourism have been highly positive?

Follow up: Can you give any specific example of where the relationships between the preservation of cultural resources and their commercialisation for tourism have been less positive?

Theme 4: Interdependence and tension between encoding and decoding cultural tourism messages

Q 10. Are there any ways that the culture and heritage sites in Nanjing may help to promote the idea among tourists about harmony in society in China?

Follow up: Can you give any specific example or not of how the culture and heritage sites in Nanjing may help to promote the idea among tourists about harmony in society in China?

Q 11. Do you think that the presentation or interpretation at the culture and heritage sites in Nanjing, such as at the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall or the Presidential Palace, may help to promote patriotic education and ideas about harmony in society among tourists?

Follow up: Can you give any specific example of this, or not, in the presentation or interpretation at these sites?

Q 12. Do you think that the promotion of the overall city slogan or brand for Nanjing tourism – of the “city of universal love” - may help to promote the idea that everyone should be responsible for maintaining harmony in society in China?

Follow up: Do you feel that this city slogan or brand is effective and appropriate for Nanjing?

Q 13. Are the culture and tourism organizations and attractions in Nanjing regularly using their websites and social media in their promotional and marketing activities, and are the websites and social media being used effectively by them?

Follow up: Do you consider that websites and social media for Nanjing’s tourism attractions should be used to promote the idea that everyone should be responsible for maintaining harmony in society in China?

B. Interview questions for the consumers of cultural tourism

Theme 3: Interdependence and tension between production and consumption of cultural tourism products

Q 1. Do you feel you have fully understood and enjoyed the cultural or art performances associated with the tourism activities and attractions you have seen in Nanjing?

Follow up: Why do you say that?

Follow up: Can you think of any example in Nanjing where the tourist activities have fitted in very well and very comfortably with the cultural or art performances you have seen in Nanjing?

Follow up: Can you think of any example in Nanjing where the tourist activities have fitted in less well and less comfortably with the cultural or art performances you have seen in Nanjing?

Q 2. Some heritage and cultural sites in Nanjing are listed on international or national preservation lists – such as on the World Heritage Site list. Does the inclusion of Nanjing’s sites on these lists make you considerably more interested in visiting them, a little more interested in visiting them, or does it make no difference to you?

Follow up: Do you know whether or not any of the heritage and cultural sites in Nanjing are on these lists?

Q 3. Do you feel that the tourist shops, souvenirs, cafes, taxis and street traders inside or just outside the heritage and cultural sites in Nanjing generally fit in well with these sites and do not cause any problems?

Follow up: Why do you say that?

Follow up: Would you favour having more tourist shops, souvenirs, cafes, taxis and street traders inside or just outside the heritage and cultural sites in Nanjing?

Follow up: Why do you say that?

Theme 4: Interdependence and tension between encoding and decoding cultural tourism messages

Q 4. When you visited either the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall or the Presidential Palace did the exhibits promote patriotic education, such as by making you think about the achievements of China and the Chinese people? Why do you say that?

Follow up: When you visited either the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall or the Presidential Palace did the exhibits make you feel proud to be Chinese and proud of the history of the country? Why do you say that?

[SHOW THE TOURIST A LARGE COPY OF THE CITY SLOGAN/IMAGE]

Q 5. This is a slogan and brand used in marketing the city of Nanjing. Have you seen it before?

Follow up: What do you understand by this slogan?

Q 6. Do you feel that it is a good slogan for Nanjing to use in its marketing, and why?

Follow up: Have you seen any government departments, attractions or travel agencies that have used this slogan? If yes, where did you see that?

Q 7. Have you used the websites of any Nanjing tourist organizations or any heritage or cultural tourist attractions? If yes, did the websites give you a good understanding of the heritage and cultural attractions in the city?

Follow up: Have you following any discussions on Weibo about any of Nanjing’s tourist organizations or any of the city’s heritage or cultural tourist attractions? If yes, why have you read these discussions on Weibo?

Q 8: Do you think the websites and social media of any of Nanjing’s tourist organizations or heritage or cultural attractions have been trying to promote particular positive messages? Did you fully agree, partly agree, or not agree with those messages? Why do you say that?

Table 4.4: Main themes and interview questions for the second phase interviews

In the second phase of interviews, the researcher continued the same snowballing sampling and interviewing process to target interviewees, and she completed 5 interviews for the public sector, 9 for the private sector (Table 4.5) and 8 for tourists (Table 4.6).

The Producers (14 in the 2nd phase of interviews)		
Public sector (5 in 2nd phase)	Roles/responsibilities relevant to cultural tourism	Numbers of interviewees in the 2nd phase interview
The tourism sector (3 in 2nd phase)	1. The Director of the Tourism planning and Statistics Department, Jiangsu Provincial Tourism Bureau, Jiangsu Provincial Government	1
	2. The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department, Nanjing Tourism Bureau, Nanjing Municipal Government	1
	3. The Director of the Tourism Product Quality Management Department, Nanjing Tourism Bureau, Nanjing Municipal Government	1
The cultural sector (2 in 2nd phase)	4. The Director of the Cultural Communication office, Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department, Jiangsu Provincial Government	1
	5. The Director of the Culture and Cultural Relics Bureau, Nanjing Municipal Government	1
Total respondents in the public sector in cultural tourism		5
Private sector (9 in 2nd phase)	Roles/responsibilities relevant to cultural tourism	Numbers of interviewees in the 2nd phase interview
	1. Professor, The Director of the Institute of Tourism and Landscape Architecture, Nanjing Southeast University; Owner of Jiangsu Orientscape Planning Group	1
	2. Professor, The Director of the Tourism Centre, School of Geography Science, Nanjing Normal University	1
	3. Professor, The Director of the Tourism Research Centre, Department of Land Resources and Tourism Sciences, Nanjing University	1
	4. Professor, Tourism Research Centre, Department of Land Resources and Tourism Sciences, Nanjing University	1
	5. The Vice-Director of the Tourism Research Centre, Department of Land Resources and Tourism Sciences, Nanjing University	1
	6. General manager of Jiangsu Mingcheng Cultural Creative Company	1
	7. The Director of the Urban Planning Office, Nanjing Urban Construction Investment Holding (Group) Co., Ltd.	1
	8. Representative of Nanjing Intangible cultural heritage-paper cutting	1
	9. Representative of Nanjing Intangible cultural heritage-wool flower	1
Total respondents in the private sector in cultural tourism		9
Total respondents as the producers in cultural tourism		14

Table 4.5: Interviewees as the producers of cultural tourism

The consumers (8 in the 2nd phase of interviews)		
Tourist at different cultural tourism resources	Names of cultural tourism resources	Numbers of interviewees in the 2nd phase interview
Tourists at heritage attractions (3 in 2nd phase)	1.Xiaoling Tomb of Ming Dynasty	1
	2.Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum	2
Tourists at museums/monuments (5 in 2nd phase)	3.Nanjing Museum	2
	4.Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall	3
Total respondents as the consumers in cultural tourism		8

Table 4.6: Interviewees as the consumers of cultural tourism

4.4.1.3 Problems in interviewing the producers

Some difficulties were encountered in achieving the planned sample size on the producer side. First of all, the researcher found that it was more difficult to make contact with people in the public sector than in the private sector. In this study, most of the managers in the private sector were open to accepting the interview, except for 4 private sector managers who did not respond to the request. By contrast, although most government officials accepted the interview on the condition of being anonymous, four of them from the tourism and cultural sectors refused. Two Tourism Department officials at the city level claimed they were busy, while two Culture Department officials claimed that they could not accept the interview until receiving permission from their superiors.

The reasons for the refusal by the two Culture Department officials should be highlighted, as they to a certain degree reflect the centralization issue, which is still dominant in the Chinese political system. One Provincial Culture Department official stated that some interview themes in relation to national identity and national pride were too sensitive to answer. Another Culture Department official was worried about some problematic issues in preserving cultural heritage resources, which were highly protected by Chinese laws. In this official's opinion, these were domestic issues that should not to be shared outside of the Chinese context. This official finally rejected the interview, despite the fact that the researcher is a Chinese National studying in a UK university. These two Culture Department officials also declined to offer alternative interviewees.

Secondly, the researcher found that the Culture Department officials were less open than the tourism officials during the interviews. The researcher found most of the Culture Department officials only gave officially-endorsed responses and were more limited in providing their critical or personal views. They gave examples more relevant to the positive side of Chinese cultural civilisation and achievement, rather than giving their own personal opinion which may run counter to the official "party line". By contrast, the government officials in the tourism sector were much more open in combining government perspectives with their personal opinions, giving real examples and freely expressing their own opinions, both positive and negative. Table 4.7 shows the non-respondents from both the public and private sectors, along with their reason for refusal (where given).

	Position	Response
The public sector	1. Secretary of Nanjing Tourism Bureau, Nanjing Municipal Government	refused, but introduced other interviewees to replace
	2. Secretary of Tourism Department in Xiaguan District, Xiaguan District Government, Nanjing	refused, but introduced other interviewees to replace
	3. The Director of Jiangsu Provincial Administration of Cultural Heritage	refused, no alternative interviewees
	4. Secretary of Nanjing Cultural Bureau, Nanjing Municipal Government	refused, no alternative interviewees
The private sector	5. General manager of Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall	no response
	6. General manager of Taicheng travel agency	no response
	7. General manager of Xuan Wu Lake hotel	no response
	8. Editor of Yangzi newspaper	no response

Table 4.7: Main themes and interview questions for the second phase interviews

4.4.1.4 Problems in interviewing the consumers

In the process of targeting tourists, the researcher found some difficulties in reaching the planned sample size. A small number of potential interviewees were rejected by the researcher, and some also rejected the researcher. These people are considered next.

The rejection happened in the two situations - where the researcher rejected the interviewees, and where the interviewees rejected the researcher. In the former situation, the application of the selection criterion did mean that some of the tourists approached at Nanjing's cultural tourism attractions had to be rejected by the researcher. Table 4.8 lists instances where the researcher had to reject people who it was felt did not meet the selection criterion. Some tourists had been to Nanjing several times and their main

purpose for visiting Nanjing was for visiting friends/relatives or attending conferences at the time when the researcher did the fieldwork. Some were willing to answer the researcher's questions, but they were seen as casual cultural tourists or sightseeing tourists, and thus they were rejected. The researcher adopted purposive sampling and focused on tourists who had come to Nanjing mainly because of its cultural heritage attractions – for which it is famous – and an important factor behind this was because of the researcher's limited time and the need for high quality data from relatively informed tourists.

Reasons for the researcher rejected them	Number of tourists
Visiting friends/relatives	3 (1 international tourist, 2 domestic tourists)
Attending conferences/doing business	2 (1 international tourist, 1 domestic tourist)
Not enough knowledge in relation to the research questions	1 (1 international tourist)
Total	6

Table 4.8: The list for the respondents who were rejected by the researcher

In the latter situation, some respondents refused to be interviewed for a variety of reasons (Table 4.9). Group tourists and individual tourists expressed different attitudes when approached by the researcher for interviews. Most group tourists were interested in Nanjing's cultural tourism resources, but they could not spend the time needed for an interview because their visit schedule was fixed and tight. Some individual tourists rejected the interview possibly because they did not immediately trust the researcher, or they were not interested in being interviewed. The researcher had to target more respondents at different tourist attractions in order to replace those who were rejected.

Reasons for rejected the researcher	Number of tourists
Limited time	3 (2 domestic tourists)
No interesting in the research questions	2 (1 international tourist, 1 domestic tourist)
No interesting in being interviewed	2 (1 international tourist, 1 domestic tourist)
Total	7

Table 4.9: The list for the respondents who rejected the researcher

4.4.2 Observation techniques

The researcher used observation techniques to better understand people's interactions with the cultural and heritage tourism resources in Nanjing. People's meanings are often affected by their interactions with the social structure and environment, so observation allows the researcher to take more of an insider's viewpoint in communicating and

negotiating with the phenomenon being investigated (Hall, 1976; Spradley, 1980). Observation is used to "check on, and supplement to, information obtained from other sources" (Foster, 2006: 59).

The researcher observed what she saw as shaping the "understanding of local values, patterns of actions, ways of being, moving, feeling" (Desjarlais, 1992: 26), thereby enhancing the quality of data collected (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2011). This approach helped the researcher to consider cultural tourism as involving "human meaning and interaction as viewed from the perspective of people who are insiders or members of particular situations and setting" (Jorgensen, 1989: 13). In this way, observation can help the observer "to 'see' what participants cannot" (Sapsford and Jupp, 2006: 59).

The researcher also used photos to record data during the fieldwork. Photography played an important role in recording the issues on the ground and it recorded the linkages between humans without prejudgement (Szto, Furman and Langer, 2005). The researcher took photos, for example, of historical buildings, interpretation boards and tourist souvenirs in order to understand the production and consumption of cultural tourism products. The researcher also took photos of cultural performances and of people's behaviours at cultural heritage sites as another way to understand the interactions between producers and consumers around cultural tourism.

Two kinds of researcher participation, passive participant and active participant (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2011), were also used. The different types of observation were employed depending on the different types of attractions the researcher visited. For example, the researcher used a passive participant approach at most closed attractions, such as the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall, which was a silent ceremonial site. Many tourists visited that site looking at the different pictures exhibited, observing the historic site, and reading the interpretations. The dark light and the silent environment did not provide the researcher with opportunities to open a discussion. In that case, the researcher did not interact with the people, and instead she took photos at the site "as an observation post" (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2011: 23). The researcher conducted passive observation at some specific attractions, although some of the people who were observed became aware of the researcher's activity and engaged her in conversation. Although not recorded, notes were made about these discussions to provide a further source of data.

As well as passive participant, the researcher conducted more active observation at numerous open attractions in order to understand the interactions and potential relationships between producers and consumers around cultural tourism. On the 22nd February 2011 the researcher joined with some tourists and observed their "cultural rules for behaviour" (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2011: 24) at Zhongshan Mountain National Park, an open park including Dr. Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, Xiaoling Tomb of the Ming Dynasty and other heritage resources. After getting permission from a small group of tourists and their tour guide, the researcher followed them and observed their behaviour while visiting Dr. Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum for one and a half hours. During the observation the researcher engaged in casual conversations in order to observe people's interactions with the tour guide and at tourist sites, and to quickly collect tourists' opinions about the specific resources and phenomenon around cultural tourism.

The researcher also conducted active observation with tourists at Ganxi folklore museum to understand how the producers and consumers interacted in response to specific intangible cultural heritage resources. For instance, the researcher gained permission from a representative of the Nanjing paper cutting to observe how the audiences watched the paper cutting demonstrations, to take photos of the demonstrator teaching other people paper cutting, and to discuss with audiences about the paper cutting demonstration, and to make notes during the observation. This observation provided rich information relevant to the research questions of this study.

4.4.3 Documents

The researcher collected a range of documents during the period of study. Government policies and plans, newspapers, articles, annual reports, books and magazines were collected as secondary data, in keeping with the approach of data triangulation. Secondary data helps to answer research questions with "practical constraints like access or time" (Finnegan, 2006: 139), to avoid the researcher's subjective bias, and to add to the credibility of the research.

Some documents were found on the Internet, while others were provided by interviewees from the government agencies, research institutions and from some private sector managers. In particular, some governmental and organizational policies and plans were highly valuable, because they were internal documents and they were not accessible to the public. All of the documents were obtained with the permissions of the

interviewees based on them only being used for scholarly research. Table 4.10 lists the documents collected by the researcher from 2009 to 2013. This secondary data was thematically sorted and analysed using the same framework as the primary data.

Type of documents	Documents	Publication Institution	Publication Date
National level			
National level	The 12 th Five-Year Guideline	National People's Congress	2011
National level, the cultural tourism sector	National guideline of cultural tourism development 2009	Ministry of Culture, National Tourism Administration of the People's Republic of China	2009
National level, the cultural tourism sector	National cultural tourism excellent project list 2010	Ministry of Culture, National Tourism Administration of the People's Republic of China	2010
National level, the cultural sector	Suggestions for stimulating cultural industry development in China	Ministry of Culture, Chinese government	2009
National level, the cultural sector	Guideline for exporting Chinese cultural products and service programme	Ministry of Commerce	2007
National level, the cultural sector	Suggestion of using finance sector to support cultural industry development in China	Ministry of Finance	2010
Provincial level			
Provincial level, the cultural sector	Regulation of the protection of cultural relics in Jiangsu Province	Jiangsu provincial government	2003.10
Provincial level, the cultural sector	The 12 th Five-Year Guideline for culture heritage development in Jiangsu Province	Jiangsu provincial Development and Reform Commission, Jiangsu provincial Administration of Cultural Heritage	2012.02
Provincial level, the tourism sector	Suggestion of stimulating the tourism industry development in Jiangsu Province	Jiangsu provincial government	2001.10
Provincial level, the tourism sector	The 11 th 5-year guideline for tourism development in Jiangsu Province	Jiangsu Provincial Tourism Bureau	2006
Provincial level, the tourism sector	The 12 th 5-year guideline for tourism development in Jiangsu Province	Jiangsu Provincial Tourism Bureau	2011
City level			
City level, the cultural sector	Administrative measures for the museums	Nanjing Municipal Government	2005.12
City level, the cultural sector	Administrative measures for the protection of world culture heritages	Nanjing Municipal Government	2006.11
City level, the tourism sector	Regulations of tourism marketing management in Nanjing	Nanjing Municipal Government	2002.03

City level, the tourism sector	Tourism Survey in Nanjing (2005-2009)	Nanjing Tourism Bureau	2005
City level, the tourism sector	Statistics Report for the development of Nanjing tourism economy in 2009	Nanjing Municipal Government	2010.05
City level, the tourism sector	Tourism Master Plan in Nanjing (2006-2020)	Nanjing Municipal Government	2005
City level, the tourism sector	Tourism Strategic Plan for developing Metropolitan Area in Nanjing (2006-2020)	Nanjing University Tourism Research Centre	2012
District level			
District level, the tourism sector	Tourism Master Plan in Jianye District, Nanjing (2005-2020)	Nanjing University Tourism Research Centre	2003
District level, the tourism sector	Tourism plan for developing Changjiang Road's cultural tourism in Nanjing (2003-2020)	Nanjing University Tourism Research Centre	2003
District level, the tourism sector	Tourism Master Plan in Xuanwu District, Nanjing (2006-2020)	Jiangsu Orienscape Planning Group	2006
District level, the tourism sector	Tourism Master Plan in Xiaguan District, Nanjing (2010-2030)	Jiangsu Orienscape Planning Group	2010
District level, the tourism sector	Tourism Master Plan in Zhongshan Mountain National Park, Nanjing	Jiangsu Orienscape Planning Group	2011

Table 4.10: Documents collected in relation to Nanjing cultural tourism

The researcher also used social media as a means of accessing the related communication between the producers and consumers of cultural and heritage tourism. Social media helped to diversify the information collected and to provide a further 'real time' account of people's interactions with Nanjing's cultural heritage tourism products. Such official websites, blogs and other social networking have become important in promoting tourist destinations and in influencing people's values, beliefs and knowledge. Online travel guides, such as lonelyplanet.com, travel.sina.com.cn, crtip.com provided free communication platforms to attractions managers, who can promote themselves at low cost (Schmallegger and Carson, 2008). Tourists increasingly use social media to upload their travel stories, for social interaction, and to share both positive and negative comments about attractions (Pan, MacLaurin and Crotts, 2007).

The researcher identified some key official websites and Weibo accounts (Chinese social networking which has a similar function as Twitter) of government departments and visitor attractions (Table 4.11) to understand the dynamic interactions and different relationships among resources, people and place. Online websites and Weibo accounts gave access to the latest information and responses related to the sites in Nanjing. The reason for considering Weibo is to further explore cultural tourism in Nanjing, the

interactions between the public and private sectors, and the relationships between the producers and consumers around cultural tourism. Weibo at the time when the researcher conducted the fieldwork was a newly emerging but important social media for current issues and crisis communications in China (Hays, Page and Buhalis, 2013). People who have Weibo accounts can easily communicate with one another even though they have not met off-line or in the real world (Stankov et. al., 2010). People through Weibo, therefore, feel free to leave their comments about their experience or their feedback about visitor attractions, tourism products and even the general idea of a destination.

In the period of July - October 2011 the researcher kept track of Weibo. This has similar functions as Twitter with its "millions of users, a strong participation from companies and organisations" (Hays, Page and Buhalis, 2013: 214). The researcher used her own Weibo account to follow the official Weibo accounts of Nanjing government departments, and of cultural and tourism sites. This was a valuable way to gain updated information on cultural tourism in Nanjing, and to understand the interactions between the public and private sectors and the public around cultural tourism.

The researcher was aware, however, that some Weibo accounts were not active. A limited number of cultural and tourism organizations opened their official Weibo accounts and operated them regularly, but many of them had not yet had Weibo accounts, nor operated actively at the time the researcher conducted the fieldwork. It is probable that there was a lack of understanding, support, knowledge or interest among these organizations with their inactive Weibo accounts (Xiang and Gretzel, 2010). Hays, Page and Buhalis (2013: 221) particularly highlight the limited participation of some tourism organizations in using social media, suggesting that "organisations are often less comfortable with consumers voicing their opinions, criticisms and ideas, and frequently use the site to advertise and promote as they do in other forms of media". Due to the limited time and the validity of other information online, the researcher decided not to use these inactive Weibo accounts as secondary data.

Sectors around cultural tourism	Examples	Official websites	Weibo accounts
The public sector	Propaganda Department, Nanjing Municipal Government	http://www.wmnj.gov.cn/	http://weibo.com/njfb
	Nanjing Tourism Bureau, Nanjing Municipal Government	http://www.nju.gov.cn/	http://weibo.com/nanjingtour
The private sector	Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall	http://www.nj1937.org/index.htm	http://weibo.com/u/2074685151
	Nanjing Museum	http://www.njmuseum.com/	http://weibo.com/nanjingmuseum
	Presidential Palace	http://www.njztf.cn/index.sh?charset=jian	http://weibo.com/njztf
	Xiaoling Tomb of Ming Dynasty	http://www.zschina.org.cn/	http://weibo.com/njmingxiaoling

Table 4.11: Key examples of social media in relation to Nanjing cultural tourism

The researcher did identify some problems in using this social media, especially in collecting information from the Weibo platform. First of all, the researcher had no time to keep up with all information, which was updated very quickly on the Internet. Weibo in China is a new form of social media and it spreads information quickly, so the messages relevant to cultural tourism can be continually updated and changed. The researcher was not able to receive or process this information instantly, because she was unable continually to check Weibo. Secondly, the credibility of the messages was occasionally questionable due to the nature of user-generated content and related issues of reliability. Even though some official Weibo accounts represented the government departments and organizations themselves, the messages posted, which included the account owner's personal values, could affect their organizational credibility. Thirdly, some online information was deleted or had been moved when the researcher revisited the website.

4.5 Data analysis

Data analysis is "a process of bringing order, structure, and interpretation to the mass of collected data" (Marshall and Rossman, 1999: 150), and a number of analytic procedures can be used in data organization, data coding, and data interpretation (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). The research applied a thematic content analysis

approach to understand different sources of data and to look for relationships between and among different themes, which were "descriptive, interpretive, or explanatory" (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2011: 180). Thematic content analysis is an approach to qualitative data analysis, and it "focuses on what a phenomenon, event or social interaction 'look like' to the individuals of interests (their lived experiences)" (Rivas, 2012: 367).

The researcher was aware of critical discourse analysis (CDA), which might be useful to understand meaning, language and other social perspectives in particular relating to policy documents (Fairclough, 2013), but was judged not to be applicable for the current study. Discourses are regarded as "semiotic ways of construing aspects of the world (physical, social or mental), which can generally be identified with different positions or perspectives of different groups of social actors" (Fairclough, 2013:179). Semiosis and the relations between semiotic and other social elements particularly are the main focus of critical discourse analysis. Fairclough (1995) categorises three dimensions of discourse, including "the object of analysis, the processes by means of which the object is produced and received by human subjects, and the socio-historical conditions which govern these processes" (Janks, 1997: 329). Wodak (1997:173) furthermore described the distinctive focus of CDA being in its view of "the relationships between language and society". Therefore, critical discourse analysis is a research tool for the researcher to understand the language, texts, and semiotics, which can be used as a form of social practice (Janks, 1997).

Far more than only analysing language, the discourse, or semiotics, this research prioritises the complex relationships around cultural tourism in an urban context. The interactions between different actors, resources and places are the fundamental elements in forming the complexity of urban cultural tourism. Their relationships are also complex, not only involving different elements and their interactions, but also operating within the dynamic political, economic and socio-cultural environment. These dynamic environment factors and different actors' interests, priorities and power relations are far more important in understanding the complex relationships around urban cultural tourism. Therefore, a thematic content analysis associated with a variety of data is chosen, rather than a detailed semiotic analysis of political policy documents.

However, critical discourse analysis could be applied in future research. Critical discourse analysis, for instance, helps to understand the messages through three kinds of

analysis, including "text analysis (description), processing analysis (interpretation), and social analysis (explanation)" (Janks, 1997: 329). Part of this study is to understand the complex relationships between the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages. Applying the critical discourse analysis is useful to describe the messages, interpret the meaning of messages, and explain the social factors, which affect the messages being encoded and decoded. In the future, the researcher can take into account this kind of analysis in understanding specific texts, messages, and languages promoted around cultural tourism.

The researcher first of all triangulated the different types of data and became familiar with their content. Transcriptions of in-depth semi-structured interviews, photography, notes from the observations, and hard copies of the secondary documentary sources documents were prepared before starting the analysis. In particular, the researcher was trained as an interpreter, so she could transcribe the interviews from Chinese to English directly. In order to ensure the accuracy of the transcription, the researcher listened with great care to the audio records multiple times. In addition, the researcher kept some specific terms in Chinese in order to retain their original meanings and to avoid ambiguity.

The researcher used NVivo 10 software as an analytical tool, which required the sorting and preparation of the diverse sources of data for inputting into the program. In doing so, a coding process was important to develop general statements and to identify probable relationships among the qualitative data (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2011; Miles and Huberman, 1994). The reason for using a coding approach is to "have a general idea of what you are looking for" (Rivas, 2012: 371).

There are two coding processes. In the first coding process, the researcher applied three coding principles to coding the qualitative data: topic coding, analytical coding and descriptive coding (NVivo, 2014). First of all, the researcher used topic coding to define some concepts. For example, the researcher was coding any sentence or phrases expressed the meaning of "production" into the "*production*" category. Secondly, the researcher conducted analytical coding to identify any information which expressed reasons, relationships, and problematical issues. The researcher fully read the interview transcripts and then coded, for example, sentences which showed the tension between producers and consumers in the category of "*tension between producers and*

consumers". Thirdly, the researcher would code one or two paragraphs which described a process into the descriptive coding or case coding. For example, the researcher established a category named *"Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall"* so as to code any qualitative data in relation to this site. These *"production"*, *"tension between producers and consumers"*, and *"Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall"* were called *"free nodes"*. As a result, the researcher was conscious of the conceptual model and the literature review themes and got 228 *"free nodes"* (Figure 4.1) to "capture something of the literal essence of the data" (Rivas, 2012: 370).

Name	Sources	References	Created On
barriers in marketing promotion	12	34	20/07/2011 17:20
barriers of Nanjing's cultural tourism development	4	4	21/07/2011 18:44
benefits of catering for tourists to government departments	4	4	18/07/2011 17:47
benefits of catering for tourists to private sector organizations	8	10	24/07/2011 13:56
benefits of good cooperation between local people and producers	1	1	26/07/2011 17:14
benefits of local people	15	19	18/07/2011 19:24
capacity of tourism attraction	1	1	21/07/2011 20:17
changes of Nanjing's tourism products	2	2	18/07/2011 18:01
changes of tourism industry typologies	1	1	23/07/2011 21:21
consumers of cultural tourism	3	3	21/07/2011 21:37
cultural brand	3	3	20/07/2011 17:26
cultural influence on tourist behaviour	13	26	20/07/2011 17:45
cultural meaning	10	13	18/07/2011 17:52
cultural resources	8	9	18/07/2011 19:33
cultural tourism products	1	1	20/07/2011 17:27
degree of satisfaction about cultural tourism experience	11	17	26/07/2011 14:30
degree of successful of the role of tourism attraction	13	13	21/07/2011 20:29
degree of understanding of cultural tourism	7	8	21/07/2011 19:27
elements of tourism industry	3	3	18/07/2011 19:00
food culture	3	3	22/07/2011 13:11
government approach to keep local interest	6	7	21/07/2011 21:39
influence of marketing promotion on tourist behaviours	4	6	27/07/2011 12:29
influences to tourist market	1	2	20/07/2011 21:06
intangible tourism resources	2	2	22/07/2011 14:35
local interests	22	22	20/07/2011 21:17
long term development	19	20	20/07/2011 19:33
Nanjing's resources	16	24	18/07/2011 17:46
Nanjing's tourism products	17	32	18/07/2011 18:00
negative influence of tourism industry to local people	15	16	21/07/2011 20:16
policy making process	19	30	18/07/2011 17:44
positive influence of tourism industry to local people	18	17	21/07/2011 20:15
private sector approach to keep local interests	9	14	24/07/2011 14:01
problems of shopping opportunities and catering services	3	6	26/07/2011 22:10
public sector interests related to local interests	6	7	20/07/2011 21:21
reason of identifying tourist market	2	2	20/07/2011 21:07
reasons of new tourist typologies	1	1	23/07/2011 21:20

Figure 4.1: Free nodes by NVivo 10

In the second coding process, the researcher worked on the *"tree nodes"* to organize the *"free nodes"* in a logical and relational way. Each *"tree node"* is regarded as a parent node with a number of *"free nodes"* as child nodes. For example, *"interpretation"* can be a *"tree node"*, including six *"free nodes"* from *"ways of interpretation"*, *"ways of identifying successful interpretation"*, *"the role of interpretation"*, *"the objectives of interpretation"*, *"the degree of success of the interpretation"*, and *"barriers to the interpretation"* (Figure 4.2).

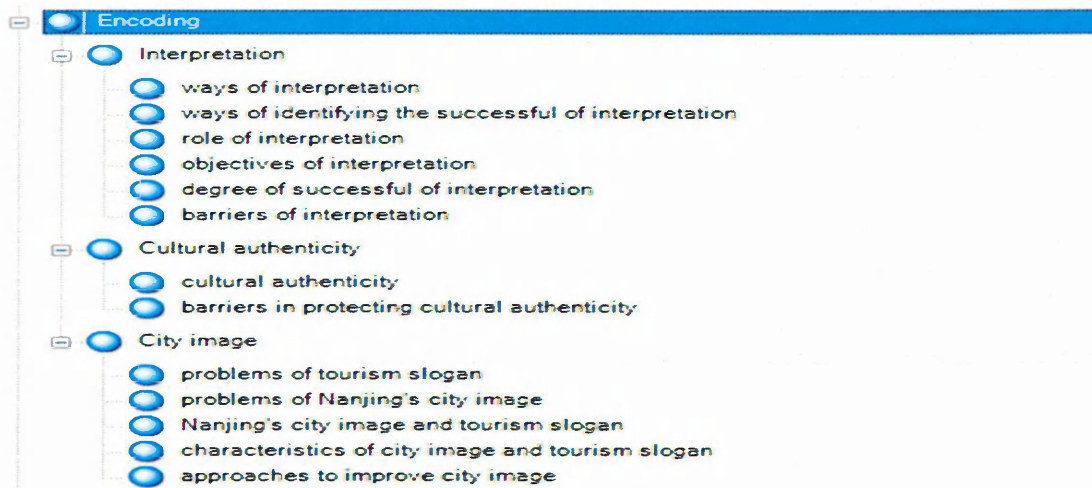


Figure 4.2: Example of tree node "interpretation"

"Tree nodes" were used for data reduction through "selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming the data" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 10), and it is a process of abstracting different nodes and relevant data in different categories through the consideration of the meanings, similarities and differences between different nodes, and their potential relationships. This approach helped the researcher to understand how coding could establish different relationships among the various data and avoid the omission of relevant raw data (Liamputtong and Ezzy, 1995). As a result, there are 7 "tree nodes", classified as the broader concepts with their own abstractions (Miles and Huberman, 1984).

Finally, the researcher interpreted the codes to summarize "the complexity of the data" (Marshall and Rossman, 1999: 157). NVivo helps to interpret different nodes and their relationships in a visual way. The "queries" function is a way to bring all nodes together and to display their potential relationships in a word tree. Through this the researcher could identify relationships between different nodes and then could develop arguments in relation to the research questions. Figure 4.3 is an example used to identify an argument about how "Power affects the relationship between cultural relics and heritage preservation". The tree map of nodes showed the frequency of the nodes, such as "cultural relics", "power" and "protecting heritage resources", and also illustrated the relationships between them.

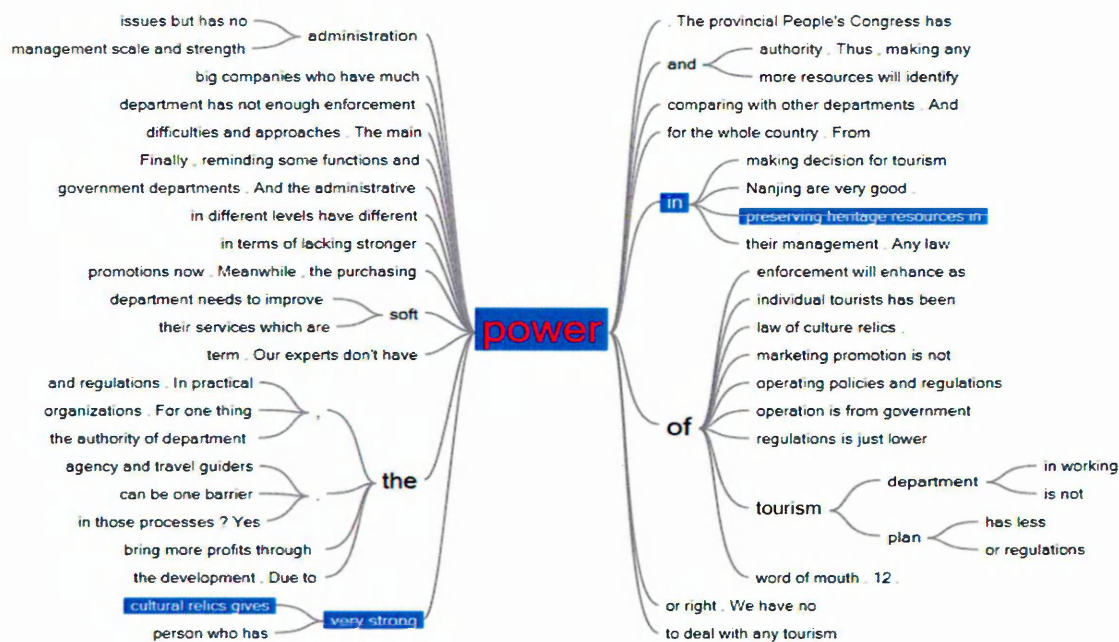


Figure 4.3: The coding example

The researcher considered other data from the observations and secondary data in interpreting the meanings in the interview responses, summarizing and generating the resulting relevant arguments. Therefore, taking a case study approach and triangulating the varied data were beneficial to understanding the data more fully, the specific interests of the respondents in relation to the phenomenon, and in establishing an in-depth view of the context to cultural tourism in the cast study location.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the research philosophy and methodology which underpinned the design of the research questions, the methods of collecting data, and the process of analysing the data for this study. The research philosophy of critical theory helped to understand cultural tourism as a complex process of interaction between people's different meanings, values, and opinions. A qualitative approach was taken in order to understand the dynamic interactions and relationships in cultural tourism around resources, people and place.

The researcher applied a case study strategy, and the data triangulation involved using a range of different methods in data collection and data analysis. Semi-structured interviews, observation and document analysis provided insights into cultural tourism from different perspectives. The researcher then used thematic content analysis and

NVivo software to interrogate the data.

The next chapter is the first of the results chapters, with that chapter focused on understanding the interdependence and tensions between the cultural and tourism policies and between government departments in Nanjing, based on the study's conceptual model as explained earlier.

Chapter 5 Interdependence and tension between the cultural and tourism policies and between government departments

5.1 Introduction

The findings here are organized according to each of the four boxes in the model, with each relating to a key element of urban cultural tourism. The analysis illustrates how the model helps to understand the holistic and dialectical relationships around urban cultural tourism and their basis in interdependence and tension. Consideration is given to how the case illustrates the relationships within and between the elements of Nanjing's cultural tourism and with the wider socio-economic and political environmental factors in China. This chapter addresses objective 3: "to examine the broader themes and to apply the generic conceptual model through an assessment of the case of the city of Nanjing in China. The broader themes were evaluated in relation to various sub-themes from policymaking, industrial operations, product development, and promotional messages and they were considered in the specific context of the Chinese political, economic, socio-cultural environment".

The focus of this first results chapter is the relationships of interdependence and tension between the cultural and tourism policies and between government departments. Understanding of the public sector allows us to evaluate the government's role in assembling, regulating and promoting cultural heritage resources. The discussion here particularly focuses on the policies and public sector governance of cultural tourism, in a dynamic socio-economic and political environment.

The researcher, firstly, introduces interdependence and tension between cultural and tourism policies (Section 5.2). Policies can be regarded as the language of political discourse and power, which helps to construct national identity and to identify governmentality and subjectivity (Shore and Wright, 2005). A well planned policy-making process is particularly important to guide industrial development and to improve the quality of social life (Healey, 1997). Consideration is given to the top-down approach that the Chinese government applies in the public sector governance of cultural tourism. The dynamic environment that affects both the cultural and tourism sectors further illustrates cultural tourism does not exist in isolation, but is interrelated with various environmental factors.

The researcher, secondly, moves on to discuss interdependence and tension between the Culture and Tourism Departments (Section 5.3). Government plays an important role in identifying the consumer market and in regulating the industry (Hall, 2005). The public sector may give consideration to the cultural and tourism sectors, as well as developing products around cultural tourism (Andersson and Donald, 2009). It is argued that the government's involvement can vary in the face of changes in the external environment. Therefore, the discussion here indicates how the Culture and Tourism Departments interact and the extent of their interrelationships in developing urban cultural tourism.

The chapter, thirdly, evaluates administrative reform, an interesting development in the Chinese context (Section 5.4). Such reforms are being widely applied in most cities, provinces and the Chinese state government. The approach here not only entails restructuring the government departments, far more than that, it can affect interactions between the Cultural and Tourism Departments in public sector governance of cultural tourism. The last section evaluates administrative reform in terms of the relationships between the Culture and Tourism Departments, and among other government departments.

5.2 Interdependence and tension between the cultural and tourism policies

The application of the conceptual model illustrates the importance of policies in regulating cultural tourism in Nanjing. A top-down approach is identified in Section 5.2.1, illustrating the process by which policy makers distribute power and make decisions from the top to the bottom. Following that, three key policies in relation to cultural heritage tourism are discussed as examples (Section 5.2.2).

5.2.1 The top-down approach in the policy-making process

A top-down approach is applied by the Chinese government in the system by which the tasks and objectives of industry are established, for the design and implementation of policies from the higher level to the lower level, and to speed up the decision-making process (Sofield and Li, 2011). Some researchers, such as Airey and Chong (2010) and Sofield and Li (2011), claim that the top-down approach and government-oriented policy-making process to assist government departments in distributing power from the central state to the provincial and city levels.

The top-down approach encourages cooperation between governments at the higher and lower levels in the policy-making process. The Chinese government, for example, designs the national policies and provides general guidance for industrial or economic development at the regional level. Policies at the lower level therefore have to follow the general guidance from the higher level policies, and design specific operations at the local level. This approach, in other words, helps to distribute the tasks from the top to the bottom, and it enhances productivity in the policy-making process.

Some of the government officials discussed China's top-down approach to the policy-making process. This form of governance approach was considered to increase the relationship of mutual dependence between the Culture and Tourism Departments in policy and planning. The Director of the Tourism Quality Management Department explained the way that the top-down approach was implemented in designing policies:

"The top-down approach actually is very helpful to operate the national policy from the national level to the local level and even the district level. A national policy is often approved by the national government first, and then it can be forwarded to other government agencies at the provincial, city and local levels. Once the lower level government departments receive the national policy, the policy makers at the lower level should fully read the policy and clarify its core content and the general guidance. It is a way to make sure the content of the lower level policy is designed to follow national policy. This approach reflects the local area's unique characteristics and it adapts with society's development".

The Director of the Tourism Research Centre of Nanjing University also noted the importance of top-down governance in the policy-making process. He cited the specific case that the Nanjing City Plan had to be designed in line with the main elements and general guidance of the Chinese national plan. The Chinese government designed the 12th Five-Year Guideline to guide the nation's economic and industrial development (This national guideline is discussed in detail in Section 5.2.2.1).

The key objectives in the 12th Five-Year Guideline, associated with the top-down governance approach, were incorporated in planning policies at lower level, such as in the Nanjing City Plan. This director further explained the design of the Nanjing City Plan:

"A city plan is a specific plan designed to be complementary to the plans at provincial level or at national level. Nanjing city government at the moment

is planning a 'wake up the city's memory' plan in order to reveal the city's characteristics and identity. Through this plan, the government intends to protect Nanjing's cultural heritage resources in terms of nominating these resources on the protection projects list, investing in and repairing old heritage resources, and encouraging cooperation with the Culture Department. The specific details in this plan match with the key objective of developing the cultural industry, as specified in the 12th Five-Year Guideline. This plan is appropriate for considering Nanjing's unique characteristics in terms of its rich cultural heritage resources and also follows the task set in the national guideline".

Policy makers and academics used the words "content" and "container" to describe the relationships between the lower and higher level policies. The "content" referred to the local policies, focusing on the specific and detailed objectives in relation to the local area's characteristics. Meanwhile, the "container" referred to the higher level policies, such as those at national or provincial level, providing general guidance for industrial development. They regarded the higher level policies as including the lower level policies in general form. The top-down approach helped to form this relationship of mutual dependence in the policy-making process.

A professor of the Tourism Research Centre at Nanjing Normal University agreed the relationship of "content" and "container" in designing local level policies. He argued that the objectives of the city plan, for instance, were more specific in order to match with the national guideline, reflecting the key ideas and general direction prioritised by the 12th Five-Year Guideline. He highlighted that the top-down governance approach *"helps to simplify the tasks at the higher level and distribute them to policy makers at the lower level. I personally think this approach improves the working efficiency, particularly in planning policies"*.

In addition to complying with the key objectives of the higher level policies, many interviewees on the producer side considered the approach highly beneficial in terms of reflecting local characteristics in the lower level policies. The top-down governance approach was used to distribute the tasks, but at the same time it provided a certain degree of flexibility for planning the lower level policies, which encouraged the interdependence between the higher and lower level of policy making.

An example of top-down approach implemented in Nanjing is the plan for developing cultural products relating to navigation. This plan allows the Nanjing city government to

consider Nanjing's navigation resources and to develop relevant products, as a way of promoting Nanjing's navigation culture. At the same time, this plan complies with the China's national ocean strategy.

Tourism officials claimed that it was necessary to consider the city's distinctive characteristics in planning the lower level policies. For example, the Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department explained,

"To develop new navigation products and to represent the navigation culture is a key objective of the national ocean strategy in the 12th Five-Year Guideline (2011-2015). Nanjing is located to the Yangtze River, so it has rich water resources. In particular, Nanjing is well known as the hometown of Zheng He, who was a famous Chinese navigator who explored the "western ocean" in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)".

In his opinion, it is important to represent Nanjing's navigation history, which matches a key objective of China's national ocean strategy.

In addition, government officials at the lower level could review the planned objectives, identify the strengths and weaknesses of the industry, revise objectives, and plan new guidance for future development. This demonstrates top-down governance whereby, the practical operations of lower level policies can be reflected into the reviewing process at the higher level.

Some government officials supported the idea of reviewing the operation of lower level policy so that they could keep in mind a future vision in planning the higher level policies and developing urban cultural tourism. The Director of the Tourism Quality Management Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau considered the higher level policies to be aimed at macro level guidance for industrial development. Therefore, these policies would include a long-term strategic vision. He noted that, *"Reviewing the practical operation of lower level policies could help policy makers understand the real situation in the industry, and potentially predict the appropriate strategy for future development. This is why we emphasize the lower level policies and their practical operation in planning the higher level policies for the future"*. A tourism professor of the Tourism Research Centre at Nanjing University discussed the same issue in the following terms:

"The Five-Year Guideline, for example, is amended every five years. The purpose in designing the Five-Year Guideline is to guide social and economic development in China. In particular, the Chinese economy has developed quickly and society has changed in the last 30 years. Reviewing lower level policies can make sure the policies do play a role in guiding and regulating the industry. The operation of lower policies also helps the Chinese government update industrial development, and obtain a forward and macro-level vision for future social development".

The top-down approach, therefore, helped to form a relationship of interdependence between the higher and lower level policies. This governance approach distributed the tasks from the top to the bottom, so that the higher level policies provided general guidance for the industry and the lower level policies represented the local characteristics.

