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CULTURAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN IRISH VILLAGES AND TOWNS: THE ROLE OF AUTHENTICITY, SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND TOURIST CAPITAL¹

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ABSTRACT

In this chapter, the factors that facilitate the development of cultural tourism in regional Ireland are outlined. A model of cultural tourism development is proposed and it is argued that stocks of social, cultural and tourist capital are important to the development of the field. The model also emphasises the notion of authenticity in the cultural encounters and experiences of tourists and local actors. Through case study research on a selection of Irish villages, towns and hinterland, it is demonstrated that tourism development is strongly rooted within the local social and cultural environment. While the obvious starting-point to cultural tourism development is the possession of cultural resources (Hughes and Allen, 2005), it is argued that cultural capital becomes more valuable when it is combined with social capital since it assists wealth creation.

INTRODUCTION – THE CULTURAL ECONOMY AND CULTURAL TOURISM

The term ‘cultural economy’ (and cultural tourism) signifies the transformation of a production-oriented economy to a consumption-oriented one and the greater importance of ‘invisibles’ in capitalist society (du Gay, 1997; Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999; Scott and Urry, 1994). The cultural economy, as a concept, is supported by policy makers around Europe and appears in many policy statements and strategy documents. Cato et al., (2007) highlight that creative industries have the potential to enrich and stabilise disadvantaged areas, as well as generating direct economic benefits. Products and services, such as, film, music, fashion, design, dance, theatre, art and crafts, are generally categorised as ‘cultural goods’, which are

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defined by Hirsch (1972: 641) as ‘non-material goods directed at a public of consumers for whom they generally serve an aesthetic or expressive, rather than a clearly utilitarian function’.

Academics and policy makers now recognise that cultural tourism is a ‘living’ (not simply representations of the past), socio-cultural construction. In other words, its social connotation is not given, but negotiated and different people may conceive it in different ways (Cohen, 1988). For instance, the appeal of a city often comes from its physical assets and experiences built around those assets, which generally extend to the ‘living culture’ and the atmosphere of the place (Wilson, 2002). Tourists are often attracted to destinations that are linked to art history or contemporary performance (Gibson and Connell, 2003; Hughes, 2000; Hughes and Allen, 2005). As cultural tourism is increasingly utilised as a means of economic development, the need for creative tourism projects is greater than ever. Increasingly, experiences, such as, learning how to dance in situ, in the original traditional setting, are being marketed to cultural tourists (Richards and Wilson, 2006).

According to Fáilte Ireland (2009), cultural tourism embraces the full range of experiences visitors can undertake to learn what makes a destination distinctive – its lifestyle, its heritage, its arts, its people. Cultural tourism in Ireland consists of three key sectors: traditional culture, living culture and the built heritage. Heritage tourism has been conceptualised as ‘gazing on the past’ (Urry, 1990). In the 1980s, the availability of European Union (EU) funding for capital projects led to a flood of heritage and museum projects in Ireland (McGettigan and Burns, 2001; Stocks, 1996). In the 1990s, the marketability of culture and the shift to ‘invisibles’ came to the fore in Irish tourism. Marketing campaigns sought to capitalise on Ireland’s fashionable image and success in music, literature, theatre, film and dance. According to Nicholls (2000), myths and stereotypes help shape tourists’ expectations. In the case of Ireland, the success of Riverdance, Guinness and the Irish pub, along with rock artists on an international stage (Ó Cinnéide, 2005; Strachan and Leonard, 2004) has helped build a brand and re-enforce the conception of Ireland as a musical nation. Riverdance epitomised the revival and contemporisation of Irish culture. It was developed from a 5-minute dance routine commissioned for the interval of the Eurovision Song Contest in 1994. In the 1990s, marketing campaigns developed the themes of activity, authenticity, culture, friendliness and memorable personal experiences, summarised

as ‘emotional experience positioning’ (Prentice and Anderson, 2000). Irish Tourism attempted to present Ireland not so much as a place to see, but as a place to experience, combining its historical features with more contemporary ones (Johnson, 1999).

Cultural tourism is estimated to be worth €5.1 billion annually to the Irish economy (Fáilte Ireland, 2009). Policy makers are committed to cultural tourism, seeing it as a means to achieve key goals, notably the greater spatial distribution of visitors, greater seasonal distribution of visitors and achievement of higher spend per visitor (Fáilte Ireland, 2007; Údarás na Gaeltachta, 2005).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: UNDERSTANDING THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL TOURISM

This chapter seeks to explain the factors driving cultural tourism development. Figure 1 displays a model of cultural tourism development, which is drawn from the literature (e.g., Lounsbury and Glynn, 2001). The figure depicts relationships between stocks of social and cultural capital, stocks of tourism capital, entrepreneurial opportunity, authenticity and wealth creation. While the model is linear in nature, it is recognised that the process of cultural tourism development is a dynamic one, and over time, the created wealth flows back and leads to additional capital stocks. The following section explores the key components of this model. The theoretical discussion is then supplemented with case study data and anecdotes from the field.

