

Urban Ethnic Tourism: An Overview of Current Research and Framework for Application

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Ethnicity is increasingly marketed as a tourism experience in cities. Marketing involves the intentional selection of signs, symbols, and signifiers to represent an object of interest to the tourist. Ethnic tourism involves the conscious construction of ethnicity for a consumer market. This act can have far reaching consequences on ethnic relations, perceptions and identities within a city. Adopting Urry's (1999) definition of tourism assumes that tourists and visitors travel with preconceived notions of the ethnic other. As Judith Kenny (1995) notes, "the prevalence of urban promotional strategies and 'spin-doctored' images suggests the need to explore the marketing of cultural motifs and local histories and means of separating place image from a complex reality". Still, urban ethnic tourism remains understudied; no literature to date places urban ethnic tourism as a subset of both urban and ethnic tourism, or provides a working framework to understand the structural and power relationships involved in the creation of ethnicity for tourism in an urban space.

The act of tourism comprises a conglomerate of individual interactions between visitors, guests, and middlemen (Pearce, 1982). Subtle changes in intent reflect systematic power relationships, and can alter the exchange for all parties involved (Pearce, 1982; Urry, 2002). This has led to an abundance of approaches to the study of tourism. Tourism is also subject to the demands of a fickle and ever-changing market (Ashworth & Page, 2010; Urry, 1999), which has led to new forms of tourism emerging, as tourists taste change. Boutique tourism, which caters to specific desires of a sub-set of tourists, such as gastro-tourism, sex tourism, and poverty tourism, has emerged, as tourists crave more intimate and authentic experiences (MacCannell, 1992). Urban ethnic tourism is a boutique tourist experience that is a subset of both urban tourism and ethnic tourism.

Creating a tourist experience that requires ethnic groups to be the subject of the tourist gaze has implications for the complex relationships and power structure of ethnic and minority groups within a city. Yet, urban ethnic tourism remains understudied. To date, no published work contains a definition or working model of urban ethnic tourism that can be applied beyond general tourism management. This paper reviews current literature relevant to the scholarly study of urban ethnic tourism, and attempts to create a working model that reflects the dynamics of the relationships between stakeholders. A model is created by drawing upon frameworks that already exist in ethnic tourism, cultural tourism, urban tourism, tourism management, ethnic festival history, and the sociology of tourism. This paper will contribute to the literature on urban tourism by placing urban ethnic tourism as a subset of both urban tourism and ethnic tourism. It will also provide a social science framework to begin to discuss urban tourism with a focus on ethnicity. This tool can be used by urban scholars, tourism scholars, and practitioners of urban tourism management.

Tourism Overview

Tourism lends itself to a breadth of study options because of its importance to urban economies and the illusive nature of differentiating tourism from other service industries (AlSayyad, 2001; Judd, Winters, Barnes, & Stern, 2003). Many services and structures within a city, such as concert venues, changes to the built environment, or historic sites, can function for tourism as well as for local use (Ashworth & Page, 2010). This makes the subject of tourism approachable from many angles, yet difficult to define and measure. There is no one tourist industry. Instead, tourism is a collection of local and multinational industries working collaboratively, although often towards different ends (Judd & Fainstein, 1999; McKercher, Ho, & du Cros, 2004). Tourism stakeholders in any city usually include multi-national hoteliers,

restaurant franchisers, local service providers, municipal governments, historical societies and preservationists, and local industry (AlSayyad, 2001; Judd & Fainstein, 1999; McKercher, Ho, & du Cros, 2004). It is therefore important to develop working definitions of the parameters of tourism within any given study.

Tourism literature tends to be vague about defining tourism (Pearce, 1982; Urry, 1991). The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) (2014) defines tourism as, “a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their *usual environment* for *personal* or *business/professional purposes*. These people are called *visitors* (which may be either *tourists* or *excursionists*; residents or non-residents) and tourism has to do with their activities, some of which involve *tourism expenditure*” [emphasis original] (p.1). Tourism is the collection of activities conducted in an area by specific people. However, these activities are not limited to visitors, and not all activities conducted by visitors involve tourism expenditure. In this context, tourism includes purchasing novelties from a museum gift shop, staying in a hotel for a business conference, and driving to a different part of the city to experience the atmosphere without spending a dime.

