

Edutainment heritage tourist attractions: a portrait of visitors' experiences at Storyeum

Emily Hertzman^{a*}, David Anderson^b & Susan Rowley^a

^a*Department of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada;*

^b*Department of Curriculum Studies, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada*

(Received 11 November 2007; final version received 22 February 2008)

Edutainment heritage tourist attractions (EHTAs) are a hybrid form of attraction that seek to create a synergy between the educational value and the entertainment value of their heritage contents by using multimedia technologies. The edutainment nature of this relatively new form of tourist attraction obscures the differences between other forms of heritage attractions, such as museums of history and culture, heritage theme parks and living history museums, which often work with a similar mandate to combine educational and entertainment values. This study investigates visitors' experiences at this emergent form of attraction. Interviews with tourists at Storyeum, an EHTA in Vancouver, Canada, potentially reveals that EHTAs may be important sources of historical information and that tourists actively and critically engage with heritage representations at these attractions.

Keywords: edutainment; heritage; visitor studies; hybrid attractions; interpretation; museum studies

Introduction

Tourism is now characterized by a heterogeneity of new and innovative venues marketed on the basis of their uniqueness, individuality or novelty (Dicks 2003; Prentice 2005, 251). Edutainment heritage tourist attractions (EHTAs), one such development, are defined as institutions that intentionally combine entertainment technologies and historic contents in formats which are characterized as maximizing, simultaneously, the educational and entertainment values of those contents.¹ Through combinations of media, EHTAs seek to create interesting, memorable and novel experiences that will satisfy 'an increasingly fragmented (post)modern consumer demand' (Richards 2002, 1049). *Edutainment*, a neologism, has been defined as 'the joining together of educational and cultural activities with the commerce and technology of the entertainment world' (Hannigan 1998, 98). As a burgeoning genre, edutainment is not limited to the tourism industry; it is also increasingly being used in education, in the media, and in the entertainment industry. This genre has become popular because it provides visitors with two things they seek simultaneously: (1) 'structured experiences that are high in entertainment value' (Janiskee 1996, 400); and (2) experiences which are culturally and historically significant, meaningful and informative (Palmer 2005).

*Corresponding author. Email: emilyhertzman@hotmail.com

As a result of the widespread use of the edutainment genre, formerly distinguishable tourism, leisure and cultural venues are becoming increasingly similar. An example of this is the growing resemblance between public-sector museums and private-sector heritage tourist attractions (MacDonald and Alford 1995).² Public museums are now frequently promoting entertainment value in order to be economically competitive in the tourism economy (Bouquet 2001, 4; Harrison 1997, 24; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 7; MacDonald 1996, 2; MacDonald and Alford 1995; van Aalst and Boogaarts 2002, 197), while private-sector tourist attractions are frequently advertising their educational value in order to appeal to a more diverse audience and reinvent their identity as educational places, and not just places of leisure and entertainment (MacDonald and Alford 1995; Ritchie, Carr, and Cooper 2003, 4).

Heritage tourism is a rapidly expanding sector of the international tourism industry (Prentice 2005, 252), with a proliferation of venues marketing specific 'heritages' as they are defined within particular contexts and locations. These heritage tourist attractions share the most similarities, in terms of exhibition content, with public-sector museums, because of the representational focus on heritage, history and culture (MacDonald and Alford 1995, 132). Many have embraced edutainment formats because their heritage contents are considered inherently educational (Janiskee 1996, 400; Prentice 2005, 252). These heritage contents are also considered to be intrinsically valuable for aesthetic, emotional, and intellectual reasons (Janiskee 1996, 400). The working assumption within many heritage tourist attractions is that heritage themes need only to be 'brought to life' with entertaining treatments in order to be transformed into ideal edutainment tourism products (van Aalst and Boogaarts 2002, 197). This hybridization of entertainment and education within heritage tourist attractions is challenging traditional definitions of what constitutes an educational experience (Twitchell 1992; Wallace 1989), and is creating new ways heritage representations can be consumed.

Poria, Butler, and Airey (2003) argue that there is an increasing need to include visitors' subjective and affective experiences into heritage tourism research. Indeed, research about heritage has tended to focus on specific themes related to the demand side of heritage tourism, such as market segmentation, marketing and the use of destinations markers, rather than treating heritage tourist attractions as complex social phenomenon and unpacking the supply side of the equation (Chronis 2005; Palmer 2005; Richards 1996, 2002; Urry 1996). Some important exceptions come primarily from anthropological research on heritage and tourism, and include analyses of the relationship between heritage and identity construction (Palmer 2005); the mutual constitution of tourist attractions and tourists in terms of historical perspectives and historical narratives (Handler and Gable 1997), and the intersection of museums, heritage attractions and other public spaces (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). Other important anthropological contributions outline the ways individuals idiosyncratically seek out and construct meaningful experiences through tourism practices, such as travel, site seeing and museum going (see MacCannell 1999; Urry 1990).

Public-sector museums have been the subject of extensive anthropological research, including analyses of the production of exhibits (Frese 1960; Karp and Levine 1991), the use of entertainment technologies (Hooper-Greenhill 1995; MacDonald 1996), the dissemination of historical and cultural information, visitors'

receptions of that information (Bicknell and Farmelo 1993; Krmpotich and Anderson 2005), and visitors' museum learning (Anderson 2003; Hooper-Greenhill 1994). Heritage tourist attractions, despite their current proliferation, have only recently become the subject of such critical investigation (Prentice 2005) and, therefore, the processes of exhibition production, communication of information, and visitors' experiences, receptions and evaluations of information at these sites are still not well understood.

The lack of serious academic analysis of tourist attractions may be attributed to the long-standing stereotyping of tourist attractions as frivolous amusements. This stereotype is based on the assumption that tourist attractions are not significant sites where cultural and historic information is produced, disseminated and consumed (Boorstin 1964; Shaw and Williams 2004; Twitchell 1992). This value-laden characterization is juxtaposed with the long-standing characterization of public museums as institutions of 'high culture' (MacDonald and Alford 1995; Twitchell 1992), where important historical and cultural information is communicated. The association of tourist attractions with superficial entertainment (Boorstin 1964), and museums with more serious pursuits, such as the pursuit of knowledge (Jordonova 1989, 21), as well as an assumed incompatibility between these two pursuits (Greenhalgh 1989), has resulted in a lack of scholarly research into tourist attractions, their heritage representations, and visitors' experiences. This dichotomous and value-laden characterization of museums and tourist attractions has led to assumptions, rather than facts, about the types of visitor experiences facilitated at heritage tourist attractions (MacDonald and Alford 1995).

The differences between public-sector museums and private-sector tourism attractions are not as pronounced as these characterizations suggest. Public museums, after all, are one of the most common and popular types of tourist attractions internationally and are influenced by the economics and developments of the tourism industry. Private-sector tourist attractions, such as EHTAs, present historical information and heritage themes also found in public museums and are necessarily influenced by the issues faced by the broader heritage industry, of which museums are a major player.