However, tensions within the top-down approach may lead to some lower level policies and their objectives being omitted. The higher level policies often focus on macro-level guidance for industry and society, so they may not provide any detailed suggestions for planning lower level policies. By contrast, lower level policies may concentrate more on reflecting local characteristics or individual product development (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2011). The specific objectives and detailed approaches in the lower level policies may have to be omitted, in order to meet the broader socio-economic development objectives at the higher level.

This tension was apparent in the Xiaguan District Plan for expanding the Yuejiang Tower, which dates back to the Ming Dynasty. Xiaguan District is one of the six districts in Nanjing city, and its administration is below the city level (Xiaguan District was reformed into Gulou District in 2013). The attention here was given to the Yuejiang Tower development, which matched with the priority given to *"developing Nanjing city, districts and various scenic spots"*. The Xiaguan District Government, thus, planned to repair the Yuejiang Tower, to promote the Ming Dynasty history of Nanjing to tourists, and to represent the local characteristics of Xiaguan District. The General Administrator of the Tourism Department in Xiaguan District stated that to re-develop Yuejiang Tower and its park, especially to *"design long-term strategies"*.

However, there were no detailed instructions in the city plan to guide such questions as "what to develop?", "when to develop?", and "how to develop?" the Yuejiang Tower.

This project was mentioned in the Xiaguan District plan, but it had not yet received full or clear guidance from other city level policies. A Xiaguan District tourism administrator expressed concern about the lack of detailed instruction and funding for the Yuejiang Tower project. He said,

"We cannot guarantee enough funding for the Yuejiang Tower project, even though it matches with the objectives of city level policies, and is mentioned prominently in the district level policy. The city level policies only list the generic objectives of developing scenic spots in Nanjing, but they have not yet mentioned any details for the practical operation. The Yuejiang Tower as a historic tower, for example, has potential cultural value to attract different tourists. However, it is a small tourist site, which may not easily attract policy makers' attention in planning city level policies".

The Yuejiang Tower project, thus, reflects the potential tension between planning of the higher and lower level policies. The top-down governance approach is a reason for this potential tension in the policy-making process. The next section discusses three key policy documents in relation to cultural tourism, and examines interdependence and tension between the cultural and tourism sectors.

5.2.2 Three key policies relating to cultural tourism

Given that the cultural and tourism sectors both comply with public sector governance of cultural tourism, the interactions and interrelationships between the two sectors can be identified in operation of the relevant policies. The following sections discuss three key policy documents which play an important role in regulating cultural tourism. The three documents are the 12th Five-Year Guideline 2011-2015 (Section 5.2.2.1), the National guideline for cultural tourism development 2009 (Section 5.2.2.2), and the National Excellent Projects list 2010 (Section 5.2.2.3).

5.2.2.1 The 12th Five-Year Guideline 2011-2015

The 12th Five-Year Guideline (2011-2015) is a key national economic guideline that focuses on macro-level objectives for developing different industries and sectors (Xinhua net, 2011). This national guideline aims to tackle challenges to development, particularly those associated with encouraging domestic consumption, increasing social wellbeing, and developing China's service sector output (KPMG Advisory (China) Limited, 2011). First, the new guideline plans to "continually establishing a macro-

environment that encourages domestic spending" in 2015, due to domestic consumption falling to 36% of GDP in 2009 (KPMG Advisory (China) Limited, 2011: 3). Second, this national guideline emphasises increasing levels of individual state benefits in order to "reduce citizens' out-of-pocket expense, and boost disposable income and consumer spending" (KPMG Advisory (China) Limited, 2011: 3). Third, particular consideration is given to the service sector, which is targeted to contribute 47% of GDP, increasing by 4% on 2009 (KPMG Advisory (China) Limited, 2011).

The cultural and tourism sectors have both received increasing emphasis at national policy level. The 12th Five-Year Guideline (2011-2015), for example, has highlighted the role of the tourism industry in developing the broader service sector (Xinhua net, 2011). In the 4th Section of "Establishing an environment for the service sector", the following four objectives are put forward for developing the tourism industry: (1) to develop the domestic and international tourist market; (2) to balance the relationship between tourism resource protection and development and to strengthen tourism infrastructure; (3) to diversify tourism products and to promote sustainable tourism, cultural tourism and red tourism; (4) and to improve tourism service quality systems and establish principles of self-discipline and integrity (People, 2011). Cultural tourism is mentioned for the first time in this national guideline.

Meanwhile, consideration is also given to the cultural industry in order to meet society's cultural needs, to improve national social cohesion, and to promote Chinese culture and to build a harmonious society. Section 10 of the 12th Five-Year Guideline (2011-2015): "Diversify and innovate the cultural industry"(Xinhua net, 2011), emphasises the development of the cultural industry in line with the following three objectives: (1) to establish a national core value system and a healthy socio-cultural environment; (2) to diversify cultural creativity and to continue cultural reform; (3) and to develop cultural public welfare (wen hua shi ye 文化事业) and to encourage cultural enterprises (wen hua chan ye 文化产业) (People, 2011).

Both of these sectors are recognised in the national guideline, so this potentially enables them to cooperate in planning policies in relation to cultural tourism. Their shared resources and similar development objectives, for example, are identified in the 12th Five-Year Guideline. The policy makers in the tourism sector can plan and package cultural heritage resources in accordance with socialist marketization in China, whilst

policy makers in the cultural sector, on the other hand, are able to plan policies to increase public awareness of museums, arts galleries, cultural performances and other cultural facilities. The 12th Five-Year Guideline, thus, potentially can bring the cultural and tourism sectors to form a relationship of interdependence, based on their shared resources and similar development objectives.

A number of cultural and tourism officials agreed that the 12th Five-Year Guideline encouraged potential interdependence between the cultural and tourism sectors. The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Jiangsu Province noted, "*The 12th Five-Year Guideline sets up the objectives for developing both the cultural and tourism sectors, it also mentions the importance of the tourism industry from the national government's perspective. The attention given to cultural tourism particularly helps to potentially integrate the two sectors more closely, and meet the diverse needs of marketization in China*".

The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau explained how the 12th Five-Year Guideline benefited the development of cultural tourism:

"It (the 12th Five-Year Guideline) clarifies the tourism industry as a modern service industry in order to satisfy people and to match their requirements in their daily lives. This is a clear sign that the Chinese state government considers citizens' spiritual needs, as well as encouraging their domestic consumption. Thus, policy makers in Nanjing Tourism Bureau, have to be aware of the priority that the Chinese government gives to cultural tourism, to meet the objective of 'developing cultural tourism' in the 12th Five-Year Guideline, and to design plans relevant to cultural tourism products".

Consideration is given to the Chinese socio-economic environment in order to encourage the demand for leisure and cultural activities. The Director of the Tourism Industrial Operation Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau believed that the growth of demand for the tourism industry reflected the growth of the Chinese national economy. He said, "*Only people who have enough money to live will then consider other spiritual needs. Chinese people now may feel free to travel; they are not just struggling to meet basic living costs. Indeed, travelling becomes a popular way for people to relax and get away from their work*".

His point of view clearly demonstrates that healthy growth of the national economy can encourage people's domestic consumption and also increase their demand for travel. The Director of the Nanjing Tourism Quality Management Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau said, *"The Chinese economy has grown quickly and people might now have sufficient time and disposable income to look for spiritual experience and to enjoy themselves for leisure purposes"*.

The Director of the Cultural Communication Office of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department also highlighted how the dynamic change in the Chinese socio-economic environment was affecting domestic consumption, particularly in terms of encouraging demand for culture. In his opinion,

"There is a close relationship between the increasing demand for cultural activities and China's economic and social development. The Chinese economy in recent years has developed quickly so people have more disposable income than before. In particular, the Chinese social environment might be relatively much more peaceful than other countries, such as Libya and Syria. At least there is no war in China. People who are in a relatively safe and peaceful environment can look for different cultural activities and meeting their spiritual needs, including visiting museums and arts galleries, participating in festivals, and being part of local lives".

This suggests that, the 12th Five-Year Guideline was designed associated with the consideration of establishing a relatively safe and healthy service environment, in which people sought different leisure experiences, thereby improving the quality of civic life.

A dialectical view is applied here to understand the relationships between the cultural and tourism sectors. A relationship of tension was found in terms of an imbalance in policy support for the two sectors.

The Director of the Cultural Communication Office of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department explained the reasons for the cultural industry attracting more attention from the Chinese government:

"The cultural industry and cultural development are very important to strengthen soft power in China and to influence people's value system, beliefs, and knowledge. The cultural sector is also a broader sector, including cultural public welfare (wen hua shi ye 文化事业) and cultural enterprise (wen hua chan ye 文化产业). It closely relates to people's everyday life, so it has been particularly specified in detail in policy

planning. In the last six plenum of the 17th Community Party of China Central Committee (2011.10.15-2011.10.18), the Chinese state government has particularly aimed at building up a powerful national cultural country and highlighted the transformation of the cultural system in promoting a socialist cultural industry".

In the 12th Five-Year Guideline, for example, only one paragraph referred to development of the tourism industry. By contrast, a whole section, taking up three chapters, was devoted to development of the cultural industry. The national guideline specified, in particular, the following key objectives and relevant sub-themes for developing the cultural sector (Xinhua net, 2011):

"to keep the socialist cultural value system, to promote Chinese culture, to establish a harmonious culture, to develop cultural public welfare and cultural enterprises, to meet people's growing spiritual needs, to highlight the leading role of the cultural industry in society, to educate people, and to strengthen national identity" (People, 2011).

The imbalance in policy focus between the cultural and tourism sectors is a source of tension. As the 12th Five-Year Guideline gives the cultural sector more attention than the tourism sector in terms of policy making, cultural policies can receive greater support in the planning process. Dynamic changes in the social environment also affect the prioritisation of cultural and tourism policies. This imbalanced relationship furthermore makes cultural policies more powerful than tourism policies in regulating the industry. The next section focuses on the second key policy document, the National Guideline for Cultural Tourism Development 2009, and evaluates its influence on interdependence and tension between the cultural and tourism departments.

5.2.2.2 The National Guideline for Cultural Tourism Development 2009

The National Guideline for Cultural Tourism Development 2009 is a specific national policy document for developing urban cultural tourism. The guideline, for example, suggests integrating the cultural and tourism sectors in order to design relevant policies, to develop cultural tourism products, and to build up a branding awareness of Chinese cultural tourism resources (The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, 2009).

One key objective of this national guideline is to develop appropriate cultural tourism products and to preserve cultural and heritage resources. Cultural and heritage resources

can face threats to their survival in times of rapid social development, so they tend to look for more opportunities to be well preserved or to be developed further. In particular, this national guideline introduces the concept of branding to packaging and promotion of cultural heritage resources. This approach is regarded as a new way to preserve such resources and also to improve their quality.

A few interviewees mentioned the role of this national guideline in developing cultural tourism products. For example, the Vice-Director of the Culture and Cultural Relics Bureau of Nanjing Municipal Government confirmed the policy's support for tourism projects and programmes through *"providing professional suggestions for protecting cultural resources"*, and *"managing the behaviours in using cultural heritage relics"*. Another tourism official of the Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau agreed that this national guideline helped to *"monitor tourism organizations and their behaviours in using cultural resources"*.

Both Culture and Tourism Department officials mentioned that this national guideline was helpful in branding Nanjing's cultural tourism resources, and even Nanjing city itself. The following examples illustrate how the National Guideline for Cultural Tourism Development 2009 has helped policy makers to consider more fully the resources' characteristics in cultural tourism product development. The Director of the Tourism Marketing Development Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau believed it was important to consider the cultural and historical characteristics of Nanjing city in planning new tourism activities and products. He noted,

"Nanjing is as famous as its cultural and heritage resources, so Nanjing's producers, especially government officials, consider the cultural roots or the historical period in designing cultural tourism products. Integrating cultural features with tourism products actually is a way of branding these cultural heritage resources, so that they are more easily accepted by the public".

However, the National Guideline for Cultural Tourism Development 2009 had not yet been fully implemented in practice at the time of the fieldwork. The Director of the Tourism Product Quality Management Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau described practical application of the National Guideline for Cultural Tourism Development 2009 as *"not satisfactory"*.

Most interviewees, furthermore, mentioned how the lack of tourism laws, in particular, led to the tourism sector having *"a lower legal position in operating cultural and tourism policies"*. This potentially may lead to the tourism sector relying on the powerful cultural laws.

Law, the highest level of legal documents in China, plays an important role in guiding and designing other legal documents at lower level, including legislation, regulation, and policy. The Chinese National People's Congress has responsibility for approving laws, which have strong administrative power in making policy, and reinforcing legal behaviours in industrial operations. Two Chinese laws were passed in relation to China's cultural resources: a law for protection of cultural relics (China.org.cn, 2014) and a law for intangible cultural heritage protection (Xinhua News Agency, 2010).

At the time of the fieldwork there were no laws for overall regulation of the tourism industry. The Vice-Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau noted that,

"There is no tourism law in China at the moment, although there are some regulations for hotels, travel agencies and travel guides. We need to consult the cultural laws and other laws from different sectors, which are based on more mature experiences and lessons in managing resources and regulating the industry".

The lack of tourism laws creates in several problems. First, it can be difficult to regulate the tourism industry without a powerful tourism law. The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of the Nanjing Tourism Bureau noted that local tourism policies lacked power of enforcement in regulating the tourism industry and monitoring private sector organizations. He said,

"We do not have any tourism laws with strong administrative power at the moment. This may make it difficult for us to regulate the tourism industry, in particular, a few illegal commercial activities around the tourism sector are not that easy to monitor or punish. There are some tourism regulations, but they are not powerful enough to tackle the practical problems in Nanjing's tourism industry".

Secondly, the tourism sector was limited in its use of cultural and heritage resources, which were given priority and were well protected by the cultural laws. Due to the lack of a powerful tourism law, the tourism sector had to carefully follow the cultural laws,

limiting use of cultural and heritage resources, and strictly requiring full reporting of any relevant activity, including discoveries, removal, and rebuilding. Furthermore, the tourism sector could not change or move any heritage resources without receiving full permission from the cultural sector.

Some Culture Department officers admitted that these state laws gave them very strong authority in terms of regulation and prioritisation of cultural relics and their preservation. The Vice-Director of the Museum Department of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department, for example, referred to the strength of the cultural laws in regulating the cultural industry.

"The law for cultural relics protection gives very strong power in preserving cultural heritage relics. If any people or organizations destroy cultural heritage relics, they will receive punishment from the law. According to the law, individual people and companies have to immediately report to the Culture Department once they have discovered cultural heritage resources. This approach, however, may cause problems for companies which have to stop their current construction project and report such discoveries to the Culture Department for investigation".

Third, the dynamic changes in the Chinese socio-cultural environment also led to the tourism law being less developed than the cultural laws. The cultural industry in China was developed earlier than the tourism industry, so policies to regulate the cultural industry were also put in place earlier. A professor from the Institute of Tourism and Landscape Architecture of Nanjing Southeast University explained this situation:

"The cultural laws and regulations therefore are relatively mature. The cultural industry has been formed by people's behaviours and their daily life since people are involved. By contrast, the tourism industry in China is a new industry which has only developed in the last 30 years, but it has very quickly developed".

Many interviewees expressed their positive views on the tourism law, in spite of the fact that some tourism policies cannot effectively regulate the current Chinese tourism industry. They considered that a new tourism law needed to be implemented in the future. The Director of the Culture and Cultural Relics Bureau of Nanjing Municipal Government stated that, *"The Chinese government is currently planning a tourism law, and hopefully it can be published in the next five years. Having a tourism law is a way to strengthen the power of tourism policies and to improve the administrative status of*

the Tourism Department in the governance of cultural tourism".

A tourism professor of Nanjing Normal University stated that, designing a tourism law, would need to consult the opinions and experiences from different government departments and sectors, and thus this process might make the process of planning tourism policies more complex. He said,

"The Chinese government realises the importance of the tourism industry and has started to draft tourism law in these last few years. However, planning the tourism law should be considered carefully. A law with its strong legal power also needs to be reviewed several times from the national level to the local level. The tourism industry is a broad area, including such things as transportation, city planning, local environment and other elements. In contrast to other regulations, it is difficult to publish a tourism law without listening to suggestions and opinions from such as the Culture, Construction, Transportation and other departments. "

The former Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau identified the following difficulties in designing tourism law:

"It is very difficult to publish a tourism law immediately. Although the tourism industry has developed rapidly, there are many uncertainties, including natural, human, and resources elements. These uncertainties make the tourism industry more complicated in terms of social development, so the policy makers must consider the design of tourism law very carefully. By contrast, other sectors such as culture, construction, and lands have developed much earlier, at least 40-50 years earlier than the tourism sector. Those sectors have more mature experiences in developing their industry and their laws are sufficiently powerful to tackle problems in practical operations".

Although the National Guideline for Cultural Tourism Development 2009 could be seen as a means of encouraging integration between the cultural and tourism sectors in product development, this was not being well operated in practice. The lack of a tourism law and the powerful status of cultural laws were found to have led to potential tensions between the cultural and tourism sectors. The next part discusses a third national policy document: "The National Excellent Cultural Tourism Project Directory 2010".

Another initiative from the central government to promote cultural tourism development was the National Excellent Cultural Tourism Directory 2010, which encourages the combination of arts/cultural performance and tourism. It is called a "Tourist Performance" (lv you yan chu 旅游演出) product, which is a new type of performance developed specifically for tourist consumption. The main purpose of this Directory is to integrate the cultural and tourism sectors and to meet the increasing demand for cultural products. This Directory particularly highlighted the following:

"Culture is the soul of tourism, while tourism is the key carrier for culture. Integrating the cultural and tourism sectors helps to reconstruct cultural resources, accelerate cultural industry development, diversify and regulate the tourism industry, and meet citizens' domestic consumption needs. This integration also benefits Chinese cultural heritage preservation, expands the influence of Chinese culture and history, strengthens national soft power, and helps to establish a harmonious society" (The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, 2009).

The Directory set out an integrated ten-step approach to developing cultural tourism: (1) establish the cultural tourism brand - notably, to launch a cultural tourism theme year every four years and to celebrate an international cultural tourism festival every two years; (2) develop Tourist Performance products of high quality; (3) represent intangible cultural heritage in cultural tourism products; (4) implement a branding strategy to promote cultural tourism products; (5) support Internet bar and entertainment facilities in theme parks and tourism resorts; (6) hold a promotional conference for cultural tourism products; (7) research and develop cultural tourism souvenirs; (8) promote cultural tourism products to international markets; (9) train up cultural tourism experts; and (10) regulate the cultural tourism market (The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, 2009, online).

There are two ways in which this Directory can provide policy and financial support (Ministry of Culture of the People's Republic of China, 2010). First, the Directory simplifies the application process for the nomination of Tourist Performance products. The government, for example, can design specific requirements, select candidate cultural and heritage resources, and appraise them for nomination for the Directory (Ministry of Culture of the People's Republic of China, 2010).

The Director of the Cultural Communication Office of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department mentioned how the Directory encouraged creativity into the cultural sector, and preserved cultural and heritage resources at tourist sites. He said, *"The Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department had already agreed on three types of Tourist Performance products. This Directory can boost local level governments' confidence in the application process, and encourage other departments to participate in and diversify new Tourist Performance products"*. The Director of the Tourism Planning Department of Zhongshan Mountain National Park also stated that, cultural and art performances at tourist sites would receive more support at policy-level and from the local people, if they were recognised by the Directory. He said,

"We have a successful Tourist Performance product, which combines dance performances with the tourism festival at Zhongshan Mountain National Park. Many dancing groups and entertainment companies are invited to present the live show at the Plum Blossom Festival every year. This combination helps to diversify people's visiting experience at Zhongshan Mountain National Park".

Further, the Directory can fund intangible cultural heritage resources and encourage public awareness of these resources. The representative (chuan cheng ren 传承人) of intangible cultural heritage resources, for instance, are able to apply for funding to continue training staff, to preserve safeguarding resources, and to attend cultural activities abroad (Ministry of Culture of the People's Republic of China, 2010). These representatives are the persons continuing the skills or techniques from previous generations and representing the unique cultural value of intangible cultural resources.

The Director of Jiangsu Intangible Cultural Heritage Preservation Centre noted how the Directory benefited these representatives:

"The Directory is an appropriate approach to funding intangible cultural heritage resources, particularly those in need of urgent safeguarding. In comparison to tangible cultural heritage resources, the intangible cultural heritage may be more difficult to sustain in a rapidly developing society. These resources with high cultural value are also difficult to package as products and sell to the tourists, because of slow economic return. Thankfully this Directory combines intangible cultural heritage resources and tourism to develop new Tourist Performance products".

However, the Directory has limited application in that not all cultural/arts performances are appropriate for combination or integration with tourism activities. As Ap and Mak (1999: 5) note, "tourism is a market-driven industry and is more consumer-friendly while cultural industry appears to be more product and supply oriented". In other words, the cultural sector may focus on the preservation of cultural assets, while the tourism sector often works on marketing (Ho and McKercher, 2004); hence the interests of the two are not always compatible.

Many Culture Department officials considered that not all forms of culture were suitable for purposive commercialisation. A concerned tourism official from the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department in Jiangsu Province stated, *"I do not think all tourists and local people are interested in art works and cultural performances. They may just attend the odd exhibition and enjoy the art work in a general way"*. The Vice-Director of the Culture and Cultural Relics Bureau agreed that, arts and humanities, in particular, were the highest level of culture, which could not be fully understood by all audiences. He said,

"It may be difficult to combine high levels of culture with tourism activities, because not many people can really understand the meaning behind traditional culture or the higher level arts. Culture, including philosophy, ethics, law, natural science, medical science and other elements, can be understood based on people's different value system and knowledge backgrounds. However, not all of the people have a high level of education, obtain high level knowledge or gain rich life experiences".

The Director of Jiangsu Cultural Intangible Heritage Protection Centre considered that difficulties in understanding intangible cultural heritages arose because *"most intangible resources such as Ping Hua 评话(a storytelling approach) and Gu Qin 古琴(a traditional music instrument) skills, are so refined that they are not widely used in people's everyday life now"*. In his opinion, people might not often use these skills in their current lives. Thus, in attempting to integrate culture and tourism, it was necessary to consider fully the characteristics of cultural and tourism resources and their consumers.

An example of cultural resources that are not suitable for integration with tourism activities is Kun Qu (昆曲), which is a form of Chinese opera, mainly performed in Jiangsu Province. The specific cultural characteristics of Kun Qu are too knowledgeable

to be packaged as tourism products. The Director of the Cultural Communication Office of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department explained why it was impossible for wide audiences to accept Kun Qu as a cultural tourism product:

"It is better to perform Kun Qu (昆曲) only for a small group of audiences but not for 100 or 200 people. The unique and amazing experience that Kun Qu could provide is enjoyment of the actors' performance, associated with the specific music, light, and environment. The audiences for Kun Qu are different from other cultural performances, because they need to sit close to the stage, observe the actors' body language and their facial movement, in order to enjoy their performances. All of these details cannot easily be observed if people sit far from the stage or in a noisy environment. Indeed, Kun Qu will lose its authenticity and unique cultural characteristics if it is combined with tourism activities".

His point of view makes it clear that such "higher level" culture has a very small market, with mainstream audiences possibly not able to fully understand it. In comparison to popular culture, higher level culture requires people to have strong interests in culture, relevant cultural experience or educational background. The producers hence need to consider their market and audiences carefully in designing and developing different cultural tourism products.

It emerges that the National Excellent Cultural Tourism Project Directory 2010 could encourage the combination of cultural/arts performance and tourism activities in the development of Tourist Performance products. It is also apparent that consumers might have difficulty in understanding certain forms of higher culture if they do not have the necessary knowledge and cultural background. The next section discusses the relationship between the Culture and Tourism Departments.

5.3 Interdependence and tension between the Culture and Tourism Departments

This part discusses interdependence and tension between the Culture and Tourism Departments. Government plays an important role in managing cultural tourism and marketing it to the consumers. In cultural tourism, the Culture and Tourism Departments are the two key players in policy planning, product development and destination marketing. These two departments should be able to cooperate with each other in terms of having common interests around cultural tourism, yet tensions between

can arise. The following sections evaluate these relationships in terms of regulating the industry. Section 5.3.1 first discusses the different priorities of the Culture and Tourism Departments.

5.3.1 Different priorities of the Culture and Tourism Departments

For Chinese government departments the priority is the policy-making process. Their role is to respond "to the global economy, central government policy priorities, local needs, and more recently, to regional strategic development plans" (Qian, 2013: 86). For instance, the government has to assess the strengths and weaknesses of existing policies, and analyse them for future development after calculating the return on their public facilities or equipment. The policy makers can redesign policies and put in place more efficient and practical approaches if the returns are lower than expectations (Pearce, 1992).

In the Nanjing case, the Culture Department had overall responsibility for managing cultural issues, developing and evaluating culture and relics, identifying trends in the culture market and disseminating social and cultural information. Meanwhile, the Tourism Department focused on assembly, development and consumption of tourism resources, classification of tourism attractions and related facilities, reviews of tourism planning and regulations, and monitoring various tourism and festival activities. These priorities are now discussed next in more detail in the context of the relationships of interdependence and tension between the Culture and Tourism Departments.

5.3.1.1 The Culture Department's priorities

The Culture Department prioritised meeting local people's needs by providing them with relevant cultural services. The Director of the Cultural Communication Office of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department explained two elements of the culture sector: the cultural public welfare (wen hua shi ye 文化事业) and cultural enterprises (wen hua chan ye 文化产业), which were important in meeting local people's cultural and spiritual needs. He noted,

"The cultural sector in China can be categorized into two parts, cultural public welfare (wen hua shi ye 文化事业) and cultural enterprises (wen hua chan ye 文化产业). The former focuses on public welfare and includes museums and art galleries while the latter deals with the creative industries

and art performances. In particular, cultural public welfare (wen hua shi ye 文化事业) relates more to local people's lives, so the Culture Department has to pay attention to the local community and satisfy their spiritual needs".

Most of the Culture Department officials mentioned their responsibility for meeting local people's cultural needs, which the Culture Department attempted to do by investing in cultural facilities and diverse cultural experiences for the local community.

The Director of the Cultural Communication Office of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department referred to the facilities and cultural services provided by the Culture Department:

"One objective of the 12th Five-Year Guideline is 'to continually meet the growing material and cultural needs of the people' (bu duan man zu ren min qun zhong ri yi zeng zhang de wu zhi wen hua xu yao 不断满足人民群众日益增长的物质文化需要). The Chinese government has implemented the 'san xia xiang' (三下乡) programme to deliver culture, technology, and medicine to the villages for many years. Books, newspapers, operas, movies and TV programmes, for example, are delivered to different towns and villages in order to meet people's spiritual needs".

The Director of Jiangsu Intangible Cultural Heritage Preservation Centre explained how the Culture Department catered for local people's needs: *"Jiangsu province and Nanjing city government recently decided to invest in libraries, art galleries, and museums, which are free for residents. Local people can, in particular, read more books and utilize cultural facilities in Nanjing".*

The Vice-Director of Nanjing Cultural Relics Bureau commented that the main responsibility of the Culture Department was *"serving the local community and preserving and representing cultural heritage resources, which are formed as a part of people's everyday life".* In addition, a Culture Department official from Jiangsu Province emphasised that the Culture Department *"has to preserve and represent these rich cultural resources to local people, because some cultural relics are difficult to deliver, preserve and represent".*

5.3.1.2 The Tourism Department's priorities

The Tourism Department prioritise the development of tourism resources and promoting them to tourists. The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics

Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau said,

"I have worked in tourism planning for more than 10 years. My main responsibility is designing tourism plans at city and district level, as well as providing consultancy for various scenic spots. The main purpose in drawing up these plans is to coordinate Nanjing's cultural heritage resources and discover new resources for new tourism projects. I also have a role in appraising, authorizing and approving tourism projects of high quality. This not only maintains the quality of tourism products, but also promotes Nanjing to different tourists from the domestic and international markets".

The Vice-Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau described the role of Nanjing Tourism Department as follows:

"The Tourism Department designs tourism plans, collects tourism statistics, manages tourism marketing, manages gardens and parks, identifies safety regulations, runs tourism promotions, shapes Nanjing city's image, and promotes Nanjing's tourism industry. The main priority of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department is to collect tourism statistics on visitor attractions, hotels and travel agencies. It is important to collect these statistics in order to understand tourist behaviours and their characteristics. Based on these statistics our tourism policy makers can predict the future and plan for the tourism industry in Nanjing and in Jiangsu Province".

The Director of the Tourism Marketing Development Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau explained how they promoted the unique selling points of Nanjing's tourism resources in order to attract more tourists to Nanjing:

"We select and package cultural and heritage resources with full consideration of their cultural value and historic characteristics. The Republican cultural tourism products, for example, are the selling points of Nanjing's cultural heritage resources. We consider carefully the selection of resources and packaging strategy to promote them to different tourists. For example, we aim at promoting Nanjing's cultural tourism products to the domestic tourists, particularly those from prosperous areas and places with good transportation links".

The differing priorities of the Culture and Tourism Departments may affect their interactions in relation to cultural tourism. The next section evaluates interdependence and tension between the two departments in regulating the industry.

5.3.2 Interdependence and tension in regulating the industry

This section discusses the interrelationships between the Culture and Tourism Departments, in terms of regulating the industry. Such interrelationships were mainly found in the following two aspects: assembling cultural tourism resources (Section 5.3.2.1), and encouraging the consumption of cultural tourism (Section 5.3.2.2).

5.3.2.1 Assembling cultural tourism resources

One clear source of interdependence was the two departments' common administrative responsibility for assembling cultural tourism resources. The responsibility of the Culture Department, for example, is to discover, protect and evaluate cultural resources, and to deliver cultural value and meaning. The Culture Department officials described their responsibility in assembling resources as, *"guiding and managing theatres, arts, and cultural heritage resources"; "discovering unique art performances or high quality cultural products"; "guiding and discovering more cultural relics"; and "guiding and evaluating intangible cultural relics using creative promotional approaches"*. Meanwhile, some Tourism Department officials considered their role as being to assemble appropriate tourism resources to diversify tourism products and people's visiting experiences. A senior tourism official of Nanjing Tourism Bureau commented, *"Assembling appropriate resources is a key task for the Tourism Department to maximize the product's value and market share"*.

Many Culture Department officials also referred to the opportunities for cooperation with tourism officials. They believed this could be feasible through the Tourism Department contributing to packaging and adding new value into cultural heritage resources, and promoting them to the public.

According to the Vice-Director of the Tourism Research Centre at Nanjing University, the Culture and Tourism Departments had cooperated on the city's plan for building a cultural public square. He explained how working together on this plan helped to establish a relationship of interdependence between the two departments:

"For example, 'drinking with poems' (yin jiu dui shi 饮酒对诗) is a cultural activity that was very popular among the poets thousands of years ago. The Culture Department now is planning a 'poem wall' in a Cultural Public Square, in order to memorialize some famous poets. Poems in Chinese

culture have a high cultural value, which relates to the poets' personal feelings, opinions and background. These poems can also reflect social change and tell the story. In order to help other visitors and audiences to understand the poems and their meanings, it is necessary to ask for the support from the Tourism Department, and together design some leisure activities for the tourists. In this cultural public square people can imitate the ancient poets, drinking and reading the poems. This is an interesting way to diversify visitors' experiences, thereby people have the chance to learn the poems and try to understand the poets' feelings".

From his point of view, tourist sites and scenic spots are not only resources for visitors, but are equally sites with rich embedded meanings and values. The cultural meanings embedded in tourist products and activities give them more interest and value. The Culture and Tourism Departments shared a common interest in cultural heritage resources that enabled them to cooperate in assembling cultural tourism resources.

The Director of the Tourism Research Centre at Nanjing University also agreed with this cooperation:

"Many traditional cultural resources have to rely on other industrial sectors in order to represent their unique characteristics and cultural values. This way helps people to understand culture and history more easily, especially if some of these history and cultural heritage resources are no longer respected or well preserved".

The Director of Jiangsu Cultural Intangible Heritage Protection Centre identified this relationship of interdependence by using the example of Ganxi House Folklore Museum. Representatives of intangible cultural heritage were often brought in to perform their unique skills and techniques to visitors. The Culture Department took responsibility for assembling such people, while the Tourism Department would contact tourist attractions and provide related support. He saw this as cooperation *"between the Culture Department and the Tourism Department in order to represent intangible cultural heritage in a lively and interesting way. Many people can enjoy the representatives' performance, and understand intangible cultural heritage in an easy way"*.

The Director of the Cultural Communication Office of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department also identified this cooperation in the Nanjing Jiangning Weaving House project:

"Nanjing city government spent about 6 billion CNY withdrawing the ownership and rights of doing business in the Nanjing Jiangning Weaving House. Then the city government asked the Culture and Tourism Departments to cooperate and rework this project. In particular, the Culture Department takes responsibility for deciding the content and designing the exhibition, while the Tourism Department plans the appropriate marketing promotions to match tourists' expectations and local people's tastes. It is a good opportunity for the two government departments to cooperate in terms of common tasks on the same project".

However, even within such cooperative projects, tension can emerge between the Culture and Tourism Departments, from a number of different sources. First, tension can arise because either the Culture Department or the Tourism Department lacks sufficient awareness of the cooperation. Also, the Culture Department officials were generally less willing to cooperate with the Tourism Department.

The Vice-Director of the Museum Management Department of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department, for example, said,

"We may give less consideration to packaging the museums as a tourism product, although this way can bring lots of economic and social benefits to the museums. Due to museums being mainly used to preserve cultural heritage resources, and exhibit them to different audiences, emphasis on the learning experiences may be the main objective for museums, rather than too many commercial activities".

The Director of the Culture and Cultural Relics Bureau expressed a lack of interest in working with the Tourism Department, because such cooperation could damage the cultural heritage resources, especially the oldest and most valuable ones. In his view, *"Marketization in my opinion is the biggest problem for preserving cultural heritage resources. We seriously consider the value of cultural relics, while the Tourism actors probably damage them during marketization or in promoting them to tourists".*

The Director of the Cultural Communication Office of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department admitted that the Culture Department might not always fully cooperate with the Tourism Department. He explained,

"Tourism service can be regarded as a small part of the cultural service. We probably pay more attention to working with other departments rather than the Tourism Department. The cultural sector is a broader sector related to people's life-styles, working environment and way of travelling, so the

Culture Department often works with the Land Department, Transportation Department, Manufacturing Department, but less with the Tourism Department. I do agree that the Culture Department works with the Tourism Department, but this working relationship is not a long-term relationship at the moment. We only occasionally work with the Tourism Department on the same projects".

The second potential source of tension is the rapid development of the socio-cultural environment in China. Many new tourism products have emerged as a result of this development; however, the Tourism Department lacks the administrative power to manage these new products effectively.

The Director of Nanjing Tourism Quality Management expressed concern over the Tourism Department's inability to play a strong administrative role in monitoring new tourism products. He said,

"The tourism industry is a new industry, in which many new cultural tourism products have emerged to meet the increasing demand for leisure activities. This change has particularly been affected by the Chinese social environment. Golden weeks(huang jin zhou 黄金周), for example, are 7-day national holidays for people to plan long-trips to other places. The Chinese government recently decided to cancel one Golden week but split it into other short holidays in order to stimulate domestic tourism. Many tourism policy makers and holiday makers therefore are developing new tourism products in order to match this change and diversify people's choices in the short-trip holiday market. Products such as self-drive tours, self-guided tours, agriculture tours, and industrial tours have become popular in recent years. The self-drive tour, particularly, is a new product to meet the need for short holidays, but it lacks relevant legal regulation. Neither the Culture Department nor the Tourism Department has detailed instruments to regulate or manage this new tourism product".

Some tourism officials expressed further concern about the Tourism Department's lack of administrative power in Nanjing. The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau felt that the tourism sector was not the main economic force, which "*lowers the administrative status of the Tourism Department*". From his point of view, the Tourism Department's lack of administrative power was due to the fact that the tourism sector was not a significant driver of economic development. As the Director of the Cultural Communication Office of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department explained:

"The tourism sector is a new service sector and it contributes to revenue generation, changing people's life-styles, and encouraging job opportunities. I think the officials of Nanjing city government and of Jiangsu provincial government also realise the importance of the tourism industry. However, the tourism sector probably only contributes a small proportion of Nanjing's GDP (gross domestic product) in comparison to the cultural sector or the manufacturing sector. The economic contribution of the tourism sector is smaller than that of others, so that is probably why the Tourism Department has less administrative power than other government departments".

The Director of the Tourism Research Centre of Nanjing University believed that the Tourism Department *"struggled to gain practical power and rights in most Chinese cities, including in Nanjing city"*. In addition, a tourism professor from Nanjing Normal University thought it was impossible for absolute parity to be achieved between the Culture and Tourism Departments in the Chinese context. He explained,

"The Tourism Department is a 'soft' department in developing tourism products and managing the tourism industry. In comparison to other 'strong' departments like the Culture Department and the Transportation Department, the Tourism Department does not have sufficient power to deal with 'hard' issues, such as protecting cultural relics related to the national identity. The Tourism Department also has no rights to repair damaged or destroyed cultural relics, which are strictly managed by the Culture Department. Historical and cultural resources have to be protected by 'strong' standards and the involvement of 'strong' government departments, in the culture, land, and construction areas. However, the lack of tourism laws and lack of strong administrative power mean the Tourism Department is 'weaker' than other government departments".

The third potential source of tension relates to the frequent changes of department leaders. In the Nanjing case the leadership changed so often that there was a lack of direction in assembling cultural heritage resources. One consequence is that no one in the department is willing to take final administrative responsibility, especially if the assembly of cultural heritage resources is problematic.

The Vice-Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau confirmed that:

"It is difficult to acknowledge the problems if two or three departments work together on the same project. This problem can easily happen in a city level or district level project. The lower level project, for example, may lack detailed approaches or instruments. As a result, either the Culture

Department or the Tourism Department can shirk responsibility if there are mistakes or problems".

Although many respondents mentioned this potential tension, it was a sensitive topic that respondents were uncomfortable discussing and did not allow their views to be recorded. One interviewee said, *"I can discuss this tension, but please do not record it"*. Another government official also mentioned, *"If I were not carrying out this role or not in this position now, I could tell you more information"*. Due to such difficulties in data collection, the researcher had to identify other perspectives for understanding interdependence and tension between the Culture and Tourism Departments. Encouraging the consumption of cultural tourism, for example, was the other main responsibility shared by the Culture and Tourism Departments. This sub-theme is discussed in the next section.

5.3.2.2 Encouraging the consumption of cultural tourism

The Culture and Tourism Departments shared an interest in encouraging the consumption of cultural tourism. This common interest encouraged a relationship of interdependence between the Culture and Tourism Departments. The Culture Department, for example, aimed to provide various cultural experiences to international tourists while the Tourism Department could diversify relevant tourism activities.

Some Culture Department officials claimed that, understanding international tourists' preferences and their consumption behaviours was necessary to predict the future market trend and to plan strategy. The Vice-Director of the Museum Department of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department stated that whilst international tourists might be interested in Nanjing's cultural heritage resources, *"most of them lack sufficient knowledge or have no knowledge about Chinese culture and history"*. He suggested exhibiting cultural heritage resources in a simple way to *"present the unique characteristics of Chinese culture and promote Chinese rich cultural and heritage resources"*.

Particular consideration is given to historical themes, in attracting international tourists and helping them to understand different cultures and cultural meanings. The Director of the Museum Management Department of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department explained how overseas exhibitions based on historical themes encouraged visitors to consider and compare their own cultural and historic backgrounds in order to better

understand Chinese culture. She gave the following example to explain how historical themes can be used to attract international tourists and interpret historic and cultural meanings.

"There was a Rome-Ming cultural exhibition held between Nanjing city and Rome a few years ago. The theme was to exhibit both Roman culture and Ming Dynasty culture from the 14th century. That was a successful exhibition that enabled Italian and Chinese people to understand their different cultures in the same historic period. Nanjing government and the Jiangsu government provided support for this exhibition, to enable the exchange of culture between different countries".

As highlighted by many of the tourism officials, the use of historical themes to promote Nanjing's culture and history at tourist sites can also help international tourists to interpret cultural and historic messages that might be unfamiliar to them. A tourism professor from Nanjing Southeast University, for example, agreed that the Ming Dynasty culture might be easily understood and accepted of by tourists, and it could well represent Nanjing city's characteristics. He said,

"The Ming Dynasty culture is very important to Nanjing city, because it has left very valuable cultural and tourism resources, including Xiaoling Tomb, Ming City Wall, and Nanjing Treasure Dockyard Relics Theme Park. Many international tourists probably know about the Ming Dynasty history from visiting Beijing city, now the national capital of China. However, the first emperor of the Ming Dynasty, Zhu Yuanzhang, set up Nanjing city as the national capital at that time. In other words, Nanjing city was the core political, economic and cultural capital of the Ming Dynasty, although it is less famous now than Beijing city".

However, the dynamic changes in China's political, economic and socio-cultural environment might alter the department's objectives for tourism, and this might create potential tension between the two government departments.

Most of the Tourism Department officials and tourism experts indicated that the number of international tourists *"had fallen in recent years, and this trend could become worse in the future"*. A tourism professor from Nanjing Normal University commented that the domestic market, by contrast, had developed faster than the international market. He pointed out that the growth of the Chinese economy and the global economic recession might have caused the decrease in the number of international tourists visiting China. In his opinion,

"The Chinese economy is still growing and the Chinese people's disposable income is increasing. By contrast, the number of international tourists has decreased in recent years, because it is affected by such as SARS, natural disaster, economic recession and other environmental factors. Many foreign countries are suffering from economic recession, so the disposable income of international tourists has fallen. Many European tourists and American tourists probably need to consider their budget if they plan to visit China. Thus, the numbers of international tourists have fluctuated and fallen, in spite of that there has been a generally stable increase in the tourist flow in a changeable global environment".

The change in the Chinese government's priorities, as reflected in national policies, had a significant impact on the tourism industry's development and on domestic tourist numbers. The Director of the Tourism Research Centre of Nanjing University explained how tourism strategy had recently changed: *"The original strategy of 'highly developing inbound tourism, actively developing domestic tourism, and appropriately developing outbound tourism' has changed to one of 'highly developing domestic tourism, actively developing international tourism, and orderly developing outbound tourism'".* This new strategy reflected the change to greater domestic focus within the Chinese tourism industry and the shift of power in public sector governance of cultural tourism. The Director of the Tourism Research Centre at Nanjing University highlighted the deeper influence of national policies on the Chinese tourism industry:

"The Chinese government supported inbound tourism development in order to attract more foreign currency exchange from 1979 to 1985. But after 1985 the Chinese government re-considered the tourism industry and implemented the 'three No principles' strategy (san bu zheng ce 三不政策) which means 'no encouragement (bu gu li 不鼓励), no opposition (bu fan dui 不反对), and no recommendation (bu ti chang 不提倡)'. From then, China's tourism economy developed a lot that the tourism trade deficit (mao yi ni cha 贸易逆差) was around 40 billion US dollars in 2009. Thus, the Chinese government changed its tourism strategy and took into consideration the tourism trade deficit, which was expected to be 160 billion US dollars in 2012".

The changing global environment, the growing Chinese economy and shifting political influence potentially could cause uncertainty in the development of the tourism industry in China. These environmental factors might lead to the Culture and Tourism Departments developing different interests and priorities in the consumption of cultural

tourism. The next section discusses administrative reform, a particularly important issue in terms of the interrelationships between the Culture and Tourism Departments in China.

5.4 Administrative reform

Administrative reform was intended to restructure government departments, to integrate their different functions and to improve the efficiency of the public sector. A key principle of administrative reform in China is to implement the "large department system" (People, 2012b), and to enhance the administrative and the enforcement roles of government departments. A tourism professor of Nanjing Normal University argued, *"The main purpose for continuing with public sector reform is to strengthen government administrative functions, decrease conflicts among different government departments, and establish effective and positive government"*. The Director of the Cultural Communication Department in Jiangsu Province had the following perspective on the administrative reform: *"It definitely strengthens the competitiveness of the city, province, and the whole country"*.

From his point of view, a top-down governance approach encouraged the merging of smaller departments into one large department, and improved the efficiency of governance. The Director of the Tourism Quality Management Department of Nanjing Bureau considered that administrative reform could, *"bring the isolated departments together with different functions and responsibilities. It is useful in improving the efficiency of the governance approach at different levels"*. Meanwhile, a tourism professor from the Tourism Research Centre at Nanjing University agreed there was a need to emerge some departments into one large department, in order to solve practical problems at the local level. In her opinion,

"The meaning and content of the policies sometimes are difficult to fully interpret from national level to the local level or from one department to the other departments, especially if there are many government departments. The problem can happen when one director of the department interprets meanings only based on his/her own subjective understanding, but not keeping the objective purposes of the policies. However, administrative reform helps to solve these problems in practice".