---- Insert Figure 1 about here-----

Stocks of Social Capital

The concept of social capital has been heavily emphasised in the sociological literature (e.g., Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Burt, 1992; Coleman, 1990; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 1993). It has been defined by Adler and Kwon (2002: 23) as ‘the goodwill available to individuals or groups. Its source lies in the structure and content of the actor’s social relations. Its effects flow from the information, influence, and solidarity it makes available to the actor’. Social capital can be distinguished from human capital in two ways: firstly, it is a more of a collective good, whereas human capital is a quality of individuals, such as, intelligence, education and seniority.

Secondly, investment in social capital helps people identify opportunities and it complements human capital (Burt, 1997).

One measure of social capital is the number of social enterprises in an area. As they gain economic strength, research to understand the phenomenon has burgeoned (Dorado, 2006). The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (1999:10) define social enterprise as ‘any private activity conducted in the public interest, organized with an entrepreneurial strategy, but whose main purpose is not the maximization of profit, but the attainment of certain economic and social goals’. Examples of social enterprises include co-operatives, charities and voluntary community groups (Seanor and Meaton, 2007). Social entrepreneurs are driven by social needs, which rest on some vision of a better world and are grounded in personal values, such as, the desire to address hunger and poverty, unemployment, child abuse, crime, illiteracy, homelessness, pollution or to foster a deeper appreciation of the arts. Social enterprise is also associated with rural regeneration (Zografos, 2007). Social enterprise is based on principles of voluntarism, ethical behaviour and a mission with a social cause, such as, combating poverty or tackling social exclusion (Chell, 2007). Social entrepreneurship is exercised when some person aims to create social value, recognises and pursues opportunities to create this value, employs innovation, tolerates risk and declines to accept limitations in available resources (Peredo and McLean, 2006). Social entrepreneurs need to survive without grant-aid (Haugh, 2005) and the sector is becoming more commercialised as social enterprises begin to charge fees, produce goods for sale and develop new enterprises (Weisbrod, 1998).

Research has shown that Ireland has a long tradition of social entrepreneurship (Ní Bhrádaigh, 2007a). Community-based enterprises played a pivotal role in the socio-economic development of the Gaeltacht (Keane and Ó Cinnéide, 1986; Ó Cinnéide and Conghaile, 1990). The Gaeltacht cooperative sector, which emerged out of the civil rights movement, sowed the seeds for the establishment of Irish-language radio and television stations (Coleman, 2003). Today, there are 27 cooperatives in the Gaeltacht and their aims are to create employment, upgrade services and generally improve the socio-economic conditions of the Gaeltacht. Summer schools, the Coláiste Samhraigh, have been in existence since the 1960s. Structured visitor programmes have been developed to help students practice their Irish in a social setting, although the declining number of fluent Irish speakers is a limitation

(Convery and Flanagan, 1996). With the provision of grant-aid, improvements have been made to the accommodation facilities, classrooms and halls. These schools attracted 25,000 young people in 2006 (Department of Rural, Community and Gaeltacht Affairs, 2007).

Within the arts, social enterprise refers to the use of art to revive or sustain rural and depopulated communities. Myerscough (1988:78) argues that the arts can be a potent tool for environmental improvement and for regional and urban development; furthermore, the arts play a social role in the community, 'as a social node around which new social life can cohere'.

Social capital is also manifested in the number of community-based festivals in an area. One rationale for supporting festivals is that they improve the quality of life in a community, and provide a local community with a sense of identity, commonality and spirit that few other goods are capable of producing (Quinn, 2005). Quinn (2006), in a study of two major Irish festivals (the Galway Arts Festival and Wexford Festival Opera) concluded that festival tourism intensifies appreciation for a particular art form, and often leads to increased arts activity on a year-round basis, as well as an improvement in standards and venue infrastructure.

Stocks of Cultural Capital

The term 'cultural capital' is associated with Bourdieu (1984), who argued that cultural knowledge confers power and status and is possessed by people from elite or dominant social classes. Researchers (e.g., De Graaf et al., 2000) tend to define cultural capital quite narrowly, in terms of participation in, and understanding of, high culture, such as, theatre, classical music, museums and art. Cultural capital is also associated with the marketing of non-profit museums, galleries and other related institutions (Rentschler, 2007). In this chapter the term 'cultural capital' is interpreted as an all-embracing term to cover not only cultural competence, but also stocks of cultural resources, creative people and cultural associations and organisations that provide training, education, information, research and technical support.