Heritage tourism is part of a broader cultural fascination with preserving, collecting, and consuming the past. The most recent processes of transforming the past into consumable items for the present are collectively termed the *heritage industry* (Hewison 1987; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Lowenthal 1985), and have been negatively characterized by some as a cult of worshippers, revisionists and marketers who produce and consume even the most mundane and negative images and objects from the past (Prentice 2005, 250) in order to experience temporary escape and redemption from the present (Lowenthal 1985). In this scenario, the past becomes highly valued relative to the present (Urry 1996), which may be perceived as a source of alienation (Lowenthal 1985; MacCannell 1992). These heritage representations often romanticize the past (Janiskee 1996; Shelton 2001, 45) and facilitate nostalgia for by-gone eras (Huyssen 2001; MacDonald and Alford 1995, 132; Sorensen 1989, 62). Heritage representations are consumed by millions of North Americans annually and play a major role in identity formation and historical education (Palmer 2005). However, the identities promoted at heritage tourist attractions are often constructed in hegemonic ways, in which certain viewpoints are

privileged in order to advance the position of a dominant social or cultural group (Palmer 2005, 8; Waitt 2000).

The current proliferation of heritage attractions, therefore, is also the result of an increasing number of groups articulating their stakes in heritage representations (MacDonald 2005; Prentice 2005), given this hegemonic tendency. This is largely because heritage representation is not only about remembering the past; it is also about maintaining group identities within the present (Bouquet 2001, 14; Lowenthal 1985, 302; Palmer 2005, 8), both real and imagined (Anderson 1991). Identification with the aspects of the past is a nearly universal cultural phenomenon that allows groups to assert their permanency and legitimacy via narratives of historical depth (Lowenthal 1985, 302).

It is now widely recognized that heritage representations play an important role in the social, political and cultural landscape of the present (Lowenthal 1985; Palmer 2005, 8; Wallis 1994). In fact, it has been theorized that notions of heritage are often contemporary creations constructed within and serving the present (Chronis 2005), rather than realities derived from an objective past (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). Heritage representations, including those found at EHTAs, have also been theorized as one important source contributing to people's historical perspectives (Palmer 2005). Few studies, however, have sought to verify these claims.

Given this backdrop, several important questions are obvious. In particular, why have private-sector tourist attractions been dismissed for so long? Are they only 'frivolous amusement', or do EHTAs impact visitors in more profound and meaningful ways? What are visitors' perceptions of EHTAs? And what kind of experiences are they having at EHTAs? How are EHTAs similar to, and different from, other types of heritage attractions? How does the edutainment format of their heritage contents influence visitors' experiences and the reception of information? To answer these questions, we need to understand, in much greater detail, the types of experiences visitors are having at EHTAs. In order to examine these questions, a case study method was selected and Storyeum, an EHTA located in Vancouver, British Columbia (BC), Canada, was chosen as the case study venue.

Storyeum was a private-sector EHTA located in Vancouver's Gastown, a downtown tourist section with a high density of designated heritage buildings and tourist facilities. Visitors took part in a theatrical and musical walking tour, exploring episodes of BC's history through a series of dramatizations that took place in a large underground performance area. The performance used a combination of media, including special effects, cutting edge technology, elaborate, realistic sets and costumes, as well as actors and music to create a unique and dynamic tourism experience. Although the content of the performance was comprised entirely of historical and cultural information from the province of BC, a visit to Storyeum was as much focused on experiencing the novelty of the attraction's format, as it was focused on learning about and being entertained by BC history. This fact is reflected in both Storyeum's marketing and visitors' comments. Storyeum³ was the creation of Historical Xperiences Inc., a company founded for the purpose of producing Storyeum, as well as other heritage attractions and related commercial opportunities. It was this company's second heritage attraction. The first attraction, the Tunnels of Moose Jaw (in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, Canada) is still in business, and has

received both provincial and national awards and was used as a model for Storyeum (<http://www.tunnelsofmoosejaw.com/>).

Storyeum was chosen as the EHTA for this case study research because it was comprised of a unique combination of elements customarily associated with museums, such as a large display of historical photographs, labels and an authoritative historical narrative, as well as elements characteristic of tourist attractions, such as pageantry, spectacle, entertainment, shopping and national image promotion (MacCannell 1992; Wallace 1989). In addition to the qualities that made Storyeum an interesting hybrid form of tourist attraction, is the fact that it explicitly marketed itself as an edutainment heritage venue. Storyeum's official website described itself as follows:

Storyeum is Vancouver's newest classroom!

Meaningful learning starts with meaningful experiences. Storyeum combines education and entertainment in a showcase of the culture, people and legends from British Columbia's past. Students, teachers and parents alike will enjoy a lesson in history watching the past come to life around them. (Storyeum website, <http://www.storyeum.com>, 2006)

Furthermore, the following Marshall McLuhan quotation was painted in large block letters in Storyeum lobby and was used as the introductory page of the Historical Xperiences Inc. website (<http://www.hxp.ca>). It illustrates Storyeum's theoretical positioning in terms of education and entertainment,

'It's misleading to suppose there's any basic difference between education and entertainment'. Herbert Marshall McLuhan

Media theorist, McLuhan, was among the first twentieth-century scholars to articulate what he saw as the inevitable collision of entertainment and education, especially in relation to multimedia communication mediums. McLuhan routinely problematized the distinction between these two categories, as well as the distinction between the message and the mode of communication. He observed that the way information is delivered will, to a large extent, influence the information itself, and how the message being communicated is received. Furthermore, he argued that the communication technologies and interfaces we interact with create more commonalities, in terms of experiences, than they create differences (McLuhan and Fiore 1967). By using this provocative quotation, Storyeum situated itself in the context of a post-modern media analysis, and capitalized on Marshal McLuhan's notoriety.

The visitor experience

Visitors began their tour in a large circular passenger elevator equipped with audio, video and fiber-optic technologies. The descent into the underground performance area combined these technologies with several separate narrative voices. These narratives gave an orientation to the presentation and introduced the main performance themes – multiculturalism, progress, modernization, and social development. The elevator descent also introduced several recurring motifs, implicitly and explicitly. These included the use of excavation and physical descent as metaphors for

historical time travel, and the metaphor of BC citizens standing like trees in a forest, different but equal, and creating a heterogeneous yet united whole.

Once in the underground performance area tourists were directed to walk from set to set by a tour guide costumed as a coal miner. Each set was a separate room transformed into an elaborate immersive environment, and six ‘chapters’ of BC history were presented in these rooms. Each presentation used a slightly different combination of live theater, music, special effects, visitor interaction and stagecraft to tell the historical narrative. The first two rooms presented a sketch of pre-contact First Nations life, using a combination of mythology and history from the Tsleil-Waututh Nation, which is one of the 198 First Nations living in the territory that is now BC (<http://www.burrardband.com/>). Leonard George, a chief of the Tsleil-Waututh Nation, as well as an actor and cultural tourism entrepreneur, was involved in the production of Storyeum and gave consent for the use of Tsleil-Waututh mythology at Storyeum. The third scene was a biographical representation of Governor James Douglas and events that took place during his lifetime (1803–1877). The fourth scene depicted the Cariboo Gold rush and related social changes that occurred in BC during the 1860s. The fifth scene dealt with Confederation, the building of the Trans-Canada Railway, the Canadian suffragette movement and the discrimination against Chinese immigrants and laborers during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Canada’s participation in World War I was the subject of the final scene.