Most of the interviewees were in favour of possible administrative reforms involving the Culture and Tourism Departments. They thought the benefits of reforming these two

departments were significant, and that reforms were necessary in the context of Chinese social development. A tourism official from Jiangsu Province stated, *"The boundary of tourism is not very clear but relative and comprehensive. It is possible to merge the Tourism Department with the Culture, Manufacturing, Agriculture, Transportation and other government departments"*.

The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau also discussed the Tourism Committee (lv you wei yuan hui 旅游委员会), as the possibility of reforming the Culture and Tourism Departments:

"Some cities, such as Sanya city, Hangzhou city and Huangshan city, have a Tourism Committee, drawn from different government departments. The Director of the Tourism Committee normally takes on the responsibility of being the Director of the Tourism Bureau at the city level, but he/she has no practical administrative power. As Director of the Tourism Committee, he/she only plays a role in managing and balancing the relationships among different government departments".

In Nanjing, administrative reform could also be designed to reflect the city's characteristics. The former Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau stated, *"Not all reform approaches should be the same in all Chinese cities, instead we need to design different reform processes according to different situations"*. The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics of Jiangsu Provincial Tourism Bureau expressed the need to consider Nanjing's particular characteristics in devising administrative reforms. He explained,

"The reform of government departments in Nanjing is different from in such as Hangzhou, Shanghai and other cities. Some cities merge the Tourism Department and the Culture Department while some reform the Tourism Department and the Sport Department. Nanjing should not copy any other cities' styles, but should consider local characteristics in designing administrative reforms".

However, the many practical obstacles inherent in reforming the Culture and Tourism Departments could create tensions between the two government departments, and these are discussed now in Section 5.4.1.

5.4.1 Tensions potentially created by administrative reform

Sweeping reform of Nanjing's government departments would not only affect relationships in the public sector, but would also be influenced by the changing Chinese context. The following sections evaluate the obstacles to administrative reform.

5.4.1.1 Lack of full consideration of social development

A first obstacle could be created by the administrative reform not matching the pace of social change. The aim of implementing administrative reform is to enhance cooperation among different government departments and to improve efficiency at the administrative level. It is also possible to implement administrative reform speedily at city level in order to adapt to the social development. However, reform at the local level could focus too much on local characteristics, without fully considering the broader development of society.

The Director of the Tourism Industry Development Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau described how the Nanjing Tourism Bureau had recently been reformed, because the existing administrative structure could not fit in with Nanjing city's development:

"Nanjing Woods and Garden Department and Nanjing Tourism Bureau were merged for the purpose of city construction two years ago, but they are going to be separated next year. As a part of the construction department, the main role of Nanjing Woods and Garden Department is in building, repairing and expanding gardens, parks and green lands for local people. However, the administrative reform restructured this department as part of the Tourism Department, which mainly focuses on marketing activities and tourist behaviours. This reform meant Nanjing Woods and Garden Department lost its original role, but there was waste of human resources in government departments. As a result, Nanjing city government has decided to separate Nanjing Woods and Garden Department from Nanjing Tourism Bureau and to re-establish it as an independent government department".

The Director of the Woods and Garden Department opposed integration of the Woods and Garden Department into Nanjing Tourism Bureau. He was worried that the contribution of his department would tend to be overlooked in order to meet the broader needs of government departments at the higher level. He explained,

"I disagreed with this reform, which has not benefited my department, but brings various problems. The Woods and Garden Management Department was part of Nanjing Construction Department, but now it has been reformed as part of Nanjing Tourism Bureau. This reform separates the Woods and Garden Department from its previous Construction Super Department, which receive the authority from central government at different levels. We are now, for instance, no longer able to apply easily for funding to repair and rebuild gardens, parks, and the environment around cultural tourism".

The Director of the Cultural Communication Office of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department used Shanghai city as an example to illustrate the failure of administrative reform at local level. He suggested,

"It is impossible only to use one model or one approach to implement administrative reform at the local level. Instead, different cities have to full consider the city's characteristics and practical situation. For example, Shanghai city was the first city to reform the tourism committee, which included different government departments from culture, transportation, land, sport and other industrial sectors. However, this tourism committee did not last long. Some departments have more resources and stronger administrative power than the Tourism Department. This resulted in dismissal of the Tourism Committee".

His point of view was that administrative reform can lead to tension between government departments, especially if the reform is not adapted to social development at the local level. The next part discusses obstacles in the reform process at different hierarchical levels.

5.4.1.2 Tensions at different hierarchical levels

Tensions can also be identified between government departments at different hierarchical levels. In the Nanjing case administrative reforms were implemented mainly at city level rather than at provincial or higher levels.

The Nanjing Cultural Bureau was formed through amalgamation of the Nanjing Cultural Relics Bureau, the Nanjing Religion Bureau, the Nanjing Radio and Television Bureau, and the Nanjing Press and Publication Bureau. Meanwhile, the reformed Nanjing Tourism Bureau included the Nanjing Tourism Bureau, part of the Nanjing Public Parks and Forest Bureau, and some offices from the Nanjing Construction Committee. These sub-departments, based on common responsibility and interests, were combined under either the Super Culture Department or the Super Tourism Department.

The Director of the Cultural Communication Office of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department was wary of bringing together the Culture and Tourism Departments in one large department:

"The reform of the Culture and Tourism Departments can happen in other provinces, but not in Jiangsu province, or Nanjing city. The role and responsibilities of the Culture and Tourism Departments are different. Simply integrating two departments cannot improve working efficiency, but causes more problems in the administrative work. I think keeping the Culture and Tourism Departments separate is much better in enabling each to do their specific work".

The Vice-Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau claimed that the Chinese philosophy of being harmonious might have prevented administrative reforms to merge the Culture and Tourism Departments. She said,

"Being harmonious and avoiding direct conflict is a key principle in China's government departments. Particularly in the Chinese political system, direct conflicts are rare. As the old saying goes, ge si qi zhi, ge zai qi wei (各司其职, 各在其位). It means that people take responsibility for their own positions. Thus, avoiding direct conflict might be the reason that there has been no administrative reform of the Culture and Tourism Departments".

The Director of the Tourism Marketing Development Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau also raised the following problematic issue:

"It is a little bit difficult to argue with the higher officials, especially in the Chinese policy-making process. The top-down approach plays an important role in Chinese policy making process, so that the lower level government officials sometimes cannot make final decisions independently, especially if the national government officials have not mentioned before. Some lower level policies also take a long time to proceed, having to wait to receive agreement from other government officials".

In addition, the same structure of administrative reform was not followed at provincial or higher levels. For example, the amalgamation of the Nanjing Cultural Bureau, the Nanjing Radio and Television Bureau, and the Nanjing Press and Publication Bureau into the Culture Department at city level was not a pattern that was followed at provincial level. The Vice-Director of Nanjing Cultural Relics Bureau explained how this inconsistency among the different hierarchical levels might result in officials from

the old government departments losing their benefits. Reducing the number of government officials or rearranging their positions, in particular, could potentially disadvantage officials from the former departments.

Many government officials considered this sensitive issue in the Chinese political system and few of them were willing to discuss their own perspectives. A Culture Department official identified this problem, which especially was sensitive at the higher levels. He noted that, *"Rearranging the role and responsibility of government officials should be considered very carefully in the administrative reform"*. A tourism professor also explained,

"To move government officials around is easy in theory, but it is difficult to implement in practice, especially at the higher level. Many government officials establish their personal networks (guanxi关系) when they are in post. Political guanxi, which is different from other kinds of networking, particularly needs more time and other resources to build up. However, administrative reform aims to break up this guanxi in order to avoid potential corruption. To some extent, administrative reform is a sensitive issue in China, and it needs more consideration".

In a conclusion, tensions in administrative reform were identified in three key aspects: lack of full consideration of social development; tensions at the same hierarchical level and tensions at different hierarchical levels. The next section draws conclusions from the findings and discussion.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided a detailed analysis of interdependence and tension between cultural and tourism policies and between the Culture and Tourism Departments. In so doing it fulfilled objective 3 of the thesis: "to examine the broader themes and apply the generic conceptual model to Nanjing city in China. The broader themes are refined with various sub-themes, associated with policymaking, industrial operations, product development, and promotional messages".

A top-down governance approach was found in the planning and operation of cultural and tourism policies. The higher level policies mainly fulfilled a guiding role at the lower level policies were implemented to match the key objectives set at the higher level.

Three main Chinese policy documents were discussed in seeking to understand interdependence and tension between the Culture and Tourism Departments in policy implementation. These documents are the 12th Five-Year Guideline (2011-2015), the National Guideline for Cultural Tourism Development (2009) and the National Excellent Cultural Tourism Project Directory (2010). These three national policy documents illustrated relationships of interdependence between the Culture and Tourism Departments, based on common objectives, interests, tasks and processes. The research further evaluated barriers such as the lack of a Tourism Law and the imbalance of policy support, which affected the two departments in operating cultural tourism policies.

This chapter also identified relationships of interdependence and tension between the Culture and Tourism Departments. These interrelationships were identified within government departments' regulation of the industry and entailed: assembling cultural tourism resources, and encouraging the consumption of cultural tourism.

The last part of the chapter discussed administrative reform in the context of China's political, economic and socio-economic progress. Such reforms provided opportunities to bring together and reconstruct the administrative structures of the Culture and Tourism Departments. However, these administrative reforms had not yet been implemented at city level in Nanjing. The tensions created by administrative reform stemmed from a lack of consideration of China's social development and included tensions arising between different hierarchical levels. The next chapter evaluates the interrelationships between the public and private sectors in relation to cultural tourism.

Chapter 6 Interdependence and tension between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is the second results chapter. The discussion here considers the interrelationships between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism, which can be affected by the complex Chinese environment. The findings here are based on the case of Nanjing city, where the generic conceptual model was applied. The findings can achieve the objective 3: "to examine the broader themes and to apply the generic conceptual model through an assessment of the case of the city of Nanjing in China. The broader themes were evaluated in relation to various sub-themes from policymaking, industrial operations, product development, and promotional messages and they were considered in the specific context of the Chinese political, economic, socio-cultural environment".

The public sector in this research includes "government departments, agencies at different levels of government and, perhaps, more informal institutions of self-governance by communities and user groups" (Batley, 1996: 731). The government also give authority to the private sector to develop business and to encourage national economic growth. Meanwhile, the private sector includes "formal private firms and informal enterprises" (Batley, 1996: 731), and "non-government organizations (NGOs), business associations and non-profit organizations" (Xie and Stough, 2002: 5). They can deliver public services, and improve the attractiveness and competitiveness of city destinations (Shen, Platten, and Deng, 2006).

The researcher, firstly, discusses the political and economic surroundings in the Chinese context (Section 6.2). These two environmental factors particularly are important influence on private sector organizations, rapidly emerging and developing in China. The discussion here provides a general view of the Chinese socialist environment, in which both public and private sectors interact and form different relationships.

The researcher, secondly, moves to the public and private sectors' priorities around cultural tourism (Section 6.3). The priorities of these two sectors reflect the demand of the market and of globalization (Jessop, 1998). The main priority of the public sector, discussed in the previous chapter, can be given to regulating the industry. The priority

of private sector organizations can be different based on the nature of their business, but generally it can be given to maximizing profits (Shen, Platten, and Deng, 2006). The differing priorities of the public and private sectors are important sources of interdependence and tension.

Thirdly, the interrelationships between the public and private sectors are discussed in the Section 6.4 and Section 6.5. The relationships of interdependence between the public and private sectors can contribute to social wellbeing and both are linked through their common interests, tasks, and working processes around cultural tourism (Xie and Stough, 2002). The public and private sectors, however, sometimes may struggle to work together in terms of having different interests, purposes and in the face of the dynamic changes in environmental factors. Consideration here is given to different value systems and the Chinese socialism, in order to understand the dynamic environmental factors, affecting the public and private sectors' priorities, and their interactions and interrelationships around cultural tourism. The last Section 6.6 concludes the findings of these interrelationships between the public and private sectors. The next Section 6.2 briefly discusses Chinese political and economic surroundings.

6.2 The economic reform and the "zheng qi fen kai" (政企分开) principle in China

The recent economic reforms are important in developing the Chinese socialist economy and to meet the needs of the market and of the globalisation. This reform introduced the market principles to the Chinese economy, allowed the foreign investment in China and permitted the private sector enterprises to set up business (People, 2006b). This economic reform helped to form the unique Chinese socialist marketization, along with the administrative reform. Caulfield (2006: 254) describes that, "While in the West there is an argument that these two types of reform are distinct trajectories with their own dynamics, in China, market and administrative reforms are very much interdependent processes".

The economic reform in China stimulates the development of the private sector, and at the same time resolves the centralization of the public sector. Since Deng Xiaoping had introduced the economic reform policy (also called the open-door policy) in 1978, much foreign capital investment entered into the Chinese market and was encouraged to

develop private sector organizations with a certain freedom (He and Pan, 2010). Since 1990s Zhejiang, Jiangsu and Shandong and other coastal provinces had grown rapidly to contribute to the Chinese regional economy (He, Wei and Pan, 2007). Nanjing as the capital of Jiangsu province had been particularly affected by the open-door policy, in particular, many diverse private sector organizations therefore had been encouraged to set up business in Nanjing.

The economic reforms had changed the relationships between the public and private sectors in China. Some respondents from the private sector mentioned "xiagang"(下岗), an issue that emerged in the 90s in China. It was also a result of the economic reform in the Chinese socialist economic market. "Xiagang" meant "laid off", was a specific word meaning "those (employees) not working are still retained by their original units with partial or no pay" (Lee, 2000: 914). Some interviewees indicated "xiagang" had significantly changed people's views about working in the public and private sectors. The General Manager of the Grand Metro Park Hotel explained the relationship between "xiagang" and the economic reform as,

"There is no permanent job anymore in the market economy. 'Xiagang' is different from simple unemployed, because it keeps the employees' relationships with the state-owned enterprises (guo you qi ye 国有企业), but without any salary. This kind of relationships, however, cannot bring any actual income for the employees, neither profit for the enterprises. Many people therefore give up their relationships with the state-owned enterprises, and establish their own business. In China, it is called 'xia hai jing shang' (下海经商). It is why 'Xiagang' had changed people's old minds, and it encouraged people to find other appropriate approaches to do their own business".

The General Manager of Jiangsu Mingcheng Cultural Creative Company supported the economic reform in developing private sector enterprises, especially since Zhu Rongji (the former vice-primer 1992-2002) had continued Deng Xiaoping's economic reform idea. He said,

"Since Zhu Rongji took the role of former vice-primer, he pushed forward Chinese economic development quickly, and changed many people's business idea. Although many people are 'xiagang' at that time, Zhu applied his forward view to the economic reform successful. At least, I got benefits from that reform, and now I had my own business in the cultural sector".

Consideration is particularly given to "zheng qi fen kai" (政企分开), a principle of Chinese economic reform, in order to better understand the relationships between the public and private sectors in China. The "zheng" (政) means the public sector; "qi" (企) means the private sector; and "fen kai" (分开) indicates to separate the behaviours and operating processes between the public and private sectors. This principle helps to clarify the objectives and role between the public and private sectors, yet at the same time to indicate their relationships of keeping a certain distance between government and private sector organizations.

The public sector can hand over economic authorities to the private sector according to the "zheng qi fen kai" principle. This approach enabled the government to keep the relationships with private sector organizations, but keeps a certain distance. The Chinese government plays various roles as the Operator, Regulator, Promoter, Coordinator and Educator in monitoring and planning the tourism industry (Zhang, Chong and Ap, 1999), in particular, "tourism has transformed from being initially a political tool, which was centrally controlled to an economic one which is now driven by market forces" (p.482). In doing so, the government utilizes the "zheng qi fen kai" principle and handed over certain economic authorities to the private sector. As a result, "the state would control the macro economy, and individuals would control the micro economy according to the law of the market" (Malik, 1997: 134).

The cultural sector preferred this "distance" between the public and private sectors, in order to protect the cultural welfare. The Culture Department, for instance, took responsibility for caring the public welfare, including museums, libraries, and other cultural facilities, but it was tended to be away from cultural enterprises (chanye 产业), which were driven by the market or commercialization.

The Director of Nanjing Cultural Relics Bureau believed the cultural enterprises (chanye 产业) allowed too much commodification which damaged the authenticity of cultural relics. The Director of the Cultural Communication Office of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department suggested,

"The 'zheng qi fen kai' principle can keep the independence between the public and private sectors, and benefit the healthy development of cultural public welfare (wen hua shi ye 文化事业). This principle also helps us to

protect our cultural heritage resources and avoid the commodification from the market. Although it may limit profits for cultural enterprises, it is necessary to sustain these cultural heritage resources for our future generations".

While the main reason for implementing the "zheng qi fen kai" principle and the economic reform is to avoid the potential corruption (fu bai 腐败) in China. The dynamic externalities still had left some negative influences on the industrial specification (Zhong, Arthur, and Fu, 2008), although they encouraged local competition and industrial diversification (Bo, 2007). The Chinese government clearly concerned this kind of corruption in "the integration of functions associated with government agencies and enterprises" (Yu, Berg, and Guo, 2004: 724).

The biggest corruption was in the Beijing municipal leadership when the city mayor syphoned off 18 billion CNY (approximately £1.8 billion) and 2 billion CNY for various municipal projects (Lau, 1999). As one negative result, "public funds are frequently channelled into speculative activities, in which losses accrue to the state and gains are privately pocketed" (Lau, 1999: 68).

Therefore, the economic reform encouraged the private sector enterprises whilst retaining overall control by the Chinese government. Meanwhile, the "zheng qi fen kai" principle had been indicated to avoid corruption and to facilitate the nature of top-down governance approach in the decentralization of economic power in China (Xinhua net, 1978). The next section introduces different priorities of the public and private sectors around cultural tourism.

6.3 Different priorities of the public and private sectors around cultural tourism

Both public and private sectors have different priorities, interests and purposes around cultural tourism. Government departments regulate the industry while private sector organizations sought economic benefits through participating in the policy-making process (Gray, 2009; Gary and Wingfield, 2011). These different priorities can affect the interactions between public and private sectors around cultural tourism, as well as forming their relationships in city destinations. In Nanjing city key actors around cultural tourism were identified: the public sector, the private sector, and the academics/experts. Their priorities are discussed in the next following sections.

6.3.1 The public sector's priorities

Government departments took responsibility for operating the higher level policies, tackling public affairs, and serving local people. The public sector includes "government departments, agencies at different levels of government and, (perhaps), more informal institutions of self-governance by communities and user groups" (Batley, 1996: 731). The public sector can "adjust and abolish those governmental departments which had a direct hand in the management of profit-related industries and enterprises, increase government's macro-management capacity, and strengthen the legal and supervisory functions of the government" (Lan, 1999: 33).

In Nanjing many government officials took responsibility for designing policies. In particular, they encouraged private sector organizations to participate in the policy-making process, which was also directly influenced by dynamic change of social development.

The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Jiangsu Province also confirmed the government's priorities:

"We (the Tourism Department) mainly plan the policies or industrial regulations to regulate the tourism industry and to monitor tourism organizations' behaviour. However, we do not participate in these organizations' daily operations. We have no responsibility for their daily operations and profits. In particular, it is much better to keep a certain distance with private sector organizations in order to avoid the potential corruption".

Therefore, the government designs policies to establish a healthy investment environment, for private sector organizations setting up business and for the government promoting Nanjing city to visitors. A tourism professor from Nanjing Normal University clarified that, policies designed by the city government were used to support the private sector in establishing business in Nanjing. He said,

"The policy support not only benefits private sector organizations establishing the business in Nanjing, but also encourages the city's economic growth. Nanjing city government is looking for investment and funding for the tourism industry, so it has published some policies related to the land, tax, bank loans, financial resources, technology evaluation, and talent resources for the private sector. These policies could benefit private sector organizations, especially small-medium enterprises to save the cost,

maximise profits, and boost their confidence of Nanjing's business environment ".

The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau also explained how:

"Providing policy support is a good way to build up the private sector's confidence for Nanjing, where they could feel relative freedom and safety to establish business. The policy could secure a healthy and relatively safe business investment environment, which is very important for private sector organizations, particularly for the small-medium enterprises, which just have established the business at early stage".

According to his view, government departments focused on policy and planning, and on regulating the industry. They also paid attention to private sector organizations in order to identify the good operational examples and potential barriers in the industry. The next section discusses the private sector's priorities around cultural tourism.

6.3.2 The private sector's priorities

The private sector's priorities were different in terms of the nature of their businesses, which broadly includes "formal private firms and informal enterprises" (Batley, 1996: 731), and "non-government organizations (NGOs), business associations and non-profit organizations" (Xie and Stough, 2002: 5). They deliver the public services, and can improve the attractiveness and competitiveness of city destinations (Shen, Platten, and Deng, 2006).

In China private sector organizations are generally categorised into two types, the enterprises mainly focused on the profits ("qi ye" 企业), and the organizations mainly work on the public welfare ("shi ye dan wei" 事业单位). The latter ones can receive more direct governmental policy and financial support on the public welfare, but they are allowed to operate their own business but with a certain degree of control by the Chinese government. These two types of private sectors organizations and their priorities are explored in the Sections 6.3.2.1 and 6.3.2.2.

6.3.2.1 The priorities of profit-seeking enterprises ("qi ye" 企业)

Many "qi ye"(企业) mainly gave priority to profits focusing on generating higher revenues and reducing costs (Andersson and Getz, 2009). In particular, SMEs which are

interdependent with the state, increasingly contribute to the national economy (Jefferson, Rawski and Zheng, 1992; Lau, 1999), and at the same time also maximize profits to survive in the changeable socio-economic environment. In China these private sector organizations took main responsibility for their own profits and losses (zi fu ying kui 自负盈亏), and dealt with the pressure of surviving in the competitive market. Therefore, the managers of private sector enterprises put effort into assembling resources, generating more profits, and increasing the market competitiveness of cultural tourism products.

A secondary priority for "qi ye" (企业) organizations is given to keeping good relationships with the public sector. These private sector enterprises could receive policy support from the government and then they could protect themselves in an open market. Mertha (2005) argues that private sector enterprises receive various benefits from tax refunds or rent discounts based on relevant policies and regulations.

The Director of Jiangsu Provincial Cultural Communication Office mentioned the involvement of artists in the Culture Department's consultancy meeting.

"The Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department often holds consultancy meeting and invites some cultural enterprises' managers and artists to present their good examples in the cultural sector. These private sector enterprises and artists are the key players in the cultural sector, and they really understand what is going on in the industry. In particular, they interact with the consumers directly, so they understand the consumers' preferences and behaviours much more clearly than the government. Therefore, their experiences are very useful for our policy makers to design new policy and plan to regulate the industry".

As well as profit-seeking enterprises, there are organizations which mainly focus on the public welfare and citizens' everyday life. These public welfare organizations in China are called "shi ye dan wei" (事业单位), and they are discussed in the next section.

6.3.2.2 The priorities of the public welfare organizations ("shi ye dan wei" 事业单位)

The public welfare organizations ("shi ye dan wei" 事业单位) give general priority to the public welfare and non-profit social issues. Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), business associations and non-profit organizations, for example, are categorised as public welfare organizations ("shi ye dan wei" 事业单位). They take on the

governmental functions such as education, technology, culture and national health (National Institution Registration Authority, 2008). Museums, galleries, monuments, memorial halls, schools, libraries and other cultural facilities can receive financial support from government departments (People, 2012b).

In Nanjing only a few tourist sites retained the characteristics of "shi ye dan wei"(事业单位), considering the public welfare and non-profit social issues. The researcher had interviewed the managers of two tourist sites, which were important sites of Nanjing's cultural heritage and serve a large number of visitors every year. The two tourist sites were the Nanjing Presidential Palace and the Zhongshan Mountain National Park.

According to the two managers' opinions, the main purpose for the public welfare organizations is to meet citizens' everyday needs. The Nanjing Presidential Palace and the Zhongshan Mountain National Park are two historical sites that they are well preserved to recall the history and enhance visitors' interests in Nanjing's culture and heritage resources. The Marketing Manager of the Presidential Palace noted,

"The main purpose for preserving the Presidential Palace is to help people, especially Chinese citizens, remember the Chinese revolution history, and improve their national pride. This Palace is an important historical site, not only recording the social changes and historical revolution in Nanjing, but also representing Chinese people's characteristics of being brave to lead the country's revolution. Delivering historical messages and interpreting cultural meanings correctly are our main responsibility. This is also the main role of being a public welfare organization ('shi ye dan wei' 事业单位)".

The Director of the Tourism Planning Office in Zhongshan Mountain National Park agreed to obtaining the characteristics of public welfare organizations ("shi ye dan wei" 事业单位), in order to meet people's spiritual needs in culture and history. In his view, the Zhongshan Mountain National Park was changed from charging visitors to free:

"The priority is given to opening Zhongshan Mountain National Park for free, in order to represent and promote the Republican period of history, a milestone of Chinese history. This national park includes many heritage resources, such as the tomb of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, memorizing him as the first president of the Provisional Republic of China. Visitors are required to pay for tickets before 2010. However, in order to meet people's spiritual needs in culture and encourage the domestic consumption, the Chinese state

government and Jiangsu Provincial government have decided to fund Zhongshan Mountain National Park as a free site. This approach effectively attracts a large number of visitors to Nanjing, and at the same time represents the Republican history effectively".

From his point of view, both profitable enterprises ("qi ye" 企业) and public welfare organizations ("shi ye dan wei" 事业单位), could have different priorities around cultural tourism. Their priorities differ from the nature of the businesses, and they are also affected by the Chinese political, economic, and socio-cultural surroundings. The next section furthermore explores the academics' priorities around cultural tourism.

6.3.3 The academics' priorities

The academics and experts give priority to the policy and planning, in which they can apply academic knowledge and experience to the practice. Many academics and research institutions have diversified research backgrounds and rich industrial experiences, so they play an important role in the Chinese policy-making process. Glaser and Saunders (2002: 598) note that these academics "provide information, analysis and advice to the Chinese government and Party leaders".

A former Vice-Director of Nanjing Tourism Bureau but now the Director of Nanjing Tourism Research Institution claimed that,

"I was working as the Vice Director of Nanjing Tourism Bureau but now I am the Director of Nanjing Tourism Research Institution. My main responsibility is for leading my research team conducting practical research in relation to current problematic issues in Nanjing tourism market. In doing so, I take responsibility for publishing a monthly research journal and many tourism magazines and books in relation to Nanjing's culture and tourism activities. I also collaborate with other tourism experts and Tourism Department officials in planning tourism policies and regulations".

Chinese leaders and policy makers utilise the academics' support in the policy-making process. The increasing demand for academic research closely relates to the competitive Chinese socio-economic environment, in which the Chinese leaders and policy makers are increasingly seeking professional feedback from a range of actors (Glaser and Saunders, 2002). In order to adapt with the dynamic environment, such academics from universities and research institutions, therefore, contribute their academic knowledge to the theory and practice of tourism policy and planning.

The Vice-Director of the Museum Department of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department explained how the cultural and heritage experts involved in planning cultural policies, regulations and projects:

"Many cultural heritage resources in Nanjing have high cultural value, and they urgently need to be preserved, according to the professional suggestions from relevant professors and experts. Nanjing has many professors in the culture and heritage sectors, in particular, some of them even had worked for more than thirty years on the culture and history of Ming Dynasty and Qing Dynasty. Their professional comments and knowledge are extremely useful to the preservation of cultural heritage resources, and also to avoid the potential damages in the commodification".

Many professors and experts claimed to make contributions in terms of providing professional comments and in consulting on projects and plans. A professor of heritage studies noted that he was involved in the Nanjing Tourism Master Plan (2006-2020), to provide professional comments on preserving Nanjing's heritage resources. He claimed how to link theory and practical research:

"My research area is heritage studies, so I had been invited many times to the policy-making process, and provided the comments to preserving both tangible and intangible cultural heritage resources. Nanjing as a famous cultural historical city has rich cultural heritage resources of the Ming and Qing Dynasty. These cultural heritage resources are very important to be well preserved for the next generations. Policy makers often invite these professors and experts and consult their professional suggestions in planning policies".

A tourism expert from Jiangsu Orientscape Planning Company explained how she involved in making policies at city and district levels: *"Different from purely private sector organizations which look for more economic profits, most experts and professors not only provide more professional suggestions and comments, but more important consider long-term strategy and sustainable development".* In her opinion, the academics had to take responsibility for providing professional suggestions in order to sustain cultural heritage resources.

In sum, the public sector, the private sector, and the academics have different priorities around cultural tourism. These priorities can be varied in terms of their different interests and the dynamic changes in China's context. The next section explores how these different priorities affect interdependence and tension between the public and

private sectors around cultural tourism.

6.4 Interdependence and tension between the public and private sectors in policy and planning

The public and private sectors have different interests and priorities in policy and planning, and their different interactions and interrelationships reflect differences between collectivism and individualism. Collectivism is about the interdependence and loyalty of in-groups, while individualism focuses on individual independence and personal achievement (Michailova and Hutchings, 2006).

Such collectivism encourages both public and private sectors to work together around cultural tourism. The Chinese government considers collectivism in order to take the central authorities, regulate the industry and enterprises, and shift from central planning economy to the market economy (Michailova and Hutchings, 2006). For example, collectivism encourages the Chinese government to prioritise shared interests or values. In doing so, both public and private sectors cooperate in assembling cultural and heritage resources, producing and packaging cultural tourism products, and in meeting consumers' needs. Interdependence between public and private sectors, therefore, can increase market force and emerge new investments and interests in the social transition (Qian, 2013).

By contrast, individualism more closely reflects the nature of private sector organizations, especially of small-medium enterprises (SMEs) seeking to maximise profits. The priority of private sector organizations is given to individual profits, rather than on the common interests of other organizations or on the macro-level of social responsibility. In particular, private sector organizations have developed rapidly during the economic reform, despite most of them remaining the limited controlled of the Chinese government. The priority to seeking individual profits may differ from the government's macro interest on shared group interests, and it may lead to potential tension between the public and private sectors. The following discussion evaluates the public and private sector's interrelationships in policy and planning.

6.4.1 Public-private partnership in policy and planning

Both public and private sectors could seek to partnership through their common interests in policy and planning, a process of balancing different interest groups, facilitating various investment projects, and ensuring city competitiveness and sustainable urban development. The contemporary Chinese economic market transition, in particular, affects these interest groups' priorities and then influences their different relationships (Kipfer and Keil, 2002). In Nanjing this partnership was evident in the interaction between the government and private sector organizations (Section 6.4.1.1), and between the government and the academics (Section 6.4.1.2).

6.4.1.1 Partnership between the government and private sector organizations

The government and private sector organizations can achieve partnership in policy and planning. Policy is designed by the government for regulating the industry and improving the competitiveness of a tourist destination (Andersson and Donald, 2009). The Vice-Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau claimed that the main reason for designing policy is to *"serve the public, the people, private sector organizations, and the whole social and economic development"*. She, thus, confirmed a planning process which requires partnerships among different actors, including both public and private sectors.

In Nanjing the government officials often consult private sector organizations' experiences, practices and lessons as a part of process in planning policy. Selin and Beason (1991: 649) indeed believe, "tourism managers must adopt a more domain-level focus and consider the interdependencies among organizations when making decisions". Therefore, both public and private sectors could sit together to exchange ideas about product development, and to establish policies and clarify issues around cultural tourism. The Director of the Tourism Marketing Department explained this public-private partnership in the round table meetings, *"Nanjing Tourism Bureau usually holds a roundtable meeting to invite the managers of hotels, travel agencies and other private sector organizations. In the meeting, we can collect the private sector's feedback, and then consider their various ideas and suggestions in the future regulations and policies"*.

The Director of Jiangsu Intangible Cultural Heritage Preservation Centre explained the reason for inviting private sector organizations in planning policy:

"Many government officials probably only consider macro-level management, but lacking relevant practical industrial experiences. By contrast, many managers of private sector organizations have rich industrial experiences, and they could provide an in-depth insight of the industry for us to design the future industrial strategy or plan".

The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department in Nanjing Tourism Bureau expressed his similar opinion:

"Working with the private sector could benefit us in predicting the future strategies and exploring a long-term version for the industry development. For instance, my (tourism) department focuses on appraising, authorizing, and approving tourism programmes and plans. Some plans are designed specifically for the scenic spots or holiday villages. In order to make the plans for long-term capability, we (the government), thus, need to consult the private sector's industrial experiences, their practical examples and their operational problems".

Some managers from the private sector also confirmed their relationships with the government in the policy-making process. The manager of Nanjing Treasure Dockyard Relics Theme Park explained how the Gulou District Government invited private sector organizations in their quarterly meeting:

"Some managers of hotels, travel agencies and tourist attractions are invited to the policy-planning meeting quarterly, holding by Nanjing Gulou District Government. In this quarterly meeting, these private sector managers have to report the general operational situation and their practical problems. For example, tourist safety is a very important issue that hotels, travel agencies, restaurants have to pay much more attention. This issue not only relates to the reputation of private sector organizations themselves, but more important affects the image of the city destination".

A travel agency manager also illustrated this partnership between her company and Nanjing Tourism Bureau: *"Travel guides and managers of travel agencies have to attend the annual training held by Nanjing Tourism Bureau every spring. We can explore our visions and learn some new good experiences in these training sessions".*

In addition, public-private partnership encourages the representatives of the private sector to participate in the meeting and to represent the voice of other organizations (Tosun, 2006). Not all private sector organizations could attend every meeting, due to the large number of organizations and different nature of their businesses. Thus, their

representatives are selected and invited to the policy-making process, in order to present the significant industrial trends and practices, to assist to submit private sector organizations' reports and plans, and to provide the relevant practical suggestions.

Many government officials mentioned inviting representatives of private sector organizations could improve the governments' working efficiency. The Vice-Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau explained the impossibility to invite all of private sector organizations in planning polities:

"In China private sector organizations have developed rapidly and they significantly contribute to the Chinese economy. Unfortunately, we cannot invite all of them to the policy-making process in terms of the limited meeting time and staff. In order to improve the meeting efficiency and productivity, we only invite a few representatives who can represent the voice of the private sector in the industry".

The Vice-Director of the Museum Department of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department illustrated that these representatives helped private sector organizations indirectly participate in policy and planning:

"The involvement of the representatives is important to show that the government officials consider private sector enterprises' interests and priorities in designing policy. They [private sectors organizations] do not need to join directly in designing all policies and regulations, but they can submit their reports or plans through their representatives".

From her point of view, the representative play important role to reflect the private sector's voice in the policy-making process. The Director of the Tourism Quality Management Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau agreed that: *"The government has to consider companies and organizations in presenting the main characteristics of the industry. These representatives attending the policy-making process, not only express the voices of the big companies, but also protect the rights of SMEs around cultural tourism".*

6.4.1.2 Partnership between the government and the academics

Public-private partnership is also between the government and the academics/experts. Many professors and experts are consulted to provide professional suggestions to the Chinese policy-making process. These academics are able to analyse individual business cases, whilst retaining a holistic consideration of the dynamic social

environment. The suggestions given by the academics are based on their practical research in the industry, including the cases of private sector organizations. These academics link the government and private sector organizations, through a way of presenting the practical experiences of the private sector in the policy making process.

The former Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau explained how the academics collected and reported practical experiences of the private sector:

"The professors and experts have to work together with private sectors organizations, tourists, and local people in different research projects. These academics are well familiar with the first-hand data and practices, in relation to the private sector's benefits and rights. In order to provide correct and professional suggestions for the future plan, the academics often bring these data as supportive evidence to the policy-making meeting".

A tourism professor of the Tourism Research Centre of Nanjing University explained the process of involving academics in making a policy or plan:

"First of all, the experts conduct the observations and research in relation to the scenic spot, resources, tourists market, cultural routes and historical background. Then we meet up with the government officials to understand their expectations of the tourism industry. After making a draft, we take a second meeting with different government officials from transportations, environment, woods and garden, culture, social security, land and others. The purpose for holding a second meeting is to consult government officials' opinions. Later, we invite the managers from scenic spots, travel agencies, hotels, and souvenirs shops, and ask about their suggestions and comments. We have to amend our plan based on the ideas and comments from both public and private sectors".

It was argued that, this public-private partnership could benefit the academics and experts in two aspects: establishing their own companies and improving personal reputation. First, profits are regarded as the driving force for the academics establishing their own business. These academics can be well paid based on what service they provided for the specific projects or plans. Indeed, the Chinese government encouraged professors and experts to establish their own consultancy companies and to provide professional consulting services.

Most academics, who were interviewed, owned their consulting companies or took a lead in consulting projects. A tourism professor from the Nanjing Normal University said, *"The Chinese government encourages professors to establish their own consultancy companies and participate into varied planning activities. These consultancy companies follow the industrial standards and have legal consultancy qualification"*. The former Dean of the Tourism Research Centre of Nanjing Southeast University discussed the number of consulting projects which his company had done around cultural tourism,

"I am also the Managing Director of Jiangsu Orientscape Planning Company, mainly consulting for different tourist attractions, city tourism and regional tourism. Earning money may be not my final purpose, but it is a key driving force. For example, we had completed several consultancy projects in relation to Nanjing cultural tourism, such as 'Tourism Master Plan for Xuanwu District, Nanjing' (2006-2020), 'Strategic Development Plan for Nanjing leisure tourism' (2008-2020), 'Strategic Development Plan for Nanjing Presidential Palace'. At the moment, my consultant company has developed very well, so I plan to open new branches in Shanghai and Guangzhou in the next five years.

From his point of view, the academics are increasingly encouraged to establish their own companies, with the purpose of maximizing profits.

Second, public-private partnership helps the academics and research institutions improve their research reputation and personal status. Glaser and Saunders (2002: 610) note, "Chinese analysts increasingly build their reputations on merit" through working on various official policies. In China, many research institutions associated with young academics, preferably with PhDs, engaged in the research investigation and consultant report (Glaser and Saunders, 2002).

A lecturer of Nanjing Normal University had participated in the Jiangsu Provincial 12th Five-Year Guideline, when she was a second year PhD student. She explained how she participated in planning this guideline:

"The Tourism Research Centre of Nanjing University gained the opportunity for planning in the Jiangsu Provincial 12th Five-Year Guideline. My director of study took the mainly responsibility for this plan, so he arranged some tasks for his students. This is why I can join in this planning process even though I am a 2nd Year PhD student. My responsibility was for

collecting the secondary data about Nanjing heritage resources, which especially relate to promoting Nanjing city's image. Meanwhile, I also participated in drafting this guideline and revising it several times with my colleagues".

These academics and their research institutions can boost their reputation by successfully completing with projects. Some academics claimed the achievements could reflect their research ability and relevant consulting experience, as well as increase their competitiveness among other consultancy companies. The Vice-Director of the Tourism Research Centre of Nanjing University noted his tourism research centre had the first class qualification for consulting and planning tourism projects and policies. Another tourism professor from Nanjing Southeast University considered how consultancy could deliver practical experiences and enhance the status of company:

"We can provide the professional suggestions and preview visions to the organizations. At the same time, their managers can tell us the practical experiences for our empirical research. It is a good opportunity to exchange information and share research achievements between the academics and private sector organizations".

In his opinion, the academics not only carry out work for the government for policy and planning, they also conduct research for the private sector's business. This approach can encourage partnership between the government and the academics, broadly, and between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism. A professor and the Director of the Tourism Research in Nanjing University confirmed the importance of academics:

"Professors and their private consulting companies could consider the public sector's perspectives, and design the specific plans at different scenic spots. I would like to see more planning institutions or consultant companies operated by the professors, because they could obtain the industrial operations with a certain standard".

6.4.2 Tensions between the public and private sectors in policy and planning

However, tensions were also seen to arise between the public and private sectors in policy and planning. The public and private sectors have different degrees of power, which can lead to the powerful status of the public sector, or the weaker status of SMEs losing enough interests in policy and planning. The following sections discuss these tensions.

6.4.2.1 Powerful political leaders in decision-making process

The powerful political leaders were determined in decision making process, but they led to the private sector disengaging in policy and planning. This sensitive issue could be illustrated by the cancellation of Nanjing Tourism Master Plan (2006-2020), consulted by a Spanish tourism planning institution and various Nanjing government departments. This plan was formally appraised and established as policy. However, some interviewees pointed out the failure of applying this master plan in practice.

A Tourism Department official stated that this master plan was not applied in Nanjing city:

"Unfortunately this plan had not yet been applied in the practice in terms of the different priorities that the planners put on. The decision-makers in Nanjing city government prefer to promote the Republican culture as the main attractiveness of Nanjing city, while the Spanish experts concentrate on the culture of the Ming Dynasty. In order to avoid the direct conflicts and keep the harmonious, the plan was only approved but not been applied to Nanjing city, after the foreign experts left".

A tourism professor from Nanjing Normal University noted how the political leaders influenced:

"Many government officials and some political leaders have their own ideas, which sometimes are more influential than other experts in the policy-making process. The powerful authority given to the public sector can exclude the private sector and the academics. This problem is urgent to deal with to keep a healthy environment for making policies and plans".

In particular, a few professors and experts stated that, they could not deal with the problematic issues, but only identify the problems in the policy-making process. A tourism professor from Nanjing Southeast University had to give up the plan in terms of lacking the decision-making power: *"Professors lack powerful rights and they have lots of difficulties in operating policies, although they had put lots of efforts into designing policies".* An expert from Nanjing Urban Construction Investment Holding (Group) company noted how the Chinese political system influenced the private planning institutions in policy-making process: *"whatever the experts or professors contribute professional suggestions to the plan, the city mayor or other powerful policy makers could stop the plan at the end".*

A professor from the Institute of Urban Planning and Design of Nanjing University explained how this negative impact:

"Many policies and plans could be significantly affected by the public sector. Some policies only have been implemented for two years or less, which lead to the negative impacts on the planning institutions. For example, many planning institutions did not operate very well this year, because each company was waiting for the 18th National People's Congress, which is very important to announce the general direction for Chinese politics, economy and society development. Thus, the planning institutions have to wait and clarify all of new policies at national level, and then participant in new plans planning or projects operation".

Some respondents particularly discussed the influence of the city mayor, whose role was a sensitive issue in Chinese governance systems. Qian (2013: 82) highlights the role of Nanjing city mayor in urban development under China's market transition:

"Between 1980 and 2011, Nanjing has had 10 mayors who have served an average term of merely 3 years. Every mayor has had his own strategies for the growth of Nanjing, which then become the primary guidelines for the master plans. These goals not only bring uncertainties and difficulties when developing the master plan, but they also lead to the city in confusing directions as it works toward urban development".

This was a highly sensitive political issue in China and most interviewees were not willing to directly answer relevant questions during the researcher conducted the fieldwork. Only two interviewees, who asked to be anonymous, mentioned *"It was very sensitive to discuss about corruption issue", "corruption is a common issue in Chinese political system, including in Nanjing city government"*.

In early 2014, the former Nanjing city mayor was expelled by the Chinese Community Party. He was charged with receiving "a huge amount of money and gift", involving about "20 million CNY (£2 million) in funds", and using his post to "seek benefits for others" (BBC news, 2014, online). This corruption showed the potential problems in applying the "zheng qi fen kai" principle at local level, in which the Nanjing city government officials might face corruption in interacting with private sector organizations. This problematic issue thus lead to tension between the public and private sectors, and may reflect a problematic issue at a local level in the Chinese socialist market economy (Caulfield, 2006).

6.4.2.2 Less powerful SMEs in policy and planning

Private sector organizations, especially such SMEs with weaker power and lower political status, had fewer or no chances to participate in designing policies and plans. According to Qian (2013), private sector organizations only make up a small proportion of Nanjing's total gross industrial production, compared with state-owned enterprises which stand 48.4% and foreign invested enterprises and joint ventures holding 45.8% share. Thus, SMEs can be marginalised in the policy-making process due to their weak power and lack of resource.

The Director of the Cultural Communication Office of Jiangsu Provincial Cultural Bureau explained why SMEs were often omitted in planning higher level policies:

"The government departments in China mainly take responsibility for designing generic strategies and taking much care about the public welfare for society. In doing so, the government departments at the higher level put priority to the generic development of industry and society, rather than much more specific objectives of the private sector, particularly the objectives of SMEs. Unfortunately, we cannot include all individual private sector organizations' interests and priorities in planning provincial or national policies".

The Director of the Tourism Quality Management Department in Nanjing Tourism Bureau also noted that why consulting with stated-owned organizations more than small medium ones:

"The big companies may more often participate in the policy-making process because they have more requirements or clearly development plan, such as developing their own brands, generating long-term profits, and building up social reputation. By contrast, the smaller companies may give priority to profits to survive in the market, so they may be less interested in making policies".

Private sector organizations' managers, however, complained they could not actually be part of the policy-making process, despite seeking to contribute and exchange their practical experiences. The Marketing Director of Nanjing Yuejiang Tower mentioned that, *"I do not think my organization can involve into policy-making process. It is only for policy makers from the public sector or from the stated-owned organisations"*. Two managers of travel agency noted that, *"We have no rights to design the policies or plans which are the responsibilities for government departments"*.