John Urry (2002) argues that tourism is defined in relation to its opposite, mainly, work. Urry contends that tourism is an activity constructed through the conscious manipulation of signs and symbols by an industry of professionals. The signs and symbols directly shape the tourist experience, often literally pointing the tourist to the next object of interest or designated area for tourist activities. Signs and signifiers also mark objects or spaces as having significance – be it historic or entertainment. For example, historic districts can be signified by street pavers, replicated gas light street lamps, or public art. The key characteristic of tourism for Urry is the anticipation of experiences that occurs before travel. Tourists engage in fantasy while preparing

for their travels, imaging a travel narrative based on pre-conceived perceptions of the destination. Each stage of the travel experience is directed by a collection of organizers that together make up the tourist industry. These professionals direct the tourists towards objects of importance at the destination, producing the tourist gaze.

Urban Tourism

The existing body of urban tourism scholarship consists of a broad set of studies loosely bound by the connection to urban space (Ashworth & Page, 2010; Fainstein & Judd, 1999). Urban tourism theorists concentrate on business travel, cultural tourism, and the economic effects of sports venues, or managing tourist crowds that are sometimes larger than the native population (AlSayyad, 2001; Ashworth & Page, 2010; Fainstein & Judd, 1999; van den Berghe, 1994). The continuity of urban tourism scholarship lies in the embeddedness of the tourist interaction in the urban space (Ashworth & Page, 2010). According to Ashworth and Page (2010),

“...urban tourism is not like other adjectival tourisms. The additional adjectives ‘cultural’ (including festival or art), ‘historic’ (‘gem’) and even ‘congress,’ ‘sporting,’ and ‘gastronomic’...could all precede ‘city tourism’ as different clusters of urban features and services are utilized in the service of an array of tourism markets. This diversity lies at the core of the relationship between the city and the tourist...” (3)

Therefore, the study of urban tourism is the study of the activities of principle stakeholders that may or may not occur during tourism interactions and within systems placed in the larger context of the city. It is the transactions or interactions between tourists, the built environment, and the city, including: local residents, municipalities, and multi-national organizations that urban tourism scholars seek to analyze. Fainstein and Gladstone (1999) acknowledge that measuring tourism is usually reduced to changes in local economies. They

suggest using the concept of commodification to measure the change in use of an object from production to consumption to understand the full range of effects of tourism on a city.

The urban tourism model consists of three stakeholders: the tourist, the tourism industry, and cities (Fainstein & Judd, 1999). The tourist produces a demand for an experience that is both familiar and exotic (Fainstein & Judd, 1999; Pearce, 1982). It is this constant dichotomy that drives the urban tourism industry (Pearce, 1982). The tourism industry is the functional team that provides the tourist experience. This includes local and national suppliers, city governments, banks, hotels, and meeting managers (Fainstein & Judd, 1999).

Even though urban tourism is difficult to define, it does have distinct attributes. Ashworth and Page (2010) list four characteristics of urban tourism: selectivity, rapidity, repetition, and capriciousness. Each characteristic explains how a city is consumed by tourists. Selectivity refers to types of activities tourists will consume. Each city has primary and secondary components within it that create the tourist attractions (Shachar & Noam, 1999). Primary components comprise all of the attractions that create the unique experience of the city. Secondary components are the services offered, which may be unique, but are mostly familiar (Fainstein & Judd, 1999; Shachar & Noam, 1999).

Tourist space in cities are not randomly distributed (Campo & Ryan, 2008); North American urban tourist spaces are constructed, often within what Judd (1999) calls a “tourist bubble”. Tourist bubbles are spaces that “envelop the traveler so that he/she only moves inside secured, protected, and normalized environments” (Judd, 1999 p.36). Tourists conduct their activities within the select spaces created by the primary and secondary tourist components (Ashworth & Page, 2010). Tourist bubbles serve two purposes: first, they offer a level of security to the tourist. Second, they contain the tourists and tourism activities, preserving and protecting

the rest of the city from the damaging effects of mass tourism (Pearce, 1982; Stein, 2001). This is especially of concern in cities with delicate historic spaces or public art, such as frescos or ancient ruins, many of which are in danger from exposure to mass tourism crowds (Pearce, 1982).