At the end of the performance the lights faded and the voice of the original First Nations narrator returned with the following message:

If we love and appreciate who we each are as individuals, then we can look at others and love and appreciate who they are. And one day we’ll be standing there like that, like a forest. And when people look at us they’ll say, ‘Look, don’t they all look beautiful, standing there together?’

The audience then entered a second passenger elevator with 28-foot high ceilings and 360-degree video projection screens. The ascent to the ground floor was a musical and visual finale summarizing the previously dramatized historic milestones of the province through a montage of historical and contemporary photographs and film clips. Black and white images were combined with contemporary color images of both famous and ordinary people from multiple ethnic backgrounds. Sound bites of these people attesting to the love and pride they feel for BC were broadcast into the elevator and then replaced by the Storyeum theme song, which played as the audience exited the elevator, walked around the photography gallery, browsed the gift shop and left the building.

Study methods

This interpretive study explored visitors’ evaluations and experiences of Storyeum and its unique form of edutainment historical representations using a qualitative research methodology. The strength of qualitative research is the ability to explore affective aspects of experience in a rigorous manner. The role of qualitative researchers, therefore, is to capture, through interpretive skills, the ‘multiple realities’ of ‘how the actors, the people being studied, see things’ (Stake 1995, 12).

An Instrumental Case Study Approach (Stake 1995) was chosen for this study in order to gather specific information about Storyeum that could also be used to generate general information about the potential characteristics of EHTAs. This method uses focused research from a single case study as a way of learning about broader trends that might be seen in other cases (Stake 1995). Its strengths include the ability to transform rigorous interpretive information from a single case study into a set of more widely relevant and potentially transferable observations about broader phenomenon. An Instrumental Case Study can be conducted on a small scale, over a short period of time, or for the purpose of exploring the range of issues that exist in the broader research subject before initiating further studies (Stake 1995).

By seeking answers to research questions that were both specific to the research context (Storyeum) and, at the same time, broad enough and timely enough to be relevant to a wide range of edutainment venues, this Instrumental Case Study sought to both unpack visitors' responses to Storyeum and to suggest that these types of responses would also be found in other edutainment heritage venues that share similar characteristics with Storyeum. Using interpretations that are based on both individual instances (i.e., a single interview), and an aggregate of all instances (i.e., all the interviews), adds a quantitative dimension to qualitative analysis and makes it possible to talk about the instances as a class (Stake 1995: 74). This is precisely what this study has sought to do: understand one edutainment heritage tourist attraction through visitors' experiences and, based on these data, add to the field of museum and tourism research information about this burgeoning trend. It is hypothesized that the EHTAs may have potentially far-reaching influences in terms of exhibition experiences, visitors' behavior and visitors' interpretation, and perspectives based on edutainment heritage representations. The results of this study, therefore, are presented as examples of what we might expect to find in other edutainment settings, and identify subjects that require further research.

In this study, 40 visitors to Storyeum were interviewed using a semi-structured interview format over a three-month period in the summer of 2005.⁴ Interviews of 30 minutes to and an hour in length took place approximately two weeks after participants visited Storyeum,⁵ and were based on a 27-item questionnaire derived from a combination of three predictive research categories. These predictive research categories, based on a literature review, the research objective, the research questions, and the case study context, were: (1) historical perspectives in heritage tourism settings; (2) dynamics between format and content, entertainment and education at such settings; and (3) visitors' categorizations and comparisons of types of tourist attractions.⁶

The 27-item questionnaire allowed visitors to provide an overall evaluation of Storyeum, while the semi-structured format allowed them to self-direct the interview to a large extent.⁷ The interview consisted of a wide range of questions, primarily, although not exclusively qualitative, which examined the format and content of the attraction, as well as participants' subjective experiences and evaluations. Furthermore, questions were asked that were meant to 'get people talking', in order to create conversation topics relevant to each participant above and beyond those anticipated, as well as to generate rich descriptive data for analysis and interpretation. Questions included 'Can you briefly describe your experience at Storyeum from beginning to end?', 'What stands out most in your memory from your visit to Storyeum?', 'What

were your favorite elements of the performance (scenes, songs, characters, sets, stories, etc.)?', 'What were your least favorite elements of the performance?' and 'How would you describe Storyeum to someone who has never been there?' These questions sought to address both the predictive themes of this study and the participant-directed and qualitative data collecting goals of the interview process.

Interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed and qualitatively analyzed. First, the interview transcripts were reviewed several times in order to generate a list of emergent themes. These themes were further subdivided into sub-themes, until a final list of themes and sub-themes was established. Each interview transcript was then read several times to identify and code⁸ the emergent themes and sub-themes and to determine the character, frequency and extent to which they were articulated. Recurrent themes were then used to summarize visitors' experiences at Storyeum, paying particular attention to the commonalities and diversity within the study sample.

The participants

Demographic information (age, sex, nationality, occupation, and residence location) was collected in order to understand and characterize the participants in this study, both individually and as a group.⁹ Eighty per cent of participants were female,¹⁰ 33% of participants were currently or formerly engaged in education sector jobs,¹¹ 73% lived in Greater Vancouver and 50% were either out of town guests or were entertaining out of town guests at the time of their visit. Of those who lived in Greater Vancouver, 62% lived in the suburbs. Many of these people visited Storyeum as a special weekend day-trip into the city center (77%), and were either mothers with their children or whole families. Thirteen participants took children with them to Storyeum and of these, 11 were women between the ages of 35 and 76. These women were mothers, aunts or grandmothers and represent 34% of the women interviewed in this study. Seventy-five per cent of the participants were 40 years of age or older, with the bulk of these people falling into a sub-senior age grouping between 40 and 60 years of age. A small number of participants in their 20s and 30s were also interviewed. Comparisons of Storyeum to local museums and other heritage sites indicate that the participants in this study are also regular museum-goers and heritage tourists.¹²

The outcomes

The findings presented in this paper represent a subset of the overall findings of this research study. The themes presented in this section are based on qualitative and quantitative analysis of participants' interviews, and serve as concrete visitor studies data to support the authors' hypothesis that EHTAs are potentially providing more complex and meaningful visitor experiences than previously theorized.

