RESEARCH PROJECT

From tourism imaginaries to the transferability of cultural heritage. Intersecting skilled tourists’ gazes across Lombardy landscapes

Department of Foreign languages, literatures and cultures

SC 11/A5 - Demography, ethnography and anthropology

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Objective
The project seeks to highlight the relevance of individual experience and backgrounds in shaping the appropriation of landscape and the conceptualization of heritage.

The case-study proposed will register and analyze the tourists’ gazes of a minute and yet heterogeneous category of temporary citizens, who experience heritage through non-local though skilled, globally developed attitudes. It aims to fulfill two consistent gaps: one related to the transculturation of tourism imaginaries, another to the circulation of heritage-making models. First, the ethnographic study will record and interpret how international students, as sui generis visitors, might attribute shifting meanings to landscapes and sites that they imagined (as prospective tourist subjects), have studied (as future heritage experts), and are experiencing in loco (as temporary visiting residents). Secondly, it will enquire whether and how the appropriation of local heritage-making might be reinvested by junior global tourism managers and foresee a transfer of knowledge, thus anticipating further tourism transculturation. At a theoretical level, this work enhances the progressive trend needed to construe a sense of place, favouring the emergence of a global sense of the local reality.

Theoretical Framework
At the crossroads of travel theory, cultural studies and social anthropology, this project seeks to investigate how certain tourism imaginaries come into being, and to what extent they intertwine with landscape heritagization at multiple levels, defying the disjunction between local and global realities (Appadurai 1996). Tourism imaginaries, ‘socially transmitted representational assemblages’ which imbue places with collective meaning, are constantly interacting with people’s personal imaginings, while being entrenched in multiscale institutions of power (Graburn, Salazar 2014). Since the rise of modern travel cultures, it has been acknowledged that places are chosen to be gawked upon because there is anticipation that a journey to such destinations, separate from everyday life, will provide some form of leisure. Yet, tourism imaginaries are not neutral corpora of tourists’ gazes, of codified expectations upon a place (evermore influenced by new media that reproduce the tangle of social desires and personal memories before and after vacation, Urry and Larsen 2011). Popular tourism imaginaries emerge as dominant interpretations of landscape, held by beholders who have enough cosmobility capital to travel and reach some elect destinations, which in turn aptly tunes their heritagization. Although not unilineal, there is circularity between the interpretations of a place held by those who
consume (experience) and those who produce (stage) a certain genius loci, which goes beyond the commodification of a place, and establish instead complex host-guest relations (Smith and Brent 2001).

Research Project Description

a. Introduction

Stemming from the mobility turn in social sciences (Urry, Shelley, 2006), this project seeks to investigate, within the moving scenario of contemporary touring cultures, the diversity intrinsic to a certain tourism imaginary, telling its different global tourists’ gazes and their fluid positions towards a local heritage in the making. According to the directions provided by the UNESCO framework, the primary definition of heritage is shifting the focus from its material and historical dimensions to the new network of subjects involved in its creation and management, and to the recreation of its meaning performed by the transforming networks of travelers, temporary citizens, occasional and long-term visitors. Such a vast issue will be considered starting from a large scale as implied by cultural studies academic literature related to travel and tourism, then coming to a small scale adopting an ethnographic approach, which circumscribes the locality considered and yet exposes the multiple representations and values that diverse social actors imbue in living and treasuring, imagining and visiting a certain travel destination, whose historical layers appear more composite and stratified than expected (Eriksen 2004). This methodology will put into dialogue the diffracted perspectives held by local heritage stakeholders and temporary citizens, global subjects composed by heterogeneous groups, as well as an array of international visitors with no apparent shared belonging. The research will focus on a peculiar imagined community (Anderson 1992), made of touring cosmopolitan students who share the interest in getting first-hand appropriation of a place, learning to decode how heritage is made in the heart of a country like Italy, which they see at the forefront of preserving and promoting its sizeable tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Which ways of seeing (Berger 1972) do these peculiar global subjects activate, between (mediated) expectations and (embodied) experience of being-in-the-place, taken aback by and interacting with other local and yet plural landscape narratives and heritage practices? Ethnography might effectively address these questions, considering how the transculturulation in place identities occur, with a grounded study, which critically sees through the glocal imaginative side of mobility (Gupta, Ferguson 1997).