The "zheng qi fen kai" principle, for instance, was one potential reason that enlarged the gap between the government and the private sector in the cultural sector, including a lack of communication in the policy planning process. This principle was designed to clarify the objectives and roles between the public and private sectors, but also to encourage a certain distance between each other. The Culture Department based on this principle maintained this distance in order to sustain the cultural welfare and to avoid too much commodification, which might be mainly led by the cultural enterprises, while the private sector, particularly the cultural enterprises, would like to gain more policy support, which they lacked in the policy planning process. However, some cultural enterprises also claimed the government might not be concerned about their own interests or resources, which were important in designing policies and plans. The different power relations, therefore, may lead to the potential tensions between the powerful Culture Department and less powerful cultural enterprises.

The manager of Jiangsu Provincial Art and Craft Centre did not think his suggestions would be fully consulted in the policy planning process,

"In China some cultural policies are designed and packaged as cartoons or cultural performances, which are used to represent the Chinese identity. Although I disagree with developing such cartoon programme or dancing performance to be main Chinese cultural products, I have few chances to express my opinions to the government. Even though I say something in the policy-making process, the ideas cannot be fully accepted. Thus, we are not really interested in participating into that process".

Furthermore, the manager of Jiangsu Mingcheng Cultural Creative Company agreed that, the "zheng qi fen kai" principle to a certain degree led to a communication gap between the public and private sectors, particularly in the culture sector. In his opinion, cultural enterprises had very few chances to become involved in the policy planning process directly. He particularly mentioned the issue of intellectual property, which was important to the cultural enterprises, but probably given less priority by the government. He said,

"Unfortunately the government generally focuses on macro interests in relation to the community, but not the details on the specific issues in the cultural sector. Being unique and creative, for example, is the key reason to keep my business growing, so the intellectual property is very important to protect my cultural creative products and to keep them competitive.

However, the public awareness of intellectual property is still weak in China, as there are many copy cats in the cultural industry. This problematic issue seriously harms the rights of the artists, as well as destroying consumers' confidence for the Chinese cultural industry. I hope the provincial Culture Department and Nanjing city government can communicate with the cultural enterprises, know what they really need and design relevant policies for the industry".

Another Marketing Director of Nanjing Treasure Dockyard Relics Theme Park noted he had attended some lower level policy-making meetings only a few times. He said, *"I only attend meetings twice holding by the district government"*. Some small-medium business travel agencies claimed they never attended any policy-making meetings. The manager of Nanjing Jin Zonglü Travel Agency asserted that, *"We never attend any meetings for designing or reviewing policies at city or provincial level"*.

Yet private sector organizations sought to the government's support, most SMEs tried to keep a certain distance from the public sector in order to avoid the potential tensions or direct conflicts. Many private sector managers from hotels, travel agencies, and attractions admitted that, they tried to avoid direct conflicts with the public sector, which could damage their businesses and even limit their companies' independence. The Manager of Nanjing Jin Zonglü Travel Agency said, *"Any direct conflict with the government can damage SMEs. Most of small companies try to avoid these direct conflicts in order to survive in the market"*. Another administrator of Kanghui Travel Agency noted that, *"If we argue with the government, we can easily lose profits and even be in trouble"*.

Thus, the private sector, especially SMEs' managers might be de-motivated to follow the policies and quality standards without complained. The Manager of Nanjing Jin Zonglü Travel Agency said, *"My travel agency is just a small company. We just follow the policy from government without any doubt or questions"*. The similar opinion could also find from the Marketing Manager of the Presidential Palace, who viewed that, *"The Tourism Department puts emphasis on the security which all tourism attractions need to follow. We have to follow their security regulations in order to keep the correct standard in the Presidential Palace"*. Indeed, the General Manager of Nanjing Motel 168 stated that his hotel had to lose a certain benefits in order to avoid the conflicts with the government: *"Sometimes we have to invest unexpected money to follow those policies. For example, the new security regulations ask us to improve all the fire control*

equipment in my hotel. We have to change them even though it is a big cost".

In sum, both public and private sectors had common interests in policy and planning, achieving partnerships between the government and private sector organizations, and between the government and the academics. However, three relationships of tension were also found in terms of the problems in operating the "zheng qi fen kai" principle, the powerful political leaders in decision-making process, and less powerful SMEs in policy and planning. These interrelationships can equally reflect the differences between collectivism and individualism in China. The next Section 6.5 discusses the interrelationships between public and private sectors in industrial operations.

6.5 Interdependence and tension between the public and private sectors in industrial operations

The public and private sectors are the key actors in cultural tourism, and their interrelationships reflect the differences between socialism and capitalism in China. The socialist market economy enables the Chinese government to retain a certain degree controlled of public goods and service, and of private sector enterprises. The Chinese government has to take "the central appropriation and redistribution of goods and services" (Burawoy and Krotov, 1992: 19), associated with the state's partial price control and central planning (Kotz, 1999). The capitalism's feature also applies to the Chinese economic development, because "Instead of privatizing state enterprises, the leadership encouraged the development of a new, non-state, market-oriented sector of the economy alongside the state sector" (Kotz, 1999: 14). The next following sections discuss the relationships of interdependence (Section 6.5.1) and tension (Section 6.5.2) between the public and private sectors in industrial operations.

6.5.1 Interdependence in improving the competitiveness of city destination

The public and private sectors could work together around cultural tourism in improving the competitiveness of a city destination, despite that the two sectors can interpret the meaning of "competitiveness" differently.

Building a competitive destination should integrate the resources and the market from different perspectives, including competitive resources and environment, organizational structure, political and economic power, and cultural capital (Enright and Newton, 2005;

Waheeduzzman and Ryans, 1996). Competitiveness is "about producing more and better quality goods and services that are marketed successfully to consumers at home and abroad" (Newall, 1992: 94). Porter (1998) identifies how companies create competitive advantages and bring productivity in the global business. Similarly, Pearce (2013: 3) considers "increased competition, better productivity, more innovation, the formation of new businesses lead clusters to grow in a 'self-reinforcing cycle'". The following sections explore the relationships of interdependence between the public and private sectors.

6.5.1.1 Dealing with financial problems

First, the common interests in dealing with financial problems were seen as a source of interdependence between public and private sectors. In China's fiscal reform, central government decreased overall fiscal expenditure, including funding to the local government (Huang, 2011). It was difficult for the local government, who had to "seek cooperation with the private and other non-state sectors in urban economic development" (Xie and Stough, 2002: 17). To solve this difficulty, the government needed to cooperate with the private sector to attract investment, while the private sector had chances to contribute to industrial operations.

Many government officials mentioned the importance of the "Open Door" policy and the economic reforms in the participation of the private sector. The rise number of private sector organizations can provide more financial resources and increase revenue for a city destination. The Director of the Tourism Marketing Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau described this cooperation between the public and private sectors in tackling financial problems as,

"The relationship of interdependence between public and private sector is based on their common interests. The government can take responsibility for designing relevant policies and exploiting the resources while the private sector contributes and cooperates together in some projects (zheng fu qian tou, qi ye he zuo 政府牵头, 企业合作). The government departments often do not own the resources, but they have right to exploit them in different areas. By contrast, many private sector organizations benefit from the economic reform and they own their material and financial resources. In particular, some state-owned enterprises (guo you qi ye 国有企业) with resources are more powerful than the government".

This relationship of interdependence in dealing with financial problems was illustrated by the case of Yuejiang Tower Project in Nanjing Xiaguan District. This project aimed at expanding the Yuejiang Tower scenic spot and representing the Ming Dynasty culture. The Director of the Tourism Research Centre of Nanjing University pointed out that, due to Nanjing city government lacking sufficient money to expand this project, they had to cooperate with private sector organizations to assemble various materials and financial resources. He further explained how this cooperation:

"Expanding Yuejiang Tower is a valuable project to promote Nanjing's Ming culture and history, but it lacks sufficient funding. The local government supports this project, but it lacks enough funding resource. However, many private sector organizations own some resources since the privatisation (si you zhi 私有制) has been introduced in the Chinese market. The Chinese government departments, thus, have to ask the help from private sector organizations and share with their resources to support this project. Private sector organizations, meanwhile, can establish the sponsorship in expanding the Yuejiang Tower project. I personally believe this is a good way to preserve our history and cultural tradition, as well as strengthening the relationships between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism".

6.5.1.2 Marketing the city destination

Second, the common interests in promoting Nanjing city as a competitive urban tourist destination could encourage interdependence between the public and private sectors. Travel agencies, hotels and other private sector organizations, for example, often cooperate with the government and contribute their resources to promoting Nanjing city, according to the Director of the Nanjing Tourism Research Institution: *"Without the support of travel agencies and tourism attractions, any planning, projects even products cannot deliver to consumers successfully"*. This supports Pearce's (2013: 8) view that:

"The pooling of resources and collaborative marketing efforts, for instance, enables small and medium-sized businesses to create and implement a destination marketing strategy and build a stronger destination's image that will have greater impact and achieve better results than a whole series of uncoordinated individual activities that will have difficulty penetrating distant and competitive markets".

Many interviewees explained how and to what extent the private sector worked together with the public sector in promoting Nanjing city. An administrator of Kanghui Travel

Agency thought engaging in government promotional activities could increase the opportunities for the enterprises, and raise their profits along with feature of the city. She said, *"We were involved in promotional activities with Nanjing Tourism Bureau in Shanghai World Expo last year. It is a good way to promote our own company, at the same time to promote Nanjing city"*.

According to the Director of the Tourism Quality Management Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau, this joint approach to marketing the city was also raised public awareness of the cultural tourism resources and of the city destination's characteristics. He said, *"We assemble some managers of tourism attractions and travel agencies together to promote the whole Nanjing tourism industry in China International Travel Mart (CITM) and Shanghai World Expo"*.

A similar approach was used in the Presidential Palace, which not only represented the site's own characteristics, but also promoted the Nanjing city's image. The Marketing Manager of the Presidential Palace said, *"We had been involved into the marketing activities in the Shanghai World Expo in order to promote Nanjing city's image. We printed out many interesting booklets and selected the good tour guides in relation to the Presidential Palace"*.

This relationship of interdependence reflected the nature of socialist society in China, where the government took responsibility for the macro-level management. The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Jiangsu Provincial Tourism Bureau said, *"Government departments increasingly put more emphasis on the private sectors organizations which can contribute to the cultural tourism development"*. Zukin (2004: 7), particularly, considers the central government in marketing urban area as, *"When central governments more involved in regional redevelopment during the economic crisis of the 1980s, they took to linking economic and cultural strategies"*.

6.5.1.3 Developing cultural tourism products

Third, the common interests in developing cultural tourism products could lead to interdependence between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism. Private sector organizations are the practical operator, often assisting the government to provide resources, design and packaging resources as products, and promote them to visitors.

The Vice-Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau noted the private sector's involvement as, *"Any product with good packaging needs to be efficiently delivered by travel agencies, hotels, tourism attractions and other private sector organizations around cultural tourism"*. The General Manager of Jiangsu Mingcheng Cultural Creative Company discussed his relationships with the government in developing cultural products as follow,

"My company had the sponsorship for Youth Olympic Games 2014, sponsoring the cultural souvenirs. However, this sponsorship is a fixed contract until 2014. We aim to collaborate with Nanjing city government or the Jiangsu provincial government, through sharing our cultural products. In recent years, we have developed many new cultural products with Chinese cultural characteristics".

Public-private partnership was also found in designing new tourist souvenirs in the Presidential Palace. Tourist souvenirs with the unique Republican cultural characteristics were very popular in Nanjing tourist souvenirs market, and there were 118 kinds of products in 8 different themes (Wei, 2010). There were many books, stamps, watches and other tourist souvenirs with the unique characteristics, which had been developed successfully for the tourist market. The Marketing Manager of the Presidential Palace discussed the value of this relationship:

"We lack a number of experts and the creativity ability in developing our cultural tourism products at the early stage. However, Jiangsu Provincial Tourism Bureau introduced us the other cities' new experiences and their marketing strategies. Meanwhile, Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department arranged an expert to help us assemble experts, select the appropriate resources and package them as the competitive products. It is very helpful to explore our visions and generate more creative ideas for our product development".

6.5.2 Tensions between the public and private sectors in industrial operations

However, the rapid and dynamic development in the Chinese socio-economic and political environment had led to certain tensions between the public and private sectors. These are now explored.

6.5.2.1 Land-use issue

Land-use was a problematic issue, as Nanjing city government could not always monitor private sector behaviour. In the urban development of Nanjing districts and suburban towns and villages, revenue from land development was an essential income for city economic growth (Qian, 2013). Xie and Stough (2002: 19) identify land-use problem in urban economic development as "the urban region has become a growth machine driven by business interests, especially by land owners who expect and will benefit from the rise of land and property values with the growth of urban economy. Local government expects to benefit from the growth of sales and property taxes".

The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Jiangsu Province confirmed the strict management of land in approving different projects:

"The Chinese state government had very strict regulation to control the use of land, which can bring huge profits. The land-use issue does not only relate to profits, it is far more important to environmental and social development. Any project in using land have to be consulted, appraised, and approved by many departments from the lower level to the higher level. Furthermore, not all of land-use plans can be approved. Theme park and golf park, for example, had been stopped in recent years".

Due to the rapid economic development, a few land owners and the managers of property companies pursued maximum profits, without a full consideration for the sustainability of the local culture and environment. The Director of the Institute of Tourism and Landscape Architecture of Nanjing Southeast University explained,

"The Law of Land Ownership and Contract in Rural Areas (nong cun tu di cheng bao fa 农村土地承包法) had an impact on the local people during developing tourism projects and programmes. The law allows farmers or land owners to transfer the ownership of their lands through subcontracting, leasing, exchanging, and other approaches to other users. Under this law, the land can be exchanged for doing business. This is a good opportunity for tourism development, such as tourism estate (lv you di chan 旅游地产) is becoming popular these years, but it has high risks to obtain local traditions".

In order to attract more investments and solve the financial difficulties, Nanjing city government offered limited land-use for public infrastructure developers. However, this approach caused inappropriate use of land development, which was far from the

government's priorities given to the Nanjing Land Use Master Plan for 2006-2020 (Qian, 2013; The Bureau of Land Resources Nanjing, 2012).

Some private sector organizations thus *"worked on the projects in the name of developing cultural tourism, but nothing relevant to either culture or tourism"*, said The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau. These private sector organizations did not fully follow regulations, but in favour of looking for other commercial opportunities and maximising their profits (Qian, 2013). In other words, proposing to develop cultural tourism was a mechanism for some private sector organizations to behave fraudulently.

He also mentioned that how a property company developed a huge number of houses in a national park without careful planning:

"Some property companies' managers applied for the land in the name of developing cultural tourism. However, once they received the lands, they started to develop new properties, which were far from the plan. It may be a little bit difficult to reconstruct or remove these additional buildings immediately, because they not only relate to the private sector's profits, and also closely link with local people's benefits and rights".

From his point of view, the managers were interested in profits through selling lands and renting houses, rather than in the public welfare, local people's living standard and sustaining the environment.

6.5.2.2 Problems in transferring from the public to the private sector

The problems in the transferring process, particularly, reflect the social transition in the Chinese context. The economic reform enabled some government departments to transfer as the state-owned enterprises or private sector organizations. This approach brought potential difficulties for the local government managing and regulating these new organizations, which own similar administrative authority as government.

Zhongshan Mountain National Park and the Presidential Palace, for instance, were public welfare organizations ("shi ye dan wei" 事业单位), but both encountered problems in transferring from the public to the private sector. Their problems also illustrated how the administrative reform and economic reform influence cultural tourism in China's socio-economic context.

Zhongshan Mountain National Park, for example, had changed its ownership several times and now it became a public welfare organization, receiving funding from Jiangsu Provincial government directly (Jiangsu Xinhua net, 2010). Since 2010, Zhongshan Mountain National Park decided to open Dr. Sun Yat-sen's tomb for free to tourists and local people, and that decision helped to improve local living quality, benefit assembling tourism resources, and branding Nanjing's tourism industry (Jiangsu Xinhua net, 2010).

Zhongshan Mountain National Park now gave the priority to establish as a multi-functional tourist scenic spot and it had been rewarded as a 5A National Scenic Spot in 2007 (China government, 2007). However, Nanjing Tourism Bureau could not manage this park as a public welfare organization or as a tourist site. Zhongshan Mountain National Park had its own administrative system and structure, and it was directly managed by the Zhongshan Ling Yuan Administrative Bureau (zhong shan ling yuan guan li ju 中山陵园管理局). The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Jiangsu Provincial Tourism Bureau explained that, *"Zhongshan Ling Yuan Administrative Bureau has its own management system, including Finance, Planning, Marketing and other departments"*.

This problem might relate to their "parent-departments" at the provincial level, holding different level of administrative power. The Director of the Tourism Industry Operation Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau explained,

"Nanjing Tourism Bureau belongs to Nanjing city government at the city level, while Zhongshan Ling Yuan Administrative Bureau belongs to Jiangsu People's Political Consultative Conference at the provincial level. Nanjing Tourism Bureau is at lower administrative level than Zhongshan Ling Yuan Administrative Bureau, although both of them are called 'bureau' (ju 局)".

Second, the Presidential Palace and its business operation could reflect the problems in the transferring process. As a former government office, the Presidential Palace served the National government from 1927 and the Jiangsu Provincial government from 1949. Since 1998, the Jiangsu Provincial Government decided to develop a Chinese Modern History Museum at the former Presidential Palace site (China's Modern History Museum, 2008), which was directly managed by Jiangsu People's Political Consultative Conference (jiang su zheng xie 江苏政协).

The Presidential Palace as a public welfare organization was fully funded by Jiangsu People's Political Consultative Conference (jiang su zheng xie 江苏政协). However, at the same time it had operated many commercial activities to maximise profits, including selling tickets and tourist souvenirs. A tourism professor of Nanjing Normal University noted that, the Presidential Palace had various statuses and took different roles in the culture and tourism sectors, but neither the Culture Department nor the Tourism Department could directly manage it. He said,

"The Presidential Palace has many 'statuses', as China's Modern History Museum, the National Cultural Preservation Organization, and the National 4A Scenic Spot, and these roles lead to confusion in the practical management. For example, as a museum, the Presidential Palace should be managed by the cultural sector, but it managed by the Jiangsu People's Political Consultative Conference. As a museum, the Presidential Palace can receive funding from the public sector and it should open for free. However, it now charged every visitor 40 CNY, together with receiving annual funding from the public sector ".

The Marketing Manager of the Presidential Palace explained the Presidential Palace as a museum did not open for free, but charging 40 CNY every visitor:

"Since the administrative reform and economic reform were implemented in China, the Presidential Palace had to take main responsibility for its own profits and losses (zi fu ying kui 自负盈亏). Therefore, we need to look for more business opportunities and improve profits. Our main profits are coming from the tickets, renting, and selling tourist souvenirs. In particular, ticket sales are the main income which stands over 50% of our revenue".

Some government officials and professors disagreed with the business format in the Presidential Palace, although it had been implemented successfully. They believed the multiple roles in the Presidential Palace led to potential management problems. Following with the " zheng qi fen kai" principle, the private sector should not have civil servants (gong wu yuan 公务员) directly involved in their operations. A respondent from Nanjing Tourism Bureau particularly identified the problem in the Presidential Palace, *"The employees of the Presidential Palace are the civil servants (gong wu yuan 公务员), and they are in personnel/budgetary allocations (bianzhi 编制). The administrative messy relationship leads to inefficient governance of the Presidential Palace".* In his opinion, the business model of the Presidential Palace brought profits,

but it is in conflict with the nature of public welfare organizations.

6.5.2.3 Different purposes for attracting tourists

The public and private sectors might have different purposes for attracting tourists to Nanjing, and these different purposes could bring potential tensions between the two sectors. Many managers of private sector organizations considered maximising profits through serving outbound tourists, whilst, Nanjing city government gave priority to the inbound tourists to marketing Nanjing as an urban tourist destination. The differences in attracting outbound tourists and inbound tourists thus were a source of tensions between the public and private sectors.

The length of tourists staying in Nanjing had a close relationship with private sector organizations' profits, and it directly affected the interrelationships between the public and private sectors. Length of stay and levels of expenditure are factors affecting the economic growth of a destination, thereby, policy makers should take into account the length of stay associated with higher occupancy rates and revenue created (Menezes, Gomes and Ana, 2011; Wang, Little and Delhome-Little, 2012).

Despite high numbers of visitors in Nanjing city, the length of stay for visitors was short. Most visitors did not spend a long time in Nanjing, but only having a day trip or staying for one or two days. Private sector organizations could not achieve sufficient profits from inbound tourism, and they had to do business for outbound tourists. Many interviewees were concerned that Nanjing could not "retain" overnight tourists. This problem directly affected private sector organizations' profits.

An administrative official of Nanjing China Comfort Travel Service believed they achieved more profits through serving outbound tourists. The Director of the Marketing Department of China International Travel Service explained, *"Most tourists come to Nanjing and they only stay for one or two days. The length of their stay is far shorter than three to seven days in other cities"*. In his opinion, if tourists did not stay longer in a tourist destination, they would not spend more either. This opinion is illustrated by another manager of Nanjing Jin Zonglü Travel Agency. She was worried that less profit would be made if her company only served tourists visiting Nanjing. She explained, *"we cannot achieve more profits due to tourists stay in Nanjing in a limited time. Our profits mainly come from providing coach service, booking restaurants, and selling tickets and*

tourist souvenirs. However, these profits are very limited, in comparison to serving tourists going outside of Nanjing".

Furthermore, developing the outbound tourists market had a close relationship with the Chinese economic and social environment, as Chinese people had sufficient disposable income to travel outside of Nanjing and China. Associated with the economic reform, the Chinese economy has boosted rapidly and it "experienced 8.0% growth in 2000 which is 3.9% higher than other developed countries in the same year" (Lim and Pan, 2005: 500). Many tourists therefore chose to visit other Chinese cities or other countries, but not Nanjing. A travel agency manager explained "pushing" tourists out of Nanjing is more profitable than "pulling" tourists into Nanjing. She said that, *"Many Nanjing travel agencies prefer to deliver tourists to outside of Nanjing or to other countries for more than 3 days"*.

By contrast, Nanjing city government made effort in "pull" tourists into Nanjing. It was estimated 130 million tourists, who would arrive annually in China by the year 2020 (Lim and Pan, 2005). Nanjing city government not only prioritised domestic tourists, but also inbound tourists into Nanjing. The Chinese government categorized inbound tourists as "Compatriots from Hong Kong and Macau-ethnic Chinese residents of Hong Kong and Macau, Compatriots from Taiwan-ethnic Chinese residents of Taiwan, Overseas Chinese-Chinese who reside in other countries (except in Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan), and Foreigner-foreign travellers with other countries' passports" (Lim and Pan, 2005: 502). The Director of the Tourism Marketing Development Department suggested attracting more inbound tourists in Nanjing by selling cultural tourism products and providing good services. The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department in Jiangsu province noted, *"Attracting more inbound tourists, especially the European and American tourists has been considered into our 12th Five-Year Guideline in Jiangsu province"*.

Therefore, the relationships of tensions can arise up in terms of different purposes for attracting tourists between the public and private sectors. The next section concludes the interrelationships between public and private sectors around cultural tourism.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the inter-relationships between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism, which were significantly affected by the China's context, which had been taken both administrative and market reforms, impacting on different stakeholders, including the public sector, private sector organizations, and academics with different interests and industrial operations.

The interrelationships between public and private sectors were identified in the policy making process. The difference between collectivism and individualism encouraged a public-private partnership between the government and private sector organizations, and between the government and the academics. However, this difference also led to the tensions, which depended on powerful political leaders in decision-making process, and less powerful SMEs in policy and planning.

This chapter also evaluated the interrelationships between the public and private sectors in industrial operations. Their interactions and relationships could reflect the differences between socialism and capitalism in China. It was found that both public and private sectors were interdependent in improving the competitiveness of city destination. Their interrelationships specifically depended on their common interests in dealing with financial problems, marketing city destination, and developing cultural tourism products. Meanwhile, it was also found the potential tensions in terms of the land-use problem, transferring from the public to the private sector, and different purposes for attracting tourists in Nanjing. The next chapter explores the interdependence and tension between the production and consumption of cultural tourism products.

Chapter 7 Interdependence and tension between the production and consumption of cultural tourism products

7.1 Introduction

This chapter achieves the research objective 3: "to examine the broader themes and to apply the generic conceptual model through an assessment of the case of the city of Nanjing in China. The broader themes were evaluated in relation to various sub-themes from policymaking, industrial operations, product development, and promotional messages and they were considered in the specific context of the Chinese political, economic, socio-cultural environment".

First of all, the researcher identifies the different priorities given by producers and consumers to cultural tourism products (Section 7.2). These are the key actors in producing and consuming cultural tourism products, affecting the interrelationships between the production and consumption processes. It is likely that producers place emphasis on assembling, selecting, packaging and interpreting cultural tourism resources as products while consumers tend to be more interested in diverse cultural experiences in relation to cultural heritage resources. There can be a relation of interdependence if producers and consumers share similar views on cultural tourism products and the visiting experiences. However, tension can arise in this relationship in terms of the different interests and priorities of the producers and consumers.

This chapter, secondly, moves on to discuss these interrelationships between production and consumption and to evaluate them in specific cultural tourism products in Nanjing (Section 7.3). The importance of cultural tourism products derives from the fact that "without a clear understanding of what product means and how product functions, satisfactory experiences for cultural tourists may become elusive for both tourism and cultural heritage management sectors" (Ho and McKercher, 2004: 256). The third and last part discusses the issue of preservation and commodification of cultural tourism products (Section 7.4).

7.2 Different priorities in producing and consuming cultural tourism

products

Producers and consumers have different interests and expectations with regard to cultural tourism products. The producers, such as government agencies, cultural and tourism professionals, and private sector managers, focus on packaging resources into products by incorporating value-added techniques (Ashworth, 1994; Stronza, 2001). Whilst the producers assemble and select cultural and historical property, community-based intangible skills and techniques in producing unique cultural tourism products, the consumers may be interested in different interpretations of cultural history and relevant interacting experiences. Therefore, the success of various cultural products depends on promotional strategies and consumers' participation (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2003). The next section introduces the producers' priorities around the production and consumption of cultural tourism products.

7.2.1 The producers' priorities

The producers prioritise diversifying visitors' experiences of cultural tourism. In doing so, they embed the specific culture and history at such monuments, building, museums, galleries, and other cultural and tourist sites. This is a way to represent the unique cultural value and social development at different cultural heritage resources. Ateljevic and Doorne (2003) state that various social actors use different means to add cultural meaning and value to tangible properties and heritage from different historical periods. Thus, the producers attempt to represent the authentic value of these cultural heritage resources, as well as reflecting society's rapid development.

For example, the Nanjing producers considered museums with their original historical properties, as an effective way to represent cultural history and to diversify tourists' visiting experience. Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall located at Jiang Dong Gate (Jiang dong men 江东门), was an example of "one of the execution sites and mass burial places of the massacre" (Travel China Guide, 2012b). This memorial hall was established at an original historical site and it was well preserved to deliver historical messages to remember those who died during the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. In this way, therefore, the museum enables visitors to gain an authentic of going back in time.

The Marketing Manager of the Presidential Palace also noted that a high quality cultural tourism product was necessary to provide an authentic visiting experience:

"We put effort into preserving cultural heritage resources, including putting a bed, a desk and even a chair in the Presidential Palace. The reason for that is to make sure every tourist can enjoy this authentic environment and receive a high quality of cultural experience. The building design, the cultural relics exhibition and other cultural preservations therefore maintain an original atmosphere for the visitors as if they had gone back in time".

As well as tangible cultural heritage resources, the producers emphasised enlivening (huo hua 活化) intangible cultural heritage resources. The producers involved local people, as a way to safeguard their traditional culture and their life-styles. Intangible heritage, including language, skills (Figure 7.1), music, dance and other cultural performances (Figure 7.2), were used to represent the local everyday life, their cultural identity and the relevant historical value.



Figure 7.1: Di Shu (地书), an exercise in practising calligraphy on the floor at Xuanwu Lake Park
Source: Author

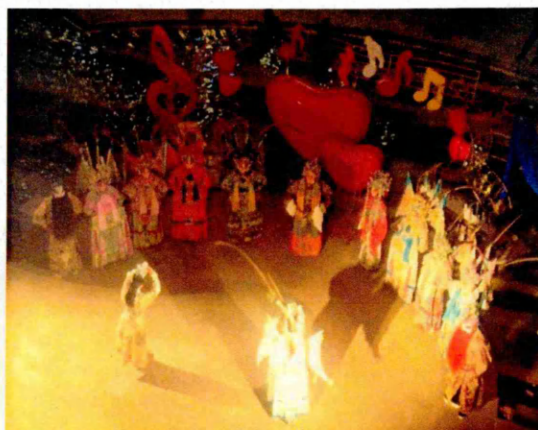


Figure 7.2: Opera performance at Water Tour City (shui you cheng 水游城) Shopping Centre
Source: Author

For instance, the representatives (chuan cheng ren 传承人) of intangible cultural heritage resources played an important role in the production and consumption of cultural tourism products. Their skills or techniques could be a key motivation for tourists to visit a place and gain different experiences. The Director of Jiangsu Intangible Cultural Heritage Preservation Centre confirmed the importance of these representatives in acting out local cultural traditions and representing people's everyday life. He said, *"Many dances, traditions, handicrafts and cultural performances, which closely relate to people's lives, are live history. They represent unique attractiveness of*

a tourist destination, and they are very important to attract different tourists from other places". The Director of the Culture and Cultural Relics Bureau believed that intangible cultural heritage resources were essential to diversify people's visiting experiences, and to distinguish between Nanjing and other cities. He said,

"The provincial government aims to promote Jiangsu Province as a cultural province, and its capital city of Nanjing, therefore, should follow this objective and emphasise Nanjing's unique cultural heritage resources. Nanjing paper cutting, Nanjing Yunjin brocade and Nanjing baiju (a Chinese traditional storytelling approach) are very important intangible cultural heritage resources. They not only represent Nanjing people's characteristics, but also reflect the unique attractiveness of Nanjing city".

7.2.2 The consumers' priorities

The consumers, meanwhile, have different priorities, which depended on their particular purposes, interests and behaviours in visiting Nanjing. The researcher used filter questions and selection criteria in order to identify the interviewees who were interested in cultural heritage resources and who considered cultural tourism as the most important purpose of their visit. Some tourists claimed they visited Nanjing because of its long history and rich cultural heritage resources. These tourists, who regarded an in-depth cultural experience as their primary travelling motivation for visiting Nanjing, were categorised specifically as cultural tourists (Foo and Rossetto, 1998; McKercher and Du Cros, 2002; Richards, 1996b).

Chinese history can appeal to international tourists with various cultural backgrounds and life experiences. Respondents from America and Germany, visiting Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall, claimed they wanted to understand the Nanjing Massacre history in the context of World War II. An American tourist argued, *"I am very interested in history, especially the history of the Second World War. I really would like to know what happened in China which we have never been taught in our textbooks"*. A German tourist considered that the Nanjing Massacre might bear similarities to Nazi history in Germany, particularly as it happened around the same time as World War II. She said,

"My country is a part of history in the World War II. I am very interested in this history. There are many discussions about Western countries participating in World War II, but not too much about China. Germany also

implemented the Soviet style, which probably was the same as in China. Thus, I would like to know what happened during that period in China".

Meanwhile, some tourists in Nanjing prioritised leisure experiences (Foo and Rossetto, 1998; McKercher and Du Cros, 2002). Tourism is a socio-cultural phenomenon which enables tourists to enjoy both past and living heritage resources (Hall, 2005; Robinson and Picard, 2006; Urry, 2000). Many tourists that visited Nanjing did not come specifically because of the cultural tourism resources. They visited a few of key attractions, utilized shopping and catering facilities, and conducted business or attended conferences. These visitors were regarded as general cultural tourists who consider culture as their secondary purpose.

A couple of tourists from Wuhu city stated their preference for visiting local streets and tasting local food as an in-depth cultural experience. They said, *"We like to visit local streets and try local food and snacks. We prefer to conduct a little research so that we know where is interesting to visit and which food is more authentic and local. However, we cannot gain this experience if we travel with travel agencies"*. Another tourist, from Dalian city, was planning to stay in Nanjing for three days with his family. In his opinion, Nanjing's local life-style and traditions were more interesting, especially he was interested in Nanjing's local food. He explained:

"For example, Nanjing's salted duck (yan shui ya 盐水鸭) is a very famous snack, but its production process is complicated. My friends recommended me to try this street snack, which is also very popular with Nanjing people. We tried it yesterday in a small food shop, and the taste was good. We also tried some other famous snacks, such as 'Duck Blood and Bean-Starchy Vermicelli Soup' (ya xue fen si tang 鸭血粉丝汤) and 'Fried Fermented Bean-Curd with a Strong Smell' (油炸臭豆腐), which we cannot find in my hometown".

7.3 Interdependence between the production and consumption of cultural tourism products

Relations of interdependence and tension exist between the production and consumption of cultural tourism products. The production process can be tied up with political and economic purposes, and also associated with certain technological innovations (Nixon, 1997). Meanwhile, the consumption process can include "a number of distinct developments related to the size of markets, the emergence of new consumption

practices, the range of commodities and sectors involved, the levels of investment in production and distribution of consumer goods and the expansion of related economic and cultural institutions" (Nixon, 1997: 187). The changeable socio-cultural environment and the different priorities of producers and consumers also have a great impact on the production and consumption of cultural tourism products. The products, cultural meanings, people and places involved in the process could hence be transformed through cultural exchange and other political and economic influences (Appadurai, 1996).

The researcher focused on two kinds of cultural tourism products: museums (Section 7.3.1) and tourist souvenirs (Section 7.3.2), in Nanjing, in order to reflect the interactions between producers and consumers, and the interrelationships between production and consumption relating to cultural tourism.

7.3.1 The production and consumption of museums

Museums, as the main representations of cultural and tourism resources, play an important role in recording the past, reflecting the present, and predicting the future. Museums can be used to assemble and preserve cultural tourism resources and to reflect the continuities which "sometimes presented as a kind of cyclical progression from the past to the future" (Finnegan, 1997: 81). Historic museums, for example, provide an authentic experience at the original historic sites, which enriches the experience of visitors (Jaffer, 2009).

These historic sites are mainly responsible for preserving and exhibiting culture and history, and this has an effect on producers' decision-making (Correia, Kozak and Ferradeira, 2011), tourists' behaviours (March, 1997), and social development (Bammel and Burrus-Bammel, 1996). It was found that Nanjing's historic museums represent different cultures in relation to the history of the Six Dynasties, Ming Dynasty, Republican period, and other important periods. Meanwhile, Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall is a monumental historic museum (Zhu, 2007), while the Presidential Palace is a contemporary historic museum (Feng, 2009).

Many museums in Nanjing are important for exhibiting tangible cultural relics and performances of intangible cultural heritage resources. These museums can link the producers with the consumers, through exhibiting cultural relics, creative arts, visual

and experiential goods, and other relevant services (Lash and Urry, 2002). The Director of Museum Management at Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department viewed museums as increasingly important in recalling history, because *"fewer and fewer people bother with the past in current modern society"*. A tourism professor from Nanjing University agreed, *"Museums are the main carriers to record, to represent and to inherit the past. The main role of the museum is to wake up people's memory about past cultures and history"*.

The Director of the Cultural Communication Office at Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department considered that museums were effective means for exhibiting cultural relics, and increasing audiences' awareness of China's civilization achievements. Besides appreciating these achievements, domestic visitors could also experience strengthening of their national pride. A Culture Department official of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department expressed a similar opinion:

"Nanjing Museum exhibits cultural relics in order to help people, especially the youth, to be more proud of Chinese culture and history. The museum takes main responsibility for recoding and continuing Chinese culture and history, exhibiting the technology achievements, and reflecting social development and the civilization progress. These resources can represent Chinese civilization achievements and possibly encourage people's pride of the country, of the city and of the place".

The museums, with their rich cultural heritage resources and potential educational functions, were therefore well placed to reflect the interactions between the producers and consumers around cultural tourism. Interrelationships between the production and consumption of museums are discussed in the next sections.

7.3.1.1 Interdependence between the production and consumption of museums

First, a relationship of interdependence was found in the production and consumption of Republican cultural tourism products. The Republican period (1912-1945) was a milestone in the transformation of Chinese society from feudalism (lasted until 1912) to socialism (started from 1945). In comparison to cultural tourism products in other Chinese cities, the Republican theme has key historic characteristics in terms of Nanjing's culture and tourism resources. A tourism professor from Nanjing Normal University particularly emphasised the complicated process of establishing "Republican history" as the focal culture, which entailed different stages of analysing lengthy

questionnaires and interviews, filtering key words, and discussions with many experts and government officials. He said,

"After analysing all the data, we found the Six Dynasties (Wu Kingdom, East Jin, Song, Qi, Liang and Chen dynasties, 229 A.D. - 589 A.D.) culture, Ming Dynasty culture and Republican culture were the three main cultures in Nanjing. However, Six Dynasties culture has very few tangible resources while Ming Dynasty culture is very common in other places. Thus, we selected the unique Republican culture as the core theme for Nanjing's cultural tourism products".

The Republican culture and relevant products thus were the most important attractiveness among Nanjing's cultural tourism resources, because of the specific historic value and political influence.

Nanjing producers have concentrated on designing and developing cultural tourism products based on the Republican theme, in order to meet domestic tourists' expectations. It was argued that most domestic tourists had some idea about China's Republican history even though they might not know all the details. The Director of the Tourism Marketing Development Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau considered that focusing on Republican cultural elements in designing tourism products was an efficient way of selling Nanjing city's characteristics. He pointed out, *"The Republican culture is the unique culture of Nanjing, as the capital of China in the Republican period. Due to many domestic tourists having the same Chinese cultural background, they can easily understand the historical meaning and cultural value of the Republican period in Chinese history"*. A tourism professor from Nanjing Southeast University argued that domestic tourists mainly belonged to the same Han ethnic group and those tourists were the main consumers for Nanjing's cultural tourism products. He noted that, *"It is easy to promote Republican cultural tourism products to Chinese tourists, rather than international tourists. Most of the international tourists may have no idea about Chinese history and neither do they know the value of Republican culture"*. Republican-themed cultural tourism products, therefore, could be accepted and understood by most domestic tourists due to the common cultural background.

Nanjing producers carefully considered domestic tourists' needs in designing visiting routes (lu xian 路线) in relation to Republican culture and history. For example, Nanjing Xuanwu District Government linked 81 Republican buildings in the

development of an in-depth Republican culture tour in 2011 (National Tourism Administration, 2011). Nanjing's Republican cultural route linked Zhongshan Mountain National Park, the Presidential Palace, and Republican Manor Area, whilst a route based on Nanjing Revolution culture represented the spirit of Chinese citizens by linking Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall, the historical gallery of the treaty of Nanjing (the first unequal treaty made between United Kingdom and China in 1842), and Nanjing Rain Flower Terrace Scenic Area in Nanjing master tourism plan. These visiting routes presented the history of the Republican period consistently, as well as meeting domestic tourists' needs in accessing Republican culture and history.

Many of Nanjing's tourist sites included museum functions. The Presidential Palace (Figure 7.3) was a contemporary historic museum representing Republican culture in Nanjing. As a former Presidential office, the Palace was used to remember the first president of the Provisional Republic of China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and the remarkable Republican historical events relating to the new Chinese government. When visitors enter the Presidential Palace they get the first impression on its traditional Chinese architectural style. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's governance spirit of "the world belongs to the people" (tian xia wei gong 天下为公) is carved on the entrance to mark his political contribution (Figure 7.4). Denton (2005: 583) further describes this exhibition in the Presidential Palace:

"The opening display is a general historical overview, offering a standard Chinese Marxist view of the development of modern history from late Qing imperialism and Manchu weakness and ineptitude to the rise and eventual success of the Communist revolution. The exhibition then presents thematic sections, and this is where things get more interesting and less conventional. There are three such exhibits: education, science and technology, and culture; economics; and social classes. These emphasize the great advances made during the Republican period in each area".

Appropriate interpretations were helpful to record and represent history going back in time, as well as linking producers and consumers around cultural tourism. The main form of interpretation used in the Presidential Palace was to preserve the original resources without any change. This is an effective way to increase the validity of history and to make sense of the past (Finnegan, 1997). As a former government office, many buildings in the Republican Palace were well preserved in their original format, and this created an authentic historic atmosphere that enhanced tourists' visiting experience.

Figure 7.5 shows the former supreme state conference hall in the Presidential Palace. The original artefacts in the room are preserved just as they were many years ago, as is shown in Figure 7.6. This served to provide an authentic experience, in which time had stopped and visitors were taken back to this historic period.

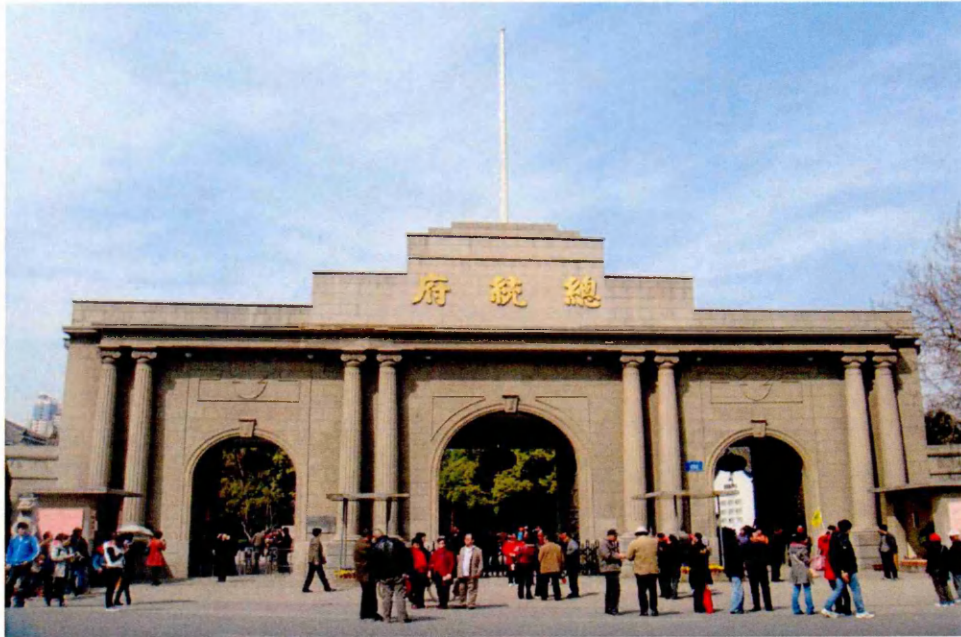


Figure 7.3: The Presidential Palace
Source: Author



Figure 7.4: Dr. Sun Yat-sen's governance spirit of "the world belongs to the people" (tian xia wei gong 天下為公) represented on the entrance of the Presidential Palace
Source: Author



Figure 7.5: The original supreme state conference hall in the Presidential Palace
Source: Author



Figure 7.6: The interpretation board for the supreme state conference hall
Source: Author

Another attribute of the Presidential Palace was the representation of mixed architectural styles, in designs by young architects in the Republican period. During this transformational historic period, many young architects returned from overseas and contributed their various architectural techniques and skills. A mixture of Chinese and Western architectural styles is thus represented in the Republican Palace (Figure 7.7 and Figure 7.8). Feng's book *"My impressions of the presidential palace"* (2009: 59) contains the following description:

"As the weighty and varied architectural collection in the Presidential Palace compound moves from the ancient to modern, coexisting and

intertwining, it can be compared to a rich, vivid and magnificent symphony; the structures link ancient and modern. ...It establishes the basic theme of replacing old with new; a happy combination of Chinese and Western elements gives momentum".



Figure 7.7: Western style architecture in the Presidential Palace
Source: Author



Figure 7.8: Chinese style architecture in the Presidential Palace
Source: Author

Therefore, considering the domestic tourists' needs in producing and consuming historical tourism products could help to create a relationship of interdependence between the producers and consumers around cultural tourism. Many respondents believed that it was important to consider domestic tourists' expectations when promoting Nanjing's Republican history and the relevant cultural heritage resources.

The Director of the Tourism Product Quality Management Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau described how domestic tourists' interests were taken into account in assembling, selecting and packaging Nanjing's cultural heritage resources in relation to Republican culture:

"The main tourists visiting Nanjing are domestic tourists, who are interested in the Republican culture and history. Therefore, we concern ourselves with their expectations and select cultural heritage resources, which can significantly represent the history of the Republican period. The Dr. Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, Ming Dynasty Tomb, and the Presidential Palace, for example, are the most important sites in recording this most important historical period of Chinese history. Therefore, Nanjing city government cooperated with such as the Tourism and Culture Departments to design and packaging these resources as unique Republican cultural tourism products".