Overall, Storyeum received a generally positive evaluation from a large majority of the participants (85%). When asked to rate Storyeum's entertainment value, 87% gave it a high rating.¹³ Sixty per cent of participants gave Storyeum a high rating in terms of informative value, and 55% gave it a high rating in terms of educational value. Furthermore, 67% rated Storyeum high for inspirational value, and 72% gave a high rating for thought-provoking value. Individuals frequently identified

Storyeum's unique format (dramatized historical vignettes with movement and interactive elements), innovative use of multimedia technologies and special effects, as well as the large passenger lift and expansive underground theater, as positive and memorable aspects of the attraction. Furthermore, they frequently reported having a wide range of emotional experiences at Storyeum, including feelings of pride, excitement, sadness, happiness, and embarrassment. Participants' predominantly positive evaluations, however, are consistently punctuated by critical evaluations of both the format and the content of the attraction. These critical evaluations illustrate how visitors are interpreting and consuming heritage representations at Storyeum, and have been used to generate some assertions about visitors' responses to similar types of EHTAs. Evidence from the interviews suggests that these kinds of EHTAs can be perceived as important, legitimate and reliable sources of historical and cultural information.

'It is fantastic! I would describe Storyeum as the best demonstration of Canadian history I have ever seen. Why can't we be taught this way in school about this country's history?' (Age 71, female, retired college counselor, non-local Canadian)¹⁴

'I expected a historic view of BC but it was much more detailed than I had imagined. I was pleased at how much my children remembered from the show'. (Age 49, female, nurse, non-local Canadian)

Based on these responses, it is clear that EHTAs should not be dismissed as inconsequential or merely incidental sources of historical information. Instead, they need to be viewed through the lens of visitors' perceptions and theorized according to these perceptions. This will require recognizing that EHTAs have similar social and cultural significance to that often ascribed to public-sector museums. Participants routinely attested to Storyeum's educational and informative value. Their comments reveal that their experiences at EHTAs are perceived as different, yet on par with the educational and informational experiences provided by museums, and other traditional educational environments and modes of receiving historical information.

'We did not know what to expect. I thought it would be just another dull museum, I was blown away by the presentation ...' (Age 71, female, retired college counselor, non-local Canadian)

'... even young people can go and say, "Gee that was a great act," and not, "Oh my parents dragged me to another museum'. (Age 57, female, musician, local)

'... seeing it portrayed that way, just really, really, brought you closer to it. It was just more real than reading it in a history book'. (Age 40, female, homemaker, local)

Participants commonly articulated the idea of Storyeum's entertaining format as a factor adding to the educational value by making the information easier and more enjoyable to receive.

'Just because the way they've done it ... the theatrical. You're more apt to learn with that than facts and figures'. (Age 38, female, retail outlet manager, local)

'Learning has to be fun, otherwise we might as well learn it in school. Some would argue that Storyeum and tourist attractions don't teach, but I remember more from these

types of activities than from any classroom I've ever been in'. (Age 34, male, graduate student, local)

'It's a more compact version of history. For people who are not really interested in history this is a way to absorb the history'. (Age 43, female, university lecturer, international)

'Anything that can keep the attention of a child today, that isn't a video game, is a raving success. [My ten year old nephew] was learning about the history of the province, and he didn't even know it'. (Age 34, male, graduate student, local)

These comments reveal that visitors think entertaining and educational elements, when produced in what they individually framed the 'right combination', can have a synergistic effect by enhancing the educational value of the production. This also suggests there is a certain degree of efficacy in the heritage tourist industry notion that historical content need only be brought to life with an entertaining format to be transformed into enjoyable and readily marketable tourist products/experiences (Prentice 2005). EHTAs of these genera have the capacity to facilitate a wide range of experiences for visitors and should not be characterized, along with other hybrid tourist venues, as frivolous or trivial amusement. The range of visitors' experiences at Storyeum suggests that EHTAs have the potential to operate on several levels, and provide more complex and varied experiences than previously theorized. In addition to positive experiences, participants in this study also described the emotional, moving, thought-provoking, uplifting and inspirational aspects of their experiences.

Feelings of pride in BC identity were the most commonly reported experiences. Sixty three per cent of all participants and 78% of all Canadian participants made explicit statements of pride about their BC or Canadian identity.

'It made me proud, actually, when I was there. I remember the very last section when you're coming up and they are showing Terry Fox¹⁵ . . . it made me really feel proud to be Canadian'. (Age 38, female, retail outlet manager, local)

However, participants also articulated important tensions that exist within their sense of pride in BC identity. These tensions were often framed as limitations on the extent to which British Columbians can or should feel pride, given the reality of historical injustices. They reveal that shame and embarrassment can also be experiences facilitated by the historical representations at Storyeum. These perspectives also reveal that visitors' identities, and feelings of pride in their identity, can be influenced by knowledge of historical events represented at edutainment heritage settings.

'I felt, if you don't take any of the Native aspects into it, I am proud to be a British Columbian, but the fact is that white man came in and took everything and oppressed the Natives and continues to do so to this day. So we are still all invaders here. So we just conveniently forget the past so we don't have to remember that. We complain about everyone else coming into our place and it is not even our place to begin with'. (Age 39, male, contractor, local)

'It made me proud to be living here now, but also a little ashamed of the treatment Natives and the Chinese received'. (Age 76, female, museum docent, local)

In addition to feelings of embarrassment, shame and regret, some participants expressed surprise at the range of emotional experiences the performances provided. These included feeling moved, saddened and uplifted by both the dramatic presentation style and the historical events represented.

‘We were greeted by Ray (a tour guide). He did say we should feel free to laugh or cry, which at the time I found odd, but was certainly to come true. . . . [Storyeum was] incredibly uplifting and moving, I was in tears at the time because of the strong emotions which were aroused – I still feel quite choked now when I talk to people about it’. (Age 53, female, teacher, international)

Feeling uplifted, saddened, excited and moved were the most commonly expressed responses. However, participants also expressed feeling an increasing sense of connection with other members of the audience as the performance progressed. This is articulated as a shared experience of visitors being involved, as a group, in the same engaging and interactive performance.

‘. . . there was a sense of wonder at the theatrical virtuosity of what we were seeing, [and] a growing bond with the others in the group, as we saw people drawn in to react and particularly the trip back up in the lift to the “real world”. I did feel I was looking at people in a different way’. (Age 53, female, teacher, international)

Feeling a sense of connection with others was explicitly promoted by Storyeum’s representations of multiculturalism. The celebration of multiculturalism resonated personally for many visitors and contributed to their uplifting feeling of pride in their BC identity, as well as their feeling of connection to others.

‘. . . at the very end when they were singing their song about us all being equal, that was very . . . it’s just how we are, you know it doesn’t matter what our race is, or our religion we are all equals and we have to treat each other as equals, so that’s what stuck out in my mind’. (Age 40, female, homemaker, local, #1)

These comments reveal the wide range of experiences had by visitors to Storyeum, and demonstrate that EHTAs of this type have the potential to impact visitors on several levels and in different ways.