The second characteristic of urban tourism is rapidity. Rapidity refers to the amount of time tourists spend consuming. Urban tourists rapidly visit sites, attractions, and spaces on their agenda for the city (Ashworth & Page, 2010; Pearce, 1982; Urry, 1999). Once primary components are consumed, it is unlikely the tourist will repeat a visit to the city. Urban tourists are less likely to repeatedly visit locales than non-urban tourists, making “repetition” the third characteristic of urban tourism in Ashworth and Page’s (2010) model. Interestingly, the more unique a city’s attraction, the less likely a tourist is to revisit (Ashworth & Page, 2010).

Capriciousness is the fourth characteristic of urban tourism defined by Ashworth and Page (2010). Central to urban tourism is constant negotiation for space, resources, and tourism revenue. Cities engage in relentless competition on regional, national, and global scales (Eisinger, 2000; Florida, 2003; Judd & Fainstein, 1999; Urry, 1999). The capriciousness and lack of repetition among urban tourists’ means that cities must constantly offer new, unique, and satisfying tourism experience if they wish to expand their tourism portfolio (Urry, 1999).

A key characteristic of urban tourism is the lack of exclusivity of space (Ashworth & Page, 2010). Urban amenities are used by tourists and residents. Tourist activities in urban areas also take place in public spaces. Activities such as “sightseeing” and “taking in the atmosphere” are regularly reported by tourists (Urry, 2002). Spaces that are constructed for tourist activities have often been repurposed to manufacture an experience that is safe, familiar, and exciting for mass tourists (AlSayyad, 2001; Fainstein & Gladstone, 1999; Judd, 1999). Thus, the allocation of

space becomes a point of conflict. Municipalities manage tourism through the allocation of zoning, tax levies and subsidies, and through changes to the built environment through urban renewal projects. Many urban tourism scholars focus on the physical changes made to the built environment for tourism, such as the construction of tourist districts and convention centers (Campo & Ryan, 2008; Eisinger, 2000; Judd, 2003).

The City becomes a stakeholder in urban tourism because it is the city that competes for the tourist market. As John Urry (2002) states, “It is no longer enough for a tourist site to be merely a place of action or of dedicated relaxation. Now it must also distort time and bend space to produce the illusion of an extraordinariness or ecstasy of experience” (85). Postmodern cities need tourism to thrive. Yet, tourism is most effective for cities that already have strong base economies (Ashworth & Page, 2010). The typical modern tourist city will have all of the following components to compete for tourists on a regional and national scale: waterfront development, convention centers, professional sports stadiums, festival malls and entertainment centers, and cultural districts (Judd, Winter, Barnes & Stern, 2003).

Heritage Tourism

Cultural heritage tourism is an important component of urban tourism plans. Cultural tourism in this context relates to the cultural assets of the city--amenities such as festivals, arts centers, sports stadiums, and green spaces--that improve the quality of life for residents and attract visitors. The city takes an active role in the planning and management of cultural tourism assets through constant negotiation with stakeholders. Urban ethnic tourism can be promoted as a cultural tourism asset in cities.

Tourism scholars differentiate between heritage tourism and ethnic tourism (Boyd, 2000; Chhabra, 2003). When used broadly, heritage tourism includes any tourism activities that use spaces, buildings, artifacts, and legacies to create a product or experience for tourist consumption (Boyd 2000; Poria, Butler & Airey 2003). Heritage tourism is located at the local level. It promotes local history, and is place-based. Chhabra (2003) defines heritage tourism specifically as a local event that combines local traditions, folklore, crafts and activities. The defining characteristic of heritage tourism is nostalgia for a perceived or shared past, which the expectations of the visitor help to define (Chhabra 2003). In the United States, heritage tourism has a history of being a political action to create display and defend the right to the city (Waldstreicher, 1995). Civic festivals occurred at the local, regional, and national levels. These festivals served three purposes: 1) unify and sway public opinion, 2) voice concerns about economic conditions after the recession of 1780, and 3) create a sense of national unity through the depiction of a shared past (Heideking, 2001; Ryan, 1989; Waldstreicher, 1998).