The Vice-Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau confirmed that domestic tourists were the main consumers. He described the process of promoting Nanjing's cultural tourism to domestic tourists as follows:

"We firstly focus on the domestic tourists from the east of China and from the Yangtze River Delta, which are near to Nanjing city. In particular, self-drive tours and high-speed train shorten the distance between Nanjing city and other cities around the Yangtze River Delta. Thus, consideration is first given to domestic tourists near to Nanjing, and then it expands to other places far from Nanjing and to the other regions of China".

Meanwhile, some domestic tourists declared their interest in Republican culture and their understanding of the interpretations in the Presidential Palace. One of them stated, *"This year is the 100th anniversary of the Republican Revolution in China. My main purpose is to visit certain attractions related to Republican culture and to know what happened in the past".* A tourist coming from Wuxi city described his satisfying visit to the Presidential Palace as follows: *"I am very surprised about the level of preservation of the Presidential Palace; it represents the past historic period very well. I think it maximizes the authentic experience for tourists".*

Second, relationships of interdependence can be found in the production and consumption of arts museums. Tribe (1998) claimed that the arts are becoming a common way to add new interpretative understanding in the world of tourism, together

with their significance in questioning of cultural identity (Mounir, 2003). Hence, identifying arts resources and relevant museums could increase the attractiveness of cultural tourism resources and improve people's awareness of cultural identities. As a kind of cultural tourism product, art museums diversify cultural presentations and add in value that enhances the visitor's experience. Producers can use paintings, photographs, handicrafts, sculptures and other art works to diversify cultural experiences, while the consumers can achieve various understandings of cultural values in art museums. Art museums and relevant products help to link producers and consumers based on their common interests, as well as forming a relationship of interdependence.

In Nanjing many intangible cultural heritage resources were assembled in Ganxi House (Ganjia Da Yuan, 甘家大院), which was the first museum to exhibit both folklore and intangible cultural heritage (People, 2012). It linked the producers with the consumers by means of exhibiting intangible cultural experiences in a museum in a new and enlivening way. As the former residence of Ganxi, the House assembled different representatives of Nanjing's intangible cultural heritage resources, arranged cultural performances, and produced various relevant cultural works. The representatives could present their skills and techniques, and at the same time the visitors could observe them as a way of engaging with local people's lives.

Some producers believed the combination of museums and intangible cultural heritage could benefit tourism as *"tourists can really enjoy different performances in one place"; "intangible skills can be performed through various art works or products"*. A tourism professor from the Tourism Research Centre at Nanjing University strongly reinforced the importance of vision of management in preserving and promoting intangible cultural heritages. He said,

"I agree with the museum's approach of enlivening culture and history to make it more sustainable. Without linking with tourism, any culture is just dead culture. If cultural tourism resources are simply preserved without utilization, they eventually will be forgotten. The audiences for cultural resources will become less and the demand for cultural resources will also decline. If that becomes the situation, cultural resources will not be inherited by the next generation".

Chinese paper cutting (Figure 7.9) was a popular art that was integrated into people's everyday life, and this cutting skill had been recognised as an intangible cultural

heritage by UNESCO. Its value was defined: "As a key part of Chinese social life in all ethnic groups, paper-cut expresses the moral principles, philosophies and aesthetic ideals of its exponents. It continues to provide an outlet for emotion and is experiencing an unprecedented revival" (UNESCO, 2009b). The representative of Nanjing's paper cutting said, *"This museum is a good place for many different audiences as it gives them a systematic understanding of Nanjing's intangible cultural resources. I would like to draw many people's attention to these intangible cultural resources"*.



Figure 7.9: Chinese paper cutting

Source: Provided by the representative of Nanjing's paper cutting

Presentation of intangible cultural heritage resources in museums encouraged the relationship between the producers and consumers around cultural tourism. Figure 7.10 shows a Chinese paper cutting craftsman exhibiting his paper cutting skill and works; a large audience was observing his skills and taking photos. This engages both artist and audience in a proactive interaction. The Director of the Tourism Product Quality Management Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau strongly approved of representation of these traditional cultures and traditions to tourists, in terms of *"bringing new business opportunities to these intangible cultural heritage resources"*. This approach could help to safeguard the techniques and skills relating to intangible cultural heritage as well as economically benefiting the craftspeople (Li, 2006; Tosun, 2006). Meanwhile, one of the tourists stated, *"I am very interested in this technique. It is amazing to see how a craftsperson produces a paper cut with such intricate*

characteristics. I really enjoy this magic art and find watching it engaging".



Figure 7.10: A craftsman exhibiting his paper-cutting works in Ganxi House folklore museum
Source: [Online]. Last accessed on 07th July 2012 at URL:

<http://www.nqsng.cn/jchd/hdhg/927.html>

7.3.1.2 Tensions between the production and consumption of museums

However, tensions can emerge in the interrelationships between the production and consumption of museums. Dynamic changes taking place in the political, economic, and socio-cultural surroundings may also affect the interests and priorities of the producers and consumers, as well as affecting their relationships. Such tensions were apparent between the production and consumption of museums in Nanjing.

First, some cultural heritage resources were inadequately packaged or lacked in-depth development as cultural tourism products. This was identified, for example, in the production and consumption of Six Dynasties-themed cultural tourism products. Nanjing is well known as the former political capital and the cultural centre of the Six Dynasties, and it became the major city for artisans and aristocrats at that time. The Six Dynasties, thus, has great potential for diversification of cultural performances in art, literature, poems, and calligraphy. However, there was little embedding of such cultural performances in tangible cultural heritage products because of lack of interpretation and dynamic social development.

Some producers highlighted this potential tension in representation of the Six Dynasties culture in Nanjing's museums. They believed the Six Dynasties culture and its relevant

resources were worthy of in-depth research and development. However, these resources lacked appropriate and tangible representations to provide authentic and interesting experiences for visitors.

The Director of Nanjing Cultural Relics Bureau stated that some historic museums held only very basic exhibitions that failed to develop deeply into the resources' characteristics, historical background and cultural value. He said, *"We have many antiques and relics in relation to the Six Dynasties culture, which however are just exhibited in showcases in some museums. It might be a good way to protect these antiques, but they are not interesting to the tourists"*.

Different interests between museums and other cultural enterprises could lead to this potential tension in developing relevant cultural tourism products. Museums, as one kind of public welfare organizations (shi ye dan wei 事业单位), mainly gave priority to the public welfare and non-profit social issues and to meet citizen's everyday needs, although they were regarded as the private sector in China. In contrast, many cultural enterprises were interested in profit-seeking activities and marketing promotions, which could generate higher revenues and reduce costs. These different interests in developing cultural tourism products, to some extent, could cause potential tensions between museums and cultural enterprises.

In addition, the Director of Culture and Cultural Relics Bureau disagreed with the promotion of museums as cultural tourism products, and did not cooperate with the cultural enterprises. In his view, it might be risky to promote or commodify museums, which had the main role in preserving cultural heritage resources, and also representing Chinese identity to the visitors. He said,

"Museums play an important role in China, which has long history and rich cultural heritage resources. In particular, China has developed quickly in the marketization. Some cultural heritage resources might be easily destroyed and even disappeared without being fully preserved. However, museums could take a role in preserving these resources, as well as reminding our next generations about these civilization achievements. If promoting these museums with tourism activities or with cultural enterprises, I think it might be too dangerous, which not only lose cultural authenticity of these resources, but also damage our Chinese image".

The manager of Jiangsu Mingcheng Cultural Creative Company, however, claimed it was difficult to cooperate with museums and art galleries in terms of reaching profit-sharing agreements. This potential tension therefore delayed the new cultural creative product development in Nanjing. He further explained,

"The museum sector may not fully respect the creative ideas which are developed by cultural enterprises. Instead of that, the museum sector only considers those cultural enterprises as the factories producing low quality cultural products or souvenirs, but not as business partners. Some museum officials allowed us to sell our cultural creative products in the museums, but charging 60% of the profits per product. It is too difficult for my company, particularly at the beginning stage".

A tourism professor from Nanjing Normal University also mentioned that most of Nanjing's cultural tourism products were only at the primary developmental stage. He said, *"Nanjing is as famous as its history and culture, but the cultural and tourism resources have not been developed in depth. Many cultural tourism products mainly rely on the existing primary heritage resources without any new or creative development. Thus, they are just primary tourism products attracting sightseeing tourists"*. A tourism professor from Nanjing Normal University agreed: *"We have rich potential resources in relation to the Six Dynasties culture, but we tend to lack in-depth development of them and leave them aside"*.

A tourism professor from Nanjing Southeast University also noted the gap in developing Six Dynasties products, *"Cultural tourism products of the Six Dynasties culture are at a very basic developmental stage and they lack sufficient research and planning for long-term development. In Chinese, we call this situation ming bu fu shi (名不副实), which means that Nanjing is more in name than in reality. This potential tension may also enlarge the distance between producers and consumers around cultural tourism"*. The lack of appropriate tangible representations, therefore, was difficult to provide visitors a fully authentic and interesting experience in relation to the Six Dynasties' culture and history.

The tourists, therefore, felt disappointed in their visiting experiences at some museums and a lack of cultural satisfaction. One tourist complained that he could not find sufficient tangible representations of the Six Dynasties culture in Nanjing as, *"I knew Nanjing was well-known as a city with rich Six Dynasties culture when I was a child. In*

fact, I feel very disappointed because I cannot see any attractions in relation to the Six Dynasties culture in Nanjing". Another two tourists were dissatisfied with the limited representations of Six Dynasties cultural tourism products. One remarked, "In many Chinese poems Nanjing is celebrated as the capital of Six Dynasties. I am afraid I cannot find any typical attraction in relation to this period of history".

Second, the lack of a full understanding of tourists' expectations, especially in terms of the different needs of domestic and international tourists, was a potential source of tension. This could arise in product development.

There were many differences between international tourists and domestic tourists visiting Nanjing. These differences could depend on different cognitive perspectives, cultural backgrounds, and personal interests. The way that international tourists understand ancient Chinese culture and history, for example, could be different from how domestic tourists interpret them. International tourists might understand the basic meaning with the help of interpretation and translation, but not the particular emotional feeling. By contrast, domestic tourists could easily understand and participate in cultural experiences at a higher level due to their Chinese cultural background.

A domestic tourist from Chaohu city noted that international and domestic tourists have different perspectives and interests in Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall. International tourists are interested in visiting this place because of the World War II history, while some domestic tourists are not particularly interested in remembering the dead or learning about a specific culture. Furthermore, a Dalian tourist used another example to explain the differences between domestic tourists and international tourists in relation to the Presidential Palace:

"I do not think international tourists could understand the mixed architecture styles and their value in the Presidential Palace. The combination of Chinese and Western architecture styles in the Presidential Palace is very important in stirring patriotic feelings in people. In particular, Chinese tourists might more easily understand the reasons for young architects returning to China at that time and experience emotional feelings of patriotism. By contrast, many international tourists probably just consider the Presidential Palace as a garden with many good, architecturally historic buildings".

A tourism professor of Nanjing Normal University agreed that international tourists might not fully understand China's ancient culture, for example, the temple culture. He said,

"Temples in many tourist sites probably are very important to Asian tourists or domestic tourists, but not Western tourists. The reason for Chinese people to visit temples is to experience certain feelings, especially for people who with a similar religion. However, Western tourists may consider the temples as simply architectural or historic buildings, without imagining or without fully understanding the relevant religious and cultural background. I think that is similar to Chinese tourists visiting different churches in Western countries".

On the other hand, Nanjing Museum was not a specific tourist attraction for either domestic or international tourists, and it was involved in very few promotional activities. The Vice-Director of the Museum Department of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department considered that tourists, especially domestic tourists, probably did not think about museums when planning their trip. She explained,

"Museums are different from tourist attractions, because they may not mainly focus on the entertainment experience or profits. Most tourists prefer a leisure or sightseeing experience, not a specifically educational trip. Many cultural products such as museums mainly serve local people in order to meet their spiritual needs, but they may be not attractive to general tourists".

A French tourist described to the researcher how impressed he was with the Ming Dynasty culture and the sculpture exhibition in the Nanjing Museum (Figure 7.11). He said, *"Chinese culture is different from the culture in France, and it is very impressive to see these relics, especially the sculptures, which showed the ancient Chinese architecture techniques. I am glad to see this sculpture-themed exhibition in Nanjing Museum, but I have not seen many tourists here".*

These differences in interests between international and domestic tourists, therefore, could lead to different behaviours when they visit Nanjing's cultural heritage resources, as well as helping to form interrelationships between the producers and consumers.



Figure 7.11: Exhibition of Ming Dynasty culture in Nanjing Museum

Source: Author

However, it is by no means certain that Nanjing's producers all recognise these differences between domestic and international tourists. It may be the case that some of them misunderstand tourists' expectations and consequently fail to design appropriate cultural tourism products.

Three Culture Department officials, for example, believed it was not necessary to fully consider international tourists' needs in developing cultural tourism products. One of them argued that, *"We do not need to design extra products only for international tourists. If they come to a different country, they should learn the local language and traditions and they must accept and adapt to the local environment"*. In his view, Nanjing had a sufficiently diverse culture and rich tourism resources to attract plenty of tourists and therefore there was no need to do any promotion specifically for international tourists.

Nevertheless, the private sector, which is directly involved in industrial operations, disagreed with this point of view. They felt that producers had to fully consider the interests and requirements of international tourists in packaging and developing cultural tourism products. Some producers mentioned that international tourists might not fully understand China and Nanjing's culture and history as presented in some museums and cultural tourism sites. An expert from Jiangsu Provincial Constructing and Planning Ltd. explained, *"I do believe it is important to fully consider international tourists in developing cultural tourism products in Nanjing. Many international tourists cannot fully understand Chinese culture if they have no previous preparation or lack relevant*

historical knowledge". The Dean of the Tourism Research Centre at Nanjing University felt that most of the international tourists would not make sense of the Republican culture if they just relied on their limited existing knowledge. He said,

"International tourists only have an idea about a few aspects of Chinese ancient culture and history, and a few or even none of them have heard about the Republican culture. However, it does not mean we should give up on marketing to international tourists. Indeed, we have to find more appropriate approaches and take into account their interests and preferences in designing and developing Nanjing's unique cultural tourism products".

The creative development of arts and culture, in forms such as tourist souvenirs, provides a new way to diversify people's visiting experiences, and this is discussed in the next section.

7.3.2 The production and consumption of tourist souvenirs

Tourist souvenirs, as a type of cultural tourism product, play an important role in transforming intangible cultural/historic messages into tangible presentations. It is argued that souvenirs are intended to promote cultural value and memories of the visit, as these can be more important than the actual travelling experiences (Wang, 1999). The scope of souvenir research covers "consumer behavior, art history, geography, museum studies, anthropology, history, philosophy, retailing, literary criticism and sociology", and is associated with different economic, functional and philosophical perspectives (Swanson and Timothy, 2012: 490). Many aspects of tourism also lead to "a standardisation of culture and a translation of local phenomena into global culture, particularly through the production of souvenirs" (Thompson, Hannam and Petrie, 2012: 340). Therefore, tourist souvenirs as a symbol of a tourist destination and their diversification represent dynamic interactions between tourists and places, and reflect the relationships between production and consumption.

In Nanjing, there were many tourist souvenirs representing the city's historic characteristics. The producers used various forms of interpretation in packaging resources as cultural tourism products. For instance, "Yuhua stones" (Yu hua shi 雨花石) were carved with the Chinese words "博爱" (Figure 7.12), which mean "universal love". This meaning is based on the Former President Dr. Sun Yat-sen's political idea

that "the world belongs to the people" and we should "love people". The details of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's political ideas are discussed in Chapter Eight.

In addition, Nanjing's tourist souvenirs were integrated with intangible cultural heritage resources and represented their cultural characteristics. Nanjing producers aimed to transform intangible components into tangible tourist souvenirs. Marked or labelled intangible cultural characteristics can place the products in relation to a wider context, transferring the cultural meaning and messages while keeping the memory of an authentic experience (Thompson, Hannam, and Petrie, 2012).

Nanjing producers had developed new tourist souvenirs based on traditional craftsmanship, the Nanjing Yunjin brocade. This technique, according to the UNESCO Intangible Heritage lists was "once used to produce royal garments such as the dragon robe and crown costume; today, it is still used to make high-end attire and souvenirs" (UNESCO, 2012c). This craftsmanship was utilized in producing many new souvenirs including clothes and gifts, which were strongly "marked" with the characteristics of Nanjing Yunjin brocade (Figure 7.13).



Figure 7.12: Tourist souvenirs (Yuhua stones carved "博爱") in the Presidential Palace
Source: Author



Figure 7.13: Tourist souvenirs made using by the craft of Nanjing Yun Brocade
 Source: [online] Last access on 06th August, 2012 at URL:
<http://www.microgift.cn/cn/xiangxi.asp?id=471>

7.3.2.1 Interdependence between the production and consumption of tourist souvenirs

Tourist souvenirs, through combining uniqueness and creativity, can encourage interaction between producers and consumers. Creativity and uniqueness are the key principles applied by producers in developing new products that will meet the demands of tourists in the souvenir market. Hence, this approach not only links the producers and consumers, but also forms relationships of interdependence between production and consumption of tourist souvenirs.

Many producers highlighted the unique role of tourist souvenirs in attracting more tourists and even to explore a certain market share. They believed it was important to represent the key characteristics of the objects (attractions, place, and other cultural tourism resources) in producing different tourist souvenirs of high quality, with creative design, and thereby meeting consumers' needs. This argument supports Baudrillard's (2001) idea of consumer culture, in which "the decision to buy is now based upon the cultural meanings and values associated with particular objectives and the consumer lifestyle invoked through these" (Nixon, 1997: 183).

The Marketing Manager of the Presidential Palace expressed the following view on developing tourist souvenirs with unique cultural characteristics:

"We are putting effort into designing new tourist souvenirs, because the ones currently in the Nanjing souvenir market cannot fully meet the consumers' needs. People now have increasingly disposable income, so they need more products of good quality and with creative ideas. Therefore, we emphasise the innovation of tourist souvenirs in order to increase profits and to promote the attractions".

He indeed introduced another three examples of tourist souvenirs in relation to the Republican culture in the Presidential Palace. These were "books for Republican culture", "stamp collections featuring Dr. Sun Yat-sen" (Figure 7.14), and "character dolls" (Figure 7.15). In particular, the "stamp collections featuring Dr. Sun Yat-sen" and the "character dolls" were used as official tourist souvenirs in different cultural exchange activities. In order to maintain their exclusivity, these tourist souvenirs were only sold in the Presidential Palace.

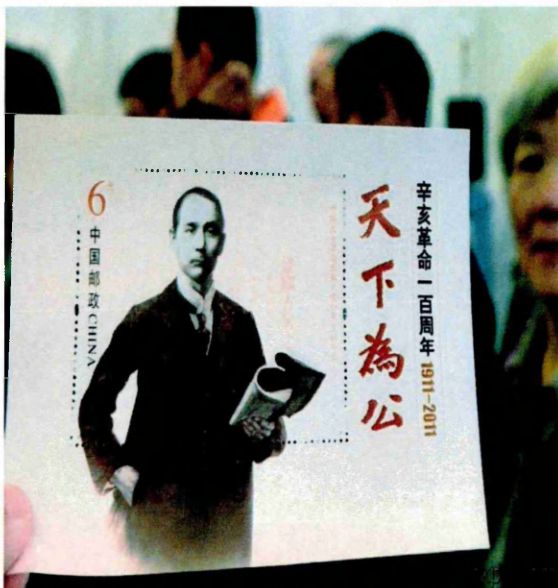


Figure 7.14: Stamp collection featuring Dr. Sun Yat-sen
Source: [Online]. Last accessed on 06th November 2012 at URL:
<http://www.jrshoucang.com/second/article.php?type=product&id=2915>



Figure 7.15: Character dolls in the Presidential Palace
Source: Author

Being creative, furthermore, could attract consumers' interest in intangible cultural heritage, increase public awareness of these resources, and expand their market share. The Director of Jiangsu Intangible Cultural Heritage Protection Centre suggested that creative development of intangible cultural resources could expand a new commercial market and increase public awareness. He argued that,

"Having an awareness of creativity is very important to sustain China's intangible cultural heritage. Most of the intangible cultural heritage resources are relevant to people's traditions and their past, but are not widely used in modern society. Evaluating them in a creative way could preserve intangible cultural tourism resources from generation to generation".

The Manager of Jiangsu Provincial Art and Craft Centre agreed that creative development could create new opportunities for developing intangible cultural heritage resources. He stated that,

"Products in relation to Nanjing Yunjin Brocade are becoming important in Nanjing's tourist souvenir market. The unique features and intangible cultural heritage techniques allowed Nanjing Yunjin Brocade to be widely accepted by tourists and local people. Although it is a little bit expensive compared with other tourist souvenirs, its cultural value and representations are of importance. Many people would buy tourist souvenirs labelled Nanjing Yunjin Brocade for their friends and relatives".

Most of the tourists could accept a certain number of shopping facilities at tourist sites. They believed some souvenirs could *"meet tourists' basic needs", "reflect travel experiences", "represent the key cultural contents and characteristics", and "be sent to friends and relatives as gifts"*. A tourist from Wuhan city, travelling with her son, was among those who accepted these commercial behaviours at tourist sites. She said, *"I agree with keeping some shopping facilities, because they can meet tourists' basic requirements around eating, drinking, and leisure. We cannot move out all shopping facilities. It is reasonable to sell tourism souvenirs at some tourist sites, although some of them are of low quality"*.

Some tourists were keen on buying tourist souvenirs that combined art works with unique intangible cultural characteristics. A tourist from Dalian city considered that such souvenirs could help him to retain memories of his travels. He noted, *"Creative souvenirs can help my memories last for a long time even though I have finished my trip and am back home"*.

However, not all consumers were intending to buy souvenirs. Some souvenirs, in particular, were of low quality, lacking authentic characteristics and meaningless. The producers sometimes lacked sufficient awareness of protecting cultural resources, especially of intangible cultural heritage resources. Negative aspects of tourist souvenirs

emerged from the debate over the preservation and commodification of cultural tourism resources, and these are discussed in the section.

7.4 Preservation and commodification of cultural tourism products

The debate over preservation and commodification could reflect the interrelationships between the production and consumption of cultural tourism products. Tourism is "a cultural process as much as it is a form of economic development" (Ringer, 1998: 1), so it allows for commercial behaviours with economic purposes. However, some cultural heritage resources can be easily destroyed by commodification, in particular in a period of dynamic social development. It is, however, necessary to preserve these resources for future generations. This section explores different views about preservation and commodification, as well as their interrelationship around the production and consumption of cultural tourism products.

7.4.1 Interdependence through nomination for preservation lists

It was found that preservation lists such as the UNESCO and national (provincial) lists were very important to preserving cultural heritage resources in China. The World Heritage list, for example, encouraged the cooperation of different stakeholders in protecting monuments, historic buildings and other tangible cultural resources (Shackley, 2006). A provincial tourism official stated that the UNESCO and National preservation lists were quite helpful to preserve cultural tourism resources because:

"These preservation lists have clear but strict selection criteria for selecting and obtaining cultural heritage resources with significant cultural value. We have to remember that it is very difficult to recover cultural heritage resources which have been destroyed by nature or by humans. Monitoring roles, therefore, are very important to monitor and regulate behaviours at these historic sites, as well as to fully preserve cultural heritage resources for the future".

The relationship of interdependence between the producers and consumers is apparent in the process of nominating cultural heritage resources for preservation lists. Government departments, private sector organizations, and even the local people can work together in preparing documents, preserving cultural heritage resources, and applying for inclusion on preservation lists.

For example, Nanjing's producers, including Nanjing Tourism Bureau, Cultural Heritage Research Centre at Nanjing University, Nanjing Cultural Relics Bureau, and the Administration of Zhongshan Mountain National Park, worked together to apply to have Xiaoling Tomb (Figure 7.16), as one of the Imperial Tombs of the Ming and Qing Dynasties, included on the World Heritage site list. In particular, professors and experts had spent 6 years collecting 20 thousand pieces of geographic data in a 20 thousand square metre area. Meanwhile, Nanjing city government undertook more than 50 construction programmes in order to repair historic buildings and improve the local environment (He, 2005).



Figure 7.16: Xiaoling Tomb of the Ming Dynasty

Source: [Online] Last accessed on 06th August, 2012 at URL:

<http://q.sohu.com/forum/20/topic/52474321>

These preservation lists could help to establish a positive relationship between producers and tourists around cultural heritage resources. Yang, Lin, and Han (2010) identify the benefits of being on the World Heritage List in two aspects: attracting greater numbers of international tourists and receiving more financial aid to preserve and safeguard cultural heritage. The Vice-Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau, for example, described the potential benefits as follows: *"Although we are not quite sure of the exact number of tourists that the UNESCO preservation lists bring in, at least we know that preservation lists can increase tourists' interest and draw their attention when choosing a destination"*. A few tourists had researched the Xiaoling Tomb of the Ming Dynasty, which was on the World Heritage list, before travelling to Nanjing. A tourist coming from Wuxi city stated that, *"As a well-known attraction on the World Heritage list, Xiaoling Tomb has*

been promoted everywhere as a good representation of Nanjing's cultural tourism products and of Nanjing city". In addition, a UK tourist referred to the Xiaoling Tomb being on the World Heritage list, saying, "I found some information about the Xiaoling Tomb before I came here. I think it is a very famous World Heritage attraction".

7.4.2 Tensions over nomination for preservation lists

The producers placed priority on being nominated for the preservation lists, but the consumers were not interested in these lists. This difference in attitude could cause tension between the producers and consumers in the packaging and promotion of cultural tourism products.

First, it is noted that the criteria for inclusion on the UNESCO preservation lists are very strict. Also, the World Heritage Committee limits the number of candidates from each country, which means that the public sector has to give priority to the cultural tourism resources with the greatest chance of acceptance (Liao, 2011). The World Heritage Committee also encourages some countries with fewer World Heritage resources to apply for the World Heritage List, whilst appeals can slow up the application process in the cases of countries which already have the permitted number of World Heritage resources (UNESCO, 2012).

However, the failure of an application for inclusion on the UNESCO lists could decrease the reputation of candidate resources, harm the national identity and even incur huge debts (Huanqiu news, 2010). As each candidate application entails considerable expense, government officials therefore have to consider such applications very seriously, because they need to minimise the risk of rejection (van der Aa, 2005). Many producers, particularly government officials, were not keen to discuss this issue, which was sensitive in relation to the national image and reputation. Some of them ignored the questions while others refused to answer: *"I do not want to answer this question"*, and *"I am not the right person to answer this question"*. Just one government official mentioned it briefly:

"Every country can only nominate one candidate cultural heritage resource now. Failure of an application for the World Heritage list can cause a negative international effect on the candidate country. Such failure can cause China to lose face (mian zi 面子) among other countries. However, every candidate resource needs huge funding to conduct full preparation, to

do research and then to apply for the preservation lists. Some city governments even accumulate huge debts to support their candidate resource's nomination for the UNESCO lists. If the candidate resource applies successfully, then the city government needs to look for many opportunities to increase profits and repay the debts. If it is a failure, it leads to many serious problems for the local place. Therefore, applying for nomination to preservation lists needs very careful consideration and fully preparation".

In contrast to the importance attached to preservation lists by producers, however, not all tourists regarded inclusion on such lists as the key motivation in visiting Nanjing. Tourists, especially specific cultural tourists, might not have seriously considered preservation lists in planning their trips, but they were more aware of the cultural value and attractiveness of cultural tourism resources.

For instance, a couple of tourists from Hangzhou city who had visited Zhongshan Mountain National Park, the Presidential Palace, Confucius Temple and other well-known attractions in Nanjing stated, *"We did not really bother about the preservation lists before visiting Nanjing. We like to visit resources with unique cultural characteristics or historic background, no matter whether they are on the (preservation) lists or not"*. A Xi'an tourist visiting the Xiaoling tomb also referred to the lists: *"I do not think I would have been affected by the UNESCO preservation lists before visiting the tomb of the Ming Dynasty. I am more interested in its remarkable cultural value and the Ming Dynasty history"*.

Second, tension could potentially emerge because of the imbalance in development between cultural tourism resources that are on the list and those which are not. For example, the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity was aimed at improving public awareness of intangible cultural heritage and strengthening stakeholders' involvement but could give rise to this kind of tension (Gao, 2009). The representative of paper cutting, for example, had experienced the benefits of being on the preservation lists. His paper cutting skills had been recognised by UNESCO. Thus, he could attract government support and had opportunities to engage in cultural exchange activities. He commented: *"Jiangsu Provincial government and Nanjing city government provide me with support in preservation, and sponsor me to attend different cultural activities in China and outside China"*. In his case, being on the UNESCO preservation lists enabled him to attend different cultural exchange activities in different

regions and countries, and thereby improve public awareness of his paper cutting skill.

By contrast, the representative of Nanjing wool flowers reported that his skill in making wool flowers was recognised only by the Jiangsu Provincial and Nanjing city governments. He had fewer opportunities for involvement in cultural communications outside of Jiangsu province or by going abroad. He argued that, *"The cultural heritage resources on the world preservation lists have more chance of performing in other places. Government and sponsoring bodies like to support these 'famous' and 'well branded' resources rather than the less known ones. My skill is just on the provincial preservation lists, so I cannot often go outside of Jiangsu Province"*.

Although the UNESCO preservation lists serve the purpose of identifying intangible cultural heritage resources, they could lead to imbalances in funding support. According to Chinese national regulations, the resources on the UNESCO preservation lists are given priority in policy support and specific funding for preservation and research activities (The Office of the State Council, 2004). However, this created the imbalance in funding support made it hard for some "less famous" cultural tourism resources to be nominated for the preservation lists, due to their lack of the necessary funding, and this also caused a decline in motivation among traditional craftspeople (Shu, 2011).

Due to the limited funding and lower economic return as well as the lack of motivation this causes, many inheritors and their next generation will not be able to carry on with their handicrafts and art crafts, as their "old traditions", into future generations. Some craftsmen claimed they could not cover their basic living costs. The representative of Nanjing wool flowers noted that the younger generation had little interest in continuing traditional skills and stated that he had even been forced to stop practising his intangible cultural skill for a short period, because of lack of market demand. He explained, *"The current big problem is that there is no one to continue this skill after me. My other family members and even my son have no interest in learning this intangible cultural skill. In my opinion, some interesting and valuable intangible cultural resources will die out if they cannot receive sufficient funding resources"*.

Many interviewees had not heard about Nanjing's intangible cultural heritage or did not understand such resources. Their comments included: *"I never found the intangible cultural resources at any tourist attraction"*; *"I have no idea what Nanjing's intangible*

cultural resources are"; "I think most tourists are interested in famous mountains, temples, buildings rather than specific skills and techniques". A Wuxi tourist was surprised about the craftsmanship of Nanjing wool flower making: "I had never heard about the skills of wool art or making wool flowers although I have visited Nanjing several times".

Many tourists and local people thought that probably only culture and heritage resources on the lists were tangible or intangible cultural resources, whilst those not on the lists were ignored or viewed as out of date (Zhang and Wang, 2009). Even though some local people had lived in Nanjing for a long time, they lacked awareness of intangible cultural resources. A tourist from Changzhou city expressed concern about that: *"Some old traditions are out dated, and they even cannot be remembered by local people. If local people have no idea about intangible cultural heritage resources, how can tourists make sense of these resources?"* Therefore, not all tourists had strong interest in the preservation lists. The producers might have to rethink the value of being on preservation lists, as well as the appropriate means of transforming cultural tourism resources into practical products.

7.4.3 Partial preservation and commodification of cultural tourism products

First, digitalisation was seen to be an efficient means to balance the relationship between preservation and commodification of cultural tourism products. Some interviewees, in particular, believed that digitalisation was necessary to record cultural heritage resources, which had already lost their linkage with their historic context. They suggested audio, video, or digital documentary as methods to record the past. A tourism official from Jiangsu Provincial Tourism Bureau, meanwhile, proposed the use of video or photos to record cultural heritage resources, as they are particularly difficult to continue to the next generation. He said,

"It is much better to use video or photos to record intangible cultural heritage resources before they disappear. The word 'heritage' indicates that the resources cannot fully match social development. For example, Bai Ju (A traditional storytelling approach) is very difficult to pass on even though it is on the provincial preservation lists. Many people have no interest in learning this skill, because there is no demand for this skill, neither is there much profit".

A tourism professor from Nanjing Southeast University agreed with the use of modern technology in recording and representing cultural and tourism resources, but not with investing in preservation year after year. He explained,

"In my view, the nature of heritage is that it is out of date and it cannot match social development. Heritage resources, whatever tangible or intangible, belong to the past. Only the resources which cannot be used anymore in modern society can be called heritage. If they cannot adapt with social development, why do we expend large amounts of human resources and money preserving them? "

Second, a principle of "repair old as old" (xiu jiu ru jiu 修旧如旧) was used to represent the past and traditional culture in Nanjing. A tourism professor from Tourism Research Centre of Nanjing University suggested preserving valuable cultural resources, and removing others with less value, as *"the cost of repairing is much more expensive than the cost of rebuilding"*. He commented,

"I agree with preserving cultural tourism resources, with a certain degree of commodification or lively interpretations. The 'repair old as old' principle can reconstruct the new buildings and provide tourists with a new visiting experience. I do believe new technology can preserve cultural tourism resources in a flexible way and help visitors easily participate in the environment".

Therefore, commodifying cultural tourism products has become an important aspect of their production and consumption. Selling tickets at different cultural heritage sites, for example, is used to achieve economic returns and to promote cultural tourism products in Nanjing. Some cultural heritage sites on the World Heritage list had to sell tickets urgently to repay the huge bank debt incurred when applying for the World Heritage list (The Cultural and Natural Heritage Research Centre of Nanjing University, 2012).

Commodified activities that can make a profit are permitted at cultural heritage sites. In the case of Nanjing, five hundred million CNY (£50 million) was spent on the application for inclusion of the Ming Dynasty Xiaoling Tomb on the UNESCO World Heritage lists (Lu, 2004). In order to repay this massive debt, the price of entry tickets for Xiaoling Tomb was increased from 15 CNY (£1.5) to 60 CNY (£6) once it became established as a World Heritage site (Gong, 2006). A tourism professor from the Tourism Research Centre at Nanjing University referred to the practice of increasing ticket prices, which *"is widely used at many attractions, particularly after they become*

UNESCO sites. It is because the national government, with limited funding resources, cannot fund each individual cultural or tourism resource".

Some tourists accepted the rise in ticket price at Xiaoling Tomb and a couple of tourists stated that the high price would not stop people who were really interested in the culture and history represented by Xiaoling Tomb. A Dalian tourist argued that *"Xiaoling Tomb of the Ming Dynasty is the only World Heritage site in Nanjing. The higher price is reasonable if it has valuable cultural and heritage resources"*.

However, too much commodification might damage the sustainability and authenticity of cultural tourism resources, as well as leading to potential tension between the production and consumption of cultural tourism products. Many producers were worried that commodification destroys the original cultural value and has a negative impact on future development. The residents regretted the loss of their traditions and original life style, while the city destination could lose its attractiveness. Meanwhile, many tourists were disappointed about the commodification at certain cultural heritage sites.

Figure 7.17 shows the commercial activity of "strike the bell" at the Confucius Temple. There was a charge of 2 CNY (20 pence) for striking the bell, as a way of making a wish for good fortune. This commercial activity was irrelevant to the main function of the Confucius Temple, which is indeed devoted to the memory of Confucius. Many tourists disagreed with this kind of commercial activity and they complained about the inauthentic environment around Nanjing Confucius Temple. They regretted the commodification of Nanjing Confucius Temple, especially because they had to be involved in a commercialized context. One of them stated that *"it was just a big shopping street with a strong commercial atmosphere"*. A couple of tourists complained about the snacks and shopping facilities, *"Confucius Temple should be an old examination institution according to my previous understanding and knowledge of the books. However, there are many shops selling clothes of low quality and restaurants without good hygiene standards. It is a pity about the strong commercial atmosphere"*.

A tourist from Wuxi city accepted the commercial environment in the Nanjing Confucius Temple area, but he thought there should be acrobatics, drama performances, and other cultural activities, not clothes shops or fast-food restaurants (Figure 7.18). In his opinion, many of the fast food restaurants, such as McDonald's, were not in keeping

with the environment, and further damaged tourists' interests in the Confucius Temple area:

"There is nothing but selling clothes or low quality tourism souvenirs at the Confucius Temple. Too much commodification damages the authentic environment in the Confucius Temple. I have no interest in visiting this place anymore. Although Nanjing city government invested in re-development of the ancient style building, the fake design of the buildings does not match the surrounding environment, neither does it provide an authentic experience".



Figure 7.17: The activity of "strike the bell"
Source: Author



Figure 7.18: McDonald's in Confucius Temple area
Source: Author

Indeed, some managers of private sector organizations were seeking to maximize profits as the main purpose of commodifying the cultural heritage resource, but their poor quality products could damage the relationship with consumers. Many shops, for example, sold massive amounts of tourist souvenirs (Figure 7.19) of low quality, which were irrelevant to the Confucius Temple. One of the producers stated, *"The industrialization of culture considerably damages the cultural value and its unique characteristics. Too much commodification detracts from the artists' creativity, and reduces the unique characteristics".*



Figure 7.19: Tourist souvenir shop near Confucius Temple
Source: Author

Meanwhile, most tourists felt disappointed about Nanjing's tourist souvenirs and some of the shopping and catering facilities. They described most of the souvenirs as worthless and insignificant. They expressed their discontent with these souvenirs as follows: *"They (tourism souvenirs) are so boring"; "I can buy the same ones from my hometown"; and "They are much more expensive but of lower quality"*. A tourist from Wuhan city described the low quality of Nanjing tourism souvenirs: *"The quality of tourism souvenirs is so bad. I bought a toy for my son two days ago, but it was broken by yesterday. The prices are not that cheap, but the quality is so disappointing"*. The over-commodified environment, thus, considerably diminished the reputation of the Confucius Temple area and of Nanjing tourist souvenirs, as well as leading to tension between the producers and consumers around cultural tourism. The next section concludes the discussion of interrelationships between the production and consumption of cultural tourism products.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the interrelationships between the production and consumption of cultural tourism products. Two key products, museums and tourist souvenirs, were focused on in the Nanjing case, in order to gain understanding of the interactions and relationships between producers and consumers around cultural tourism.

These interrelationships were discussed in the context of museums, including historic museums and arts museums, in Nanjing. Both the Republican-themed museum, and the

folklore museum with its intangible cultural heritage resources, reflected the relationships of interdependence between the production and consumption processes. The producers considered the consumers' interests in assembling and packaging cultural heritage resources, while the consumers to a certain degree accepted and approved of these products in the context of cultural tourism. However, factors such as a lack of in-depth development of cultural tourism resources, lack of full understanding of the tourists' different expectations, and inappropriate integration of cultural and tourism activities affected interactions between producers and consumers and caused tensions between production and consumption of museums.

Tourist souvenirs, as the other key cultural tourism product, linked the production and consumption processes. Presenting the unique and attractive characteristics was found to be necessary to satisfy the tourists and to encourage producers to be innovative and creative in designing new cultural tourism products. However, most of Nanjing's tourist souvenirs were not of high quality, authentic, or creative, and this had a negative impact on tourists' opinions of Nanjing's tourist souvenirs.

This chapter also discussed preservation lists, reflecting the debate on preserving or commodifying cultural heritage resources in Nanjing. These preservation lists could to a certain degree increase the identity or reputation of one place, but they might not significantly contribute to interdependence between producers and consumers in relation to cultural tourism. In terms of achieving a balance between preservation and commodification, this chapter therefore identified factors that serve to preserve cultural heritage resources and barriers to their preservation arising from too much commodification.

The analysis of different specific cultural tourism products provided a generic understanding of the benefits of interdependence, the difficulties caused by emergent tensions, and the impact of political, economic, socio-cultural and technological factors. This analysis also helped in understanding dynamic interactions between producers and consumers in relation to cultural tourism. The next chapter explores interrelationships between producers and consumers in the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages.

Chapter 8 Interdependence and tension between the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the interdependence and tension between the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages and the way that the producers embed cultural meanings into cultural tourism messages, while the consumers decode these messages according to their knowledge and living experiences. These messages help to illustrate the interaction between the producers and consumers, and their interrelationships in the encoding and decoding processes. The discussion helps to achieve the research objective 3: "to examine the broader themes and to apply the generic conceptual model through an assessment of the case of the city of Nanjing in China. The broader themes were evaluated in relation to various sub-themes from policymaking, industrial operations, product development, and promotional messages and they were considered in the specific context of the Chinese political, economic, socio-cultural environment".

This results chapter firstly discusses the priorities of the producers and consumers in the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages (Section 8.2). Communication between producers and consumers can be in an "information-based (process), with messages coming from one side to another" (Finnegan, 1997b: 139). The producers could accord priority to those messages which best meet their own priorities, whilst the consumers interpret the messages based on their own knowledge or living experiences. Cultural tourism messages, therefore, are communicated between the producers and consumers, and form different relationships in the encoding and decoding processes.

The second part evaluates how producers and consumers communicate and their relationships of interdependence and tension between the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages (Section 8.3). The message as an individual object needs to communicate its meaning in a number of ways, particularly it relies on the operation of codes within different contexts and discourses (Hall, 1980). The message can also reflect the social relations within the translating, transforming, and communicating process. So the meanings produced by the encoders are not always received by the decoders and the same messages also can generate different meanings for different people. The same messages also can generate different meanings through the

communication. This chapter explores the interrelationships between the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages.

Section 8.4 discusses the new social media as a powerful communicating tool in the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages. The media plays a fundamental role in influencing consumer behaviours in travelling (Buhalis and Law, 2008; Philip and Palmer, 2008). Blackshaw (2006) identifies social media as an Internet-based application, allowing consumers to share and transfer their experiences by "post", "tag", "digg", and "blog" (Zheng and Ulrike, 2010). Different types of social media, therefore, affect the transmission of messages being encoded and decoded, which are affected as well by dynamic socio-economic, political and social environmental factors. In particular, new social media such as Twitter have wide application in Western society, but in China this is limited by the authorities. The discussion here evaluates how the producers use social media in encoding the messages and their interactions with the consumers around cultural tourism. The next section introduces different priorities in the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages.

8.2 Different priorities in the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages

Producers and consumers have different priorities in the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages. The producers could "define and strengthen social values of patriotism and national unity" (Chronis, 2005: 386), and adapt with current socio-political structures (Buzinde and Santos, 2009). For example, many historic sites and cultural relics are used to form a national identity (Buzinde and Santos, 2009). Meanwhile, the consumers can prioritise cultural tourism in terms of their interest in culture or history at different cultural heritage resources. The section discusses different priorities of the producers and consumers in the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages.

8.2.1 The producers' priorities in the encoding of cultural tourism messages

The producers, particularly the Chinese government, have the political goal of uniting the Chinese people and establishing a more open environment for public opinion. Agnew (2004: 223) considers the most territorial of political ideologies as "based on cultural beliefs about a shared space occupied by a kin-like, ethnic, or affinity group

who face common dangers and bring to these a social bond forged through their trials and tribulations of a common history brought about by a common geography".

A key message of "establishing a harmonious society", for example, was encoded by the Chinese government in order to strengthen the Community Party's governance of society and to form shared cultural values, which are necessary in China, with its 56 ethnic groups and population of 13 hundred million. Many interviewees referred to the importance of having shared cultural values: *"China is the country with the largest population in the world, so it needs to unite Chinese people and keep society in harmony"; "The message of 'establishing a harmonious society' delivers the Chinese government's political purpose to unite people together, to cohere individuals, to keep society peaceful and harmonious, and to make the country stronger"*.

The producers therefore encode the messages in relation to Chinese culture and relevant cultural values. Culture, including arts, language, beliefs, and a value system, is regarded as "soft power" to influence people's points of view and their ideologies. In comparison to "hard power", which includes territory, armaments, economy, and technology, culture is increasingly important and powerful in the current information society (Joseph, 1990). Culture increasingly also meets people's spiritual needs and diversifies people's creativity in cultural production (Ai, 2012). Some producers are concerned with cultural values and meanings as the key elements of cultural tourism messages. As the Director of the Cultural Communication Office of Jiangsu Province Culture Department stated:

"The Chinese government would like to strengthen the 'soft power' in culture and to keep a harmonious society. The current Chinese society has been influenced by Western culture in economic globalization. It does not mean that we have to accept all western culture and ignore our own culture. We have to call for more emphasis on Chinese traditional culture and identify many other valuable cultural heritage resources".

In particular, the citizen's national pride and national ideologies are emphasised by the public sector (Buzinde, 2007; Buzinde and Santos, 2008; 2009). Citizens cannot be proud of their country until they understand their own culture and tradition. The public sector thus puts effort into creating "an individual sense of belonging and understanding of collective roots" (Palmer, 2005: 14). Park (2010: 120) mentions that, "such national's cultural characteristics as language, blood ties, shared history and national

consciousness are the essential 'ethnic markers', which have indeed provided a fundamental background to the formation and reformation of a unique national identity". People, therefore, can feel proud of their own countries depending on the degree of respect for their own culture.