Entrepreneurial Opportunity and Stocks of Tourist Capital

According to Burt (1997), social capital refers to entrepreneurial opportunity. Scholars propose that external ties to others give actors the opportunity to leverage

their contacts' resources (Adler and Kwon, 2002). All acts of entrepreneurship start with the vision of an attractive opportunity (Gibb and Scott, 1985; Stevenson and Gumpert, 1985). The rise of the cultural tourist, which is attributed to greater affluence, more leisure time, greater mobility, increased access to the arts and higher levels of education (Holcomb, 1999; Weiler and Hall, 1992), gives rise to new ways of conceiving and creating value. The commercialisation of culture is manifested in various ways: music workshops, the sale of local arts and crafts, souvenirs, packaged holidays, language instruction courses, opening of restaurants and cafes in museums, etc.

Baron and Hannan (1994) complain about the indiscriminate use of the term 'social capital' and disparagingly refer to the recent emergence of a 'plethora of capitals' in the sociological literature. Mindful of this fact, I seek to justify the use of yet another capital, 'tourist capital'. To qualify as capital, an entity must possess certain characteristics; it must have an opportunity cost (Baron and Hannan, 1994), give rise to benefits that can be measured, have a rate of depreciation, and be a substitute for, or a complement to, other resources (Adler and Kwon, 2002). Tourist infrastructure, such as, stocks of accommodation and transport, is included in the conceptual framework as capital, since it meets these criteria.

Social capital tends to be seen as a resource with only positive outcomes, but scholars argue that this position is too one-sided (Adler and Kwon, 2002). In tightly knit, ethnic communities, social capital often leads to business start-up opportunities; however groups may hinder individual economic advancement by placing heavy personal obligations on its members (Portes, 1998). Entrepreneurship can be seen as legitimate in one context but opportunistic and self-seeking in another context (Adler and Kwon, 2002; Burt, 1997). In a cultural tourism context, if actors are seen as free-riders, or if their entrepreneurial ventures lack authenticity, then they may encounter resistance; therefore, social capital becomes a liability or constraint on action. The next section will introduce the notion of authenticity and I will attempt to show how social capital can be both an asset and a liability.

Authenticity

The concept of authenticity has been heavily emphasised in the tourism and sociological literatures (Cohen, 1979; Heidegger, 1962; MacCannell, 1976; Pearce and Moscardo, 1986). According to MacCannell (1976), authenticity can be defined

as the genuine, worthwhile and spontaneous experience of travel. The work of Goffman (1959) on the front- and back-stage dichotomy, the true and the false, is also central to our understanding of authenticity. In a tourism context, front-stage people are conscious that they are creating a display for tourists, while backstage individuals are not in the tourist spotlight (Pearce and Moscardo, 1986). Pearce and Moscardo (1986: 122), in a review of the literature, highlight that authenticity involves being true to oneself and can be interpreted as a 'fusion of self and the external world'.

Arguments have been made that the commodification of culture (i.e., transforming some aspects of culture into saleable products) places 'authenticity' in jeopardy (Taylor, 2001). Philosophers such as de Botton (2002) have started to outline the futility of the act of travel. The popular phrase 'been there, done that' suggests that travel is superficial and has been devalued by today's society. Due to the short-term, circumscribed nature of touristic encounters, international tourists never go anywhere real and exist in a tourist 'bubble' (Cohen, 1972). Boorstein (1961) argues that tourists seek out 'pseudo events' (Disneyland being a current example) in order to shield themselves from the unpredictable or unpleasant.

MacCannell (1973) diverges from Boorstein's work by proposing that the primary motivation for travel lies in a quest for authenticity, but this quest is always doomed to failure. Authenticity is difficult to find since the tourist industry distorts the product and 'staged authenticity' emerges. He argues that even when tourists are allowed to get a peek backstage, they, the onlookers, are confronted with a false backstage, 'a superlie, the kind that drips with sincerity' (MacCannell, 1973: 599). Pearce and Moscardo (1986), however, reject the notion that tourist experiences are inherently contrived or artificial; instead, they propose that authentic encounters do occur and they have a 'gift-like quality'. They argue that authenticity can be achieved either through environmental experiences, people-based experiences or a joint interaction of these elements.

