

Tourism to religious sites, case studies from Hungary and England: Exploring Paradoxical Views on Tourism, Commodification and Cost-Benefits

Abstract

The application of systems theory to tourism development has a pedigree that has largely been derived from econometrics and macro-economic theory (Baggio et al, 2010; Franch et al, 2010; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006; Schianetz & Kavanagh, 2008; Dwyer et al, 2010). This report identifies opportunities and some barriers to developing sites of religious worship for tourism to maximise income and engage appropriate resources allocation strategies. The authors have investigated tourism development that is sympathetic to sacred purposes at these sites over several years. The sites must adapt to change brought about by increased visitation and more individualistic consumption trends. Religious sites are now acknowledging that homogeneous supply responses may no longer be appropriate. Each special site demands a heterogeneous response of site guardians to changeable demand and careful evaluation of how to maximise income generated from very limited resources. This necessitates improved skills in guardians in building appropriate point of sale products and services that fit with consumption expectations and are congruent with sacred purpose.

Keywords: soft systems methodology tourism religious sites guardians sacred secular purpose commodification commercialisation

Background

This research explores contemporary good practices in ways in which religious sites may develop sacred purpose through commodification and associated commercial processes. This is undertaken using three case studies; two in Derbyshire, England and one in Western Hungary, with the analysis developed by means of a soft-systems methodological approach. The two sites in Derbyshire and the one in Hungary were selected by the researchers from convenience as we had tried and tested networks involving all three sites. Both academics had previous experience of evaluating the fitness for tourism purpose of the religious sites in question. We identify useful practices that support inward investment for a sustainable future and ways to develop tourism at specific sites that matches faith and sacred purpose with any commercial activities undertaken.

We believe that this paper contributes directly on two fronts; firstly by exploring the income derived from increased visitation; the improvement in return on investment in visitor functions and facilities; but also, secondly, draws on these for the embedding of new knowledge in regard to these two fronts. Sacred sites can be significant drivers in the tourism economy and leverage socio-economic benefits for partners. Religion encourages thrift, which stimulates saving, investments and therefore economic

growth (Mangeloja, 2003:7) but religious tourism also encourages expenditure and therefore local multipliers.

Literature Review

Tourism and religion have long travelled together, with religion being one of the earliest identified drivers of travel behaviours (O’Gorman, 2010). It has also long been recognised that not all visitors hold the same concept of religion within their travels. Rinschede’s (1992) original distinctions focussed on length of stay, means of transport and numbers in the parties. Nolan and Nolan (1992) described Europe’s religious tourism system with emphasis on the fulfilment of the expectations of visitors ranging from devout pilgrims to secular tourists at three types of attractions highlighting sources of tensions between pilgrims and tourists because of their different interests.. These were pilgrimage shrines with strong emphasis on religious devotions, but with few characteristics to attract secular tourists; shrines that function as devotional centres and religious tourism attractions because of various combinations of historical, artistic, and scenic site characteristics; and places where religious festivals are the principal attractions. These tensions give voice to Smith’s position framework (1992) arising from the clash between the polarities she identified as the sacred and the secular. She identified five positions allowing for the identification of less than pure behaviours. Position ‘c’, the mid-point hinges around a recognition of the distinction between the knowledge bases of the faith and the profane. This work has recently been revisited by Moira (2003) and her colleagues Moira et al (2009) in attempting to classify religious resources for their rational valorization.

We utilise this conceptualisation to look at the consequences of the application and implementation of different rationalities within the religious tourism settings, accepting that different motivations and different levels of religiosity are involved. However we also recognise that revenue from visitors is vital to the maintenance of the fabric and facilities (Shackley, 2005: 34). Places of worship have impacts on sacred and secular visitors and supplement other existing man-made and natural tourism products and services provided at destinations. These impacts and benefits extend beyond the sacred purpose for congregations (Thurley & Wood, 2010). This report is designed to highlight these impacts and benefits and how supportive tourism can be for such places. We note this in the context of relatively few networks between the tourism industry, government and destination community to support development (Timur & Getz, 2008: 445). The emphasis for future prosperity driven by tourists’ spending has been highlighted in recent literature as has the recognition that this expenditure will not derive solely from the sacred purpose. One example serves to underline this - ten percent of income can be derived from retail sales (Southwell Minster 2000 cited in Shackley, 2001), ten percent can be gained through visitors’ donations and less than five percent from fees and concerts.