The Director of the Tourism Quality Management Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau discussed how national pride was the government's priority in promoting Chinese culture: *"Nanjing's producers, including the public and private sectors, would like to attract visitors who are interested in Chinese culture, history, and many other heritage resources. The visitors can also take responsibility for caring for tangible and intangible resources in their travelling"*.

Two Chinese mainstream media played an important role in the encoding of the political messages. First, Xinhua net (Xin hua she 新华社) is an official governmental website analysing government policies on issues concerning the general public. In 2006 this media outlet published the national guideline for clarifying the objectives, working direction, and approach towards achieving a harmonious society (Xinhua net, 2006a). The guideline stated, *"Some developed countries are trying to limit China's peacefully development. A few hostile forces also carry out some destructive activities which seriously harm Chinese national security and social harmony"* (Xinhua net, 2006b). From this national guideline, we can clearly understand why the Chinese government encoded the message of "establishing a harmonious society" in constructing a common socialist value system.

Second, People (Ren min wang 人民网), another Chinese government official news website, opened a special discussion forum in order to analyse the messages for "establishing a harmonious society". The main purpose in establishing a harmonious society was particularly highlighted: *"forming a shared socialism value system, establishing a serve-oriented government, narrowing the gap between rich and poor, taking care of people's rights and interests"* (People, 2006). The messages encoded by the public sector, therefore, had a strong political dimension intended to aid the Chinese Communist Party in its governance of a huge country with a massive population.

8.2.2 The consumers' priorities in the decoding of cultural tourism messages

Consumers will decode cultural tourism messages based on their own interests, knowledge and relevant life experiences. Hall (1980) considers that visitors arrive with their opinions of history and then interpret the relevant messages and meanings with reference to the society's point of view.

The feeling of belonging, which is regarded as "an extended form of emotional attachment to the family" (Park, 2010: 125), is what visitors are looking for in their travels. Saraniemi and Kylänen (2011: 139) argue that tourist destinations enable "consumers to immerse them(selves) into and find the elements that they seek in (re)presenting and (re)producing their fragmented identities". Thus, tourists can look for a sense of belonging to the culture as a way to identify themselves within society (Hall, 1997).

In particular, cultural tourists, who have greater cultural experience and interest, may accord priority to Nanjing's culture and history. Visitors to Nanjing were interested specifically in the history of its historical sites or relics. An older woman with her husband, for example, visited the Dr. Sun Yat-sen mausoleum, in order to understand the Republican culture and to remember her mum who had worked for the former Republican government. She said,

"I am really interested in the Republican history, and somehow part of the reason is because of my mum, who once worked for the Republican government. My mum was working as a typist for the former Republican government, and her profile was still recorded in the government official documents. However, she left Nanjing after the national war happened. Unfortunately, she could not come back before she passed away. Therefore, my husband and I come on holiday to Nanjing, walk around these Republican buildings, and review the old culture and history. I am very proud of my mum and that is why we come to Nanjing".

Her family tie with history was the main motivation for visiting the Dr. Sun Yat-sen mausoleum. Scates (2002) implies that pilgrims as the primary audiences decode the battlefield memories when they visit the memorial hall or the graves of their friends or relatives.

Tourists who had a direct or indirect relationship with the war history were also enthusiastic in visiting the memorial hall. Johnson (2004: 317) describes memory as

follows: "re-collection, re-membling, and re-representation are crucial in the mapping of significant historical moments and in the articulation of personal identity". A tourist from Wuxi city stated that his relatives had been killed in the Nanjing Massacre and he had visited this Memorial Hall several times. The reason for his regular visits to the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall was *"not only to remebmer his relatives, but also to remind himself of the history and to educate the next generation"*.

Further, people interested in culture and history might experience emotional responses and sympathy at historic sites. Figure 8.1 shows 28 defendants on trial at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE), also known as the Tokyo War Crimes Trials. Many pictures similar to that in Figure 8.1 were exhibited in Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall, as a way of recording the historical events. The pictures and their interpretations delivered a positive attitude: "Chinese people becoming stronger, forgiving the war criminals and loving world peace". Many tourists expressed their sensitive emotional responses when they observed pictures and relevant videos at the Massacre Memorial Hall. One tourist from Zhejiang Province expressed his opinion about the memorial hall: *"The Japanese army committed horrible atrocities, and they must be judged by history. Although some pictures are too bloody, they somehow can deliver a positive message, which is that Chinese people should forgive the Japanese people and love peace in the world"*.



Figure 8.1: Twenty-eight defendants on trial at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East

Source: [Online] Last accessed on 2nd September 2012 at URL:

<http://ben.chinatide.net/?p=3295>

The next section discusses the interrelationships between the producers and consumers in the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages.

8.3 Interdependence and tension between the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages

This section explores the interrelationships between the encoding and decoding of three key messages around cultural tourism. The producers, particularly the government, can encode these historic messages with their political purpose while the consumers can receive the messages and understand the behind meanings. However, not all messages can be fully encoded by the producers, nor fully decoded by the consumers. The following three types of messages can reflect the interactions between the producers and consumers, and their interrelationships in the encoding and decoding processes.

8.3.1 The encoding and decoding of highly sensitive historical memories

The first message entails highly sensitive historical memories. Both producers and consumers could share the important codes of historical events and memories, associated with appropriate interpretations (Stewart, Lavelle and Knowaltzke, 2001).

Patriotic education is a way for the Chinese government to encode these historical messages. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China defined patriotism (ai guo zhu yi 爱国主义) in the cultural context as:

"Ai guo zhu yi, presents the meaning in cultural tourism products, from historic to contemporary reality, from tangible to intangible civilization, and from natural resources to social lives. It encourages both public and private sectors to explore the meaning of patriotism at different museums, memorial halls and other heritage attractions" (Central Committee of the CPC, 1994).

In Zhu's book *"The interpretative Words for the Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders"*, he explained why patriotic education is important to China:

"We shall never forget that weakness invites aggression that causes the whole nation to suffer; we shall never forget the historical lessons of the invasion and people's sufferings. We shall, with patriotism, self-reliance and initiative, work hard for socialism with Chinese characteristics, for the reunification of the country, and for world peace" (Zhu, 2007: 41).

In particular, young people were highlighted as the key consumers of patriotic education in China. The Outline of Implementing Patriotic Education clearly indicated the targeting of young people:

"Patriotism education should apply to the whole Chinese people, especially young people. And all schools, universities, army, government departments, and public or private sector organizations, particularly the Communist Youth League and Young Pioneers, should pay more attention to patriotic education in order to establish the appropriate ideal, belief, outlook on life, and social values" (Central Committee of the CPC, 1994).

Therefore, many historic sites and museums in Nanjing were labelled as locations for patriotic education. The National Outline of Implementing Patriotism Education also recommended encoding the patriotic messages at some historic sites: *"At scenic spots or tourism sites, tour guides and technology can be widely utilized to increase people's interest in the achievements of civilization and to broadcast the meaning of patriotism"* (Central Committee of the CPC, 1994). Many producers, including government officials and private sector managers, believed that patriotic educational attractions helped to *"record a period of real history and indicate Chinese people's spirit"; "provide authentic experiences"; "form a core social value system in China"*. The Dean of the Tourism Research Centre of Nanjing University claimed encoding patriotic messages is an urgent matter for Chinese citizens in an era of globalization. He noted,

"Current Chinese citizens may have changed their opinions about Chinese culture and history since the Open Door Policies were initiated in 1978. A few people may still insist on a wrong belief that western living standards are definitely higher and better than the Chinese. Thus, the producers have to encode the 'patriotism' message at some historic sites, as a way to enhance national pride and their identity of being Chinese".

The Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall, for instance, fulfilled an official role for the Chinese state in promoting patriotic education. While visiting the Memorial Hall in 2004, the Chinese Communist Party General Secretary asserted that "Here is a good place to carry out the education of patriotism. Never forget to educate the adolescents on patriotism at any time" (Zhu, 2007: 62). Denton (2005: 568) observes how in China:

"Museums and memorials sites were built to restore waning socialist values and increase patriotism and nationalism. With a general loss of faith in socialism among the populace and the rise of competing forms of identity

with the influx of foreign cultural products and the emergence of a thriving indigenous pop culture, the state was clearly concerned that Chinese 'not forget' the humiliations and heroism of China's revolutionary past".

The discussion here provides a holistic understanding of patriotic education in the context of China. The next section first discusses interrelationships between the encoding and decoding of highly sensitive historical memories.

8.3.1.1 The case of Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall

The Nanjing Massacre began on December 13, 1937 and during a period of six weeks, Japanese troops killed 300,000 Chinese soldiers and Nanjing residents, destroyed a third of the houses, and raped 20,000 women (Zhu, 2007). This highly sensitive historical memory about the Nanjing Massacre represents a very important and emotive message for Chinese people.

Various interpretations were used at Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall, and four of which were identified as follows: interpreting techniques, sculptures, literary books and historical diaries, and tour guides. They helped the producers to meet the political purposes, deliver the historical messages, and provide an authentic visiting experience for the tourists. Meanwhile, the consumers could decode these messages and seek to understand the implicit meanings. Both producers and consumers, therefore, could communicate with each other, through these various interpretations.

First of all, interpreting techniques, including pictures (Figure 8.2), video (Figure 8.3), original resources (Figure 8.4), and interpretative words (Figure 8.5) were widely used to encode a sense of respect and sympathy and to enable the visitors to gain a very strong emotional feeling at the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall. In comparison to other physical responses, the emotional responses were too sensitive to convey. However, such methods offered effective means of encoding the difficult emotional messages.



Figure 8.2: Pictures exhibiting at Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall
Source: Author



Figure 8.3: Visitors were watching videos at Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall
Source: Author



Figure 8.4: The exhibition of the skeleton during Nanjing Massacre
Source: Author

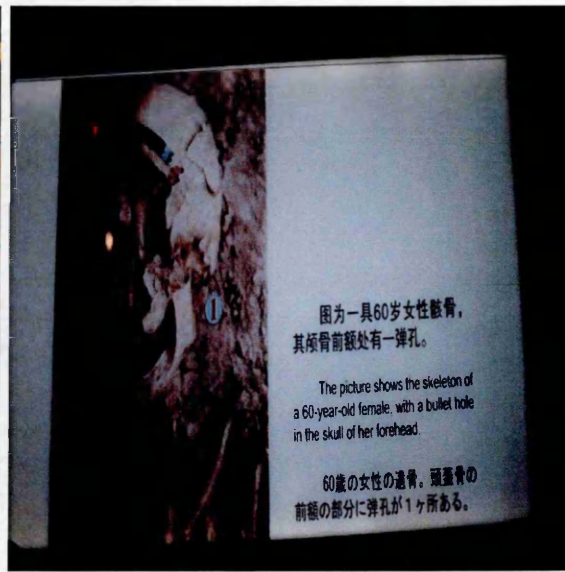


Figure 8.5: The interpreted words at Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall
Source: Author

For example, contradictory forms of visual representation were constructed using light and colour (Figure 8.6): "dark" and "light", "big" and "small", and "massive" and "individual". First, the contradiction between the general "dark" atmosphere and specific white "light" could easily draw visitors' attention and locate them in an atmosphere of ceremonial silence. In particular, the colours black and white were used as the main

thematic colours to show respect for the dead. Second, there was a contradiction between the "big" words "VICTIMS 300,000" on the roof and the "small" spot lights representing the dead people on the floor. Third, a contradiction was also presented between the "massive" spot lights, and the "individual" portraits of people killed during the Nanjing Massacre, in the middle screen of the exhibition room (Figure 8.7).



Figure 8.6: The exhibition room at Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall

Source: [Online] Last accessed on 6th August, 2012 at URL:

http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/photo/2013-04/03/c_132283018.html

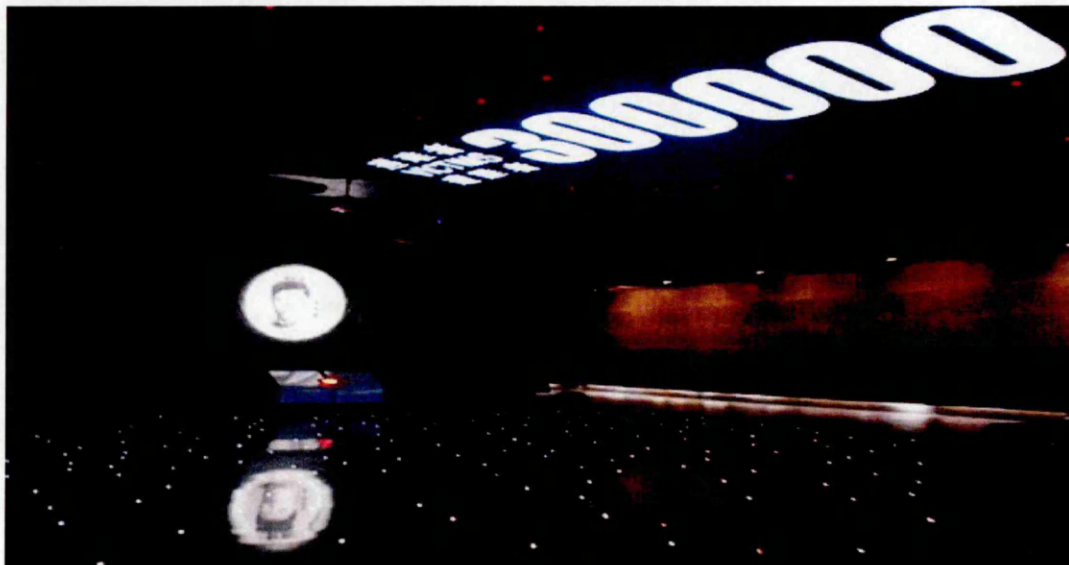


Figure 8.7: The individual portrait scroll playing at Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall

Source: [Online] Last accessed on 6th August, 2012 at URL:

<http://smileyjkl.blogspot.co.uk/2011/05/nanjing-massacre-memorial-hall-nanjing.html>

These interpretations and technologies were very powerful in enabling people to switch and to rethink from the individual level to an emphatic feeling of sadness and respect

towards the dead. The application of different interpretation techniques had a significant impact on interactions between the producers and consumers. Attention was given to the quality of representation, which delivered the historic memory of Nanjing Massacre, and also communicated a national political ideology to the audiences. The historic meaning of the memorial hall also left space for the future generation to rethink the past.

The interpretation applied at the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall also delivered the message of "looking forward to the future". Zhu (2007:14) highlighted a principle of "Past experience, if not forgotten, can serve as a guide for the future" (qian shi bu wang hou shi zhi shi 前事不忘 后事之师) (Figure 8.8), which was proposed by former Premier Zhou Enlai when China and Japan re-established diplomatic relations.



Figure 8.8: The interpreted words of "Past experience, if not forgotten. Serving as a Guide for the Future" at Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall

Source: Author

A tourism official from Nanjing Tourism Bureau stated that, *"The historical past memory may always record and present sad or negative information, but it may be further interpreted with social development, and added new social content"*. People had to look forward to the future, through remembering the history and taking on board past lessons (Hainan Daily, 2012).

The message of "looking forward to the future" was acceptable by the visitors. Some tourists were able to understand its educational purpose of delivering the positive messages and forward looking attitude of a city destination. A tourist from Wuhan city asserted that, *"I can feel that Nanjing producers are trying to present a new and positive cultural and leisure environment to tourists"*. She was very impressed with the interpretation of Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall, which represented the past dark history but at the same time delivered hope for the future.

An additional reflective way of thinking was accepted by the consumers in the decoding of messages at Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall. When tourists read the interpretation board, they could reflect upon and locate themselves in China's contemporary social environment. Some tourists identified themselves as showing self-reliance and initiative, working hard for socialism with Chinese characteristics, and looking forward to the future. A couple of tourists also reflected upon Sino-Japanese relationship: *"China is much bigger than Japan in terms of geography, resources, and population. However, how could Japan invade my country at that time?!"*. Meanwhile, a tourist from Changzhou city argued that Chinese people had to cooperate and become stronger to defend against the foreign invaders. He felt, *"Backwardness leaves you vulnerable to being attacked (luo hou jiu yao ai da 落后就要挨打). In the past, we had that miserable history of the Nanjing Massacre. In the future, we will have to learn from those lessons and grow up. Our Chinese people should become stronger so that no one can invade us anymore"*.

Secondly, sculpture was used to elicit emotional responses. The history embedded in the contemporary sculptures represents the specific messages in a visual way, as well as providing a striking visual experience. Mahon (2000) claims that combining visual arts and historic sites can construct cultural identities, social categories and histories. This interpretation encouraged the formation of a cultural identity in a relevant historic context; therefore, many producers emphasised the visual arts in representing cultural experiences. Figure 8.9, illustrates four groups of sculptures that were placed in front of Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall.



Figure 8.9: The sculptures in front of Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall

Source: Author

When walking towards the Memorial Hall, these sculptures are the first things people see before they enter. Each group of sculptures (Figure 8.10) was accompanied by interpretations of the words to switch on people's emotional responses instantly. English interpretations (Figure 8.11), for example, were: "My dear poor wife! The devil raped you, killed you...I'm right after you!". The sculptures as a kind of contemporary art work, therefore, represented strong feelings about the grief that Chinese people suffered during the Nanjing Massacre.



Figure 8.10: The theme of "Family Ruined" sculpture

Source: Author

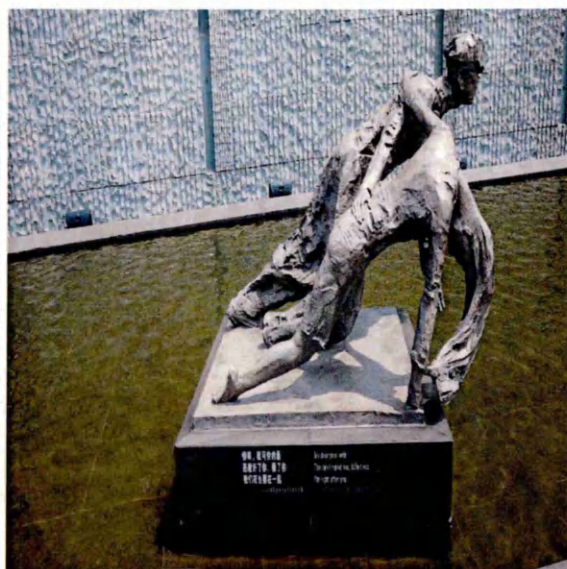


Figure 8.11: The sculpture of "My dear poor wife"

Source: Author

Many producers gave positive feedback on the sculptures and the link they form between the producers and consumers. The Director of the Tourism Industry Operation Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau explained how the art works were an attractive and interesting means to convey authentic feelings at historical sites: *"In order to represent the Nanjing Massacre history, the memorial hall's manager had invited Wu Weishan, the Dean of the Art Research Centre of Nanjing University, to design these four groups of sculptures. The lively interpretation of sculptures can leave an instant impression about Nanjing Massacre"*.

Some tourists expressed interest in the sculptures. A tourist from Chaohu city claimed that *"It is very rare to see many unique sculptures in front of a museum"*. Another from Changzhou city, explained, *"The visitors can have a clue about the Nanjing Massacre before entering this museum. I am very impressed about these sculptures and their details, which are lively, representing the Nanjing Massacre at that moment"*.

Sculptures at the start of the visitor experience at the Massacre Memorial Hall encouraged the visitors to draw on their imagination about the history of the massacre during their wait. They played on the visitors' emotions. This approach created empathy with the interpretations of the Massacre and the experiences in the museums. The sculptures at this historic sites, thus, were consistent with both producers' and consumers' priorities in the encoding and decoding of historical messages.

Third, books and historical diaries could arouse memories of past history, especially history in relation to the war. Anderson (2006) suggests spreading nationalism through books and the use of specific language. Stewart, Lavelle and Knowaltzke (2001: 49) also claimed that written codes "apply to a range of contexts in which words are used in texts". For international tourists, the only route to understanding and empathising with Chinese history might be by way of the written word. Very little was known in the West about the history of the Nanjing Massacre until two English version books on the subject were published: one was *"The rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II"*, and the other one was *"The good German of Nanking: The Diaries of John Rabe"*. These two books might be the only reason that international tourists, especially Western tourists, would have heard about the Nanjing Massacre. The words could engender sympathy among international tourists, explaining why the Nanjing Massacre history is so important to Chinese people and why they visit this museum and

remember people who were killed many years ago. The book *"The Interpretative Words for the Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders"* (Zhu, 2007: 40) notes that, *"There are literary works, movies and TV programs on the Nanjing Massacre. Among them are Bloody Evidence of the Massacre and Nanjing 1937 made in China, and Nanjing, the Rape of Nanjing and Iris Chang made in America, Canada and other foreign countries. There are eighteen movies and TV programs on the massacre for you to choose from"*.

The fourth type of interpretation was the tour guides, who could provide access for the tourists to the key messages that they might otherwise not pick up on. Tour guides play an important role in linking a tourist destination and tourists, by transforming a tour to an experience through their interpretation, communication, knowledge and services (Ap and Wong, 2001; Mossberg, 1995). A Nanjing tourism official mentioned that, *"making tourists understand what the tour guide interprets is the basic objective and principle for the tour guides"*. The Marketing Manager of the Presidential Palace believed the function of the tour guide was to be *"gatekeeper of cultural tourism resources"*. In his opinion, *"Tour guides are the first expression of cultural tourism resources. We have invested a lot in such training programmes and holding tour guide championships, because we do not want to mislead tourists or deliver the wrong messages"*.

A storytelling approach, for instance, was encouraged as a means for tour guides to interact with the tourists. Winter and Prost (2005) believe tourists can easily find new information in stories when they are also staying in the relevant places. Therefore, in spite of tourists lacking the necessary cultural and historic background knowledge, they can still make sense of certain points through lively storytelling and high quality interpretation by tour guides. The Director of the Tourism Industrial Operation Department argued, *"Telling stories is a good way to attract tourists' interest and attention so that they will not be forgotten in a short time"*. The administrator of Kanghui Travel Agency suggested using lively interpretation could interest international tourists, because *"telling a story is not direct translation, but is a lively interpretation with context"*.

Meanwhile, the tourists could decode the messages and understand the interpretation through interacting with tour guides. Most of the tourists believed that good interaction with tour guides could enhance people's enjoyment of the trip. Some of them also asked

questions and sought further details and some nodded, smiled and gave other active responses: *"I might ask questions because I have paid for the tour guide service"; "I would like to clarify some interpretation words if I do not fully understand"; "I usually ask tour guides more about behind stories, which you cannot find out from the interpretation board"*. In particular, two tourists from Wuxi city expressed satisfaction with the tour guide service: *"Tour guides can provide lively interpretation and leave a deep impression. Associated with the tour guides' interpretations, we can have an authentic feeling at some historic sites and still remember those stories when we are back home"*.

In general, such various forms of interpretation were powerful means of encoding and delivering historical memories. They encouraged interdependence between producers and consumers in the encoding and decoding of historical messages. This relationship helps to identify what tourists want, what messages can be communicated, and how the tour guides can communicate these messages.

8.3.1.2 Tensions between the encoding and decoding of highly sensitive historical memories

There are some potential tensions between the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages. These tensions may differ between the producers and consumers, due to their different priorities and interests around cultural tourism.

The first tension arose in relation to the historical messages, which were too emotional for some consumers to fully decode. The historical messages were so strong that they became too hard to sell, or they were only accepted by a certain number of visitors. For example, the messages encoded at the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall contained very strong emotions, but this might have limited the tourists' ability to ask questions about them. A few tourists expressed their feelings about the interpretation at this memorial hall: *"Delivered messages are so oppressive that people cannot draw breath"; "Some big pictures are too ugly and scary to tell the story"*.

The Chinese producers might have pushed the messages so hard because the fact that the Japanese people did not accept the reality of what happened during the Nanjing Massacre. This issue also reflects the complicated nature of Sino-Japanese relationships, in a dynamic socio-economic, political and cultural environment.

There was also some debate about the exact number of deaths in the massacre, with dissenting views in other media and other places, particularly in Japan playing down the scale of the Nanjing Massacre. This led to encoding in a seriously ambiguous way in Japanese school textbooks (Figure 8.12). Such ambiguous descriptions of the number of death included "many", "around 40 thousand", "more than 100 thousand", "about 200 thousand". These text books failed to actually clarify how many people died during the Nanjing Massacre, and left the number vague.

南京事件についての各社の記述

日本史 A		扱い	呼び方	犠牲者数
東京書籍	本文		南京事件	多数
	注釈		南京大虐殺	数万～十数万人以上、30万人以上
実教出版	本文		大虐殺	約20万人
	注釈			30万人以上、十数万人
第一学習社	本文		南京大虐殺	多数、20万人以上
	注釈			十数万人以上、4万人前後、30万人
山川出版社	本文		南京事件	多数
	注釈			数千人から30万人、30万人説は誇大
日本史 B				
山川出版社	注釈		南京事件	多数
明成社	注釈		南京事件	多く

Figure 8.12: The number of people killing in the Nanjing Massacre as interpreted in Japanese history textbooks

Sources: [online]. Last accessed on 29th April 2012 at URL: <http://news.sina.com.cn/w/2012-03-28/101724187518.shtml>

An example of this controversy is Nanjing city's decision to break off diplomatic relations with Nagoya city, which had been Nanjing's sister city since 1978 (Nagoya city hall, 2008). This was due to the mayor of Nagoya city, in 2012, denying the events of the Nanjing Massacre by claiming "the history of the Nanjing Massacre is possibly not true" and "It is very normal for people to die in a war" (Xinhua net, 2012c). He also refused to apologise for his inappropriate words (Xinhua net, 2012a). Hence, the government officials in Nanjing city and Jiangsu Province ceased all communications and tourism activities with Nagoya city.

These historical messages were encoded in such an emotional way to clearly communicate the message that no one could ignore or question this point in history. *The interpretative words for the Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing Massacre by Japanese invaders*, particularly state that, "The inharmonious voice frequently appears

in Japan, which should be watched out for the people of China and Japan. In the new period, Chinese people and Japanese people should take lessons from history, never forget the past, cherish peace, and face the future" (Zhu, 2007: 62).

A second source of tension was the lack of interactive experiences for consumers at some tourist sites, preventing them from fully understanding the messages encoded by the producers. Tourists can better understand the messages if they directly interact with the relevant sites or contexts (Winter, 2009). The messages at Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall, for instance, were encoded with such very sensitive emotional responses that, they forced the visitors to fully accept them without questioning or without active interaction. A tourism professor from Nanjing Normal University stated, *"The producers, particularly the cultural policy makers would like to design museums as a cultural shrine and create a ceremonial environment. They usually present exhibitions to represent cultural and historical memories"*. Such memorial halls and museums present very sensitive emotional messages, which then make it difficult to provide an interactive experience for the visitors, or enable them to feel free and relaxed in their travels.

Further, the poor quality of the interpretation was felt to be a problem at many of Nanjing's cultural heritage resources. The translation on the interpretation boards, for example, was not as good as it could be, and this could lessen the tourists' interest in such cultural heritage sites. A Canadian tourist expressed his opinion: *"Although I can understand most of the words on the interpretation board, sometimes I need to guess the meaning of the whole sentence"*. The current quality of most interpretations does not provide sufficiently interesting interactive experiences to fully meet the tourists' spiritual needs. A tourism official of the Nanjing Tourism Bureau explained, *"Most interpretations may not help the visitors fully engage in cultural and tourism resources. The visitors can be easily affected and even lose interest if there are many mistakes in the translations or in the interpretation words"*. The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau explained how the problems with interpretation occur:

"Most interpretations are very simple in they just interpret or translate the basic meaning, such as time and place. Although many interpretations at Nanjing's cultural heritage sites are much better than in other cities, they still have some problems in practice. For instance, many interpretations are

a literal translation (zhi yi 直译) but not free translation or paraphrases (yi yi 意译). The literal translations are just translated from Chinese to English word for word, without any consideration of the meaning of the text".

The third potential tension arose due to consumers being unable to decode the messages in the ways intended. Patriotic education or patriotic messages, for instance, were not decoded by the consumers in the way that the producers expected. A tourism officer of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau argued that the patriotic education had not achieved as much importance as was intended. He said, *"The Chinese government encourages the patriotic education to increase Chinese people's national pride and national belonging. However, it actually does not work very well. People are more open-minded than before. They thus may not fully accept patriotic education".* Another tourism official noted that people could not remember all the details or could not fully accept all information without any critical thinking. He explained: *"People now can use the Internet to look for information much more openly than before, and the government cannot control people's minds. I think people can criticise the messages that they have read or received".*

Some tourists believed patriotic education was not important: *"Patriotic education might have been given to students when I was in the school, but even with that, I do not really bother about it"; "I know some of Nanjing's tourism attractions are patriotic education places. However, the reason for visiting these places is their history and culture, not for patriotic education"; "I do not like the patriotic education at some tourist sites. I feel it looks like a brainwashing activity"; "Patriotic education might have been useful fifty or sixty years ago, but not for now. I do not think that it is very useful for the future either".*

One provincial tourism officer even criticised patriotic education and thought it might not bring immediate benefit for the tourism industry. He believed patriotic education was just a political slogan and not as important as changing people's minds or people's behaviours on their travels. He said,

"Patriotic education is a political ideology and it can be all right at times. However, it does not make a real and valuable contribution to the tourism sector. Although many organizations arrange different trips with the name of 'patriotic education', very few of the tourists actually learn about history in relation to national pride. Most people just take it as an opportunity for

8.3.2 The encoding and decoding of the symbolic achievements of civilization

The second message was in relation to the symbolic achievements of civilization. This message was encoded by the producers to enhance people's national pride and meanwhile it was decoded by the visitors in the way they chose to do so. Two examples Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge (Section 8.3.2.1) and the high-speed train (Section 8.3.2.2), are discussed in the following sections.

8.3.2.1 The case of Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge

The meaning of national pride was embedded at Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge, which was regarded as a symbol of Chinese civil achievement. Hall (1997: 26) suggests, "the meaning depends, not on the material quality of the sign, but on its symbolic function. It is because a particular sound or word stands for, symbolizes or represents a concept that it can function".

Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge was the first Chinese Road-Rail Bridge, and it was constructed from 1960 to 1968 without foreign assistance, after the Sino-Soviet split (Figure 8.13). This bridge was also the world's longest bridge with the dual functions of highway and railway, and it was once listed in the *Guinness Book of World Records* (Travel China Guide, 2012). China Youth Daily, a Chinese newspaper, described Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge as "*the first double-decker, double-track highway and railway bridge across the Yangtze River, and it is the first bridge to apply China's own technology and be made by Chinese experts without any outside engineering assistance*" (China Youth Daily, 2008). It was a symbol stating that Chinese people had the capability, mature engineering techniques and experts to build a typical Chinese bridge in the early 1960s.



Figure 8.13: Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge

Source: [Online] Last accessed on 14th August, 2012 at URL:

http://blog.163.com/like_zbf/blog/static/13052307320101261113091/

This bridge, as a symbol of Chinese national pride, represented the intelligence and creativity of Chinese people. The Tourism Strategic Plan for Developing the Metropolitan Area in Nanjing (2006-2020) particularly highlighted its unique cultural characteristics, representing the Chinese national identity, Chinese culture, and the Chinese people's national spirit. Hence, the producers used messages of civil achievements and their symbolism to strengthen national pride.

Many tourists felt pride in Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge and regarded it as one of the 40 must-go-to attractions in Nanjing (Daily Express, 2009). Some tourists expressed their opinions about Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge: *"Yangtze River Bridge was a famous symbol of the advanced technology of building bridges"*; *"Yangtze River Bridge was a good example to represent smart Chinese people and their characteristic creativity"*; *"The Bridge shows that how smart Chinese people are"*. One of these, a tourist from Wuxi city, mentioned that Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge was *"incredible, because it shows Chinese people could independently complete a multi-function bridge a half century ago"*. The General Administration Official of the Tourism Department of Xiaguan District Government stated,

"Chinese people were very proud of Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge, which was the first achievement, illustrating Chinese people could build their own bridge without any support from the Soviet Union. Its cultural value is more important, compared to the design and the techniques used. Its symbolic value also delivers a message that 'China became an independent country from that time'".

To celebrate this achievement of civilization, the symbol of the Nanjing Yangtze River was widely integrated into people's daily lives, for example, in the design of China's currency (Figure 8.14). Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge was also regarded as a symbol of individual achievement. In other words, it became a symbol of the "best" or the "brilliant" in people's promotions, rewards, personal honours and certificates. A tourism professor of Nanjing Normal University confirmed, *"Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge is well-known to the last generation and it is widely used in parents' books, award certificates, and calendars. I still remember the bridge was used on my Chinese literature books' front page"*.



Figure 8.14: The symbol of Nanjing Yangtze River on Chinese currency

Source: [Online] Last accessed on 14th August, 2012 at URL:

<http://www.dfb365.com/news/1514.htm>

The symbolic value of civic achievement, however, does not always pass on to the next generation and, in spite of the Nanjing Yangtze Bridge River being so important in the past. In fact, not many people could recall the exact meaning or symbolic value of the bridge. The General Administration Office of the Tourism Department of Xiaguan District Government was concerned about how the relevance of the Yangtze River Bridge could be forgotten with the passage of time: *"Fewer and fewer people, especially among the young generation, cannot remember the meaning of the Yangtze River Bridge. Compared to other historic buildings which are particularly preserved as tourist sites, the bridge will still perform its function in the transportation system for a long time. The bridge has very good cultural value, but now it cannot attract as many tourists as other sites"*.

He felt that time had altered people's perceptions of Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge. Thus, visitors, especially the younger generation, might not have the same strong feeling or emotional response as previous generation, despite visiting the same bridge. Not all memories can be remembered equally and some of them may be forgotten (Baddeley, 1999; Winter, 2009). The consumers may selectively decode only the messages which they understand, but ignore those which they cannot easily understand.

A tourism professor of Nanjing University agreed: *"Yangtze River Bridge was a memory for the last generation, but it is not as important for the current generation"*. In fact, except for three tourists, most of them could not remember the exact meaning and value of the Yangtze River Bridge. Some tourists thought of Yangtze River Bridge just as a bridge used for transportation, and one of them said, *"I do not know about the Yangtze River Bridge and its special meaning. I only know it is a bridge, and now it had been expanded to the 2nd Bridge and 3rd Bridge"*.

The rapid changes in technology, however, mean that the Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge is not as important as before. New technologies and achievements can help to boost people's national pride; thus, it might be easier to promote national pride in relation to civilization achievements of the current generation rather than those of former ones.

8.3.2.2 The case of high-speed train technology

High-speed train technology (Figure 8.15) was a more recent development, representing the current civic achievements in China. The Chinese government planned to complete the high-speed train programme, with trains running at speeds of up to 300km/hour in late 2012 (Jinling news, 2011; Yangtze news, 2011). It is a very efficient transportation system for tourists in terms of reducing their travelling time (China government, 2012). For example, it only takes 5 hours to travel the 1318km from Beijing city to Shanghai city by high speed train (Sina news, 2012). Indeed, the high-speed train met the need created by changes to the national holidays in China. In order to develop a healthy holiday economy, the Chinese government had cancelled a seven-day Labour Day Golden week and rearranged these seven days into other short holidays (Xinhua net, 2007). The policy change had affected people's travelling behaviour; in particular, it encouraged short-distance travel and associated tourism products. The high-speed train became increasingly important in meeting the increasing demand for short-distance travel, as well as boosting the number of tourists visiting Nanjing (Jinling news, 2011).



Figure 8.15: The high speed train in China

Source: [Online] Last accessed on 14th August, 2012 at URL:

<http://www.scmp.com/comment/insight-opinion/article/1114729/chinas-high-speed-rail-network-carries-burden-being-safe-and>

Some government officials and managers expressed pride in the high speed train, feeling that it had been appropriately used in developing the tourism industry and Nanjing city itself. It has changed tourists' approach to travel and stimulated the production and consumption of new cultural tourism products. Some producers were considering the high-speed train when designing new tourist itineraries, as well as capitalising on the shortening of travelling time between Nanjing and other cities. The General Tourism Administrator of Xiaguan District noted, *"Thanks to the high speed train, which has opened up a new short-distance tourist market and it encourages the development of Nanjing's tourism industry. The high speed train provides more options for people, who find it easy to visit Nanjing during the weekend"*. The Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau also mentioned a new metropolitan plan which links the Yangtze River Delta cities of Nanjing, Suzhou, and Changzhou by high speed train. One official of Nanjing Tourism Bureau expressed pride in the high speed train programme, because *"the metropolitan plan helps to develop the regional economy. The high speed train helps Nanjing city to attract other short-distance tourists, and also increases its competitiveness and economic status in the Yangtze River Delta"*.

Many tourists praised to the high-speed train in promoting Nanjing and its tourism industry. The high-speed train can represent a sense of China, growing up quickly and becoming stronger in politics, economy, and technology. The respondents were very excited about the high-speed train in Nanjing as *"The high-speed train can reflect*

Chinese people's creativity in researching and developing new technology"; "It is evidence that China and its economy have grown up". One of them commented that China's economy has developed very quickly: "I am very proud of being Chinese. The high-speed train is a good example to represent the strong economic power of China".

The high-speed train has made it very easy for people to visit different destinations. A tourism professor of Nanjing Southeast University confirmed how the high-speed train has affected consumers' motivation, behaviours and consumption. He reported, *"The high speed train has changed people's travelling behaviours and their everyday life. Before the high-speed train, people had to plan journeys carefully in terms of the long travelling time on the road. However, people can now travel more easily to different destinations with the high-speed train".* A Wuxi tourist stated that he was very satisfied with the high-speed train, as he only spent 50 minutes travelling from Wuxi to Nanjing: *"The high-speed train could shorten my travelling time. My family and I only spend 50 minutes travelling, compared with 2 and half hours by car several years ago".* Another tourist, from Tianjin city, noted that high speed train could *"shorten the travelling time between the north and the south of China. Tourists coming from the north of China now need only spend 4 hours travelling from Tianjin to Nanjing city by high -speed train".*

8.3.3 The encoding and decoding of the city's image

The third message is Nanjing city's image. The city authorities aim to use symbols, logos or slogans to reinforce its distinctiveness, competitiveness and attractiveness by creating a certain identity (Bramwell and Rawding, 1996; Kotler, 1991). As a promotional message, the city's image reflected the interactions between the producers and consumers within a city destination. This part explores the content of the city's images and how these images affect the interdependence and tension between the encoding and decoding processes.

8.3.3.1 The design of the "city of universal love"

The dominant image of Nanjing as a city was the "city of universal love" (bo'ai zhi du 博爱之都), which has been used as a marketing slogan. Nanjing Tourism Bureau presented this image of the city on its official website: *"The 'universal love' slogan, which was drawn up by Nanjing Tour Bureau, was first used in tour promotions in Chongqing in March, 2003, and was highly praised. Thereafter it gradually became the*

city's image and slogan" (Nanjing Tourism Bureau, 2004b).

Nanjing city's image (Figure 8.16) was constructed in two parts, the slogan and the symbol. First, the slogan of "Nanjing is a city of universal love" was used in both Chinese and English. Second, the symbol included three key elements: plum blossom, a floral symbol representing Nanjing city; a dove of peace, and a memorial archway.



Figure 8.16: Nanjing city's image, "a city of universal love"

Source: [Online] Last accessed on 14th August 2012 at URL:

<http://www.nju.gov.cn/lybsp/htm/productview.asp?id=245#zoom>

The latter two elements, the dove of peace and the memorial archway, were two very important aspects in conveying the meaning of "universal love" in Nanjing city's image. First, a dove of peace represented a message of "love people" in relation to the historical backdrop of the Nanjing Massacre. Nanjing producers used this peaceful message to deliver a voice that Chinese people should abandon hatred, be tolerant and generous to the Japanese people and love peace and peoples of the world. Zhu (2007: 36) commented, "The Memorial Hall has been visited by leaders of the Party and the state, guests from home and abroad, and adolescents, who expressed their memory of history and love for peace in various ways".

Second, the memorial archway was planned as a memorial to the Republican idea of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who was so important in Chinese history and Chinese social transition. Dr. Sun Yat-sen had been influenced by Abraham Lincoln's notion of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" (Calney, 2010: 23), and consequently introduced his *Three Principles of the People* (san min zhu yi 三民主义), namely, building nationalism, civil liberties, and helping with people's livelihoods (Kesey, 2007).

He introduced the idea of "universal love" in order to deliver the message of "the world belongs to the people", during China's Republican period. The "universal love" idea, thus, was working towards "Everything for the People". Nanjing producers encoded the message of "the world belongs to the people" and "love people" in Nanjing city's image. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's overarching principle of "universal love" (bo'ai 博爱) was carved on the archway which is in front of his mausoleum in Zhongshan Mountain National Park (Figure 8.17).



Figure 8.17: The words of "universal love" (bo'ai 博爱) on the memorial archway
Source: Author

Many domestic tourists were able to recognise the Republican culture and the importance of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the design of Nanjing city's image. Some tourists identified Dr. Sun Yat-sen as the father of the nation, leading the national revolution in 1912. Most of them expressed their opinions about the relationship between Nanjing city's image and Dr. Sun Yat-sen: *"I had heard Nanjing is called the city of universal love, and also as a green city for human living. I think universal love relates to the key message of Dr. Sun Yat-sen"; "Universal love is helpful to interpreting Dr. Sun Yat-sen's key message of 'the world belongs to the people' (tian xia wei gong 天下为公)"*.

The message of "love people" as one aspect of Nanjing city's image had a close relationship with the nature of socialism in China. A provincial tourism official explained how and why the Chinese government takes on the role of protecting and promoting cultural tourism resources: *"The Chinese political leaders give priority to building a harmonious society. They often visit museums, historical sites and other*

cultural tourism places in order to present their political power in the governance of society, as well as emphasising their care of people and of the public goods".

Figure 8.18 shows the Chinese government leaders visiting the Presidential Palace, in photos which were exhibited in the entrance. Feng (2009: 76) noted,

"It is thanks to the attention and concern of the Party and the government, the unrelenting efforts of government of all levels and the relevant departments, and the enthusiastic help of many parts of society. Government and Party leaders, heads of foreign states and domestic and international VIPs, and ordinary people come here and enjoy themselves".



Figure 8.18: The former vice premier minister visiting the Presidential Palace
Source: Author

Some tourists were able to decode the message of "love people" and "love peace" in relation to the history of the Nanjing Massacre. A tourist from Wuhan city noted:

"I think Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall is a good place to promote the meaning of 'love people', and deliver the key message of loving all the world's people. And my boy asked me about that, why were Chinese people killed by the Japanese without any defence? I suggested that he should forgive the Japanese but keeping studying and becoming stronger and Chinese people should become stronger so that they cannot be invaded by other foreigners".

Moreover, the internal meaning of "love people" in the city's image could represent the key characteristics of Nanjing's people, of being open-minded and friendly. A few respondents stated that Nanjing people were friendly to visitors. The Director of the Tourism Marketing Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau noted that, *"The 'universal*

love' helps to increase the pride in being Nanjing people, regulates local people's behaviours, and forms a friendly and welcoming environment". Meanwhile, a tourism professor from the Tourism Research Centre of Nanjing University explained the word "love" with a broader definition: *"The whole society can treat people with friendliness, equally and in harmony. The meaning of universal love (Bo'ai 博爱) is to love everyone based on the words' meaning, but I think it further explains the spirit of Nanjing people, be friendly to everyone".* The Vice-Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau expressed pride in Nanjing, which was voted as the most satisfactory tourist destination in the national tourism survey in 2010. She said, *"As one of the most satisfactory tourist destinations, Nanjing does very well in establishing a safe, leisure and harmonious environment".*

8.3.3.2 Tensions in the encoding and decoding of the "city of universal love"

In spite of Nanjing's image being widely used in tourism promotional activities, many interviewees were concerned that, this was not being fully encoded by the producers or decoded by the consumers.

First of all, some producers were concerned that the "city of universal love" did not represent the broader characteristics of Nanjing city. They thought the city's image only represented the Republican culture, and lacked full consideration of other important historical periods, including the Six Dynasties culture and the Ming Dynasty culture.

By contrast, some producers suggested that the Ming Dynasty culture should be the key theme in Nanjing city's image. Zhu Yuanzhang, the first emperor of the Ming Dynasty, selected Nanjing city as the first national capital city. The Ming Dynasty culture and associated cultural heritage resources became the most attractive elements of Nanjing city. A provincial Culture Department official explained how the Ming Dynasty culture reflected the attractiveness of Nanjing city: *"Nanjing was the first city to establish the Ming Dynasty, which is an important historical period in the history of China. Far more than that, the history in Nanjing also affects Beijing's culture, particularly Beijing's architecture from the Ming Dynasty".* A tourism professor of Nanjing Southeast University suggested promoting the Ming Dynasty's history and culture to international tourists: *"Many international tourists, especially European and American tourists, may be more familiar with the Ming Dynasty culture or the Qing Dynasty culture".* From his

point of view, it was difficult to select the most effective image for a city, if the city had many equally important historic resources. Different histories and relevant cultural heritage resources could create difficulties in designing and promoting the city's image.