In the literature on cultural tourism, the integrity of artistic expression and the impact of tourism on culture are themes that are well rehearsed by scholars (Copley and Robson, 1996; Quinn, 2006; Rolfe, 1992). Critics of cultural policy sometimes argue that what is primary - the production of culture - becomes secondary when utilitarian motives intervene, such as, the need to make profit, entertain an audience, or, in Campbell's (1989) words, 'produce pleasure'. It is argued that creativity in the performing arts and the emergence of experimental works may be inhibited if it lacks

tourist appeal (Hughes and Allen, 2005). In the festival management literature, writers conclude that if changes are made to an event to better suit the needs of tourists then that can become a source of tension between residents and event organisers (Hughes, 1998; Mules, 2004; Xiao and Smith, 2004). In a study of music events in the West of Ireland, Kneafsey (2002) found evidence of the front stage and backstage. At times, musicians feel the need to be shielded from the tourist gaze and retreat backstage to play music that is meaningful to them. In other words, when musicians are paid to play music, they lose interest in it and tourists get a ‘staged performance’, an inferior representation of reality.

The issue of authenticity is also relevant to practitioners and others involved in the delivery of cultural performances. Through performances, individuals can express themselves and keep their cultural traditions alive. Furthermore, they may be in a better position than tourists to determine what is authentic and not authentic. Scholars note that the whole notion of authenticity ‘comes to us constructed by hegemonic voices’ (Spivak and Gunew, 1993: 195). What is and what is not authentic is largely the result of interpretations (albeit contested) by professionals, such as, curators and anthropologists (McIntosh and Prentice, 1999).

In the context of the traditional arts movement in Ireland, the notion of authenticity has led to heated debates and schisms. Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann (CCE) has played an important role in popularising Irish music. Founded in 1951, it established numerous branches for music education in Ireland and overseas and placed an emphasis on competition and standardisation of playing techniques (Fleming, 2004). However, this alienated many musicians who had fears about the loss of musical diversity, local style and repertoire (Kearns and Taylor, 2003). These conflicts led to the growth of festivals, which provided musicians with an alternative to competition-based performances. With folk music, the distinctive nature of the music comes directly from the instruments – familiar examples to Irish people being the bodhrán, the uilleann pipes, fiddle and harp. Gibson and Connell (2003: 176) note the rise of master-classes and workshops, and remark: ‘tourist numbers remain relatively small – a handful of individuals in search of a means of learning and contextualising distinctive musical styles’. The growth in the Irish Diaspora, the increasing pace of life and commercialisation of societies is used to explain the growing interest in traditional music festivals as people search for ‘true meaning’ and ‘authenticity’ (Kearns and Taylor, 2003; Kneafsey, 2002; Smith, 2001). Writers in the

field of tourism note that the creation of authenticity is important to tourism ‘as a distancing device which prompts desire and the production of value’ (Taylor, 2001: 7).

With the above in mind, I argue that the development of cultural tourism depends on perceptions of authenticity. Authenticity can be analysed from the perspective of tourists, as well as local actors and others involved in the cultural sector. It is proposed that this quality aids, or impedes, the mobilisation of resources and wealth creation. There is some support for this thesis in the tourism literature, and indirectly, in writings on the cultural economy.

CULTURAL TOURISM IN ACTION – CASE STUDIES

In the following case studies, examples are given of cultural tourism initiatives which are drawn from parts of county Clare and county Kerry. While the case studies serve as models for other destinations, they also illustrate some of the limitations to the development of cultural tourism and the challenges that local actors face. The research involved 35 interviews with policy makers, practitioners, festival organisers and managers of tourist ventures.

South and west Kerry is a prime tourist destination and visitors are attracted by the combination of natural beauty and cultural heritage, such as, country houses, castles, museums and monastic remains. Dingle town is reputed to be a haven of traditional music and ‘trad sessions’ in public houses are an important source of night-time entertainment. A regional airport (Kerry International Airport) has facilitated growth in tourism. The area has a history of in-migration and many well-known visual artists, craftspeople, writers and film-makers live in the area and they evoke the landscape in their work. County Kerry contains a ‘Gaeltacht’ which is overseen by the development body, Údarás na Gaeltachta.

County Clare places an emphasis on the traditional arts: Irish music, song, dance and story-telling. The tourism authority has consistently deployed music in order to attract backpackers, domestic travellers and international tourists. The region’s natural attractions include the Burren (a Special Area of Conservation) and the Cliffs of Moher, an iconic attraction, which attracts about a million visitors each year. Table 1 details the stocks of social and cultural capital in these areas.

Stocks of Social and Cultural Capital

Festivals are endemic in the case study regions and they occur on a year-round basis. They rely heavily on social capital. The people who run the events are doing so in an unpaid capacity, often juggling full-time jobs and dependent on volunteer labour. The festivals are not professionally staffed and often under-resourced, yet they deliver a vibrant cultural experience to locals and tourists. Respondents stressed that festival management involves a great deal of commitment, knowledge and skill.