The participants in this study comprised a heterogeneous audience and showed a high degree of intellectual engagement with the material presented at Storyeum, suggesting that audiences to EHTA are not definitively passive or homogenous, and have a wide range of perspectives based both on their social identity and their personal interpretation of the EHTA. Based on this Instrumental Case Study Approach, it is highly likely that the character of the EHTA and the kinds of experiences it provides, as well as the demographics and character of visitors, are all factors that influence degrees of audience passivity and homogeneity. The following examples of participants’ perspectives illustrate the heterogeneity of visitors’ intellectual engagement with the edutainment historical content of Storyeum.

Several participants had unproblematic and positive evaluations of specific scenes and aspects of Storyeum, and enthusiastically described these in the interview context.

‘Three sections really stand out. The first mythological section drew me into a different world from brightly lit tourist Vancouver. [T]here was a feeling of calm and mystery

which had me intrigued. As we were invited into the second section, I started to feel a real connection to the history and spirituality of the First Nations. There was a sense of intimacy and privilege. The next sections were interesting theatrically, or amusing, but I felt the final section of the returning war hero, with the quotation from the Chinese and Native ancestry soldier was stunning. The concept of us being like a forest, all different but dependent on each other for growth and survival, gave an incredibly strong message'. (Age 53, female, teacher, international)

'[Storyeum gave me] deeper respect for Canadians, the love and respect they have for their country, their ability to assimilate foreign cultures into their society, apparent lack of (or glossing over?) of greed, corruption, nationalistic egotism often exhibited in US'. (Age 67, female, retired (occupation undisclosed), international)

While the participants quoted above were impressed and moved by specific scenes and features of Storyeum, other participants were critical of the same scenes and features.

'The whole mention of the smallpox plague amused me. Some guy got off the boat in San Francisco and then everybody got small pox, and we're not sure how that happened?! (Laughs.) No mention that it wiped out half the aboriginal population on the coast with some malevolence involved. Quite probably there was the issue of one person arriving here with it, but then you've got the issue of blankets being given out on reserves ...' (Age 41, female, stage manager, local)

'I don't think they were lighthearted issues but they were sort of treated like lighthearted issues, like fun and games ... war ... prohibition ... bringing over the women so they can marry the men whether they want to or not'. (Age 68, female, administrative assistant, local)

In addition to their differences in perspective and opinion, visitors to EHTAs, as demonstrated by the participants in this study, comprise both local and non-local individuals of widely varying ages and occupations. Participants in this study included both middle and working class individuals, who also identify as museum-goers and cultural tourists, and regularly patronize other types of heritage attractions such as living history museums, historic houses and heritage theme parks. Such demographic and identity features have been shown to exert a strong influence on tourists' experiences, perspectives and long-term memory (Anderson 2003), and contribute to audience heterogeneity. In this case study, participants who were both local and self-identified as having considerable knowledge of BC history were more likely than non-local residents, with a lower level of self-identified historical knowledge, to engage critically with specific historical representations. This finding suggests that identity features also strongly influence visitors' interpretations and evaluations of historical representations. It is logical that the existing historical knowledge a visitor has will be directly proportional to their ability to make critical evaluations of a given historical representation. Identity features also exerted an influence on visitors' emotional engagement. For example, locals expressed deep feelings of pride in BC and in a Canadian identity more frequently than non-locals.

Visitors to EHTAs have the potential to engage critically with the attractions' content and, therefore, tourist audiences should not be generalized as non-critical groups. The range of perspectives about the historical representations at Storyeum

demonstrates that visitors are actively engaging in critical readings of the historical content they consume at EHTAs. Critical interpretations of this nature have been theorized and described as an automatic process, whereby visitors filter incoming historical information through their own subjective lenses (Chronis 2005). The subjective lens is based on personal, social and cultural identity factors; levels of prior historical knowledge; specific affective states, and different kinds of historical consciousness. The forms of critical engagements demonstrated by participants in this study include routine appraisals of historical representations to ensure that they are accurate, diversified, and culturally sensitive, and promote respect and human dignity as defined by each individual's unique constellations of the aforementioned identity factors. The visitors interviewed in this study engaged in the automatic and critical interpretation of historical representations and articulated, through their interpretations and evaluations, an awareness of the inevitably biased nature of historical representations (Chronis 2005) to varying degrees and in various ways.

Fifteen per cent of participants in this study were explicit about their overall negative evaluation of Storyeum. More frequently, however, participants made specific criticisms of Storyeum within their general, positive evaluations. The broad range of criticisms included: (1) the format and physical/technical features of the attraction; (2) the dynamics of format and content (usually in terms of the perceived educational merits as combined with entertainment value); and (3) the content of the attraction in terms of historical information or representations. Despite their criticisms, the majority of visitors to Storyeum retained an overall positive evaluation of the attraction, and in the interview context were able to oscillate easily between highly critical, highly complementary and more neutral discussions of Storyeum, including its format and content. This suggests that specific disagreements and criticisms are not necessarily an overall opinion-altering factor. In fact, the vast majority (89%) of participants who expressed criticism of Storyeum were both willing and happy to have the opportunity to voice their criticisms, and such discussion did not alter their overall positive evaluation or their desire to recommend the attraction to other people. Their criticisms are an important source of information to look at in more depth, as they directly reveal how visitors are interpreting and perceiving EHTAs of this kind.

Criticisms of Storyeum's historical content included disapproval or questioning of the selection of historical events, time periods and groups of people chosen to represent the history of BC. Eighty three per cent of participants believed the representations of multiculturalism at Storyeum to be lacking in some way. The following is a list of the ethno-cultural or national groups visitors identified as absent from the historical representations: Japanese, Scottish, Italian, Russian, Spanish, Eastern European, Doukabour, German, Indian and Filipino.

Japanese Canadians and their history of internment in the interior of the province during World War II was the most frequently noted omission, being identified by 20% of the participants.

'There's the Japanese Internment, which a lot of people don't have a clue about, especially the younger generation. They could do something on that. That was part of our history'. (Age 40, female, homemaker, local, #1)

Participants considered the lack of representation of certain groups to be an unfortunate oversight, a regrettable absence, an offensive omission, or an effacement of the historical reality of multiculturalism.

'I think it [Storyeum] was pretty Caucasian'. (Age 41, female, medical secretary, local)

'What I remember most was that they did not really bring out the fact that there were other nationalities that were exploited. The Indians first, yes, and that was done in the name of progress, then when they did with the Chinese labor, again that was done in the name of progress, they were expendable ... And you are also talking about Slavic groups, came into BC, went to Grand Forks, the Doukabours, in particular, who were promised land, help, etc. and did not get it. I am from Russian heritage so that is clear to me ... I am aware that there are other nationalities that built up BC, [but] it was sort of glossed over. It wasn't even mentioned'. (Age 68, female, administrative assistant, local)

'Multiculturalism isn't limited to the Chinese. You've got your Italians. You've got your Japanese. You've got East Indians. I mean Indians now are becoming now almost on par with the Chinese. So in that perspective it is a bit offensive'. (Age 28, female, university student, local)

There were also expressions of disappointment with the amount of historical information, the depth of information and the length of the performance.