Secondly, some producers believed that the "city of universal love" was looking backward to history. They argued that Nanjing city's image did not deliver positive messages but only sad information in relation to its miserable history. As an approach for promoting the city as a destination, the city's image should be positive and forward-looking to the future. However, Nanjing city's image had been interpreted in relation to the past and it lacked strong linkage with the contemporary social context.

A tourism expert described Nanjing city as a miserable city with many sad stories and histories from the Six Dynasties, Ming Dynasty and even in the Republican period. These cultures and histories formed a passive and upsetting environment which was not good for the future tourism development. A tourism professor from Nanjing University explained the reasons behind this:

"People always describe Nanjing as a miserable city. Nanjing is well known as the capital of Six Dynasties history, but each dynasty only lasted a very short period. Nanjing is also as famous as the capital of the Ming Dynasty, but the capital was moved to Beijing later. Indeed, Nanjing is well known because of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his national revolution, but the revolution was not the typical success. All of these histories are very important in Chinese culture, but each historic period is very short".

Thirdly, the consumers did not fully understand the meaning of "universal love" or they failed to decode it in the way it was intended. Most of the international tourists came from France, USA, Canada and England and had neither heard about Nanjing city's image, nor understood the meaning of "universal love". A French tourist commented, *"I have not heard about Nanjing. My business is mainly in Shanghai, and my colleagues recommended Nanjing for a short trip at the weekend. I do not know about Nanjing city's image either"*. A group of American tourists questioned the "universal love", asking *"What is the meaning of universal love? "*.

Although some domestic tourists and residents knew that "universal love" was relevant to the Republican culture, very few of them could clarify its details or its meaning. A Wuxi tourist stated that, *"'Universal love' is a good message, but I do not think all people can understand it. I know some Japanese people may deny Nanjing Massacre*

history, especially young people, who probably will not acknowledge it at all". A couple of tourists answered, *"We only know about 'universal love' in relation to Dr. Sun Yat-sun but we do not know its exact meaning and content"*.

Fourthly, a lack of continuity was also found in the encoding and decoding of the city's image. The Director of the Tourism Quality Management Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau suggested that it was better to keep the "city of universal love" rather than to promote other tourism slogans. He explained that, *"The consumers became familiar with the old slogan in a short time, they now had to adapt the new ones, which had come out quickly"*. One tourist from Wuxi city was confused that, *"I have seen some words like city of humanity for Nanjing city. Is that part of Nanjing city's image?"* Another couple of tourists from Anhui Province had heard the term "A Green City for human living" occasionally. A tourism professor of Nanjing Southeast University suggested:

"The current promotion of Nanjing city's image is not successful. The 'city of universal love' could be an appropriate image for the city generally, which has been promoted since 2004, but it has failed to continue since some new slogans came out, such as 'Green city for human living'. If the 'city of universal love' had been continued after 2004, it could have attracted more tourists, including domestic and international tourists".

Some government officials and professors complained that *"the promotion of Nanjing city's image is not working"*; *"there are too many tourism slogans, which are confusing the promotion of Nanjing"*; *"Nanjing city's image is not as strong as that of other places, such as Shandong province and Xi'an city"*. In particular, a tourism expert argued that experts and private sector managers have failed to address this issue: *"Nanjing's experts and government officials have discussed, negotiated, and amended the city's image several times. Unfortunately, some government officials are dissatisfied with the slogans, but they cannot decide on an appropriate image to represent Nanjing's main characteristics and spirit"*.

The imbalance of power relationships among different producers was found to disturb the consistency of Nanjing city's image. New city mayors, for instance, may initiate a new city image and do not necessarily continue with the idea of the previous mayor. In the Chinese political system, there has to be a new city mayor every five years in order to avoid corruption. He or she could either adopt the images chosen by their

predecessors, or design completely new ones. Robins (1997: 38) claims that, "old certainties and hierarchies of identity have been called into question in a world of dissolving boundaries and disrupted continuities".

The former Director of the Tourism Planning and Statistics Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau described how the changeover to a new city mayor was affecting the city's image:

"Nanjing city's image is not fully successful, which is affected by the quick change of the city mayor's ideas. The city mayor is replaced every five years based on the Chinese political election system. In pursuit of greater political achievements, the new city mayor will develop new city slogans and re-position city development plans".

The next section discusses the role of new social media in the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages.

8.4 New social media in the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages

Technology can affect the interrelationships in the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages. Interactions are facilitated immediately by intermediaries such as "the media, literature, arts, and popular culture (e.g. motion pictures, TV shows or music)" (Cohen-Hattab and Kerber, 2004; Govers, Go and Kumar, 2007: 15). Social media, particularly the Internet, plays an important role in communication between the producers and consumers, in the context of social development and partial change to the economic structure in China. The Internet, being accessible 24 hours a day, is effective for marketing, sharing information, and distributing goods from anywhere in the world (Hoffman and Novak, 1996; Lin and Huang, 2006). However, tight controls over all forms of social media by the authorities in China might cause practical problems for communication of message. The following evaluates how social media is applied and has affected the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages.

The Internet and other new social media can facilitate the transmission of cultural tourism messages. The producers have used social media to increase public awareness of the establishment of a free environment for expression of public opinion. The Chinese national news agency highlighted the importance of the media:

"Chinese people have changed their opinions in terms of they are now seeking to be more involved in socially constructive activities. Their expectations of democracy and the legal system, for example, are becoming stronger. News and press, radio and movie, culture and the arts, and social science thus should play a positive role in promoting the mainstream ideology and maintaining a stable public opinion environment " (Xinhua net, 2006b).

Social media such as the Internet, blogs, Twitter and Facebook, are becoming increasingly important in both Western and Chinese society and can provide a mechanism for the encoding and transmission of cultural tourism messages online. Although the Chinese government blocks access to the likes of Twitter, Facebook and Youtube, other Chinese equivalents are available; for instance, Weibo, which has similar functions to Twitter, has become the biggest online social network in China. Individuals, private sector organizations and government departments can open a Weibo account to create messages or forward them to other followers. At the same time, these accounts can easily update the news or other interesting topics which the accounts holders are following. Weibo, with its speed and ease of use can help producers and consumers to communicate online, and also reflect their interaction and interrelationships in the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages.

Many producers considered Weibo was a good tool for communicating with consumers. They noted how the consumers' feedback helped the government to *"review industrial operations and look to the future"*. The Director of the Tourism Quality Management Department of Nanjing Tourism Bureau explained how they always used Weibo to report on good or bad performances of tourism products and services:

"Weibo, as an efficient communication tool, allows the government to be criticised by public opinion. In comparison to mail and other communication approaches, Weibo benefits the government in working for the public easily and efficiently. Appropriately applying Weibo in the government's administrative work can also avoid corruption and create more communication opportunities between the producers and consumers".

A tourism professor of Nanjing Normal University discussed encoding the messages through Weibo, describing it as, *"a useful social media to share information and promote Nanjing cultural tourism resources and Nanjing city. Everyone, especially the young people, like to use this new media in order to receive information quickly"*.

At the same time, the consumers can respond quickly and directly to the producers on Weibo. For example, if Nanjing Tourism Bureau's Weibo account updates a message, its followers can automatically receive these updates. Many interviewees believed Weibo was becoming faster as a means of exchanging and communicating information. The more followers there were with an official Weibo account, the stronger their voice.

New social media, thus, was utilised in the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages. Weibo, in particular, could speed up communication between producers and consumers, because the producers could send out the different messages in a short time and the consumers could instantly receive and absorb the message.

However, the use of the new social media has created certain potential tensions. Even though Chinese government officials have acknowledged the importance of Weibo, they will not allow full freedom in encoding cultural tourism messages. Social network, such as Google, Youtube, Twitter and Facebook could not be accessed in mainland China. People could not fully present their opinions on Weibo, even though it was a comparatively open public opinion platform in China. Individuals' accounts also could be blocked or deleted by Weibo's managers if they presented, posted or reposted many negative messages. In the late stage of conducting the field work, Weibo, in particular, was found to be less open than before, so some messages could not be sent or received due to limited Internet access.

Indeed, it was believed in some quarters that the huge volume of messages and information generated by Weibo or the Internet, might lead to people having no time to fully enjoy their cultural or leisure experiences. The Director of the Tourism Research Centre of Nanjing University considered the negative impact of the Weibo on the encoding and decoding of the cultural tourism message: *"The modern technologies force people to check messages and receive mass information all the time. People will become very tired when they are always in the process of receiving and decoding messages without any break. From a human philosophy perspective, it is opposite to the nature of travelling and it cannot provide a relaxing experience"*.

Furthermore, not all producers or consumers regularly used the Internet or Weibo. During the fieldwork, only a few government departments and private sector organizations had Weibo accounts or regularly used them. To a certain degree there was

a lack of regular interaction and communication between the producers and the consumers. When the researcher asked the producers if they intended like to open a Weibo account in the future, most of the interviewees including government officials and managers of private sector organizations answered "No". Nanjing Tourism Bureau also had no Weibo account when the researcher conducted the first phase of interviews. Indeed, the manager of Jiangsu Provincial Art and Craft centre had no idea what a Weibo account was. He said, *"It is interesting, but I do not think it is very useful to promote my art and craft centre"*.

Some producers were concerned about the potential risks if they created a Weibo account for their daily work. There was a mature system for responding to passive or negative messages, but it did not involve Weibo. The Director of the Cultural Communication Office of Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department expressed his lack of interest in Weibo:

"Jiangsu Provincial Culture Department does not have an official Weibo account. We do not have sufficient human resources and energy to tackle huge amounts of messages and information on Weibo all the time. If there is an accident or issues emerge online, our officials should respond quickly. However, we have much work to do and we do not have extra time to respond to the latest information on Weibo, particularly when some information is not true".

Another government official in the cultural sector was concerned that the information on Weibo would be sensitive, *"It may be not appropriate to create an official account, as we are presenting the image of the city government. I can create my personal Weibo account, only presenting my own opinions"*. A tourism professor from Nanjing Normal University believed the producers should take responsibility for changing the tone of messages on Weibo from negative to positive. He said, *"It is very common to see negative messages on Weibo. Once problems occur, the producers should have an emergency response mechanism to deal with public relationship issues. The government and some private sector organizations should use the new social media to change their positions and attitudes from passive to more active"*.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the interdependence and tension inherent in the encoding and decoding of three cultural tourism messages: highly sensitive historical memories, symbolic civilization achievements, and the city's image. These messages could reflect dynamic interaction between the producers and consumers in relation to cultural tourism, as well as the broader socio-economic, political and cultural environment.

In the Nanjing case, these messages were closely related to the different actors' priorities, interests and power relationships. Relationships of interdependence were formed based on the common priorities between the producers and consumers in the encoding and decoding processes. However, factors such as lack of logical interpretations, changes over time, limitations of representations and different understandings of meanings created difficulties in the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages.

This research also identified how the new social media was applied to the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages. Weibo as a new social media in China has benefited communication between producers and consumers in the field of cultural tourism. Although limited access to social media has caused potential problems, and there was a lack of full awareness of social media, Weibo can still provide a relatively free public opinion environment for both producers and consumers in the cultural tourism process. The next chapter concludes this study and evaluates its future implications.

Chapter 9 Conclusions and Implications

9.1 Introduction

This study has developed a generic conceptual model of urban cultural tourism and then applies it to the city of Nanjing, with the intention to examine the complex relationships around cultural tourism in city destinations. The study has allowed for consideration of the dialectical relationships of interdependence and tension within and between the four processes identified in the model and with the wider political, economic and socio-cultural environmental context.

This conclusion chapter, first of all, reviews the research aim and objectives (Section 9.2). Then, secondly, it moves on to consider the value of the conceptual model both as a theoretical construct and through its practical application (Section 9.3). Thirdly, the researcher reviews the findings based on the model's practical application in Nanjing city, China (Section 9.4). This section provides a summary of the valuable critical insight into the city's cultural tourism as facilitated by the model's holistic and dialectical perspective, including its consideration of the interactions with the broad environmental context, and its focus on interdependence and tension. Fourthly, the researcher highlights the value of this research and its implications and potential contribution to future research (Section 9.5). Lastly, the limitations are discussed at the end (Section 9.6).

9.2 Research aim and objectives

The research has developed a model of cultural tourism, explaining the rationale behind the model and applying it to city destinations. The research aim of this study is to holistically view cultural tourism and to simplify the dynamic interactions and relationships between different elements of cultural tourism – notably, between cultural and tourism policies and government departments, between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism, between the production and consumption of cultural tourism products, and between the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages. The conceptual model associated with these relationships is applied to the Chinese city of Nanjing in order to view cultural tourism in the changeable political, economic, and socio-cultural surroundings of a major Chinese city.

To achieve the research aim, the specific objectives were:

- (1) To review literature about cultural meanings and governance around cultural tourism in city destinations, different theoretical models for understanding cultural tourism, and power, interdependence and tension around cultural tourism. This was discussed in Chapter Two.
- (2) To develop a generic conceptual model to understand the interdependence and tension around cultural tourism and to apply this to a case study. The broader themes of interdependence and tension were generated based on the literature, and the relationships of interdependence and tension varied between the public and private sectors, the culture and tourism sectors, the production and consumption of cultural tourism, and between cultural tourism and the wider environment. The principles of building the generic conceptual model and these broader themes in relation to cultural tourism were considered in Chapter Three.
- (3) To examine the broader themes and to apply the generic conceptual model through an assessment of the case of the city of Nanjing in China. The broader themes were evaluated in relation to various sub-themes from policymaking, industrial operations, product development, and promotional messages and they were considered in the specific context of the Chinese political, economic, socio-cultural environment. The detailed results were examined in Chapters Five to Eight.
- (4) To refine the sub-themes in the detailed conceptual model and to assess the wider potential applicability of the generic conceptual model. The value, the practical application, and the contribution of the conceptual model were considered here in Chapter Nine.

9.3 The value of the conceptual model

The discussion here helps to achieve the study's research objective 2, which is "To develop a generic conceptual model to understand the interdependence and tension around cultural tourism and to apply this to a case study". The key advantage of the conceptual model is that it provides a holistic understanding of cultural tourism in city destinations, and it assists in simplifying the complex relationships in a changeable political, economic and socio-cultural environmental context. The main function of the conceptual model is to "explain, either graphically or in narrative form, the main things

to be studied – the key factors, concepts, or variables – and the presumed relationships among them" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 18). Therefore, a conceptual model can help researchers to simplify the many complex elements and relationships involved in urban cultural tourism, to clarify the different elements involved, to consider the relationships between the phenomenon being studied and the wider context, to examine the connections and relationships between the elements, and to evaluate the relevance of the model's simplifications and explanations in different contexts (Forsberg et al., 2005; Pearce, 2014; Wallerstein, 2009; Xin, Tribe and Chambers, 2013).

The conceptual model developed in this study adopted an interdisciplinary perspective, and it integrated specific elements from three different theoretical models from cultural, heritage and tourism studies. The three existing theoretical models were Du Gay et al.'s "the circuit of culture" (1997), Greg Ashworth's "components of the heritage industry" (1994), and McKercher and Du Cros's "relationships between tourism and cultural heritage management" (2002). These models offered different standpoints and elements relevant to understanding urban cultural tourism, but none of them provided a comprehensive view of cultural tourism in cities.

This study has developed a holistic, integrated and dialectical conceptual model which considers cultural tourism as a process of interactions – notably involving policy and governance, stakeholder management between the public and private sectors, the production-consumption processes of products, and the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages. Two aspects of the conceptual model are important: building a generic theoretical model (Section 9.3.1), and applying that model in a practical case (Section 9.3.2).

9.3.1 Generic model building

This research provided the four principles used to build the study's generic model and to facilitate a comprehensive understanding cultural tourism in cities. The four principles as central to this study, being valuable to identify the key concepts and to simplify the complex relationships in the study's conceptual process model (Figure 9.1).

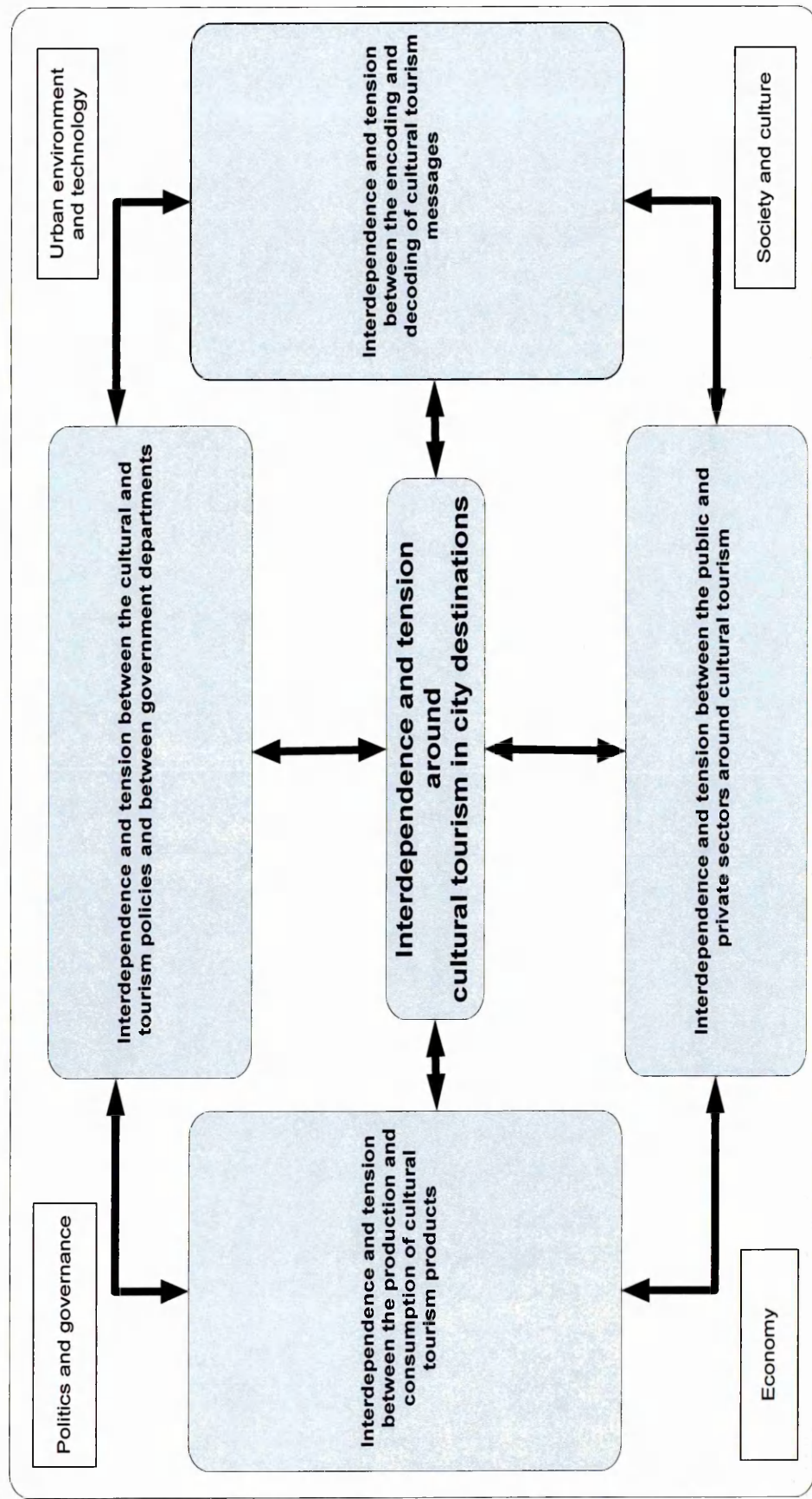


Figure 9.1: The generic conceptual model of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in city destinations

The four principles were to: (1) Be holistic, relational and dialectical; (2) Focus on interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in cities; (3) Draw on useful components from different theoretical models that have relevance and that place the interrelationships around cultural tourism in a wide societal context; and (4) Have a generic value for wider applicability.

First, the principle 1, to be holistic, relational and dialectical, was helpful to broadly examine the many relevant processes without predetermined boundaries and at all spatial scales, including the interactions within and between the social, economic, political and environmental domains. This perspective meant it was possible holistically to consider the connected and circulating relations among actors, micro-processes, and macro-structures in society that often interact in complex and rich ways, including through interactions with the wider context or environment. This conceptual model further provided a dialectical view to conceptualize the elements, to clarify the relationships within the elements, and to evaluate the relationships within the wider environment.

Second, the principle 2, to focus on interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in cities, was helpful to simplify the complexity of cultural tourism through a focus on these features using a dialectical approach. The relationships of interdependence and tension are interrelated and they occur between the culture and tourism sectors, between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism, between the producers and consumers, and between the cultural tourism resources and relevant messages. These relationships can differ for the cultural heritage resources, the actors involved in cultural tourism, and within different contexts. The principle 2 here provided a coherent way to better understand the character of cultural tourism and relevant activities in cities, so that it could simplify the complex relationships around product development, policy and planning, and destination management.

Third, the principle 3 was to draw on useful approaches and elements from different theoretical models that have relevance and that place the interrelationships around cultural tourism in a wide societal context. This principle helped to fill the theoretical gaps in previous understanding of cultural tourism in cities, and it was valuable in evaluating the wider implications of urban cultural tourism. Approaches and elements were adapted from three different previous models: from the Du Gay et al. (1997)

"circuit of culture", Ashworth's (1994) "components of the heritage industry", and McKercher and Du Cros (2002) "relationships between tourism and cultural heritage management", and this rooting in past research, and its further extension, helped the researcher to construct a more holistic, integrated and dialectical process model of urban cultural tourism.

Fourth, the principle 4, to have a generic value for wider applicability, partly drew generic characteristics from the previous models, and the resulting generic model guided the subsequent empirical research. Based on this principle, the generic value of the model was assessed through its application to a specific case, and the value of the model in that situation indicated its potential value in other contexts, albeit with local adaptation. This principle is a key to conceptual model building, together with the generic principles of including the macro and micro levels and broader as well as specific concepts, and these generic principles facilitate moving from theoretical understandings to practical applications.

The generic approach involved simplifying cultural tourism processes within four broad categories: (1) between cultural tourism and the macro environment within which it operates; (2) between the production and consumption of cultural tourism; (3) between the cultural and tourism sectors; and (4) between the cultural tourism products and associated messages. These four categories of processes provided a generic view of cultural tourism and it also illustrated its complexity around different resources, people and places.

First, process 1 highlights both positive and negative influences on urban cultural tourism from the wider environment (which it in turn affects in a dialectical relationship). Second, the process 2 focuses on the interaction between cultural tourism's producers and consumers, who were the key stakeholders in the production and consumption of cultural tourism. Their interactions and relationships could be changeable in terms of their different interests and priorities over time and across spaces. Third, process 3 relates to the relationships between the cultural and tourism sectors, particularly focusing on the relationships between their potentially different priorities for the commodification and preservation of cultural tourism. Fourth, process 4 concerns the relationships between the products and messages, such as through diversifying the visitors' cultural experiences and as a reflection of the interrelationships

between the producers and consumers around cultural tourism.

It was argued that the themes in the conceptual model and their relationships were developed on the basis of the four model-building principles and the four broad processes of cultural tourism. The model was used to establish key concepts in the study and to help to understand relationships in urban cultural tourism.

The model was also based on a dialectical view of relationships between societal processes and entities, which was reflected in the model's use of two-way arrows, and its holistic perspective, focusing on a fully interconnected circuit of relationships connected with the wider urban and societal context.

The first of these, the two-way arrows (see Figure 9.1) encouraged the evaluation of relationships within each theme and also across themes in the model. Applying two-way arrows was also a means to "integrate different approaches, lines of investigation, or theories that no one had previously connected" (Maxwell, 2005:35). These arrows assisted the conceptual model to integrate different themes and examine their relationships in a relational approach. They encouraged linkage, for example, between production and consumption, such as around cultural tourism product development, and also consideration of the close relationships between cultural tourism and the political, economic, and socio-cultural surroundings.

Second, the model provided a more fully interconnected circuit around urban cultural tourism, recognising the more holistic scope of cultural tourism (Pearce, 2012), such as through linking its different elements with policy and governance, different stakeholders' involvement, cultural heritage resources, and tourist destinations. The characteristics of the circuit here allowed the concepts in the model to be broader and interconnected, and the interconnections meant that the model could be broken into at any point.

In order to evaluate the wider applicability of this conceptual model, four key broader themes were drawn from the literature: (1) Interdependence and tension between cultural and tourism policies and between government departments; (2) Interdependence and tension between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism; (3) Interdependence and tension between the production and consumption of cultural tourism products; (4) Interdependence and tension between the encoding and decoding

of cultural tourism messages (Figure 9.1).

The wider environment or context, including political, economic, socio-cultural and technological factors, was also considered in the conceptual model. Cultural tourism, as a part of social development, is easily affected by environmental factors. Conflicts and wars, for example, can damage the preservation of cultural heritage resources, while economic recessions can affect the diversification of cultural products and of tourist experience. In addition, social change and newly emerging technologies can affect consumer behaviour and their involvement in cultural tourism. These environmental factors and their influences, therefore, were evaluated so as to more fully understand the relationships of interdependence and tension around urban cultural tourism.

A further use of the conceptual model was that it was important in organizing the study's literature review, determining the methodology used, and establishing the structure for the result chapters. The concepts included in the model reflected the reading from the literature and also the study's research objectives. The relationships between each concept also affected the methods used and the results that emerged. The study's four themes combined with the relational perspective, also helped in selecting and collecting the study's qualitative data (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Each theme was also an important influence on the coding process applied to the interview data, and the themes were related to the research objectives.

9.3.2 Applying the generic model to the practical case

It was important to apply the generic model to a specific destination in order to evaluate the model's applicability to that case, and its potential wider applicability. Each theme in the resulting research findings for the city of Nanjing was based on the same loose theme in the original generic model (Figure 9.1), but a number of more specific sub-themes emerged that were based on the specific circumstances of the Nanjing case. These sub-themes emerged and were further analysed and refined based on the study's two phases of interview, observation, and collection of other secondary data. Care was taken that new sub-themes were allowed to emerge based on the specific circumstances of the case study. This evaluation process illustrated the wider applicability of the conceptual model, and it also contributed a new understanding of cultural tourism in city destinations.

The adapted conceptual model associated with the detailed sub-themes which emerged from the assessment of the Nanjing case is presented in Figure 9.2. The application in the former Chinese capital city of Nanjing allowed for a practical assessment of the character of the relationships of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism. Cultural tourism in China reflected the major changes in recent decades in the country's economy, society, politics and governance. There had been a gradualist but substantial transformation from a centrally planned economy to a more market-oriented economy with Chinese characteristics (Sofield and Li, 2011). China's longstanding tradition of commerce and entrepreneurialism, for instance, had emerged following its earlier suppressed, this being one influence encouraging domestic tourism's dramatic expansion. Chinese society continues to value social order and harmony, and often also to believe in the subordination of individual desires to the greater whole (Sofield and Li, 2011). In terms of governance, there has been the retention but also evolution of a strong state sector, which continued to be led by the Chinese Communist Party. Therefore, the continuing influence of the Chinese Communist Party has had many potential consequences for the production and consumption of cultural tourism, and for using cultural heritage to disseminate messages and values.

The case of Nanjing city as a former national capital, and its associated rich cultural heritage resources led to it becoming a main domestic tourist destination in China. Applying the model in the Nanjing case therefore helped to explore the theoretical understanding of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism, to evaluate the dialectical relationships between cultural tourism and broader environmental context, and to examine the model's practical applicability in city destinations. The key findings and detailed sub-themes based on the model's application to Nanjing are discussed in the next section.

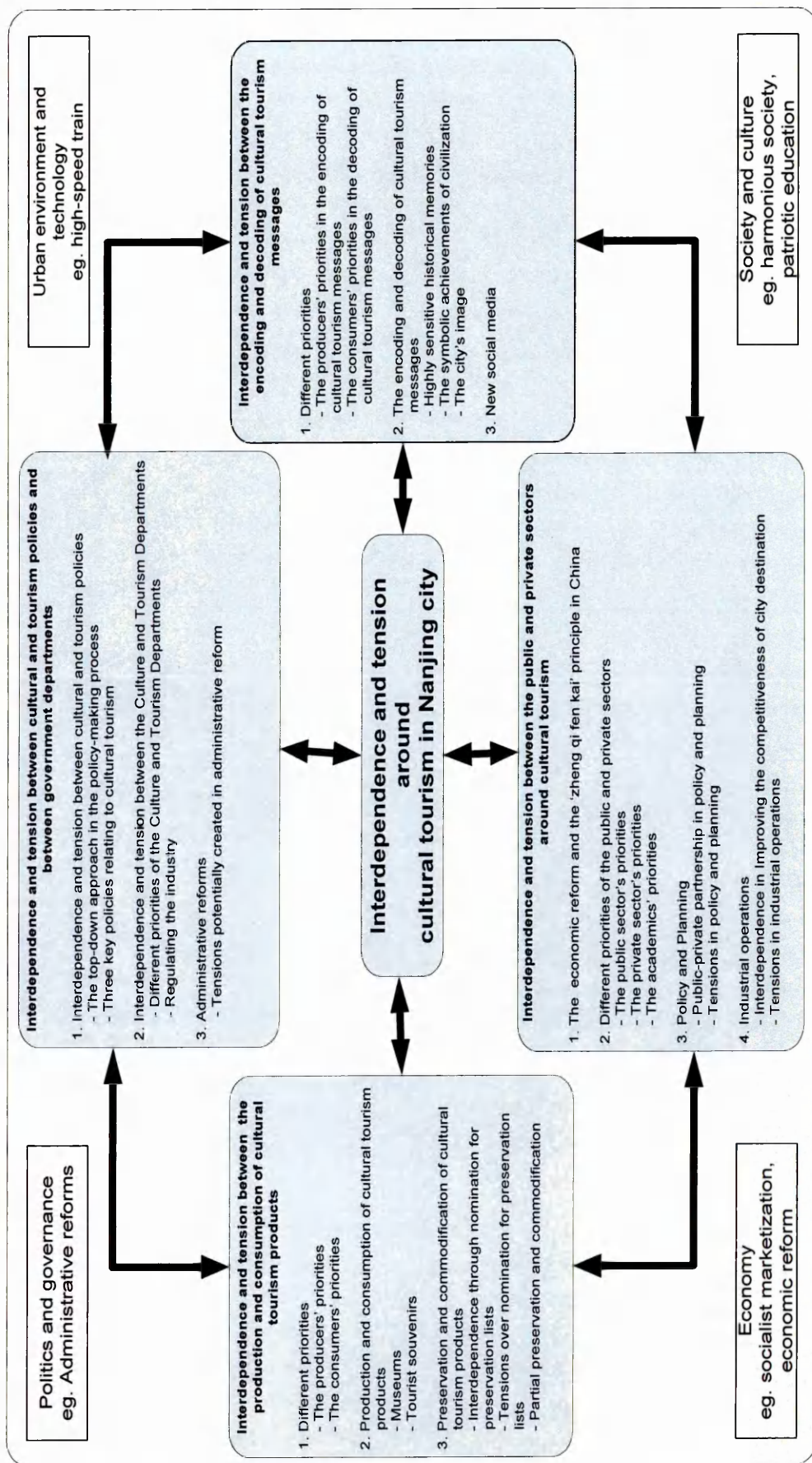


Figure 9.2: The adapted conceptual model of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in Nanjing

9.4 Key findings from applying the conceptual model into Nanjing, China

This section summarises key findings from the model's practical application in Nanjing, China, and in this it achieves the research objective 3 "to examine the broader themes and to apply the generic conceptual model through an assessment of the case of the city of Nanjing in China. The broader themes were evaluated in relation to various sub-themes from policymaking, industrial operations, product development, and promotional messages and they were considered in the specific context of the Chinese political, economic, socio-cultural environment ".

9.4.1 Interdependence and tension between cultural and tourism policies and between government departments

The top-down approach to governance of cultural tourism is important in Chinese policy-making process. Policies in the Chinese policy-making process are intended to be coherent from top to bottom. The higher level policies, therefore, provide general direction for lower level policies, which would able to emphasise practical operational issues and also reflect the local area's characteristics.

This approach has benefits but it has also created barriers for both the cultural and tourism policies. At the time of the research there were three national policies indicating the top-down governance of planning relevant cultural and tourism policies: the 12th Five-Year Guideline, the National Guideline for Cultural Tourism Development (2009) and the National Excellent Cultural Tourism Project Directory (2010). These three national policies explained how cultural and tourism policies are interdependent with each other, and then they provided policy support to China's cultural tourism development.

Relationships of interdependence were evident between the cultural and tourism sectors, based in part on their common aims of meeting visitors' spiritual needs and diversifying visiting experiences. The 12th Five-Year Guideline, for example, increased the attention given specifically to the cultural tourism policies and it encouraged the integration of both cultural and tourism activities. The tourism policies had to meet the objectives of developing cultural tourism, while the cultural policies emphasised the preservation and development of museums, galleries, memorial halls and other cultural facilities. The implication of this national guideline, however, created the potential tension between these two sectors, as there was the imbalance of policy support between cultural and

tourism policies. The 12th Five-Year Guideline had only discussed the tourism industry's development in one paragraph, while three chapters were devoted to developing the cultural industry. This lack of balanced attention given to both cultural and tourism policies has resulted in numerous potential problems between the cultural and tourism sectors, notably in planning policies at the lower or local level.

This study has also highlighted the important role of laws in design of both cultural and tourism policies. Chinese laws represent the highest level of legal documents as they had been published by the National People's Congress. They had strong administrative authority in guiding and supporting other legislation, plans and policies at lower level. Two cultural laws, the law for protection of cultural relics and the law for intangible cultural heritage, provided the broader guidance in preserving cultural heritage resources and in diversifying local people's spiritual experience. Laws relating directly to tourism, however, were lacking in China at the time that the researcher undertook the fieldwork. The lack of tourism law could lead to tourism policies having a dependent status, such as through having to rely on the cultural laws in planning policies and managing of the cultural tourism industry's operations. This barrier furthermore has been affected by China's socio-cultural environment. It was found that, the cultural industry in China had been transformed fairly successfully to reflect current demands, and that its laws and policies were more mature in adapting to the development of society in contemporary China. By contrast, the tourism industry was a new industry which had been only emerged on a large scale over the past 30-40 years in China. The particularly dynamic changes in the tourism industry have also made the design of the tourism law more difficult. The lack of the tourism law and tourism's consequent dependent status, have thus limited the influence of tourism policies in guiding other regulations and in exploiting cultural heritage resources.

It was also found that both of Culture and Tourism Departments had common interests, responsibility and competencies (i.e., interdependence) around cultural heritage resources, but the two sectors were not equal and their mutual support was not always adequate (i.e., tension). Their relationships of interdependence and tension appeared in at least two areas: assembling cultural tourism resources, and encouraging the consumption of cultural tourism.

Relationships of interdependence were identified for both Culture and Tourism Departments. For example, in planning a "poem wall" in a public cultural square in

Nanjing both the Culture and Tourism Departments cooperated in packaging the poem culture and leisure activities, and they provided a diverse cultural experience embedded in the poets' personal feelings, in high cultural values and in reflecting the social transition in ancient China. Another example, the Nanjing Jiangling Weaving House Project, was also re-developed based on effective cooperation between the Nanjing Culture Bureau and Nanjing Tourism Bureau.

Yet, the Chinese political, economic, and socio-cultural surroundings had significantly affected the interactions between the Culture and Tourism Departments, and they could lead to potential tensions between them. The redesign of policies, for instance, could highlight the differing priorities which the Culture and Tourism Departments given to marketing to different types of tourists, and it led to potential tensions in attracting tourists in Nanjing. It was found that, the national strategy of "highly developing inbound tourism, actively development domestic tourism, and appropriately development outbound tourism", was changed to "highly developing domestic tourism, actively development international tourism, and orderly developing outbound tourism" during the period of the researcher's fieldwork. The priorities given to Nanjing's Tourism Department were changed to focus on the domestic tourist market, which differed from the Culture Department's in focusing on international tourists. These different priorities led to different marketing strategies between the Tourism and Culture Departments in promoting Nanjing as a domestic tourist destination.

The environmental or contextual changes also led to the potential tensions between governmental departments in regulating the cultural tourism industry. It was identified that the tourism industry was not the main economic force, nor was its economic contribution seen as highly significant to Nanjing city. This finding probably reflected the Nanjing Tourism Bureau's weaker administrative authority in planning policies and in regulating new tourism products, while the Culture Department had considerable authority in preserving cultural heritage and securing people's social welfare.

Administrative reform was another interesting source of tension in the Chinese context, notably in the case study because it was not well operated between the Culture and Tourism Departments in Nanjing. This reform aimed to restructure government departments, create fewer but larger government departments, integrate functions, and improve working efficiency in Chinese governments. It was easier to operate the various administrative reforms at the city level rather than at the provincial level or the

national level. However, Nanjing has not implemented the administrative reform between the Culture and Tourism Departments because of concerns that it might destroy the previous harmoniousness public sector governance of cultural tourism. Here the Nanjing city government had to balance these relationships and to carefully consider the old departments and their relative benefits compared with reform of the administrative process.

9.4.2 Interdependence and tension between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism

The economic reform and the "zheng qi fen kai"(政企分开) were the key reasons influencing the emergence of private sector organizations in China, as well as their dynamic interactions with the public sector around cultural tourism. The economic reform had changed people's old views of working in the public sector and it resulted in "xiagang" (下岗), which meant employees could obtain their work contract or position in a company without being paid by the public sector, and salaries and benefits that employees received were from the private sector enterprises which people worked for. Many private sector enterprises had emerged from that time, and people also decided to operate their own businesses. The economic reforms had encouraged the rapid development of the private sector in the Chinese socialist economic market. Meanwhile, the public sector was kept at arm's length and it could release its economic authority to the private sector, but keeping a certain distance in order to avoid governmental corruption.

In Nanjing these interrelationships were specifically identified between the government and the private sector, and between the government and the academics around cultural tourism. These interrelationships were affected by the different priorities of the public and private sectors on policy and planning, product development, and destination marketing.

Public-private partnership had also been identified in the policy-making process, and the character of this organisational form was closely related to the nature of the strong belief in collectivism in China. The nature of collectivism helped the Chinese government to have the lead authority to monitor the industry and enterprises, and to shift China from a centrally planning economy to a market economy. The nature of collectivism was found to be important in the Chinese policy-making system, as it

encouraged public-private partnerships, especially the involvement of local representatives of private sector organizations and academics in public-private sector collaboration and coordination.

Difficulties could arise, however, because public sector officials and politicians had the power to make decisions unilaterally and to over-ride decisions made with private sector consultation. In the policy-making process the policy-makers, such as the city mayor, had relatively much stronger power in decision-making, and that was found sometimes to disturb the public-private cooperation around cultural tourism. The practical implementation of the Nanjing Tourism Master Plan (2006-2020), for instance, was cancelled by the policy makers, possibly because the advocated plan did not match the policy-makers' own preferences. This issue reflected the powerful political leaders in the policy-making process, in spite of the master plan having been consulted upon and appraised by foreign experts from Spain, professors and experts from universities and planning institutions, the directors from different government departments, and the representatives from private sector organizations and the local community.

The socialist market economy was identified as a key feature in the practical application of the conceptual model, and it significantly affected the relationships between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism. The Yuejiang Tower project, for example, illustrated how the Nanjing Xiaguan District Government assembled different private sector organizations and attracted funding from different sources available to expand relevant scenic spots. This approach enabled the government to deal with financial problems while the private sector was thus encouraged to establish partnerships with the public sector. Both public and private sectors with mutual interests, therefore, could cooperate in promoting city destinations and developing tourism products.

The growing privatisation allowed the private sector to secure profits, however, and that could cause difficulties for the public sector as it was mainly concerned with securing public welfare. Too much capital exchange and commercial activities could lead to the land-use problems and conflicts, in which private sector enterprises maximised profits without attention to careful planning or fully considering sustainability. Meanwhile, the government lacked powerful laws or solutions to control the private sector's behaviours. This problem, thus, reflected the potential tension between the public and private sectors, and also indicated the dynamic changes in China's environmental factors which

affected urban cultural tourism development.

9.4.3 Interdependence and tension between the production and consumption of cultural tourism products

There were also relationships of interdependence and tension between the production and consumption of cultural tourism products. These relationships were associated with the interests and priorities which both producers and consumers have in relation to cultural tourism. The producers usually focused on assembling, packaging, interpreting and promoting cultural heritage resources as products and delivered them to consumers. This relationship of interdependence could be formed because both require products to satisfy the needs of consumers, and then tension can occur if consumers' needs are not met (McKercher, Ho and du Cros, 2004).

There were interrelationships between the production and consumption of museums and tourist souvenirs. The case of the Presidential Palace illustrated these relationships of interdependence, in which Nanjing's producers considered domestic tourists' needs in packaging and representing Republican history at the original historic sites. Both public and private sectors cooperated to present a broadly authentic experience, which the visitors were generally seeking to. This approach was efficient to preserve the original historical buildings which former Chinese presidents worked in, and also to attract visitors who could engage in that experience and feel they were going back in time. The Ganxi House Folklore museum illustrated the relationships of interdependence between the production and consumption of intangible cultural heritage resources. In this folklore museum Nanjing's producers assembled representatives of intangible cultural heritage resources and provided them with opportunities to perform their skills and techniques. Meanwhile the visitors had chances to observe these traditional skills, techniques or music, interact with representatives of these cultural heritage resources, and gain different visiting experiences.

The dynamic economic and socio-cultural surroundings could lead to problems in developing cultural tourism products, as well as cause potential tensions between the production and consumption processes. The craftsmanship of Nanjing Wool flowers, a traditional technique, for instance, was difficult to packaging as cultural tourism products in term of the limited market and the restricted demand for its works from consumers. This problem illustrated the potential tension between the producers

developing new cultural tourism products and the consumers with limited interest in intangible cultural heritage resources.

This research also evaluated the relationships between the preservation and commodification of cultural tourism resources. The Nanjing case showed the preservation lists, including the UNESCO and national (provincial) lists, could increase the identity or reputation of tourist destination, despite that their contribution to interdependence between producers and consumers was not significant.

These interrelationships between production and consumption could be affected by the rapid development of China's economy and the country's profound social transition. A partial level of preservation was associated with a certain degree of commodification of Nanjing's cultural tourism products, and this was allowed in order to maximise the sustaining of resources and to deal with the lack of sufficient policy support and lack of funding resources. Digitalization, such as video, photos and audio, had been applied to record some cultural heritage resources, for example, which it was decided could not be passed on or inherited for the next generation. A principle of "repair old as old" (xiu jiu ru jiu 修旧如旧) had been used to create an authentic environment as the same as in the past, such as to represent the past culture and history in the Confucius Temple area.

Too much commodification, however, had also destroyed the original cultural values and brought a negative impact on the cultural tourism products. In the rapidly changing Chinese socialist market, the producers, and especially private sector enterprises, had growing up quickly and they tended to consider profits much more than the sustainability of the cultural heritage resources. At the Confucius Temple, "strike the bell", an activity which people engaged in order to wish for good fortune, the presence of McDonalds and of many fast food restaurants, and tourist souvenirs of lower quality, for instance, not only tended to damage authentic visiting experiences, but could also decrease visitors' satisfaction with Nanjing's cultural tourism products. This resulted in potential tensions between the producers and consumers, as well as between the production and consumption processes.

9.4.4 Interdependence and tension between the encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages

There were complex relations associated with the messages encoded in cultural tourism products, whether intentional or accidental, and the meanings that tourists decoded and

accepted from the products. The messages occurred through the selective inclusion of objects, or through the content of interpretive or marketing material. The messages presented by cultural tourism producers could be perceived, understood or accepted by tourists in their own decoding. Meanwhile, there was potential tension if the messages were not effectively communicated or delivered between the producers and consumers.

The encoding and decoding of cultural tourism messages was affected by the preferences and behaviours of the producers and consumers, as well as their interactions and relationships around cultural tourism. In Nanjing three messages which the producers encoded and the consumers decoded were explored in the study: the highly sensitive historical memories, the symbolic achievements of civilization, and the city's image. These messages associated with the producers' objectives were presented in interpretation at different cultural tourism sites, but sometimes they were not always be decoded by the consumers in the way intended.

In Nanjing, interdependence through shared intentions and experiences was found in the encoding and decoding of highly sensitive historical memories, such as at the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall. The producers encoded sensitive historical memories associated with the Sino-Japanese War through the use of pictures, videos, colour, light, sculptures, and texts. These interpretations and techniques created an atmosphere which helped people to empathise with, and to understand, past history, and this encouraged mutual appreciation in the interactions between the producers and consumers. The historical messages which were encoded by the producers, however, sometimes led to potential tensions, such as the consumers not being able to fully understand or fully accept the embedded meaning. The encoding and decoding of sensitive historical messages could be affected by the dynamic political, economic and socio-cultural surroundings, and particularly by changes in that context. This occurred in the case of the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall where the presented messages might not fully represent the Chinese government's current relationship with Japan, and this could affect the relationships between producers and consumers around cultural tourism.