According to one respondent:

A great deal of knowledge and skills are required to run local, provincial events. There are two components – the concept, the creativity, the ideas people – and the need to put the idea into practise. We put together a 100 page safety statement for the County Council...Meetings were held with the Gardaí – car parking, traffic management...meetings were held with the Environmental Health Officer – important when there are chip vans and hotdog stands. We employ full-time security staff for the weekend. Knowledge of legislation is required – what happens if a volunteer is injured during the festival? An emergency plan is required by the County Council, for instance, access routes for an ambulance, emergency landing for a helicopter...Many festivals are put off by concerns over insurance...There is a gap and demand for more training and advice in that area... (Founder, the Willie Clancy Summer School, 2007)

Festival managers have to deal with all sorts of challenges, such as, lack of finance, red tape and over-dependency on the founder. There is a risk of the festival organiser getting ‘burnt out’ after a few years, so respondents stressed the need for a good working committee. The following comment illustrates the difficulties involved in making a transition from a small festival to a larger, more commercially-orientated festival:

I really feel that the amount of bureaucracy involved in getting, what is a relatively small amount of funding, is off-putting to festival organizers. I stress that you are not talking about people with professional experience or staff...it’s a huge issue for anyone thinking about setting up a festival, or running a small festival...there is a tension between staying small versus getting bigger – a lot of it has to do with form-filling...for a voluntary committee, the level of detail required is a problem (County Arts Officer, Clare, 2007)

There are other examples of social capital. The Great Blasket Island Forum is an example of a community-driven initiative designed to protect authentic culture.

The island is a National Historic Park, as it once sustained a vibrant Irish speaking culture and inspired an impressive vernacular literature (Beiner, 2005). Today, the community is seeking World Heritage Site Status for the Blasket Islands. Respondents talked about the role that the Summer Schools (Coláiste Samhraigh) played in the local economy. The Summer Schools have a narrow target market; school leavers in search of language instruction. One respondent, from Údarás na Gaeltachta, remarked that there was potential to broaden the target market, increase visitor length of stay and quality of spend. For instance, the schools could target former Coláiste Samhraigh participants, and parents who visit their children for the day, which could lead to further economic gains (Regional Manager, Údarás na Gaeltachta, 2007).

Cultural capital is illustrated by the wide range of cultural associations and organisations providing training, education, information, research and technical support. Some examples include Oidhreach an Chláir (a college for traditional studies), which grew out the success of a music school/festival in county Clare. Discart, an educational institute in Dingle, is an important resource for a small community and it offers classes in Irish culture to American students and hosts local exhibitions and festivals. Cultural capital is also being built via investment in arts infrastructure. There are four arts centres in Kerry and a purpose-built music centre in County Clare. These centres are designed to meet local and tourist demand. Residents no longer needed to travel long distances to access performances in major towns. They act as multi-purpose venues and are used for festivals, plays, craft fairs and art exhibitions, as well as meetings and workshops.

Entrepreneurial Opportunities

Tourism is an industry that is strongly rooted in the local economy and, over time, local actors began to recognise the potential to offer high quality products and services based on living culture. The responsiveness of local industry to tourist demand can be seen in the growth of packaged tours, the promotion of local art and crafts and the hosting of music workshops and traditional music nights in the local pubs.

Some examples include an Open Arts Trail in West Kerry, which was designed to give the visitor a chance to meet arts and crafts people in their natural setting. It gives tourists the opportunity to understand the hard work and intricate

process that goes into making an artistic product. Other examples include the establishing of a cooperative Art Gallery (the artist essentially cuts out the middle-man) and production of local Arts and Crafts Guides for the tourist market in the Iveragh peninsula, South Kerry (Iveragh Arts' Group, 2007).

An example of public-private partnership is Cill Rialaig, which is the name given to an artists' retreat, art gallery and conservation project in Ballinskelligs, Co. Kerry. A pre-famine village was restored and is used as an artists' retreat today (McCarthy, 2008). The Kerry GeoPark is an example of a regional branding initiative and it emerged out of the belief that arts and culture have the potential to attract the independent traveller, increase bed-nights and counteract economic leakage. Outputs include a website, promotional DVD and hill-walking and accommodation packages for visitors. The Kerry GeoPark is an example of a multi-stakeholder, community-driven network that has the potential to contribute to cultural tourism development, spread concepts of self-help and co-operation in the community and broaden knowledge of heritage, geology and the environment.