'I felt that at times there was too much time spent on singing and not enough information about how BC developed and the different nationalities that were part of that'. (Age 41, female, homemaker international)

Participants often expressed disagreement with the treatment, characterization or delivery of specific historic representations. These types of criticism were most commonly made of the first two scenes representing pre-contact First Nations culture. Some participants believed these representations were little more than stereotypical Noble Savage characterizations of First Nations people.

'The aboriginal piece at the beginning, they were speaking in English, but in short clipped phrases, sort of "me Tarzan and you Jane" and again to me that is just clear stereotyping, to not have them speaking in clear sentences. Even if they are not going to speak in the languages that were spoken at that time, let them speak in full sentences ... It was sort of that whole Noble Savage motif'. (Age 41, female, stage manager, local)

Other people wanted more information and historical specificity, as well as a longer overall presentation of the First Nations components of the story.

'It would have been nice for them to, establish the names of special chiefs who were here because I thought they flew through the Indian stuff pretty fast. They [The British] came, the Indians got sick, they died, move on! I thought they skipped through that pretty fast'. (Age 40, female, homemaker, local, #2)

Still other participants wanted these components to be more representative of a broader First Nations perspective. In many cases, this meant visitors wanted to experience representations of First Nations culture they were more familiar with.

'I thought the native influence in the beginning was a little bit too stilted towards one version, instead of a broader native perspective. I wasn't too big on the story of the wolf

being. I've never heard that one before ... [not] quite as captivating as other ones I'd heard'. (Age 41, male, contractor, local)

'I couldn't quite get what the story about the natives was all about. I would have hoped to see more finer artwork like better examples of carving like with totem poles and house posts'. (Age 45, male, interior designer, local)

While participants expressed general satisfaction with the stories chosen to represent the history of BC, they also demonstrated an awareness of the limits of those historical representations. Their identification of historical information, events and perspectives that were not included in Storyeum's selection of historical vignettes is evidence of this awareness, and demonstrates that visitors to EHTAs can display a high degree of critical engagement with the content of the attraction. This finding supports Richard's observation that as heritage tourism destinations continue to multiply and diversify, cultural heritage tourists become more discerning in their preferences (1996). Furthermore, this finding also supports Crang's observation that heritage tourism experiences are more complex and reflexive than former characterizations, such as heritage tourism as escapism, or as an empty search for authenticity (1996). Visitors' critical evaluations of EHTA contents have important broader ramifications for both museum and tourist industry practices.

Conclusion

As the international tourism industry expands and develops, it continues to motivate the creation of new forms of tourism and tourist attractions. The desire for innovative, unique, novel, alternative, multimedia and/or multidimensional experiences and attractions has led to processes of hybridization in which new amalgamations of phenomena come into being. EHTAs are an example of one of these hybrid forms of tourist attraction. Despite this proliferation of new hybrid forms, tourist attractions, within the discipline of anthropology, have only slowly become legitimate objects of investigation (Smith 1989). Now that tourist attractions are being recognized as important sites of social activity; as places where both individual and group identities are formed and negotiated (Handler and Gable 1997; Palmer 2005); as places that facilitate a wide range of experiences, including emotional experiences (Poria, Butler, and Airey 2003; Sirakaya, Petrick, and Choi 2004), and as places that promote historical learning (Lowenthal 1996; Palmer 2005), they can no longer be dismissed or judged as trivial, frivolous or vulgar amusements. The task of ethnographic research, therefore, should be to study these new types of attractions in terms of their social significances, especially as they relate to visitor experiences and how these experiences relate to the broader human experience.

This paper argues further that as the process of hybridization continues to occur, tourism venues themselves become less differentiated. Museums and other tourist attractions increasingly share similar technological features and contents, and use similar presentation techniques such as interactivity and edutainment, which confuse, rather than clarify, former categories of what constitutes a museum and what constitutes a private-sector tourist attraction. In this paper, EHTAs have been defined as a particularly interesting type of tourist attraction, in which the distinction between formerly distinguishable types of attractions and types of educational and entertaining experiences are being blurred, precisely because of their

edutainment nature. It is imperative that scholarly understanding of these attractions keeps pace with industry changes, especially in terms of understanding the kinds of experiences tourists are having. It is recognized that experiences in museums are different from experiences at other types of exhibitions (Anderson 2003, 417). However, the characteristics of visitors' experiences at EHTAs are not yet well understood and require further investigation (Richards 1996).

The primary contribution of this study to this knowledge base lies in the qualitative data collected through the Instrumental Case Study Approach, which suggest that visitors are potentially having more complex experiences at EHTAs than previously theorized. These visitor experiences include a wide range of emotional responses and forms of intellectual engagement. Participants in this study readily expressed feeling elated, excited, moved, proud, saddened and disappointed, and easily identified their favorite, least favorite, most memorable, most thought-provoking and most educational parts of Storyeum. This study also suggests that many visitors consider the historical representations they encounter at EHTAs to be important, legitimate and reliable sources of historical information, as evidenced by the fact that even though these visitors considered the historical representations they encountered to be of inherent educational and entertainment value, they also actively and critically engaged with those representations. In fact, critical engagement was the most significant and recurring type of engagement made by participants in this study. This included identifying omissions, making value judgments about quality, criticizing curatorial-type decisions such as the specific contents of scenes, and evaluating representations (and the attraction as a whole) based on personal criteria of what constitutes educational, entertaining and acceptable historical representations. The critical engagement demonstrated by the participants in this study challenges the former characterization of tourist attraction audiences as generally passive and non-critical groups, who seek primarily entertainment and escapism.

Understanding the complexity of visitors' perceptions and experiences at EHTAs is important because this form of hybrid attraction is increasingly prevalent, and is recognized as one of several kinds of tourist attractions that disseminates cultural and historical information with demonstrable influence on the social and political landscape of the present. One of the most important ways EHTAs, like other heritage attractions such as museums, historic sites and heritage theme parks, may influence the present is via constructions and communications of group identity. Visitors who consume these representations either self-identify with them or consume them in order to learn about the identity of others as a way of broadening their cultural and/or historical knowledge. Another way EHTAs may influence the present is by contributing to the historical consciousness of visitors via readings and representations of history that frame the past in specific ways. 'Whose reading of history is being presented?' and 'Who is best served by a particular historical representation?' have long been questions posed by academics seeking to conduct ideological analyses of museums and heritage attractions. However, evidence from this study now shows that visitors to this EHTA (and potentially other EHTAs) are also raising these types of questions through their criticisms of EHTAs' heritage representations and historical narratives. If further research validates that visitors to EHTAs frequently engage critically with heritage representation and their criticisms, this will reveal an awareness of the inevitable bias of historical representations.

In practical terms, the key findings of this study will be of interest to a wide range of professionals, including tourist attraction producers, museum curators, and exhibition designers. Knowledge of visitor experiences at EHTAs and visitors' subjective evaluations of EHTAs can help these professionals better understand their audiences and this knowledge, in turn, can be used to make decisions about the contents and formats of attractions and exhibitions.