American's cultural identity began to be challenged with waves of mass immigration in the 1840s and 1850s (Fabre & Heideking, 2001). Immigrants began being excluded from "Native (Anglo) American" celebrations in the 1850s. Elite festivals became private, while immigrant groups held public ethnic festivals (Fabre & Heideking, 2001; Neils Conzen, 1989). By 1858, civic parades became dominated by immigrant participants (Ryan, 1989). Ethnic festivals became a way for immigrants to create an identity as new Americans. Performance included rituals from the "old country" and invented traditions that were distinct to the immigrant group. German Americans, in particular, challenged the idea of assimilation, promoting multiculturalism as a form of American celebration (Neils Conzen, 1989).

Heritage tourism can incorporate ethnic tourism, but not all ethnic tourism qualifies as heritage tourism. The difference is the focus of the tourist gaze. The product, or experience, of ethnic tourism is the exotic other (MacCannell, 1992; Urry, 2002; van den Berghe & Keyes, 1984). Ethnic tourism is often portrayed as exploitative, and related to colonialism (Boyd 2000; MacCannell, 1992; van den Berghe, 1994). Heritage tourism involves a reconstruction of some aspects of a common history that defines a region, event, or place. The gaze in heritage tourism is less about the people or the exotic bodies than the customs, traditions, and location. The theoretical distinction is important because it implies differences in power relationships regarding who has control over how the culture is being represented. Both forms of tourism commodify culture, but indigenous cultures that are often exposed through ethnic tourism are assumed to be less in control of what they can display (Boyd, 2000; Foster, 2013; Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2003; Santos, Belhassen, & Caton, 2008).

In practice, the difference between heritage tourism and ethnic tourism is not always clear. This is especially evident in urban areas. Heritage tourism is often created through the conscious manipulation of the built environment to create an ethnic place (Kenny, 1995; Hoelscher, 1998; Judd & Fainstein, 1999; Campo & Ryan, 2008; Santos, Belhassen, & Caton, 2008; AlSayyad, 2001; Judd, Winter, Barnes, & Stern, 2003). Heritage tourist spaces include historic districts, reconstructed waterfronts, ethnic neighborhoods, festival grounds, or entire villages. Some aspects of heritage tourism focus specifically on an ethnic group. Ethnicity is then the primary focus of the gaze, but it is represented through broader mechanisms of heritage tourism.

One distinction between ethnic tourism and heritage tourism may be the position of the ethnic other in time. Both heritage tourism and ethnic tourism use reconstructed versions of

ethnicity. The reconstructed versions place ethnic identity into a historical vacuum (MacCannell, 1992). For example, living history museums, such as Old World Wisconsin, reconstruct buildings and landscapes to represent the typical living conditions of groups of people during a specific time period. Old World Wisconsin focuses on immigrant groups that settled in Wisconsin during the early 1800s. The museum is staffed by volunteers who dress in period costumes and interact with visitors to create an immersive experience. Each immigrant group has its own village at the museum, allowing visitors to compare historical ethnic practices. It is likely that an in-depth analysis would reveal subtle structuring of ethnic identity in the way each group is displayed. However, the ethnic person is not the subject of the tourist gaze. Ethnicity in this context serves as a frame for the constructed historical space.

Ethnic Tourism

Ethnic tourism is differentiated by the subject of the tourist gaze and also by the power relationships associated with the gaze. Cultural and ethnic tourism has often had a colonial bent. Nineteenth and 20th Century World's Fairs often included cultural villages of colonial settlements. Families selected to live in the villages often exemplified exaggerated characteristics of ethnicity, contributing to validations of stereotypes. American tourists invented the road trip to gaze at the old Spanish Missions and dwindling Palomino Indian settlements on the El Camino Road in California during the early 20th Century. The tourists' excursions became an extension of Manifest Destiny, a romanticized view of the conquered lands. The Palomino Indians were expected to become extinct. Tourists celebrated the conquest and mourned what they considered a dying culture (Heideking, Fabre, & Dreisbach, 2001).

Ethnic tourism does not always involve travels to experience indigenous tribes or former colonies. Studies that limit ethnic tourism to global, colonial perspectives neglect the internal

ethnic tourism in developed nations. A recent movement in urban ethnic tourism in the United States is the recreation of “Bronzevilles” within cities. The recreated neighborhoods represent the thriving African-American communities that were mostly destroyed through urban renewal practices in the 1950s and 1960s. The recreated Bronzevilles are marketed to middle-class African American tourists (Boyd, 2000).