Ultimately demand-side research needs to confirm what visitors and pilgrims say about their visit or pilgrimage and this is a task for planners (Collins-Kreiner, 2010). Tourists are seen to be motivated by the desire for experiences to add meaning to their lives (ibid: 162). Intertwined between the place and the performance are the new modalities of networking (Larsen et al, 2007). Suppliers must consistently be

reminded that customers, artefacts, guides and bystanders create the experience and the performance that is to be replicated (Hoerau Heemstra, 2011:6).

The arrival of the deeper understanding of the experience economy (Pine and Gilmore, 1999), service dominant logic (Vargo and Lusch, 2004 & 2008) and commercialisation of experiences (Clarke, 2011) leads to a new context for the elaboration of religious tourism and tourism in sacred sites. However, we currently possess few insights into the differences between a church congregation and a social club, or church attendance and bowling (Iannaccone, 1998: 1490). It is likely that at specific sites, such as those in this report, the vernacular and parochial approaches are important in providing memorable sacred and secular experiences. The globalised approach to religious sites may yield poor results in their presentation for either sacred or secular purposes; localised adaptations and simulacra are going to be critical to success in future. Visitors may actually give scant regard to the cost of admissions (Sharpley & Jepson, 2011; Rivera et al, 2009). Tourism and consumption by sacred and secular visitors can be seen as opportunistic in character where consumers gobble up and commodify the product and the experience or performance (Cohen, 1996). Another researcher identifies “a despised golden horde that should stay at home, send the money and we will send the postcards” (Ashworth, 2009:1). Yet locals may well be unaware of the vernacular or characterful distinctiveness of its value (ibid: 5). Facilities may need to be considered that connect the sacred and the profane and facilitate the positive influence of the sacred site on the profane community in which it is located (Brayley, 2010:299). Yet development could be detrimental, especially when the cultural and social texture of the host communities is already fragile (Simone-Charteris & Boyd, 2010: 237).

However, on reflection, we concur that the religious border was crossed long ago in all possible forms of the commercialisation of the religious, including elements of the emotional, affective and experiential feelings of visitors (Vukonic, 1998: 11). A balance between needs and expectations of all parties can be achieved as long as the achievement of spiritual mission is accomplished (Stanciulescu et al, 2010). There are no homologous religious audiences for sacred sites (Rojo, 2007). A contemporary view of engagement with sacred space and journeys has emerged which focuses the attention of sacred space guardians on the needs of the sacred and secular consumer and mirrors aspects of the earlier consumer experience economy debate (Stausberg, 2010). Pine and Gilmore (1999) asserted that every business is a stage and many stages in the tourism sector are trod by poorly cast, underpaid and under-rehearsed actors (Morgan et al 2009:213-214). Pine & Gilmore’s Experience economy is a useful and analogous reference point for reflection and their more recent comments on authenticity continue to probe central issues for this study (Gilmore & Pine, 2007).

Central to this report is the effective and systematic identification and management of key scarce resources in resolving the conflict between sacred and secular activity (see for example, Lewis et al’s (1997) study in Australia). This can effectively be understood as reviewing the utilisation of contested social, political and economic spaces that can be reconciled by illustrating and enlarging the relationships, networks and capacities of key actors. This is demonstrated by those directly engaged in our case studies. Building on this framework, we indicate a soft systems methodology as the key to providing essential elements of best-practice and exemplars between the contested spaces at destinations’ sacred sites.

In taking a systems approach to managing the experience and the outcome we can consider the Miles and Snow (1978) model that demonstrated that the more successful businesses adopted the defender, analyser and prospector strategies to produce a better performance, especially in terms of turnover growth, compared to those adopting reactor ones (Gimenez, 1999:11). Therefore, Miles and Snow's (1978) typology can serve a useful purpose to benchmark a provider's position and to encourage sites to reflect and critically evaluate gaps in the provision of sacred and secular service, moreover for a market-led model, in the achievement of the sites' objectives and meeting the expectations of their visitors, whatever their motivations.