b. Case Study

Compared to other renowned Italian destinations, engraved in the 18th-19th c. tradition of the Grand Tour, the Lombardy region has discovered a late modern vocation to heritage development, which proved to be able to intercept a global thirst for cultural tourism. With the advancement of heritage making, at many institutional levels, local stakeholders and other institutional actors have been skillfully selecting and marketing what the territory can offer to a postmodern tourist throng, in terms of places and peoples, landscapes and practices, in both urban and rural settings. On the one hand, one may see (often governmentally led) the requalification of the metropolitan city of Milan and the revaluation of its differentiated network of historical townscapes. On the other, one witnesses the reconsideration of the country-side, surging from economic periphery to alternative gateway (where sustainable itineraries appear to thrive, from ecotourism or cycling routes to enogastronomy circuits, not to mention its lure for lakes). As infrastructures of mobility are concerned, over the past decade the international airport of BGY-Orio al Serio has transferred millions of international mass tourists, ranging from middle-class weekend breakers to young millenials. Among the swarm of visitors, whether fleeting or temporary staying, international students - and in particular students from the University of Bergamo - constitute a multi-diverse group of temporary residents, whose sociodemographic profiles, cultural backgrounds and longing for experiencing the place make an unexpected case for variation.

c. Methodological Approach

Moving from a reasoned recapitulation of the major theories on travel and tourism, the project is based on research inhering anthropology and etnography, with special focus on gaze dynamic processes. In particular it seeks to investigate young long-term visitors, with a specific mindset and craving for authenticity; these global subjects may find that their gazes on the imagined place shift as they encounter other skilled gazes, those of local stakeholders and of other competent subjects which in turn speak and discuss of heritage i.e the Italian teachers and tutors that theorize on heritage and prepare guided experiences on the territory). Moreover, the double perception of local heritage, from above and below (before and after travelling), may be re-appropriated by these junior global experts of tourism management, and eventually reinvested abroad, with yet another transcultural transfer of heritage making.

Key Words: tourist gaze, landscape, itineraries, heritage, transcultural imaginaries
Timing and Calendar Activities

Over a 24-month period: A. (months 1-6) Review of current literature about tourism imaginaries and cultural heritage processes. Preliminary visits to selected tourist sites across urban and rural Lombardy. Planning of ethnographic study. B. (months 7-12) Implementation of ethnographic fieldwork. Meeting with local stakeholders, and continuous participant observation, also deploying ethnographic photography, in heritage committees and relevant local tourism events. Shadowing of international students as they participate in their institution’s touring activities; among them, selection of privileged informants with whom to conduct shared ethnography and narrative interviews. C. (months 13-18) Analysis of empirical material collected and multimedia drafting of results from ethnographic study. Preparation of dissemination activities. D. (months 19-24) Delivery of presentations and publications according to the output plans. Dissemination of results in local, national and international contexts. At least two oral presentations: one within a dedicated workshop organized in the area studied (with the engagement of research participants), another at a national conference. Two drafts for preliminary publications: a case-focused article in a refereed international journal and a more theoretical book chapter to contribute to the Department’s activities regarding tourism and cultural heritage.

Originality of the proposed research

This pilot study seeks to approach processes of cultural heritagization, analyzing the continuous feedback between local and global dimensions with a fine-grained ethnographic exploration of tourism imaginaries. On the one hand, this work will critically combine the discourses on the multiplying of tourist gazes, which contribute to a transcultural appropriation of landscapes. On the other, the case analyzed in-depth will recognize how temporary visitors might breach mainstream interpretations of local authenticity, and possibly anticipate a transfer of heritage knowledge. Following Massey (1994): “It is a sense of place, an understanding of ‘its character’, which can only be constructed by linking that place to places beyond. A progressive sense of place would recognize that, without being threatened by it. What we need, is a global sense of the local, a global sense of place.”

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