Stocks of Tourism Capital

Regional branding is strong in the case study regions. According to the Regional Development Manager (2007), the ultimate aim is 'to make Clare the leading County for quality, all year-round cultural events and festivals'. In South and West Kerry, the potential of the language to assist in differentiating the Gaeltacht led to a new branding campaign, Gael-Saoire (Holidays in the Ghaeltacht) in 1997. Stocks of tourism capital are built up by the local County Council and the Department of Arts, Heritage and Tourism in various ways. State support includes market research, the creation of a database of musicians in County Clare, visitor satisfaction surveys, conferences and workshops and attempts to facilitate transfer of knowledge on best practices and provision of funds. Although tourist infrastructure is clearly evident in the region (i.e., accommodation, transport, tourist offices, signage, public amenities, etc), respondents were critical of some aspects of infrastructure, citing that the roads, signage and public amenities in rural areas, all required improvement.

Risks and Benefits of Cultural Tourism Development: Authenticity (or Lack of Authenticity)

Authenticity is a quality valued by musicians, local residents and tourists. The following anecdotes show the concern for spontaneity, worth and genuineness. From the perspective of musicians, their desire to play and learn from one another leads to their participation in festivals, and they willingly pay for their own food, lodging and transportation:

They just want to be here...it's a wonderful thing...you can go into a session in a pub, be a very young musician and meet someone older, some one you have looked up to for years, never dreaming you'd be in a position to play with them. It happens in a very natural and unforced way...people go for the music, that's their agenda, to have a celebration of music (Arts Coordinator, Clare, 2007)

Discussions with the Arts Officer in County Clare reveal a kind of ambivalence about tourism and concern about repositioning music as a tourist object or spectacle. She remarked that traditional music sessions have an informal and spontaneous nature, which could be eroded by tourism. There was concern about the distortion of music in order to attract tourists:

Music is really based on a tradition; it is based in and amongst the community - the people. I think that the very notion of having music trails – the notion of having set venues where people can go to and see traditional music is almost abhorrent to some people, because that is not what traditional music is about. It's about what is happening in a community, being out and about, that is the disparity between tourism and the actual music itself. It's almost like taking the essence of the community and trying to standardise it and brand it for commercial gain. Most people aren't interested in that at all (County Arts Officer, 2007).

The concern about free-riding, in other words extracting value from others without making any contribution to the group, or to productivity, is captured in the following comment:

Musicians often feel that they are the ones who are most neglected in relation to music, it's almost like making money off the backs of musicians and you can be sure that musicians aren't making the money (County Arts Officer, Clare, 2007).

Authenticity helped festival organisers retain the support of local residents.

One respondent remarked that festivals have to be 'for the people and by the people',

proposing that the audience for festivals is first and foremost for the local community and not the tourist market (Founder, Gaeilge Beo: Irish Cultural Activity Holidays, 2007). It was noted that local residents supported festivals because they were run for altruistic reasons. If festival organisers were seen to benefit economically from the festival, then local support would fall away.

From a tourist perspective, tourists sought to attend authentic musical performances and rejected staged performances. One anecdote concerned An Glór, a purpose built music venue, which opened in county Clare in 1997 (Regional Development Manager, 2007). The arts programme was designed to attract tourists. However, performances on a stage failed to attract a tourist audience, since they preferred to listen to music in the local pubs, similar to the locals.

The concern for authenticity was also found amongst the community of visual artists. For some, the exploitation of art for tourist gain ultimately degrades artistic quality:

The marriage of art and commerce is an uneasy one...it leads to absurdities, distortions of value and outright scandals...in living as an artist, there always lurks the danger of shaping one's art in an attempt to second guess an audience or a market. This may be one of the greatest dangers to artistic practice...The term art tourism makes me a bit nervous...I think of all the tourist spots... where artists devise a shtick based on a superficial reference to the local scene and pedal it on the streets and in the galleries. It degrades the whole meaning of art and hinders its ability to reveal the poetry, beauty and sadness of life (Former Artist in Residency at Cill Rialaig, 2007).

One practitioner stressed that artists have a mission that is not explicitly commercial; they work in isolation and are often eccentric characters. Adhering to a production schedule is not always conducive to creativity:

You must fit into their rules and their structures...We don't fit into the system, we are not institutionalised. Yet, the attitude is, produce more – make more money – the economy has to grow and grow – build more houses, produce more. Yet the opposite is the case in the art world. I am not interested in mass production; art does take place in a factory...that is not my purpose. Enterprise

takes the uniqueness out of my work. I want to improve and sell my work, not reproduce it (Founder, Sculpture in Stone and Wood, 2007).

It was noted that participation in business often demands a change in the artist's style working. Artists face new challenges: getting insurance; purchasing new supplies and materials, where previously they used second-hand materials; and planning a product line. One respondent suggested that arts and craftspeople lacked business know-how:

Everything has to come up to a certain standard...artists are told they need to have bar-coding before their products can be displayed. They are not told how they can make to happen...the attitude is not – how can we make it happen? (Manager, South Kerry Development Partnership, 2007)

The above comments shows that the arts is not simply another industry or tourist resource and those who deal with musicians, artists and festival organisers, or seek to gain economic benefit from the arts, must engage with locals in a sensitive and sympathetic manner.