Methodology

We approach this study from a social constructionist perspective as we believe it is important to gain an understanding of the views of the various stakeholders involved in the processes of development we are interested in researching. It is important to recognise that there are multiple and subjective interpretations amongst the stakeholders (Dredge, 2009) and this is where the tensions outlined in the literature are to be found in the sites being studied. Most of the previous approaches to these sorts of policy making studies have taken a rationalist approach (Pforr, 2005) which, in our view, have often failed to explore or explain change and we support Bramwell and Meyer (2007) when they call for a holistic approach that captures both context and power. As Stevenson et al (2008: 734) observed thick descriptions can "include investigation into the irrational and less tangible aspects of policy making."

We therefore draw on a range of qualitative methods to explore the sites we are studying. In the work presented here these include site visits, including guided tours and informal observations, key actor interviews and the analysis of secondary sources available from and about the sites concerned. This produces a data set which can be triangulated (Clarke et al, 2009) against the original and secondary sources and tested against the understandings of the people operating the sites.

Emerging from this, we consider that systems approaches, more specifically the Soft Systems Methodology (SSM) approach allows for the identification of the clients, actors, transformations, worldview, owners and environment required to undertake a supply-side review of commodification and adaptation to contemporary demand factors (Checkland, 1981). Specifically SSM considers exploring the problems and possible solutions to these to build a human activity system needed to resolve problems. In building a structure to house the system we compare desirable and conceptual approaches to real world systems and structures (see Figure 1).

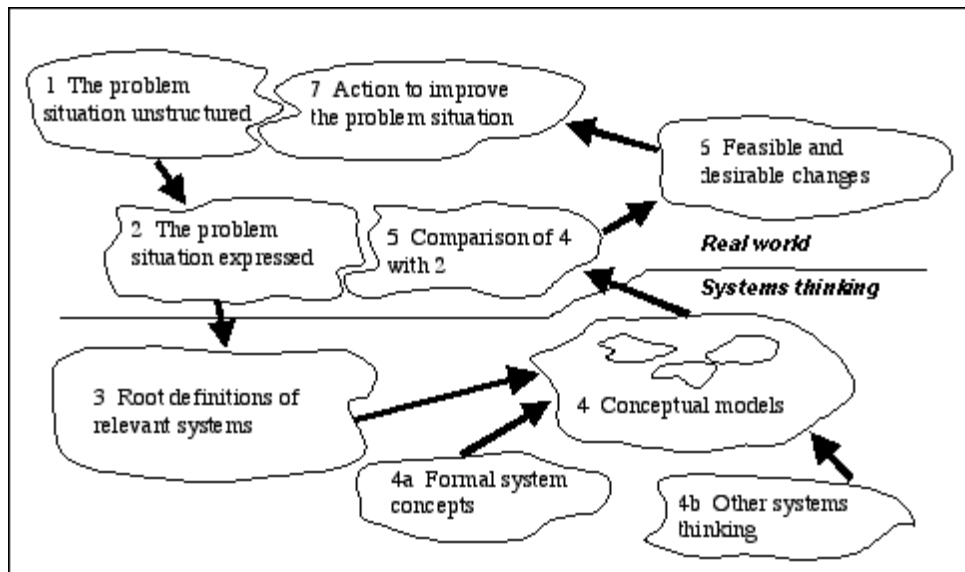


Figure 1: Schematic for Soft Systems Methodology (adapted from Checkland, 1981).