Van den Berghe and Keyes (1984) identify three components of ethnic tourism: the tourist, the touree, and the middleman. The touree is the ethnic group that creates the performance for the tourist. The key characteristic of the touree is the performance; the touree modifies ritual for gain according to the perception of the tourists’ expectations. Van den Berghe and Keyes assert that the presence of the tourists creates the touree, a functional group that represents the authentic while withholding the authentic from the tourist gaze. The tourist is in search of the authentic experience, but their very presence creates the touree. The middleman can be tour companies, private entrepreneurs, or government agencies. In this scenario, the tourist is never able to achieve an authentic experience.

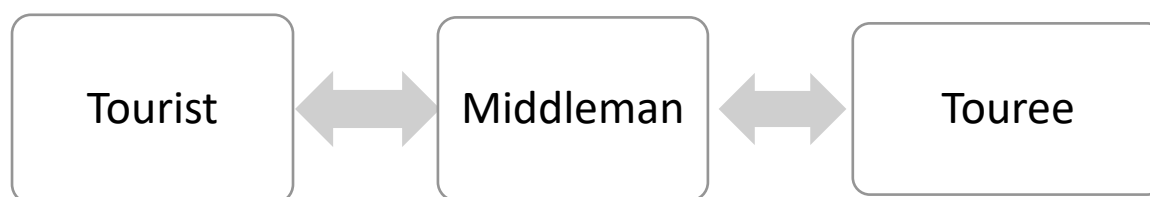


Figure 1: Ethnic Tourism Framework (Van den Berghe & Keys 1984; Yan & Wall 2009)

Van den Berghe and Key’s model assumes there was an untouched native; a static ethnic culture that is disrupted by tourism. The authors saw mass tourism as a cause of the

homogenization of world cultures, and the dissolution of local economies. Other theorists go further, equating capitalism to metamorphic cannibalism (MacCannell, 1992).

Yang and Wall (2009) take a more positive view of ethnic tourism. They see ethnic tourism as a means for minority and endangered ethnic groups to preserve their culture and educate the mainstream. Staged performances protect the touree community from intrusion into the truly authentic events. Performances, such as ethnic festivals, have also been shown to strengthen a sense of community, increase ethnic pride, and provide an opportunity to share ideas (Smith, 2003).

Yang and Wall (2009) expanded on the framework of Van den Berghe and Keyes, and developed a model for the management of ethnic tourism. They list the key stakeholders as governments, ethnic minorities, tourism entrepreneurs, and tourists. Each stakeholder group affects the development of ethnic tourism. Yang and Wall identify four tensions of ethnic tourism that arise with development: state regulation versus autonomy, cultural exoticism versus modernity, economic development versus cultural preservation, and authenticity versus cultural commodification. In this model, the interactions between the tourist and touree are limited to transactions. The middleman is always present, balancing the representation of the ethnic group with the tourist expectations. The stakeholders make decisions to balance tensions within the bounds of their power relationships.

Yang and Wall's model is based on a study conducted of the Xishuangbann Dai Autonomous Prefecture, located in the Yunnan Province in China. This region is the most ethnically diverse in China, and has a defined tourist zone. The difficulty in adapting this model to ethnic tourist experiences in the United States arises from the role of the government as the middleman. In China, the central government runs the tourist industry and defines the

characteristics of ethnic minority groups. Minority groups in China are given little autonomy in the methods and means by which they perform ethnicity. Although government entities may act as a middleman in US urban tourism, ethnic minority groups define their own heritage.

Authenticity in Tourism

The experience of the tourist in ethnic tourism is predicated on the desire of the tourist to experience an authentic culture that is different than their own (MacCannell, 1992; Urry, 2002; Yang, Wall, & Smith, 2008; Smith, 2003; Stein, 2001). This is further complicated by the process of ethnic self-identification in the United States, which allows individuals to choose which ethnic group with which they would prefer to associate (Lackey, 2013). Scholars of tourist studies have debated the possibility of authenticity in tourism, without reaching consensus. While a full discussion of authenticity is outside of the scope of this project, an overview of current topics is worth mentioning.

