

Original Research Article

Authenticity: A Grand Narrative in Tourism That Is Still in Demand!

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Abstract | Authenticity in tourism has been a subject of debate for many years, drawing perspectives from various disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, psychology, and philosophy. While some view authenticity as an objective quality of things, events, or places, others argue that authentic experience is of little importance and the true value lies in creating memorable experiences away from home. Despite being introduced more than fifty years ago, there are still many uncertainties surrounding the nature, significance, emergence, and outcomes of authenticity in tourism. This concept holds great importance in tourism, not only from a theoretical standpoint but also in its practical applications in planning, development, and marketing. Many tourist destinations and attractions strive to position themselves as authentic to stand out in a competitive market. This paper provides a conceptual review of the evolution of authenticity in tourism and explores new directions and opportunities for future research.

Keywords | *Objective authenticity, Constructive authenticity, Existential authenticity, Tourism, Cultural heritage, Post-tourist.*

Introduction | Authenticity plays a vital role in tourism (Chhabra, 2010, 32). Many view tourism as a catalyst for cultural commodification, where culture is created, replicated, packaged, and marketed to travelers. While this commercialization is not inherently problematic, concerns arise when the local community modifies its culture to cater to tourists and presents a product that no longer reflects its origin (Olsen, 2003; Baillie, Chatzoglou & Taha, 2010). Furthermore, places, traditions, and events may change due to tourism, deviating from their original state to accommodate recreational and tourism purposes (Oskam, 2022). This highlights the dual significance of authenticity within the tourism industry.

Many destinations leverage authenticity as a competitive edge or a unique selling proposition in their marketing efforts because, like green tourism and sustainable tourism, authenticity has market appeal (Timothy, 2021, 111). The concept of authenticity is also important for tourism science as it (1) connects tourism studies with various disciplines in social sciences, (2) provides

a structural analysis of modern societies and explains experience at the individual level, and (3) is closely related to our lived experiences. Authenticity can be found in literature, advertisements, publications, and daily conversations about travel (Olsen, 2012).

Why is authenticity important for tourism studies, and why do scholars in this field have differing views on its nature? Is authenticity an objective and inherent characteristic of the toured objects, or is it subjective? Who has the authority to determine the authenticity of the toured object: the tourist or the expert? (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). In this study, we will examine the different scholarly perspectives to address these questions.

The Evolution of the Concept of Authenticity

• Authenticity in cultural heritage

The concept of authenticity in tourism has its origins in the cultural heritage protection (Wang, Huang & Kim, 2015). The 'Association for the Protection of Ancient Buildings' raised the issue of cultural heritage protection in 1877. The Athens Charter (1931) laid down initial

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principles for the protection and restoration of historical monuments. However, the document did not place significant emphasis on the importance of authenticity. It merely mentioned the potential restoration of “original fragments” when feasible. The Venice Charter (1964) paid special attention to the authenticity of historical buildings, emphasizing that heritage should be handed over to future generations “in the full richness of their authenticity”. However, the emphasis was on the original material. In the first ‘Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention’ (1978), UNESCO stipulated that heritage works must be authentic in terms of design, materials, workmanship, and setting to be included in the World Heritage List. This was the European approach to heritage and authenticity which underscored the visual and tangible aspects of the object, while in non-European regions, the concept of authenticity was different. In many parts of the world, the symbolic values and spiritual meaning of the buildings were more important than the physical elements (Lawless & Silva, 2017). Therefore, to protect perishable structures, they restore them, and in the course of these restorations, they overlook the tangible authenticity. The Nara document (1994) marked a significant shift in UNESCO’s approach to authenticity, expanding it to include a non-European approach. The document highlighted that authenticity is determined by various factors including “form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors”. Therefore, UNESCO acknowledged that authenticity encompasses not only tangible but also intangible elements. This evolutionary path influenced the tourism industry as well.

• Authenticity in tourism

Authenticity in tourism gained significant attention following the release of Dean MacCannell’s influential book, ‘The Tourist’ (1976). MacCannell posited that remote and “primitive” communities may not have a concept of authenticity, yet authenticity is a characteristic of such communities, and tourists are modern pilgrims who search for their lost innocence in these destinations. These communities lack a mechanism to separate their public and private spaces. However, when tourists arrive, they become part of a process known as “staged authenticity”, during which inauthentic events are created to fulfill the desires of the visitors. For tourists, as outsiders, the backstage area becomes a sacred and inaccessible place. The front, on the other hand, is designed and presented in a way that reflects the local culture and lifestyle. It is meticulously arranged to align with the tourists’ preconceived notions about the destination. However, behind the scenes, no tourism glamour is to be found. This allows local communities to

safeguard the authentic aspects of their culture from the gaze of tourists while still satisfying their desires (Timothy, 2021, 112).