Knowledge of the ways that visitors are perceiving EHTAs has direct implications for the future design of EHTAs and museum-type institutions, that either share similarities with EHTAs or seek to define themselves in relation to EHTAs. For example, the degree to which visitors may critically evaluate historical representations at EHTAs using personal criteria for what constitutes suitable, accurate, culturally and politically appropriate characterizations of historical events can be of direct use to attraction producers, as well as to similar institutions which are being evaluated on the same subjective basis. Knowledge of the nature of visitors' subjective critical criteria may help institutions decide how they want to position their historical representations in ideological terms. Furthermore, information about how visitors filter information through their personal subjective criteria will be useful for institutions as they decide how to create historical representations that will either resonate with a wide range of perspectives, provide a more focused, or situated, reading of history, or attempt some combination of both.

Knowledge of visitors' affective states is another aspect of visitor behavior that can be used to guide institutions in the crafting of both the content and format of an attraction or exhibition. Anticipating the range of emotional responses a given historical representation may elicit in visitors, as well as recognizing that any given historical representation will be perceived differently and experienced emotionally in different ways by different individuals, will be of central importance for professionals who are designing future attractions.

EHTAs may also provide other heritage industry players with useful examples of edutainment formats that preserve enough educational/informative value to be considered significant sources of historical information for visitors, while at the same time retain a high degree of entertainment value. Museums are increasingly willing to integrate new formats, technologies and programs inspired by other cultural and tourism venues, and EHTAs may provide more practical examples of how educational and entertaining goals can be combined in efficacious ways. Given the high frequency of the critical examination of the historical representations presented, museums and other cultural venues may be interested in adopting some of these edutainment techniques, or they may be interested in monitoring these tourism industry developments in order to define their institution in relation to these attractions.

As evidenced by the participants in this study, visitors to EHTAs are also museums-goers and cultural heritage tourists. EHTAs, therefore, are only one of many cultural heritage attractions patronized by this group of people. Are EHTAs competing with museums and other heritage attractions for visitors' patronage? If so, it will be of interest to other heritage industry players to understand the composition of EHTAs, as well as the ways they function as sites that communicate historical information. Understanding visitors' experiences at EHTAs is also directly relevant to these industry players because, like public museums, they may want either to

define or distinguish themselves in relation to this increasingly prevalent type of tourist attraction.

Notes

1. Some international examples of EHTA's include the Epcot Center at Florida Disney World; the Jorvik Viking Center in York, Britain, both defined by MacDonald and Alford as 'theme centers' (1995); Splendid China, in Shenzhen, China, the Tunnels of Moose Jaw, in Saskatchewan, Canada, and Storyeum, in BC, Canada – the attraction presented in this case study. In addition to these examples, EHTAs of various sizes and varieties are being developed at a phenomenal rate around the world, but particularly in North America and Europe.
2. The Jorvik Viking Center and the Wigam Pier Heritage Center are some of the earliest sites where the controversial debate about the definition of a museum versus a themed attraction have played out (Hewison 1987, 21; MacDonald and Alford 1995, 135).
3. Storyeum was in operation from June 2004 until October 2006, before discontinuing business because of unmanageable debt acquired both during the initial construction of the attraction and via the unsustainable daily operational costs.
4. Thirteen of the 40 participants in this study had to be interviewed via e-mail, because they either lived out of town, overseas, or were unavailable for an in-person interview. E-mail interviews used the same 27-item questionnaire and, in some cases, involved follow-up e-mails back and forth in order to simulate, although not replace, the conversational nature of in-person interviewing. These 13 interviews tended to be shorter in length, and the fact that participants had to type their perspectives rather than voice them may have influenced the content of their responses in ways that are different from the influences exerted by the presence of an interviewer. However, through qualitative analysis, it was found that the themes, experiences, and responses described in the in-person interviews were the same as those described in the e-mail interviews.
5. These individuals volunteered to participate in this study by leaving their names and phone numbers in an information box located in Storyeum's lobby, with permission of the management. A short paragraph with background information outlining the study was placed next to this box. There were also copies of this information for visitors to take home, including an invitation to participate as well as contact information for the primary investigator of this study. Interested visitors left their names and phone numbers in the box, and were later contacted, asked if they were still interested in participating, and scheduled for interviews. Interviews took place at a time and location most convenient for the participant and included interviews at the home of the participant, at a local coffee shop, shopping mall, or public library.
6. The first two predictive themes (historical perspectives in heritage tourism settings and dynamics between format and content, entertainment and education at such settings) are the focus of this analysis, as they proved to be the most important and recurring themes within the participant interviews. While information about visitors' categorizations of Storyeum and visitors' comparisons of Storyeum with other tourist attractions and museums were collected, this information did not shed direct light on visitors' perceptions of Storyeum's historical representations. Information about visitors' categorizations and comparisons of EHTAs would make an interesting and important study in and of itself, but requires further study and falls outside the scope of this paper.
7. As a function of the semi-structured style of the interviews, not necessarily all 27 questions were directly asked to each interviewee, instead it was gauged whether or not specific themes had been sufficiently addressed within our conversation before moving on to the next question or theme. This process was an anticipated aspect of the participant-directed

and conversation style of the semi-structured interview format and is a characteristic of many qualitative approaches.

8. Using a spreadsheet, participant numbers were recorded on the *y*-axis and themes (represented by numbers) and sub-themes (represented by letters) were recorded on the *x*-axis. For example, 'Personal Expressions' was theme '1', 'Expression of Pride in British Columbian Identity' was sub-theme 'a' resulting in a coding of '1a', etc. Within each cell, the time within a tape-recorded interview at which a participant articulated a given theme or sub-theme was recorded. If a participant made reference to a sub-theme multiple times, each subsequent time was recorded within the same cell, so that the frequency of the expression of a given sub-theme was easily visible.
9. Information about race/ethnicity and family ancestry was not collected, although many individuals voluntarily self-identified themselves according to a racial, ethnic or national descent group. Information about formal educational attainment was also not collected. However, participants were asked to reflect upon how much historical information about BC they perceived themselves having in relation to questions about Storyeum's educational value.
10. According to Storyeum's management, the attraction receives slightly more female than male visitors (personal communication with site manager), which is one factor that explains the higher proportion of women involved in this study. Although the official ratio of female to male visitors to Storyeum was not available at the time of research, 73% of the visitors who initially volunteered to participate in this study were female, and of those who ultimately agreed to be interviewed, 80% were female. This is consistent with Musick and Wilson's (2008) finding that women are more likely than men to volunteer for reasons that can be explained by their gender socialization, social networks, and occupations.
11. Twenty-eight per cent of female participants identified primarily as homemakers, with only 33% of that group also identifying with other forms of employment. The remainder of the participants in this study were engaged in medical or clerical work (17.5%), or other forms of employment (33%), including, but not limited to, blue collar jobs.
12. Sixty-eight per cent of participants used experiences from their visits to museums or other heritage attractions to make comparisons to Storyeum. The Vancouver Museum, the Museum of Anthropology at the University of BC, and the Royal BC Museum were frequently referred to as museums, while Barkerville, Fort Langley, Fort Steele and the Gulf of Georgia Cannery were frequently referred to as heritage attractions.
13. In this study, a high rating was equivalent to the top 80% percentile of a 10-point Likert scale. Therefore, participants' ratings of 8 and above have been summarized to arrive at a total for a 'high rating'.
14. In the quotations below, age, sex, occupation and the location/identity of each visitor (local, non-local Canadian, or international) are used to contextualize participants' comments. Names are not used in order to ensure confidentiality.
15. Terry Fox is considered a great Canadian hero because of the courage he displayed in his 1980 Marathon of Hope, in which he attempted to run across Canada with a prosthetic leg in order to raise awareness of cancer and cancer treatment. Terry Fox grew up in a suburb of Vancouver and is, therefore, considered a local as well as a national hero.