Authenticity is generally studied from the point of view of the tourist interaction (Stein, 2001). There are three types of ethnicity displayed in the tourist experience: constructed ethnicity, reconstructed ethnicity, and fluid ethnicity. Constructed ethnicity assumes that there is an original, static, ethnic identity that is corrupted by the tourist exchange. The touree is a performer, who separates the authentic from the commercial (MacCannell, 1992; Urry, 2002; van den Berghe & Keyes, 1984). Tourees are entrepreneurs, and modify their behavior to engage in exchange of goods with the tourists (MacCannell, 1992). The ethnic identity that is on display for tourists is created and marketed as a contrast to the dominant group (Stein, 2001). Eventually, the modifications destroy the original ethnic identity (MacCannell, 1992).

Reconstructed ethnicity is based on a constructed ethnicity that is no longer practiced, and is therefore frozen in time (MacCannell, 1992). Reconstructed ethnicity is considered a product of the postmodern, mass tourism industry. For example, the town of New Glarus in Wisconsin has adopted ethnic Swiss character that has become “more Swiss than Switzerland”. The buildings are bound to a strict code of appearance, and the residents perform in Swiss national traditions, whether or not they are of ethnic Swiss heritage (Hoelscher, 1998). In reconstructed ethnicity, the copy of the thing becomes as real as the thing (AlSayyad, 2001). Reconstructed ethnicity is important for the creation of heritage.

The final version of ethnicity is fluid ethnicity. Fluid ethnicity assumes that the ethnic display of tourism is authentic because authenticity does not exist. Ethnicity is dynamic: there is no pure version of ethnicity (Hitchcock, 1999; Lackey, 2013; Santos & Yan, 2008). Ethnic displays for tourists represent current practice of the ethnic group, therefore, they are authentic (Foster, 2013; Hitchcock, 1999; Zhu, 2012).

Authenticity can also vary by the perceived relationship of the tourist to the tourism site. Not all tourists are aware or motivated by the significance of the heritage site. Those who feel they belong to the ethnic or cultural group on display, no longer participate in the tourist gaze, but are actively and emotionally involved in the tourism experience (Poria, Butler, & Airey, 2003). Their perceptions and motivations have the potential to change their behavior at the site or event.

Urban Ethnic Tourism: A Framework

Ethnic neighborhoods and events in cities are promoted as safe ways to experience foreign or exotic cultures (Boyd, 2000; Judd & Fainstein, 1999; VISIT Milwaukee, 2013).

Research on urban ethnic tourism has been limited to interactions within and between ethnic neighborhoods (Boyd, 2000; Green, 2005; Santos & Yan, 2008; Santos, Belhassen, & Caton, 2008). This narrow focus aligns urban ethnic tourism with ethnic tourism: the touree is an ethnic other that is the subject of the gaze in the tourism interaction (Hitchcock, 1999; Santos, Belhassen, & Caton, 2008). The activities of tourism are confined to an ethnic place that represents ethnic authenticity, usually historically defined by immigrant neighborhood settlement patterns (Green, 2003; Lackey, 2013; Santos & Yan, 2008). Limiting urban ethnic tourism to ethnic tourism framework assumes that an authentic ethnic group exists, and ignores the urban setting which produces unique characteristics in tourist behaviors (Ashworth & Page, 2010).

Urban ethnic tourism differs from ethnic tourism in two important ways. First, the roles of middleman, tourist, and touree are not fixed; they exist as over-lapping roles and spheres of influence. Multiple events and ethnic tourist spaces can be managed within the same metro area (Visit Milwaukee, 2013). A person who is a touree – living in an advertised ethnic neighborhood – is able to participate as a tourist at an ethnic festival, or act as a middle-man, running a hotel or ethnic-themed tours. Second, the three roles of tourist, touree, and middleman are in a constant negotiation for space. Urban tourist spaces are constructed and somewhat detached from the rest of the city, but still accessible to everybody (Eisinger, 2000; Judd, Winter, Barnes, & Stern, 2003). Tourees maintain private spaces within ethnic neighborhoods to which tourists are denied access (Foster, 2013; MacCannell, 1992; Zhu, 2012). However, much of the tourist related activity takes place in public or shared spaces that are created not only for tourists, but also to attract the creative class as permanent residents of the city (Florida, 2003).