Before MacCannell, it was Boorstin (1961) who explored authenticity in tourism through his book ‘Image: A Guide to Quasi-Events in America’. According to Boorstin, tourists travel for pleasure and excitement, without placing much importance on the authenticity of the places and events they encounter. He viewed all tourism environments as fake and artificial, attributing this phenomenon to the tourists themselves. MacCannell (1973) challenged Boorstin’s ideas by portraying tourists as individuals who seek authenticity, but are exploited by the tourism industry through staged authenticity. Cohen, on the other hand, distanced himself from the binary perspective of Boorstin and MacCannell, viewing authenticity as a concern within the industrialized world. He asserted that tourists can discern between authentic and staged cultural settings (Cohen, 1979). John Urry, taking a post-modern approach, entirely diverges from the modernist tradition to examine authenticity. Like Cohen, he also believes that tourists can differentiate between authentic and inauthentic experiences. Post-tourists may prefer inauthentic encounters. Their primary objective is to derive pleasure without any desire for personal growth or learning. In this approach, the presence of inauthentic objects and experiences is not problematic. Authenticity holds such little value for this particular group that it does not warrant their attention or contemplation. They prefer to immerse themselves in the ambiance of replicated settings rather than visiting the actual places themselves. Opting for these simulated encounters not only proves to be more convenient and cost-effective, but it also eliminates the need for intellectual analysis, introspection, and physical exertion (Urry, 1995).

Despite their aversion to inauthentic experiences, a group often falls prey to stereotypical notions, which hampers their grasp of reality and influences their travel choices. Their constant search for the familiar images portrayed in movies and other forms of media clouds their understanding. For example, when tourists visit Viking sites, they often feel disappointed because they discover that not all Vikings were ruthless plunderers; many were peaceful traders and farmers. The site administrators aim to present a more well-rounded depiction of the Vikings. However, it is the sensationalized image of bloodthirsty Vikings that entices tourists to visit these sites. Hence, the allure of inauthenticity surpasses that of authenticity (Halewood & Hannam, 2001).

Indeed, this represents the commercialization of culture. It involves simplifying, standardizing, and presenting culture to tourists in a manner that meets their expectations.

Interestingly, the post-modern perspective also justifies this phenomenon. These justifications even extend to the idea that staged authenticity is necessary to safeguard vulnerable communities and landscapes. Moreover, the post-modern approach convincingly argues for the significance of imaginary, simulated, and surreal realms in providing pleasure for tourists (Rickly, 2022). In elucidating this situation, MacCannell asserts that staged authenticity serves as a “screen” for our unfulfilled aspirations, an opportunity to immerse ourselves in a world of stories, legends, and fantasy (MacCannell, 2008, 337).

Pierce (2005, 140), referring to Cohen’s matrix (1979), discusses the extent to which tourists can distinguish between authentic and non-authentic environments. According to the matrix, the first scenario occurs when tourists come across genuine cultural settings in untouched areas and perceive them as authentic. The second scenario, similar to staged authenticity, happens when a contrived scene is presented to tourists, and they are unable to distinguish it from an authentic one. In the third scenario, tourists start doubting the authenticity of the scene. Although the setting may be authentic, previous encounters with the inauthentic environments make them question its authenticity. Lastly, there are cases where the environment is clearly staged for tourists, and they are fully aware of its artificial nature. Here, the commercialization and intentional reinvention of the past appeals to visitors. Hall (2007) discusses the role of meaning in distinguishing between authenticity and inauthenticity in tourism. According to Hall, inauthenticity arises when a fake object is presented as genuine. The concept of authenticity becomes more complex when businesses intentionally deceive people. People have a natural aversion to deception. However, they may still accept and even develop an attachment to inauthentic objects as long as they are aware of their true nature. Hence, authenticity is not inherently immoral unless it involves deception. The diverse viewpoints regarding authenticity have given rise to various forms of authenticity over time.

• Typology of authenticity in tourism

The discourse surrounding authenticity in tourism yields three distinct types of authenticity: Objective, constructive, and existential (Wang, 1999). Objective authenticity emphasizes the value of unaltered objects representing real cultures. In this context, authenticity exists independently from tourists and it is the inherent characteristic of the toured object (Park, Choi & Lee, 2019). Cohen (2012) argues that objective authenticity encompasses various meanings, including “origins”, “genuineness”, “pristineness”, “sincerity”, “creativity”, and “flow of life”. The ‘flow of life’ aligns with MacCannell’s concept, suggesting

that an object is authentic if it remains unaffected by tourism marketing activities and is not primarily geared towards attracting tourists. The object is authentic because it is not an attraction at all; therefore, it is free from any kind of “frame” (Van den Abbeele, 1980).