Wealth Creation

The research raises the question, is cultural tourism conducive to the wealth of regional areas? Data shows that tourism revenue in the South West has increased by 10.6% since 2001. Outside of the capital city, Kerry (along with Cork) has the largest inventory of tourist infrastructure in the country and 15% of its workforce is employed in the tourism industry (Kerry County Council, 2009).

In Clare, musicians came from all over the world to a small village, which hosts the 'Willie Clancy Festival', one of the largest summer schools worldwide for traditional Irish music, song and dance. The economic value of the festival is not in dispute. According to the Arts Officer, County Clare:

It literally supplies Milltown Malbay with a lifeline all year round. Talk to any publican...the accommodation providers...if they don't make it in this week, they will struggle for the rest of the year. It's literally what keeps the town alive...it is of huge benefit, not just to Milltown Malbay, but to the county as a whole (County Arts Officer, 2007)

The views of this research respondent correspond with other policy makers. In a study of the Irish music industry (Music Board of Ireland, 2002: 4) the links between music

and the economy are firmly acknowledged: 'Ireland's image abroad is largely associated with music and Irish music has a significant, positive impact on the development of tourism.' Market research revealed that visitors to Kerry are most interested in hearing traditional Irish music (Kerry County Development Board, 2004).

Discussions with research respondents reveal that visitors get an opportunity to experience good quality of contact with the locals. Thus, the benefits of cultural tourism are sometimes covert and intangible. In many tourist destinations, economic 'leakage' is a problem, in other words, economic gains accrue to outsiders, such as, owners of holiday homes, large hotels and coach tour operators. In this research, respondents emphasised that cultural tourism has the potential to counteract leakage and benefit the local business community.

CONCLUSION

This chapter explored the role and rationale for cultural tourism development in non urban areas. Ireland, with its scenic landscape, built heritage and the performing arts, has a long history of targeting the cultural tourism market. It has never been in the mass market for sun, sea and sand holidays. Small villages, towns and their hinterland are positioned as having a distinct cultural identity. Traditional Irish music, in particular, helps shape the image of rural and regional parts of Ireland. There seems to be little doubt that links between tourism, culture and the arts can give rise to economic opportunity in small communities. However, those who seek to profit from culture must ensure that their ventures resonate with broader societal norms about what is authentic and appropriate. It is argued that adherence to authenticity is important to cultural tourism and the emphasis on spontaneity, worth and genuineness leads to the support and satisfaction of local residents, tourists, musicians and other cultural actors. It is critical for the relevant public sector funding bodies to use their influence and ensure that artists and musicians have a say in cultural tourism strategy.

The views of research respondents match those in the literature such as Hughes (1998). Entrepreneurship can be seen as opportunistic and self-seeking in the context of music tourism. If actors are seen as free-riders or if their entrepreneurial

ventures lack authenticity, then they may encounter resistance from locals. Therefore, stocks of social capital can become a liability as individuals seek economic advancement. This conclusion matches the views of scholars such as Portes (1998). Along with social ties, finance, bureaucracy and red tape add to the constraints faced by individuals as they seek to grow their cultural tourism ventures. Those on the ground, the artists and organisers of cultural events, require a good deal of knowledge and business skills in order to take advantage of opportunities in the tourist industry. A lesson learned from this research is that business people need to think carefully about the interaction between commercial and cultural activity.

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Figure 1: Model of Cultural Tourism Development