In using a programme from systems thinking the lessons learnt from exemplars can be utilised. This enquiry is made in the interpretive, inductive method of research. In the first phase we identified from the literature examined the problems and conceptual systems to be used. These included:

- Benefits and costs of increased visitation
- Managing change and value of the key transformative individuals (Hollinshead & Jamal, 2007)
- Embedding knowledge through processes
- Identify, research, implement, review change (Saxena & Ilbery, 2008)
- Skills, structures and resource base for change (Dredge, 2006; Edwards, 1998; Shortall, 2008; Rosenfeld, 2001; Von Friedrichs Grangsjø et al, 2006)
- Weak ties versus strong ties in CRM (Granovetter, 1983)

In developing a SSM approach one of the critical success factors is to identify informants that can rigorously review and critique the processes of measuring and managing impacts of tourism on religious sites. Such informants must possess a repository of key facts, experiences, judgements, reflections and core knowledge of both tourism and religion to validate the research process. A series of questionnaires developed using the work of Warren (2004) and Jackson (2002) (from the sacred and religious perspectives of contemporary Christian beliefs) and from the work of Shackley (2001, 2005, 2006) (from the management perspective) are engaged.

Prior research justifies sampling of sites based upon access to informants, access to survey responses and the quality of antecedent data using the viewed sample. In our case a random sample using a convenience sample was both cost-effective and easily accessible. The process of sifting and reflecting is easier to undertake where the respondents are accessible and moreover, willing, to undertake repeated and longitudinal investigation. A survey comprised of open questions based upon the sacred and secular purpose statements from Jackson (2002), Warren (2004) and Shackley (2001, 2005, and 2006) (among others) was used. We identified several key areas for probing and these are itemised in the findings that now follow.

Findings

Our research indicates that the sites demonstrate that they can manage their goals in a purposeful sense to support the sacred and secular objectives desired. The table below lists responses to conceptual factors identified through the SSM approach. It is evident that whilst some sites can uphold good practices, others seem unable to pursue them.

SSM Stage	Conceptual approach SSM	Derby	Chesterfield	Pannonhalma
Stage 1: Early warning of inappropriate expenditure	Does a few things well	The Cathedral quarter engages the Dean and Cathedral, Derby Telegraph, BBC Radio Derby. We worry about profit and footfall when we should be concerned about the Cathedral. We have an education officer for schools visits, dominations are increasing. These visits coincide with Easter and Christmas.	We try to do too much and so we live with second best	Everything is controlled, we organise the tours and everyone follows them
Stage 1: Explicit benefits of networks	Sense of partnership	Work closely with hotels, museum and World Heritage Site. A development programme being launched in autumn 2011 boiler, lighting, and electrics. We've had no real fund raising in 5-6 years. Church Tourism Association	Pilgrims are different from the WHS collectors but we welcome everyone. Informal only – museum	We work closely with the regional partners in tourism and the other Abbeys, such as Tihany by the Balaton.
Stage 5: Review of contemporary practices	Energising through expression of faith	Negative impact of commercial as 2% footfall enters cathedral	We express our hospitality in a Benedictine way	Our commercial activities belong to the traditions of our past but expressed in new ways for the new world order
Stage 1: Early warning of inappropriate expenditure; Stage 2: Structured approach to resources allocation	Religious sites are seen as operating as a community	There are 308 on electoral roll, 203 volunteers. Strong ecumenical partnership, e.g. holocaust memorial.	Can the nave be a badminton court or a place for lunch?	We are self contained but we work closely now with the partners we recognise in tourism. All the information comes from the order and we establish the priorities for the Abbey. The Abbey is a religious community first and foremost.
Stage 2;	legitimation of an	We got rid of the shop	Mopping up small	Our shop is the final

Structured approach to resources allocation	economic role of audiences and performances	– we had too much stock and no profit. Pencils, pens, crosses, wafers, holy water. It costs £1530 a day to stay open. We run 37 concerts a year, worth an average £700 each.	change from kids not adults – biros, pencils, rosaries	part of the tours, in every sense. Our souvenirs are high quality and we hope enshrine our religious values as well as offering value to our visitors.
Stage 6: Core datasets achieved and maintained	Commodification meets all types of travel -Pilgrimage and secular visits (Brayley 2010).	Our site presentation and interpretation is ok. We have a VAQUAS quality mark awarded. A guide takes pre-booked groups of 30-40 around and this is a paid services. Interpretation is improving	Hard to identify formal pilgrimage. Most are individuals.	We know who is coming when they are organised but sometimes our tours include pilgrims and tourism when people just arrive here. There are different expectations but our guides are well trained in helping everyone find what they are looking for in the Abbey.
Stage 1: Benefits of networking; Stage 6: Core datasets achieved and maintained; Stage 7: Monitor and review gaps between problems (Stage 2) and expected and desirable outcomes.	Interpretation & Tourism enhancement	People come to see the Cathedral, to light a candle, say a prayer, so many people from around the world. The peregrine falcons webcam has over 500k hits per annum. People detour from Hong Kong, Canada and the US because of the peregrines nesting in the tower.	Not too many architectural historians; predominantly they are local; yet not a week goes by without people visiting from different continents; Australians, Eastern Europeans, a rich mix	We have very intensive interpretation – the choice is the visitors as to how much they want to take in. We believe the efforts have benefitted the pilgrims as well as the tourist visitors.