References

- Anderson, B. 1991. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Anderson, D. 2003. Visitors' long-term memories of world expositions. *Curator* 46, no. 4: 400–20.
- Bicknell, S., and G. Farmelo, eds. 1993. *Museum visitor studies in the 90s*. London: Science Museum.

- Boorstin, D. 1964. *The image: A guide to pseudo-events in America*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Bouquet, M. 2001. Introduction: Academic anthropology and the museum. In *Academic anthropology and the museum: Back to the future*, ed. M. Bouquet, 1–17. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Chronis, A. 2005. Coconstructing heritage at the Gettysburg storyscape. *Annals of Tourism Research* 32, no. 2: 386–406.
- Crang, M. 1996. Magic kingdom or a quixotic quest for authenticity? *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2: 415–31.
- Dicks, B. 2003. *Culture on display: The production of contemporary visitability*. London: Open University Press.
- Frese, H. 1960. *Anthropology and the public: The role of museums*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Rijkmuseum voor Volkenkunde.
- Greenhalgh, P. 1989. Education, entertainment, and politics: Lessons from the great international exhibitions. In *The new museology*, ed. P. Vergo, 74–98. London: Reaktion Books.
- Handler, R., and E. Gable. 1997. *New history in an old museum: Creating the past at Colonial Williamsburg*. London: Duke University Press.
- Hannigan, J. 1998. *Fantasy city: Pleasure and profit in the post-modern metropolis*. London: Routledge.
- Harrison, J. 1997. Museums and touristic expectations. *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 1: 23–40.
- Hewison, R. 1987. *The heritage industry: Britain in a climate of decline*. London: Methuen.
- Hobsbawm, E., and T. Ranger. 1992. *The invention of tradition*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hooper-Greenhill, E. 1994. *Museums and their visitors*. London: Routledge.
- . ed. 1995. *Museum, media, message*. London: Routledge.
- Huyssen, A. 2001. Present pasts: Media, politics, amnesia. *Public Culture* 12, no. 1: 21–38.
- Janiskee, R. 1996. Historic houses and special events. *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2: 398–414.
- Jordonova, L. 1989. Objects of knowledge: A historical perspective on museums. In *The new museology*, ed. P. Vergo, 22–41. London: Reaktion Books.
- Karp, I., and S. Levine, eds. 1991. *Exhibiting culture: The poetics and politics of museum display*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. 1998. *Destination culture: Tourism, museums and heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Krmpotich, C., and D. Anderson. 2005. Collaborative exhibitions and visitor reactions: The case of Nitsitapiisinni: Our way of life. *Curator* 48, no. 4: 377–405.
- Lowenthal, D. 1985. *The past is a foreign country*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1996. *Possessed by the past: The heritage crusade and the spoils of history*. New York: Free Press.
- MacCannell, D. 1992. *Empty meeting grounds: The tourist papers*. London: Routledge.
- . 1999. *The tourist: A new theory of the leisure class*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- MacDonald, G.F., and S. Alsford. 1995. Museums and theme parks: Worlds in collision? *International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship* 14, no. 2: 129–47.
- MacDonald, S. 1996. Introduction. In *Theorizing museums: Representing identity and diversity in a changing world*, ed. S. Macdonald and G. Fyfe, 1–20. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- . 2005. A people's story: Heritage, identity and authenticity. In *Heritage, museums and galleries: An introductory reader*, ed. G. Corsane, 272–90. New York: Routledge.
- McLuhan, M., and Q. Fiore. 1967. *The medium in the message (sic)*. New York: Bantam Books.

- Musick, M., and J. Wilson. 2008. *Volunteers: A social profile*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Palmer, C. 2005. An ethnography of Englishness: Experiencing identity through tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 32, no. 1: 7–27.
- Poria, Y., R. Butler, and D. Airey. 2003. The core of heritage tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 30, no. 1: 238–54.
- Prentice, R. 2005. Heritage: A key sector in the ‘new’ tourism. In *Heritage, museums and galleries: An introductory reader*, ed. G. Corsane, 243–56. New York: Routledge.
- Richards, G. 1996. Production and consumption of European cultural tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2: 261–83.
- . 2002. Tourism attraction systems: Exploring cultural behavior. *Annals of Tourism Research* 29, no. 4: 1048–64.
- Ritchie, B., N. Carr, and C. Cooper. 2003. *Managing educational tourism*. Buffalo, NY: Channel View.
- Shaw, G., and A. Williams. 2004. *Tourism and tourism spaces*. London: Sage.
- Shelton, A. 2001. Museums in an age of cultural hybridity. *Folk: Journal of the Danish Ethnographic Society* 43: 221–49.
- Sirakaya, E., J. Petrick, and H. Choi. 2004. The role of mood on tourism product evaluations. *Annals of Tourism Research* 31, no. 3: 517–39.
- Smith, V.L., ed. 1989. *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Sorensen, C. 1989. Theme parks and time machines. In *The new museology*, ed. P. Vergo, 60–73. London: Reaktion Books.
- Stake, R. 1995. *Art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Twitchell, J.B. 1992. *Carnival culture: The trashing of taste in America*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Urry, J. 1990. *The tourist gaze*. London: Sage.
- . 1996. How societies remember the past. In *Theorizing the museum: Representing identity and diversity in a changing world*, ed. S. MacDonald and G. Fyfe, 45–68. Oxford: Blackwell.
- van Aalst, I., and I. Boogaarts. 2002. From museum to mass entertainment: The evolution of the role of museums in cities. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 9, no. 3: 195–209.
- Waitt, G. 2000. Consuming heritage: Perceived historical authenticity. *Annals of Tourism Research* 27, no. 3: 835–62.
- Wallace, M. 1989. Mickey Mouse house: Portraying the past at Disney World. In *History museums in the United States*, ed. W. Leon and R. Rosenzweig, 158–82. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Wallis, B. 1994. Selling nations: International exhibitions and cultural diplomacy. *Museum culture: Histories, discourses, spectacles*, ed. D.S. Sherman and I. Rogoff, 265–82. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.