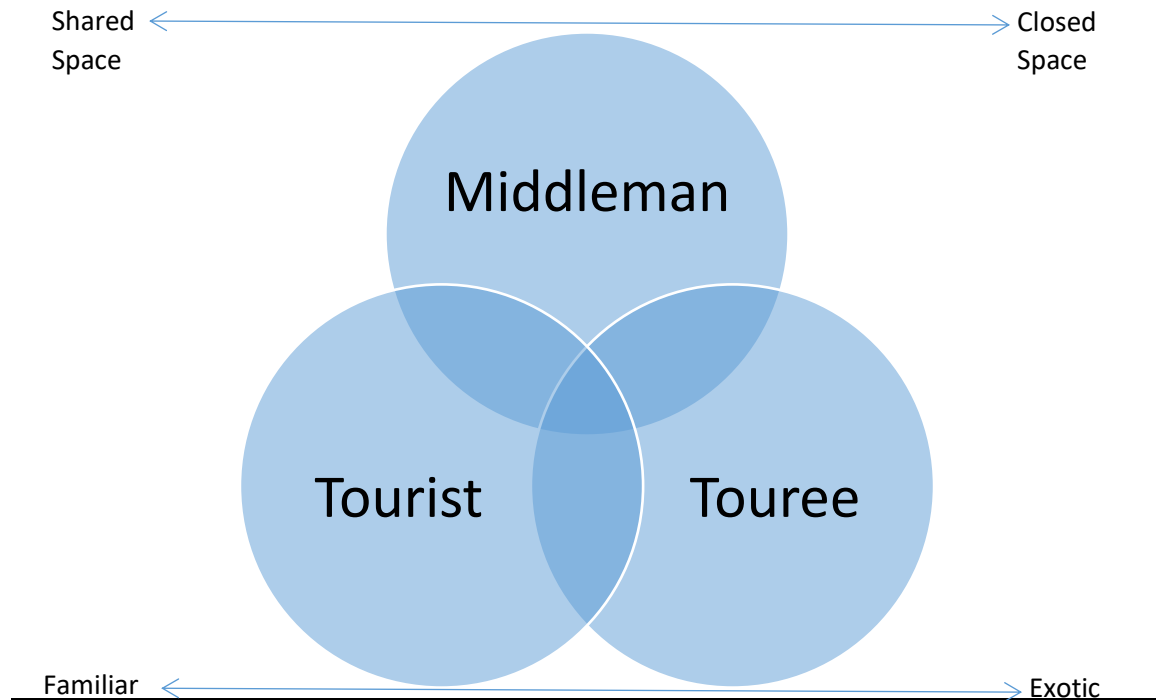


Figure 2: Urban Ethnic Tourism Framework

The public space can not only be used for entertainment, but, when accessed by a touree group, can be a place to display ethnicity and exert the right of the group to the city. This model would predict that constant negotiations between the middleman, tourist, and touree in urban ethnic tourism would create the constructive conflict necessary for the allocation of space and for the creation of ethnic heritage representations. It is the negotiated spaces that offer a combination of familiar and exotic experiences and promote interaction between tourist and touree. The display of ethnicity in a shared space is a part of the American tradition of heritage celebration through festive culture.

The negotiations in urban ethnic tourism apply not only to the physical space, but also to the cultural display produced for the tourist by the touree. In ethnic tourism, the presence of the tourist changes the display of ethnicity (Foster, 2013; MacCannell, 1992). The urban ethnic tourism model would predict an increase in the rate of change of ethnic displays to appease the

capriciousness of the urban tourist. Touree groups in urban ethnic tourism must respond to the demand of urban tourists for new experiences. At the same time, they preserve and promote their own cultural heritage. Finding the balance creates the need to make conscious choices about which aspects of ethnicity will be on display.

Conclusion

Urban ethnic tourism is a boutique tourism phenomenon that is a subset of both urban tourism and ethnic tourism. Acknowledging the influence of both tourism frameworks allows for a model to be created that incorporates the influence of the tourist and middleman on the ethnic community that is subjected to the tourist gaze and the influence of a tourism industry embedded within the urban environment. The heart of urban ethnic tourism is constant negotiations. It remains to be seen what effect the negotiations have on ethnic traditions within the city. For example, do the traditions and displays created for tourists become embraced as new traditions? Does tourism create new cultural heritage? Who has the power to decide? The framework presented for urban ethnic tourism can give scholars a way to begin to explore beyond tourism management.

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