Constructive authenticity argues that reality is shaped by our perceptions, as well as social, cultural, and political factors. It emphasizes that authenticity is a shared concept within communities, and views on authenticity are not fixed, but rather subjective (Smith, MacLeod & Robertson, 2010). This approach challenges the notion of objective authenticity, where experts such as archaeologists, anthropologists, historians, etc., determine the authenticity of objects. In the constructive perspective, all judgments, including those of experts, are seen as products of social discourse. In essence, there is no distinction between an expert and a tourist in assigning authenticity to an object (authentication process), with experts simply having established an “intellectual hegemony” (Cohen, 2012). Reisinger and Steiner argue that all cultural expressions are to some extent staged. Cultures are constantly constructed, reconstructed, and their elements rearranged (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). Cohen introduces the concept of “emerging authenticity” to illustrate this phenomenon. It occurs when there is a social agreement where a cultural product, once seen as inauthentic, gradually acquires the characteristics of an authentic object. In fact, emerging authenticity involves a process of de-framing. What was initially created for tourism purposes now becomes integrated into the everyday lives of local people. For instance, the wooden crafts made by Eskimos, originally intended for sale to tourists, later became part of their traditions. Similarly, Disneyland, once regarded as an inauthentic attraction, has now become an integral part of contemporary American culture (Cohen, 1988).

Expanding on the idea of emerging authenticity, Le et al. (2021) introduced the concept of “deviated authenticity”. This is related to the unique, uncommon, exotic elements of an object that gradually gain recognition and may even be deemed truly authentic. The constructive approach argues that authenticity is dynamic, shared, ideological, contextual, and negotiable (Rickly, 2022).

Existential authenticity believes that the truth stems from within the individual and is subjective in nature. It entails the tourist’s quest to discover their true self, one that is unburdened by social obligations and roles and instead embraces simplicity, playfulness, and naturalness. In this approach, tourism is a way of existence and a means of authentic living, where the authenticity transcends beyond the characteristics of the object. Existential authenticity acknowledges both the intrapersonal aspect (one’s true

self) and the interpersonal aspect (authentic bond with others) (Wang, 1999).

According to Cohen (2007; 2010; 2012), it was previously believed that a tourist's sublime mental experience was only possible when encountering an authentic object, such as a pristine natural landscape or an artistic masterpiece. This led us to overlook the distinction between objective and subjective authenticity. However, over time, we came to understand that tourists can have authentic experiences even without being in the presence of an authentic object. The feeling of self-discovery, truthfulness, love, belonging, and more all contribute to a sense of authenticity, which Maslow (1971) refers to as "peak experiences". These emotions can arise in moments of love, madness, mysticism, adventure, or even pure carefreeness. It is during these unexpected travel experiences that tourists become fully immersed, pushing their minds and bodies to their limits and engaging in daring, valuable, and memorable activities (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990).

Hall (2007) believes authenticity is not tied to objects and places, but rather stems from the connection a person has with their everyday environment. It is rooted in their daily experiences, rather than in objects and relationships found elsewhere, such as during travel. Hall argues that this idea is perpetuated through advertising, while the authentic connection can be formed anywhere. Additionally, the trend toward seeking authenticity cannot be attributed to a specific market segment, nor can one destination be deemed more authentic than another. The most authentic form of tourism, in Hall's view, is visiting friends and relatives. This is because it results in a genuine connection. However, this type of tourism is often neglected because it is not sufficiently profitable. Essentially, the essence of authenticity lies in connection and interaction, rather than separation and distance (Hall, 2007). Some others have implicitly supported this perspective and believe that modern tourists are no longer seeking to escape their mundane lives, but rather aim to cultivate social connections (Larsen, Urry & Axhausen, 2007).

Authentication Process of Authenticity

Many scholars have raised the question of who or what institution, such as UNESCO, holds the authority to validate and proclaim the authenticity of an object (For example, Wang et al., 2015). Different approaches have yielded different answers. The practical process of authentication also holds great significance as tourism destinations and businesses capitalize on authenticity to increase their revenue. Yeoman et al. (2007) argue that the advent of advanced technologies has not made people indifferent towards authenticity, rather it has made them crave it even more. If these experiences are ethical, simple,

and beautiful, the tourism industry can greatly benefit from their provision.