The new social media were widely used to promote cultural heritage resources and to stimulate communication between producers and consumers. Weibo – a micro blogging platform or type of new social media – was increasingly important for both producers and consumers. The messages on Weibo were easily encoded by the producers, and they also can be effectively received by the consumers. This approach was useful for the

encoding and decoding of messages, although some other relevant social media were used in China to a quite limited extent.

9.5 The value of the research and its implications for future research

The previous sections have explained the study's contribution to knowledge in terms of how to build a generic conceptual model, in this particular case a model concerned with cultural tourism, and the most recent sections examined the model's practical application and the new findings that emerged about Nanjing's cultural tourism. It has achieved the research objective 4 "to assess the wider potential applicability of the generic conceptual model".

This section explores the wider implications of the research, such as through adding new understandings of model building and of Chinese cultural tourism, and it accesses the potential value of the study for other researchers in the field, including researchers examining other contexts elsewhere. It is also argued that policy makers, managers from the private sector, researchers, and local residents can benefit from this research into the policy-making process and industrial operations. Researchers in urban studies, cultural studies, museum studies, tourism research, and human geography also can benefit from this research.

9.5.1 New understanding of building a generic conceptual model

The study's use of four principles of model building and of cultural tourism's four processes provided a new understanding in tourism studies, by its detailed explanation of how the researcher drew from relevant theoretical models and developed an original generic conceptual model. In existing published research there is a lack of an integrated model for understanding urban cultural tourism as a relational process. Many cultural tourism researchers have previously identified one or two elements relevant to cultural tourism, such as governance and national policymaking (Bramwell, 2011; Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Sofield and Li, 1998), actors' power relationship and public-private partnership (Bramwell, 2004; 2006), tourist souvenirs and tourism products (Lash and Urry, 2002; Swanson and Timothy, 2012), and tourist behaviors (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002; Richards, 1996b). This research draws on, and extends, three theoretical models from cultural studies, heritage research, and tourism understanding and it then develops a new, holistic conceptual model of urban cultural tourism. These four principles and four processes behind the model are original and they proved very

helpful in clarifying the concepts and their relationships in a process model.

An integrated and dialectical approach helped to understand the interdependence and tension among different actors in cultural tourism. Dialectics focuses on the interdependence and contradictions between society's different elements, broad social structures, and people's social interactions (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Peet and Hartwick, 1999). This dialectical understanding provides a coherent research focus in order to gain new and critical insights. It also reflects the Chinese philosophical perspective, in which different elements can exist in an active harmony (Peng and Nisbett, 1999: 743). Each element and its opposite side can be linked with Chinese philosophical thinking of "yin" and "yang", because "nothing is isolated and independent, but everything is connected" (Peng and Nisbett, 1999: 743). This awareness underpinned the assessment of the four processes in cultural tourism: "cultural tourism" on the micro-level and its relations with the "environment" at the macro-level; "production" and its relations with "consumption"; "the cultural sector" and its relations with "the tourism sector"; and the "cultural tourism products" and their relations with "cultural tourism messages".

The conceptual model also focused on the environmental factors, including the political, economic, and socio-cultural surroundings, around cultural tourism in city destinations. These environmental factors could affect actors' interests, power relations, and their interactions and relationships between different elements of cultural tourism. It is possible that interdependence can become a tension if the influential factors have changed. Meanwhile, tension can also become interdependence when the interests, responsibilities and tasks have been achieved among different actors. Indeed, dialectics suggests that interdependence and tension are simultaneously ever-present or ubiquitous in most situations. These approaches can offer a new way to understand interactions between cultural tourism, the urban context and the dynamic social environment.

Other researchers can apply the four principles of the model building, and also the generic conceptual model, to other Chinese cities. One characteristic of this generic model is its quite general or loose character, which gives it wider applicability, allowing it to be applied to different contexts with flexible, more specific amendments or sub-themes. This research has illustrated how China's political, economic, and socio-cultural environment affects interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in a city destination. Other researchers can compare their findings on other cities with this

present research, assess the influence of the specific local environmental factors, and also explore the relevant components in different cities.

Other researchers also can apply this conceptual model to other city destinations from different countries. The conceptual model here has been developed in part from three theoretical models, and it was then applied to the context of mainland China. The combination of a Chinese philosophical perspective with a Western research approach provides new insights into interdependence and tension around cultural tourism. This conceptual model is sufficiently broad, loose and flexible, however, for other researchers to use it to evaluate cultural tourism in other countries.

9.5.2 New understanding of interdependence and tension around Chinese cultural tourism

This research contributes an in-depth understanding of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism – notably, cultural tourism as it relates to governance, policy and planning; to the involvement of the public and private sectors; to production and consumption; and to differing interpretations in the encoding and decoding processes. These four elements can add new understanding of cultural tourism, including in the Chinese context.

9.5.2.1 Governance, policy and planning

This research adds a new understanding of the top-down governance approach in cultural tourism planning from the national to the local level. This governance approach of developing cultural tourism is different in some respects between the Chinese and Western contexts. The key importance of policies and the government's administrative responsibilities in China were highlighted in the interrelationships between cultural and tourism policies and between the Culture and Tourism Departments. This top-down governance of cultural tourism in China is very different to the context identified by Ashworth and Voogd (1990). In their book *"Selling the City"*, they believe, "the traditional (public sector) planner, however, has particularly in Western Europe a pronounced weakness in dealing with the marketplace" (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990: 156). In China the situation is somewhat different, and there is much more acceptance of top-down planning and coordination.

The nature of collectivism in Chinese society allows the public sector to take much more of the responsibility for assembling resources and regulating the industry. This finding illustrates that the public sector is still important in regulating the private sector and guiding the market. The present research findings are relevant then for observers elsewhere where it is often argued that public sector planning has "failed to live up to the expectations that both their practitioners and society as a whole expected" (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990: 157). The top-down governance approach in China encourages new kinds of public-private partnerships in policy, planning, and promoting to the consumer market and also in managing funding resources around cultural tourism. Indeed, the dynamic change in the Chinese political, economic, and socio-cultural environment make all these partnerships much more important between the public and private sectors. This finding is of interest to researchers concerned with the development of new partnerships of various sorts, which "are defined and manifested through new divisions of responsibility, accountability and executive authority" (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990: 154).

The new understanding of cultural tourism's governance resulting from this study provides a new perspective on the suggestion by Richards (2010: 48) that "the closer links between tourism and culture are also reflected in governance structures at national and regional levels. At least 25 countries have combined administrative structures for culture and tourism". The common interests in tourism and culture projects have encourage potential interdependence and cooperation between the Culture and Tourism Departments at the local level, but that cooperation in Nanjing case is probably difficult to achieve. Yet both of these departments in Nanjing are independent in terms of their administrative structure, despite administrative reforms helping to merge some other departments into a few super departments.

In China the top-down governance approach to cultural tourism and the current three policies in relation to cultural tourism appear to differ somewhat from the conclusion reached by Richards (2010: 49) that "integrating culture and tourism policy can be difficult". China has already implemented three national policies to integrate the culture and tourism sectors and to encourage cultural tourism development at the national level. These policies provide opportunities to promote more interdependent relationships between the culture and tourism sectors, although there are some potential tensions here, such as around the imbalanced of power relations and different priorities. The Chinese

context and the Nanjing case illustrate how the Chinese government provides considerable support in designing cultural tourism policies and then how it applies them from the top to the bottom.

9.5.2.2 The involvement of the public and private sectors

This research indicates the public and private sectors priorities and the associated relationships around policy and planning, and in industrial operations. China has undertaken the administrative reform since Deng Xiaoping's Open Door economic reforms initiated from 1978. The Chinese socialist market economy has led to various changes in the Chinese political, economic, socio-cultural and technological environment. The influence of individualism and capitalism encouraged the emergence of the private sector, and this has highlighted the importance of considering the private sector in policy-making process, resources' distribution and cultural tourism industry operations. Public-private partnerships have thus sometimes been formed, involving the public sector, the private sector, and academics. These have emerged based on the common interests in some projects, but it has not involved formal cooperating government agencies or alliances.

The public sector with its arm's length and the "zheng qi fen kai" principle, however, has at times enlarged the gaps between the public and private sectors. Certainly, the Chinese government still plays a highly important role in the policy-making process, so that a certain distance is kept between the public and private sectors. This research also identified particular land-use issues, in which the Tourism Department lacked sufficient administrative power in monitoring and managing the private sectors' commercial behaviour.

Government officials and managers from the private sector in China potentially could be interested in this research, which suggests the need for more flexible interactions and relationships between the public and private sectors. The public sector has to take a certain degree of responsibility for regulating the industry and the private sector, in spite of the market and the changeable socio-economic environment which have affected cultural tourism. The government officials, especially the officials in the Tourism Department, can also strengthen their administrative power through public-private partnerships. This study furthermore can increase the awareness of private sector managers, who need the public sector's leadership, coordination and regulation in their

industrial operations. The role of the public sector, furthermore, cannot be ignored in China, because it takes the main responsibilities for preserving historic resources, protecting the public goods, and ensuring benefits for the local community. The private sector according to this research probably can look for more opportunities to work with the public sector and to serve the local people and the visitors. In particular, increasing attention can be given to the academics and experts, who provide professional comments and collect evidence of practical industrial experience when they design new policies and plans. For the long-term development of cultural tourism, strategic visions and plan are likely to increasingly rely on public-private partnerships around government departments, private sector organizations, academics and experts.

9.5.2.3 The production and consumption of cultural tourism

The research findings also contribute to an understanding of how tangible and intangible cultural heritage resources are assembled, packaged and promoted as products, in order to match consumers' expectations and the demand from the market. Museums and tourist souvenirs are two key cultural tourism products where one can see how Nanjing's producers have packaged cultural heritage resources and promoted them to consumers. Intangible cultural heritage resources are particularly used as a way of diversifying cultural performances and of providing an interactive experience. This interactive experience illustrates how producers can seek to meet consumers' expectations, and it reflects the complex interrelationships between the production and consumption of cultural tourism products.

Local people, especially the representatives of intangible cultural heritage resources, can benefit from this research. This study suggests that local people could play a more important role in keeping authenticity, and in preserving and representing intangible cultural heritage resources. The involvement of these representatives of intangible cultural heritage resources is particularly important to attract visitors to experience local traditional culture and people's everyday life, and that can help to strengthen the competitiveness of city destinations.

The research also points to the potentially negative impact of rapid economic and social development on sustaining intangible cultural heritage. Too much commodification can force many traditional skills and techniques to be replaced by standardised machine production, and in such ways it can destroy the original cultural value of these resources.

Policy makers therefore need to pay more attention to intangible cultural heritage resources and to providing relevant support to local people and the representatives of intangible cultural heritage.

9.5.2.4 Interpretations in the encoding and decoding processes

This research has identified different interpretations associated with the packaged products and communicated messages between producers and consumers. Cultural meanings can be a key motivation to attract people to participate in different visiting experiences. Consideration was given to the meanings in cultural tourism, and this is closely related to Chinese culture and history. The use of different interpretations has helped to diversify visiting experiences and to deliver cultural meanings from the producers to the consumers around cultural tourism. This study has found a significant political influence on the encoding of cultural tourism messages. The Chinese government probably seeks to embed its political purposes very substantially in these messages, sometimes in the belief that some historical messages are beneficial to unite people and establish national identity. The interpretations offered in many of Nanjing's tourist attractions and cultural facilities could at times fall down by comparison with the consumers' expectations. The interpretation words, for example, were sometimes only translated from Chinese to English word by word, in ways that lacked a linkage with the relevant context. The visitors, especially international tourists, therefore could not receive the appropriate messages and they failed to enjoy a more interactive experience.

The policy-makers and the managers in private sector organizations potentially could improve their practical cultural tourism interpretations if they considered this research. The study identified how the interpretations affected visitor experiences at Nanjing's tourist attractions and cultural facilities. The policy makers probably can encode the relevant messages in a more flexible manner, and managers in private sector organizations could usefully diversify the interpretations and the interactive experience offered to visitors.

9.6 Limitations of the research

Although this research broadly has successfully achieved its aims and objectives, perhaps inevitably there are a few limitations to the work. One potential limitation relates to the model building and its practical application. This research contributes four principles of model building to constructing a theoretical model, and the model is

applied to a city destination. As a generic process model, the conceptual model and its wider applicability have also been evaluated through the case of the city of Nanjing. However, the themes and environmental factors are inevitably broader, loose and flexible for a generic model for applying to other cities or countries, as was the case here. Thus, the model does not necessarily assist with identifying the amendments needed for specific factors and issues in the sub-themes in specific cases. Furthermore, this research provides a holistic understanding of cultural tourism, so its findings probably may be considered by some to be rather broader and general. This is considered as strength, but some may see it as a weakness. It differs here from other research which focuses on the specific and detailed results for just one or two very specific aspects of cultural tourism. The generality in this study probably could not be avoided as it is the very nature of developing a broad and generic conceptual model.

A second potential limitation is associated with the research strategy. This limitation is that the study's conceptual model has not been applied to multiple cases, and rather it has been applied only to the single case of Nanjing. It is very helpful to use a single case, especially because the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context were not clear. In the Nanjing case, the phenomenon of cultural tourism could not easily be isolated from the political, economic, socio-cultural context. All of these environmental factors affected Nanjing's cultural tourism in a dynamic process, so it seemed reasonable to select just a single case as a representative city of Chinese culture and history. But ideally the model needs applying to multiple cases in China, and to different cities in different regions of the country with varying types of cultural tourism, but that was beyond the scope and resources of the present study (Yin, 2009).

The third potential limitation is that not all interview data was fully recorded in the research procedure. Most of interviewees from the producer side also requested their names to be anonymous as the condition of accepting the interview invitation, although they had previously been told it would be anonymous in any case. Just a few government officials, however, refused to be fully recorded during the interview, despite the assurance of anonymity. In response to this situation, the researcher had to take notes in the interview as far as that was possible, and she had to summarize the full conversation immediately after the interview as a way of remembering as much as possible for the qualitative data analysis. This problem limited the researcher's ability fully to respond to the research questions, but it was unavoidable in the specific Chinese

political context.

A fourth limitation relates to the applied conceptual model, which was context-based, and informed by the Nanjing city's case and China's context. The "zheng qi fen kai" and other sub-themes, which emerged were based on the context of Nanjing city, and their complex relationships were discussed within China's political, economic, and socio-cultural environment. However, other researchers might find some subthemes were not applicable to other cities or to other countries, and they would not necessarily find the same specific issues in other places. Different political systems between China and other Western countries, for example, might lead to different interactions between the public and private sectors, and form different relationships around cultural tourism.

Being a generic conceptual model, it allows other researchers to amend the subthemes and to further develop those subthemes according to their own research contexts. The Eastern Asian perspective in this research here, therefore, was not used to test the themes or subthemes in the model, but illustrated the applicability of the conceptual model in one city destination.

A fifth potential limitation relates to other stakeholders, which may not be fully covered in this thesis. As previously discussed, cities are multifunctional and are places for people to work, live and visit. As such manufacturing, transportation, and other urban facilities inform and contribute to urban cultural tourism, and provide the infrastructure necessary for visitors to stay in cities. The land-use issue, for example, is related to the urban planning, as well as being an important element in the tension between the public and private sectors around cultural tourism. However, the exploration of other sectors is limited, while not seeking to ignore or underplay the role of other sectors and stakeholders in urban cultural tourism. This was not a key focus of this research but it could be considered in future research.

Furthermore, residents are another type of city user but not the focus in this study. The researcher here did not give priority to residents, who were not strongly involved in Chinese policy-decision making process and in the industrial operation around cultural tourism. However, the researcher viewed residents' perspectives through two other stakeholders, the government and the representatives of intangible cultural heritage. The former one, the Chinese government is regarded to represent the residents as it still takes power in local governance and in caring for the public welfare. The latter one also

represents the residents as they still live in the local community and continue their skills and techniques. These two stakeholders clearly reflected the interests and priorities of residents, as well as illustrating the complex relationships between the production and consumption of cultural tourism.

Many other researchers with different views may discuss residents' involvement in cultural tourism within other urban contexts. Residents may be a key actor playing an important role in other Chinese cities or in other countries. Their interests in cultural tourism can be different, related to different interactions with other stakeholders in developing policies, packaging cultural tourism products and promoting destination. In addition, the involvement of residents is increasingly important in the Chinese urbanisation, particularly affected by the construction and transportation development. These urban sectors, thus, have great impacts on residents' interests around the resources and places, which are necessary for them to live, work, study, and seek entertainment. The analysis of the residents can be further developed in the future.

9.7 Conclusion

This conclusion chapter has reviewed the overall value of the conceptual model and of the research findings, and it has highlighted in particular how the study has contributed to new knowledge in its field. A holistic, relational and dialectical approach was used within the conceptual model. The practical application to Nanjing city was effective to identify different relationships of interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in the China's context. It was argued that the model was a valuable means to achieve research objectives and provide an in-depth and critical understanding of the interrelationships of cultural tourism in city destinations.

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Appendix 1 Introduction letter



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Dear.....,

My name is Rui Su, a PhD student studying at Sheffield Hallam University, UK. I am writing to ask you to provide assistance with my research, focusing on interdependence and tension around cultural tourism in Nanjing, China.

The research explores an understanding of interrelationships between satisfying the preferences of tourism on the consumption side, and the requirements of the culture sector and the tourism sector managers on the production side which may focus on cultural conservation or on maximising tourism's economic returns.

An important part of this research involves interviews with government officials, cultural and heritage sites' managers and tourists, and the collection of documents related to culture and tourism sites. It would be very much appreciated if you would provide me with assistance with this research, such as through being interviewed or providing relevant information.

All the information collected, including the interviews, will be used exclusively for academic research purposes, and they will not be used in any other way. It is hoped you will agree to the recording of an interview, and I make a commitment to you that the research results will be presented in such a way that your personal views will remain completely anonymous. You would also have the right to withdraw from the interview at any time and to have access to copies of the transcripts and research results.

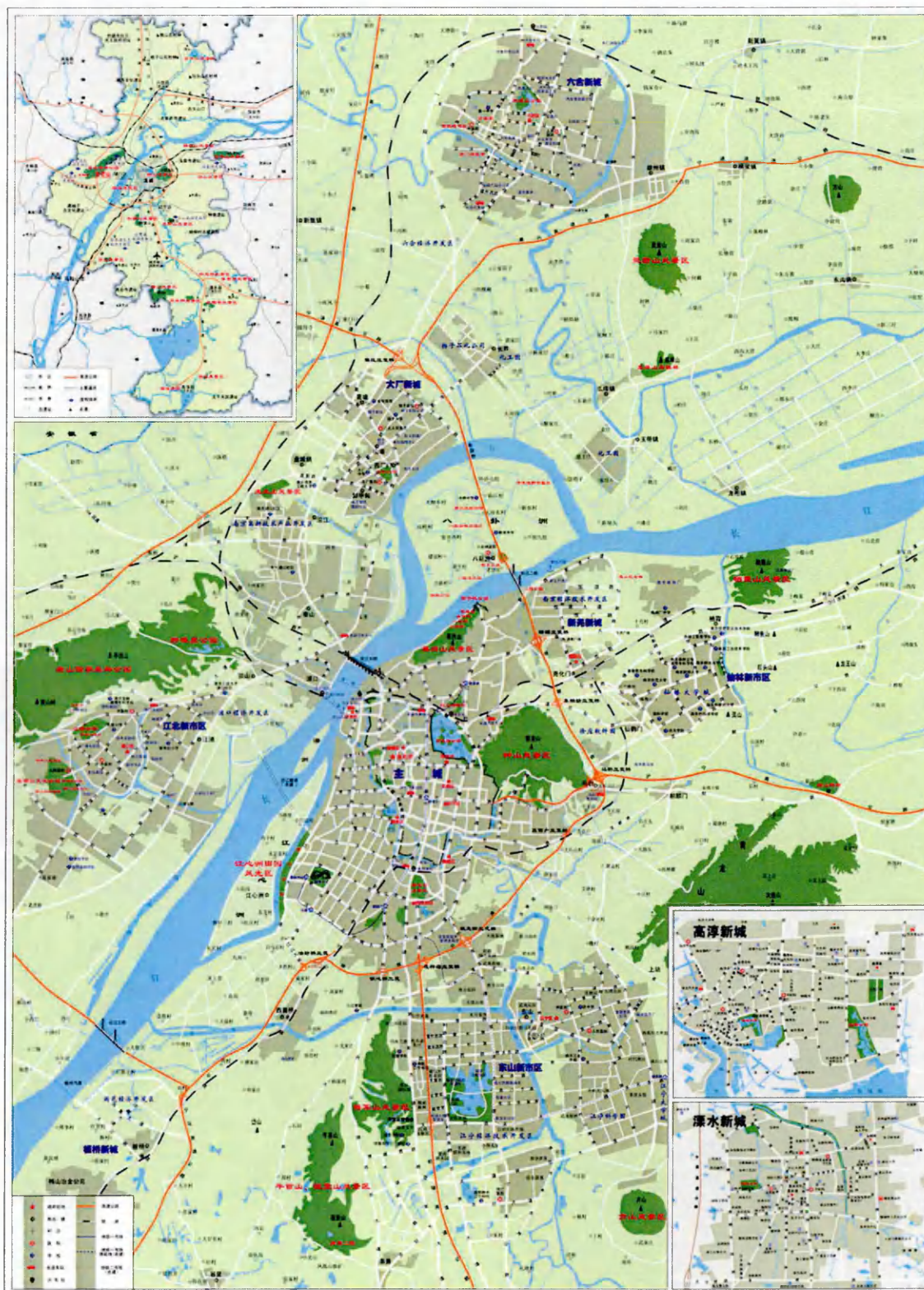
You can be fully confident that your personal views will be treated as confidential and they will not be revealed to others.

Thank you in advance in anticipation of your kind assistance.

Yours sincerely

Rui Su

Appendix 2 Nanjing city map



Appendix 3 A sample of interview transcription (in English)

Interview questions

A. Interview questions for the producers of cultural tourism

The top-down approach to governance in China is important in guiding and influencing policies and operational practices for culture and tourism from higher to lower tiers of government in Nanjing, and this has had advantages but also disadvantages for culture and tourism in the city.

Q. 1. The policies and activities associated with culture and tourism in Nanjing seem to be much influenced by higher tiers of government, such as national and regional government. In your view is this an advantage, or a disadvantage, for cultural tourism in Nanjing?

In general, it is a good issue if the national government gives support from top-down to tourism industry development. However, the policy is just playing a guiding role for developing industries. First of all, the government often gives a positive encouragement, support and guide to the tourism industry development. Secondly, government would like to provide funding support to tourism and other related organizations and companies. However, comparing to other countries, Chinese tourism industry had started a little bit late even though it had developed very quickly. Thus, government should make effort on governing and supporting of those tourism companies and organizations.

For example, Tourism Bureau or Tourism Department supposed to manage and governance many aspects of tourism industry. But in fact, they have very few rights and less power to tackle with the practical problems in tourism industry.

Follow up: Can you give any specific example of when the influence of higher tiers of government has been an advantage, or a disadvantage, for cultural tourism in Nanjing?

The culture and tourism departments in Nanjing both need to have adequate powers, responsibilities and competencies in relation to governance, funding and marketing for cultural tourism, but they are not equal between the two and they are not always adequate.

Q 2. Do both the culture department and also the tourism department in Nanjing have sufficient powers and ability to make policies and do practical work associated with cultural tourism?

Follow up: Does either the culture department or the tourism department sometimes have more powers and ability than the other to make policies and do practical work associated with cultural tourism? And, if they differ, why is that?

Chinese government is planning to design tourism law recently, and hopefully the tourism law can be passed and published in recent years. As I mentioned before, tourism includes many elements that its law should be considered very carefully. Different from other regulations, it's not very easy to pass a law which needs more suggestions and consultant opinions from different departments. But the draft of tourism law has been consulted from national level to local level for many times.

In fact, the power between cultural department and tourism department is not equal in designing policy and plans. It's impossible to get the absolutely equal power between cultural and tourism

departments. Some departments having more powerful administrative rights or responsibilities may be more powerful than other departments in practical operations. Tourism department seems like a "soft" department in guiding, managing and developing tourism industry. It may focus on improving residents' living standard rather than other "hard" issues, for example, protecting cultural relics in relation to national identity. It's difficult to repair some cultural relics if they had been damaged or destroyed. To some extent, some historical and cultural resources have to be protected by some "hard" standards and the involvement of "hard" government departments. Further, it doesn't mean that tourism department has no need to be "hard". In contrast, some regulations or policies like safety should be particularly mentioned in tourism department's daily work. Therefore, it may be impossible to achieve the equally power in various government departments. In other words, it may be not reasonable and not appropriate if each department can get equal power. So, their power should be clarified based on their actually role, responsibility, function, etc.

The public sector reforms in China have created fewer but larger government departments. This sometimes can bring culture and tourism together within the same government department, but this has not been the case in Nanjing. And larger government departments have also not been created at provincial and national levels. This may have made it more difficult for the culture and tourism departments to work together in a coordinated way in Nanjing.

Q 3. The public sector reforms in China have created fewer but larger government departments, although this seems more so at the city level rather than at provincial and national levels. Have the public sector reforms helped the culture and tourism departments in Nanjing to work together better, or at times a little less well?

Follow up: Can you think of any specific example where the creation of larger government departments in Nanjing has helped the culture and tourism departments to work together better, or else a little less well?

It should take different characteristics of cities or provinces into account when government departments do public sector reforms. For example, if one province has lots of cultural relics, assembling cultural relics department into cultural department is necessary. Also, if one province doesn't have enough cultural relics, assembling cultural relics department and religion department into cultural department may be necessary. It's also possible to assemble cultural relics department, religion department and tourism department as a Super department. In my opinion, assembling cultural and tourism department together can encourage different departments work together and also input the new energy into 'big' tourism. But it also very difficult to do the public sector reforms between culture and tourism departments in practice. Thus, considering local differences into public sector reforms carefully is of importance. And from pragmatic perspective, it suggested to consider the different characteristics of different industries into public sector reforms. In other words, only one model or one approach is not suitable for current Chinese public sector reforms.

The main purpose of doing public sector reform is to strengthening government administrative functions, decreasing the conflicts among different government departments, and forming an effective and positive government. The public sector reforms can bring some benefits, such as improving the working efficiency, integrating management of government departments, etc. However, it's not very easy to assemble culture and tourism departments together. The adaption

and cooperation should be considered carefully after assembling two government departments together. There is another example that public sector reform may not be often successful in Nanjing. Nanjing government is planning to separate Nanjing Wooden and Garden Department from Nanjing Tourism Bureau next year, but these two departments were just assembling together less than two years. After applying Youth Olympic Games 2014 successful, Nanjing has high pressure in city construction, especially in building gardens, parks, and green lands. Therefore, Nanjing Wooden and Garden Department may be separated and re-constructed itself as a government department. It to some extent is matching with the social development.

The public sector reforms in China have created fewer but larger government departments. This has meant that both the culture department and the tourism department in Nanjing have found it easier to work with other departments in their own larger department and less easy to work with other departments outside their own larger department.

Q 4. Has the creation of fewer but larger government departments meant that the culture department and the tourism department in Nanjing have found it easier to work with other departments in their own larger department and less easy to work with other departments outside their own larger department?

Thirdly, the boundary of tourism is not very clear and tourism is a relative and comprehensive industry. It may have close relationship with culture, manufacturing, agriculture, transportation and other industries. To some extent, it's hard to get enough attention for tourism industry in the national policy or plan.

Furthermore, the main responsibility of tourism department may have three aspects in tourism planning, industrial regulating and marketing promotion. With the support and marketing operation by government department, more and more investment can be attracted in tourism industry development. And government department can give more support to technical instrument, conservational approaches which are the main responsibilities of other government departments. For instant, tourism transportation may need more support from transportation department, while cultural tourism may ask more help from culture department. Especially in cultural tourism development, the protection, the utilization and the promotion of culture resources are supposed to be the main responsibility of culture department rather than tourism department. The tourism department may just use and share the common resources of the combination of culture and tourism resources in order to develop tourism industry. As a result, the directly support to tourism industry may be less in national policy and plan.

Recently, the national government encourage and support a new concept of " big tourism", which stimulates the cooperation of different government departments, the assembly of resources, and the interaction between different industries. It's a good idea to support and develop the whole tourism industry.

Even though tourism industry may has a fewer directly support from national policy and plan, there are many relevant supports for tourism area. For example, the protection of cultural relics to some extent helps to tourism development. To build and develop some museums and galleries may be the cultural department's responsibility but they can be used into tourism industry, and also attract many tourists and visitors.

At times both the public and private sectors are involved in Nanjing's public policy making for culture and tourism, including development and marketing initiatives, but often the private sector businesses have not been involved for various reasons, including due to their lack of interest or lack of influence, and due to public sector reluctance to cooperate.

Q 5. Are private sector businesses regularly involved with the public sector in making policies for cultural tourism in Nanjing, and does this work well or not?

Follow up: Can you give any specific example of where private sector businesses are involved, or are not involved, in this way in Nanjing?

Follow up: Why do you think that the private sector works well, or does not work well, with the public sector in Nanjing in making policies for cultural tourism in Nanjing?

Government departments would like to keep the partnership with the private sector organizations even though they have different purposes. For example, the administrative role of government departments is different from the purposes of private sector organizations. Government departments play an important role in assembling social resources while the private sector organizations may operate their own resources and funding. Those social resources can be utilized appropriately and the vitality of private sector organization can be encouraged during the cooperation between the public and private sectors. Further, to develop a mature and healthy tourism industry is a common purpose for both public and private sectors.

In Chinese political system, there is one key principle called "zheng qi fen kai" which means "keeping distance between government and private sector organizations". However, we should have cooperation between the public and private sectors in the practical mechanism. In other words, government can take guiding role while the private sector organizations may play main role in practical operation. It should be clarified that government cannot fully control all funding resources as their main responsibility. And government shouldn't control everything or either couldn't do everything. In contrast, government just build up a platform that the private sector organizations can operate in practice.

And the private sectors organizations and even local community can participant into designing policies or plans with government. The main reason of designing policy is to serve the public, the people, the private sector organizations, and the whole social and economic development. Thus, an appropriate policy or plan should consult the ideas from various media and local community. For example, Nanjing government had consulted the ideas from the private sector organizations and local people when they plan to build a new metro line in Nanjing city. If local people disagree with that, local government has to amend and change its content. The involvement of the private sector organizations and local people to some extent reflect into the consulting process of policy or plan.

The private sector organizations can also do their own plans associated with the policies or plans by the government. For example, a scenic spot can plan their own programmes but on the conditions of matching with the government's policies such as using lands, keeping sustainable environment, etc.. It's acceptable that the private sector organizations do more activities in an appropriate legal area.

However, each coin has two sides. There are many cases that the private sector organizations cannot actually involve into policy planning process. It may find that, the government officials and some leader may have their own idea which may be more important in decision-making

process, and also in Chinese context. But I think it may happen not only in China, but also in other countries. Thus, it's necessary to change the situation which the government leaders with stronger power may affect the decision-making process. Also, to widen the participation of the private sector organization and local people could make our practical mechanism healthier and even better.

Furthermore, the bigger private sector organizations may have more chances to involve into designing policy and plans than the smaller organizations. For one thing, any policy or plan requires more specific and professional knowledge and experiences which the smaller private sector organizations lacked. For another thing, we cannot consult everyone's idea but only the representatives of our huge population in Nanjing. To invite the representatives into consulting process is an efficient way.

At times the private sector businesses in Nanjing with interests in cultural tourism have worked with each other in pursuit of their common interests, but sometimes they have not cooperated with each other, for reasons of a lack of influence or a lack of a sense of common interests.

Q 6. In your view do private sector businesses with interests in cultural tourism in Nanjing often work together and cooperate with each other to pursue their common interests?

Follow up: Can you give any example of where private sector businesses with interests in cultural tourism in Nanjing have worked together well, or have not worked together well?

Follow up: Why do you think that private sector businesses with interests in cultural tourism may not work together more often?

The private sector organizations to what extent gain some benefits in cooperating with government. For example, government would like to attract more investment which can be used into social development. At the same time, the private sector organizations may consider the economic benefits first when they work with government. Also, the social and economic development can be improved associated with the involvement of the private sector organizations.

Further, some funding resources cannot be arranged from government department on higher level to the private sector organizations directly. Thus, government should supply related policy, industrial management and other services in order to build up a cooperation platform, regulate the industrial behaviours, and also create a healthy business environment for the private sector organizations.

For example, government published some policies related to the land resources, tax, bank loans, financial resources, technology evaluation, and talent resources in order to support the private sector organizations do business in Nanjing. And those organizations may have enough confidences to do investment and develop further. If the private sector organization can increase their income, it to some extent encourages to the social and economic development which benefits to the government and local people as well. The appropriate interaction between government and the private sector organization is of importance. Otherwise, the private sector organizations may lose the confidence and interest to do business in one place if they cannot have a good interaction with local government. I think it's quite common in China that many

private sectors organizations even give up some market in terms of their worse relationship with local government.

The integration between cultural and tourism products and activities in Nanjing has been based on various mutual benefits they have gained from this integration, although at times there have also been tensions resulting from this integration.

Q 7. Do you consider that culture and tourism in Nanjing have been brought together in beneficial ways for both the cultural resources and also for the tourism industry?

Follow up: Can you give any specific example of how culture and tourism have been brought together in ways that clearly benefit each other in Nanjing?

Follow up: Can you give any specific example of how culture and tourism have been brought together in ways that do not fully benefit each other in Nanjing?

In my view, the integration of culture and tourism products is not very good in Nanjing. Nanjing is as famous as its history and culture, but many aspects such as deeply discovering culture and history, exploring creative representing approaches, developing more attractive cultural tourism products should be improved. The current Nanjing cultural tourism resources or products are mainly relying on the existing heritage resources but without any further development so that they are just on the primary level for sightseeing tourists. Even though some producers discover some few new visiting routes or related tourism souvenirs, they are really not enough in Nanjing city. For example, many tourists only go to Dr. Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, Confucius Temple, and the Presidential Palace when they visit Nanjing.

The proportion of foreign tourists' number is becoming decreased this year, and I think this trend may be worse in the future. The main reason is that, the domestic market is increasing quicker than the international market. The Chinese economy is still but slow developing while the income of Chinese people is also increasing. In contrast, the number of international tourists is decreased in terms of different external factors, such as SARS, natural disaster, economic recession, etc. Especially many foreign countries were suffering the economic recession and international tourists' consuming abilities were also falling down. Thus, the proportion of foreign tourists' number becomes smaller comparing with the quickly increased number of domestic tourists, in spite of that the international tourists flow is fluctuating but stable increased in the changeable global environment.

In addition, Nanjing is still lacking the creative approach to attract more international tourists. The current Nanjing's cultural tourism products had designed and developed according to Chinese people's mind and perspectives but without taking cultural differences into account. For example, Nanjing has different temples which the western tourists may only regard them as the similar old buildings. Also, some European or American tourists may interest in Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall with World War II history rather than the mausoleums of Qing Dynasty or Ming Dynasty. There are many differences of cognitive perspectives, cultural backgrounds, and personal interests between Chinese tourists and international tourists. Thus, Nanjing producers should improve their awareness of western perspectives in designing and developing cultural tourism products.

At times both the producers and consumers of cultural tourism in Nanjing show greater interest in those cultural tourism products that are included on international or national preservation lists and thus are seen as iconic and more significant. This can bring advantages and disadvantages to the cultural tourism resources on these lists and also to those not on the lists.

Q 8. The inclusion of cultural sites in Nanjing on international and national preservation listings, such as on the UNESCO World Heritage listings, may focus the attention of tourists and also investment decisions on those sites. Is this focus on the sites on international and national preservation listings a good thing?

Follow up: Can you give any specific example of where the focus on these sites has been a good thing, or a bad thing?

Those preservation listings to some extent play an important role in attracting tourists in Nanjing city and Jiangsu province. In China, if the cultural or tourism resources on the higher preservation listings, they have more chances to attract various media's attentions. For example, each time of applying the UNESCO World Heritage listings will be associated with the announcements and promotions of various media. The branding and identify of cultural tourism resources will be accepted and improved around local people and even tourists by those media. And either domestic or international tourists may have interests in visiting those resources on the UNESCO listings even though they may have no idea before.

However, each coin has two sides. The resources on the higher preservation listings do not mean that they are more attractive. And not all of tourists have strong interests in those resources on the preservation listings. Thus, the producers have to think and rethink the transfer the strengths of those resources on preservation listings into practical cultural tourism products.

Indeed, the development of tourism industry to what extent brings pressure to the preservation of those cultural tourism resources. Thus, the producers should also consider the relationship between the preservation and commercialization of those cultural tourism resources.

Not all of intangible cultural resources can be handed down to the next generation in terms of their particular intangible cultural characteristics. Also, the tourists may change their interests quickly or they may not like to see those old things any more. In spite of those intangible cultural resources exist in the same space, the time has changed already. We have many worse cases that some museums or folklore exhibitions cannot be attractive even though there are many brilliant resources. Especially museum is one product to memorize the past history or culture. The managers of those museums or exhibitions just assemble all resources together without appropriate design or package. And it's just one way to keep the dead culture or history in the museum or exhibition. As a result, those museums or exhibitions spend lots of money without good return. In my opinion, the producers should develop the existing cultural tourism products associated with the current tourists' expectations.

And government should take main responsibility to rescue, protect and hand down the intangible cultural resources. If government can encourage the private sector organizations and local people cooperate together, those intangible cultural resources may become alive easily.

The relationships between the preservation of cultural resources and their commercialisation for tourism purposes in Nanjing have in some ways been positive, but in other ways they have been

ambiguous or negative.

Q 9. Do you consider that the relationships between the preservation of cultural resources and their commercialisation for tourism in Nanjing have generally been positive in Nanjing?

Follow up: Can you give any specific example of where the relationships between the preservation of cultural resources and their commercialisation for tourism have been highly positive?

Follow up: Can you give any specific example of where the relationships between the preservation of cultural resources and their commercialisation for tourism have been less positive?

There is evidence that at times and in some ways there may have been intentions to use the culture and heritage resources in Nanjing to help in the much larger objective of China's state to build a harmonious society.

To inherit the intangible cultural resources should be considered seriously. Many representatives of intangible cultural resources don't want to continue their "intangible skills" because they cannot get good economic profits and even cannot survive. And most intangible cultural skills or techniques cannot match with the current social development. For example, the clothes made by Yun Brocade are very luxury and high standard in the old China. However, the old skills cannot be continued or adapted into current society if they do not have any change or creative development. Thus, it should clarify the new direction and strategy for further developing the intangible cultural resources.

In my opinion, government should give enough financial support to obtain the "intangible" skills and techniques for those representatives of intangible cultural resources. Especially some "intangible" skills or techniques cannot re-copy or represent if they had been disappeared or damaged. Currently, Chinese government has detailed intangible cultural law and regulations to protect and develop intangible cultural resources. It to some extent identifies the importance and also increases the awareness of the intangible cultural resources.

We try to balance the relationship between the preservation and commercialization of cultural tourism resources in practice. For example, we had added the Yun Brocade Museum into Nanjing's one day trip schedule. And it's a good opportunity that many tourists can know and understand Yun Brocade as Nanjing intangible cultural resources when they visit that museum. It's a good example that both cultural and tourism sector can cooperate together.

Q 10. Are there any ways that the culture and heritage sites in Nanjing may help to promote the idea among tourists about harmony in society in China?

Follow up: Can you give any specific example or not of how the culture and heritage sites in Nanjing may help to promote the idea among tourists about harmony in society in China?

At times the interpretation provided at Nanjing's cultural tourism sites appears to encode cultural tourism messages that seek to promote a harmonious society, but this may not always be clear and it may not always be decoded in this way by tourists.

Q. 11. Do you think that the presentation or interpretation at the culture and heritage sites in Nanjing, such as at the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall or the Presidential Palace, may help to promote patriotic education and ideas about harmony in society among tourists?

Follow up: Can you give any specific example of this, or not, in the presentation or interpretation at these sites?

Currently, the patriotic education had been widely promoted in order to build up the core social value in China. Those patriotic educational attractions at least record a period of real history and also indicate Chinese people's spirit. Tourists and also students could gain authentic experiences and even get sympathy when they visit these places.

There are two kinds of perspectives in designing and promoting museums and galleries. For one thing, the producers, especially Chinese people, would like to design the museums as a cultural shrine in a solemn environment. They would like to deliver cultural and historical knowledge through exhibitions in museums. However, the current domestic tourists may lack enough knowledge of the past history or even lack enough interests in visiting those museums.

For another thing, the current tourists, especially young tourists, would like to participant into some activities or visiting experiences through affective interaction. But most of museums in China may lack enough opportunities that the visitors cannot really involve into those resources. Some culture, history and story should be represented by tour guides or other techniques so that the audiences can really understand, participant into, and even enjoy them. It's necessary to protect the cultural relics seriously in museums or galleries, but it also should supply various visiting experiences to the audiences.

At times the promotional activities associated with the overall city slogan or brand for Nanjing tourism appears to encode messages that seek to promote a harmonious society, but this may not always be clear and it may not always be decoded in this way by tourists.

Q 12. Do you think that the promotion of the overall city slogan or brand for Nanjing tourism – of the “city of universal love” - may help to promote the idea that everyone should be responsible for maintaining harmony in society in China?

Follow up: Do you feel that this city slogan or brand is effective and appropriate for Nanjing?

A good city image should have a distinct theme, represent the city's main characteristics and also be remembered easily. It's much better to link with tourism products and attract more tourists. The key theme in Nanjing city image is called "universal love", which helps to build up a harmony society. This "love" is not an individual love but a broader definition that the whole society can be treat people friendly, equally and harmony. The original meaning is coming from Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Republican revolution idea which is the distinct characteristic of Nanjing city. Further, it also shows Nanjing's characteristics that Nanjing is an open-minded and friendly city and is welcoming to all tourists. The "universal love" also helps to increase the proud of being

Nanjing people, regulate local people's consumer behaviours, and form a friendly and welcome attitude. In general, tourism industry and its image to what extent play a positive role in building up a harmonious society.

However, only one logo or slogan cannot build up a harmony society which needs more works to do. For example, many living facilities can be improved, such as living facilities and green land during the development of tourism industry. The benefits of developing tourism industry can be identified in environment standard, cultural communication, economic development, created job opportunities, increased domestic income, etc.. Those elements are the aspects of harmony society.

Indeed, it's a little bit difficult to design one image including many cultures and resources. "A city of universal love" may be a little difficult to be known by all tourists, especially international tourists. The producers may make more efforts in marketing promotions of city image so that more and more tourists could know it.

The promotional media employed, such as traditional media and electronic media, may at times help or hinder the communication of encoded cultural tourism messages that might reinforce harmony in society.


Q 13. Are the culture and tourism organisations and attractions in Nanjing regularly using their websites and social media in their promotional and marketing activities, and are the websites and social media being used effectively by them?

Follow up: Do you consider that websites and social media for Nanjing's tourism attractions should be used to promote the idea that everyone should be responsible for maintaining harmony in society in China?

Weibo is a good media approach to share information with other people, and it also helps to promote Nanjing's tourism industry and Nanjing city. The main audiences of new media are young people or people who can accept new information quickly. Different marketing promotions may have different targets and audiences. Internet, blog, Weibo these new techniques could get more information than those traditional media, such as newspapers, radio, etc.

It's very common to see the negative message on Weibo. Thus, government and even private sector organizations who have official accounts should take responsibility in guiding the positive message rather than the negative ones. Once some problems happened, both government and the private sector organizations should have an emergency response mechanism to deal with those public relationship issues. And government and the private sector organizations also need to utilize the new media to change their positions and attitudes from passive to initiative.

Appendix 4 Email exchange with an interviewee (in Chinese)

 Rui Su <ruisukitty@gmail.com> 26/09/2011
to zhfh, huangzhenfang

黄教授，

您好！

我是今年年初找您做学位论文（文化旅游）数据采访的学生。很抱歉现在这么晚才将文字稿传给您。因为时间的限制，我当初做数据翻译的时候，直接中翻英，所以没有做中文稿。望您谅解。如果您有时间查看内容，如果有哪些内容是您不愿意让我使用的，非常愿意您在原稿上进行修改，并请您发给我以指示。所有数据仅供博士论文研究使用。

再一次感谢您对我博士论文的支持！

祝您身体健康！

学生苏香

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W Professor Huang ...

 黄震方 <huangzhenfang@njnu.edu.cn> 28/09/2011
to me

苏香同学：您好！

我的论文及相关数据您尽管引用，如能对您完成博士论文有所帮助，我十分高兴。谢谢！

祝一切顺利！