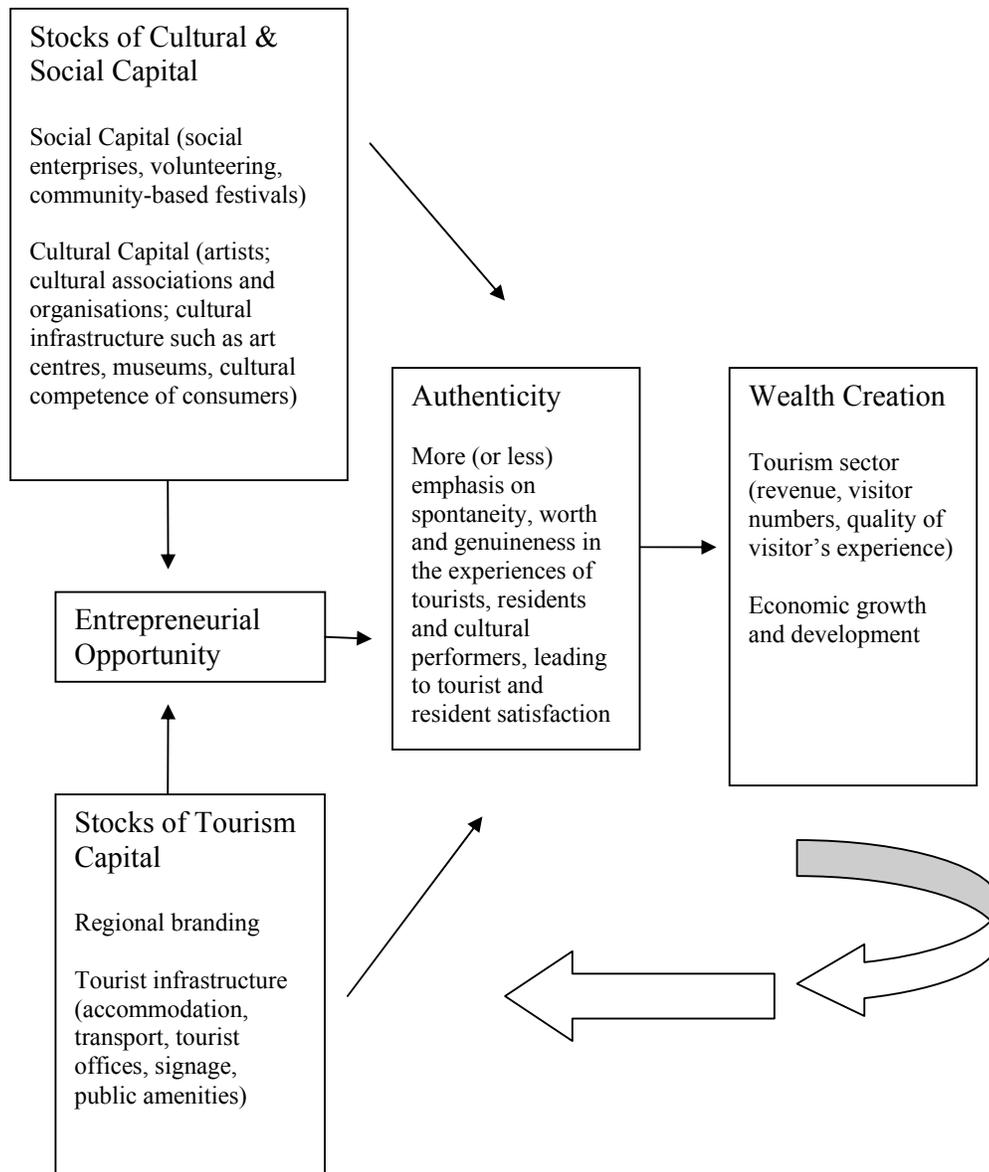


Table 1: A comparison of capital stocks across two case study regions

Case Study Region: South & West Kerry	Case Study Region: Clare
Stocks of Cultural & Social Capital	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 20 community-run festivals • Summer Schools • An Díseart, Dingle (Institute of Education and Celtic Culture). • Coláiste Íde Boarding school. • Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann branches. • 4 Arts centres. • Art galleries. • State-owned heritage sites and national park. • Blasket Island Interpretative Centre. • Tech Amergin, Waterville (vocational/adult education centre). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 30 community-run festivals • Oidhreacht an Chláir, a community group that runs specialised courses in cultural studies in Milltown Malbay. • Cruinniú, a traditional arts conference • Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann branches. • Free weekly concerts in Ennis. • ‘Trad for Teens’ night • Clare Traditional Arts Forum • Workshops organised for festival and event organisers • 5 music schools and 7 multi-purpose performing arts venues. • State-owned heritage sites and national park. • Burren Interpretative Centre.
Entrepreneurial Opportunities	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Iveragh Arts’: guide to local arts and crafts • A cooperative Art Gallery • Open Art Trail • Packaged tours (Gaeilge Beo: Irish Cultural Activity Holidays; Hidden Ireland Tours; Sciúird Archaeological Tours; Dingle Music School; Celtic Nature) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specialist recording studio (Malbay Studios) • Specialist retailing (Ward's Craft & Music Shop, Milltown Malbay. Custy's Traditional Music Shop, Ennis). • Packaged tours (Irish Cycling Safaris)

Biography

Dr Breda McCarthy is a Lecturer in Marketing in the School of Business, James Cook University, Australia. Her research interests span cultural tourism, social networks, innovation and the strategy formation process in SMEs. She is particularly interested in conducting case-based research on small to medium sized organisations where the focus is on the extent and nature of innovative practises and co-operative activity amongst actors in peripheral areas.