To enhance their competitiveness, increase sales, and satisfy tourists, destinations have even established criteria to verify the authenticity of their assets. Ensuring the authenticity of objects involves various criteria such as beauty, uniqueness, integrity, skill, creativity, local production, local use, etc. (Timothy, 2021, 116-119). According to UNESCO (2011), world heritage sites should possess exceptional universal values and their authenticity and integrity must be safeguarded. Integrity refers to wholeness, intactness, and the absence of threats. Wholeness entails having all the essential tangible attributes (architecture, landscape, facilities) as well as intangible aspects (atmosphere, feelings, and culture). Intactness means that all essential features are present, without any loss or significant damage. Finally, all necessary elements remain unaffected by factors such as development, destruction, or indifference. UNESCO evaluates objects from an expert perspective.

Cohen and Cohen (2012) propose two distinct types of authentication processes: cold and hot. Cold authentication is a transparent, explicit procedure that often holds official status. It relies on scientific knowledge and certifications issued by relevant institutions like UNESCO and the World Heritage label. Conversely, hot authenticity is an intrinsic, informal process driven by personal belief. It is closely linked to the emotional connection, sense of belonging, and identification that tourists have with a particular place, object, or event. However, it is important to note that these two methods of authentication are not mutually exclusive; in fact, they are intertwined.

Authenticity in Tourism: Recent Approaches

The study of authenticity has recently been approached from different perspectives such as phenomenology and psychology, and is linked to concepts like performance, alienation, identity, mindfulness, emotions, and technology (Rickly, 2022). Phenomenology specifically focuses on aspects like mindfulness, embodiment, intentionality, and the firsthand lived experiences of tourists. By adopting a Heideggerian phenomenological approach, we can gain insights into how tourists live and interpret their travel experiences (Wasslera & Kirillovab, 2019). Based on this phenomenology, everything that is expressed or appears is authentic, even if it is incomplete. This indicates that being, in itself, means authenticity (Knudsen & Waade, 2010).

Psychology proposes a fresh perspective on the concept of authenticity, suggesting that it is a fantasy and an elusive notion; nevertheless, it remains a powerful driving force for travel (Knudsen, Rickly, & Vidon, 2016). Why

does authenticity hold such allure for us? Psychology explores authenticity by starting with the idea of alienation, asserting that the modern and post-modern world has disconnected us from ourselves, others, and nature, creating a psychological void that the promise of authenticity seeks to fill. Interestingly, tourism itself can contribute to this sense of alienation, yet even individuals who resist the industry can find fleeting moments of authenticity. Here, the focus of the discussion centers on the identity of tourists and their desires and yearnings (Vidon, Rickly & Knudsen, 2018). Recent research also suggests a connection between happiness, well-being, hypocrisy, and anxiety with authenticity (Rickly, 2022). Performative authenticity diverges from the objective and constructive tradition by highlighting the significance of personal memory, meanings, and physical environment. This approach contends that authenticity is forged through the actions and interactions between tourists and locals (Zhu, 2012). Put simply, authenticity is not something we possess or a mere state of mind; rather, it is the outcome of tourists' actions and experiences. Thus, the notion of performative extends beyond observation, symbols, and imagination to encompass the body, movement, actions, and emotions of tourists. We move away from interpretive approaches and delve into the physical aspects of authenticity (Knudsen & Waade, 2010). The relationship between authenticity and the body has also been explored in nature-based, adventure, and sports tourism, which is unsurprising as these forms of tourism place a heightened emphasis on the active involvement of the body in the overall experience (Rickly, 2022). The concept of authenticity has also been brought up in the context of online settings. Previous research has explored the impact of digital technologies like virtual reality, and

now with the rise of the metaverse, travelers have the opportunity to engage in more immersive experiences. As a result, the notion of authenticity may take on new shapes and dimensions (Buhalis et al., 2023). Additionally, there has been a recent increase in studies focusing on the authentication process and the role of power as a determining factor in this process (Cornelisse, 2020).

Conclusion

The concept of authenticity has long been a highly debated topic in tourism studies, with various perspectives and approaches exploring its meaning. Anthropology has contributed to the idea of staged authenticity, while sociology has provided a constructivist view of authenticity. Psychology, on the other hand, focuses on understanding the connection between authenticity and the tourist experience. A discussion about the true self is a philosophical matter, while the act of authenticating is seen as a political endeavor (Wang et al., 2015).

Authenticity in tourism has transcended theoretical boundaries and emerged as a crucial marketing tool. It plays a significant role in inspiring tourists and shaping their perception of destinations and attractions. The evolution of authenticity as a concept indicates a shift from objective, static, and material perspectives to recognizing that authenticity lies within people rather than objects (Su, 2018). Numerous contemporary researchers, including Le et al. (2021), contend that authenticity is formed through the interplay of person, object, and society. Authenticity is measured, perceived, experienced, and felt. As such, authenticity is a holistic process that engages the tourist's mind, soul, and body simultaneously. This complex concept encompasses various dimensions that necessitate interdisciplinary exploration.

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