Table 1: Responses to conceptual issues and factors for successful commodification whilst evaluating current practices with the SSM model

A framework, built upon both explicit and tacit knowledge of the key partners, can offer a structure using a soft-systems approach, which can drive the development of tourism at religious sites. This knowledge based upon concepts tested is central to exploring provision of an integrated approach to religious tourism development.

There are stages in which the stakeholders will be able to learn from prior experience (antecedents) and these mirror the SSM model in Figure 1. The destination sites can use this model to review the current worldview of the site's potential to explore commercialisation and commodification for both congruence with sacred purpose and provision of secular benefits to key stakeholders. The acceptance of the outcomes of this model implies learning can be achieved that mirrors best practices and allows the site's guardians and networks to model contemporary good practices adopted at other sites.

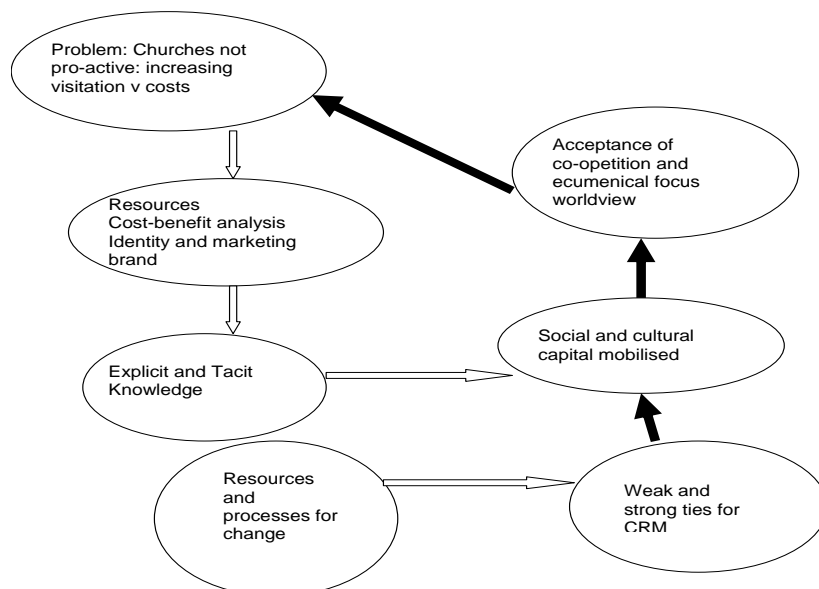


Figure 2: Schematic for Religious Sites (adapted from Checkland, 1981)

Stage 1 and 2 problem exploration – churches not proactive

Stage 3 – relevant systems

Stage 4 – conceptual models built

Stage 5 – compare model and reality

Stage 6 – feasible and desirable changes and Stage 7 – action taken

Discussion

Our analysis begins with the position that our three institutions find themselves in, which are very similar. They are iconic buildings with rich religious histories and significant heritages but which are increasingly difficult to maintain. There are clearly issues about sources and volumes of income in all three, which serves to drive the guardians towards the visitor/tourism markets. There are increased costs involved in the projected increase in visitor numbers but there are also possibilities to increase the revenues generated at the sites. This first stage of problem recognition is very

important as the decisions made here impact throughout the development of the site, the infrastructure and the resources commissioned to support the commercialisation of the sites.

We flow from this decision set to the options available to the sacred sites if they seek to become more proactive in developing the new, for them, sense of markets (Figure 2). The sites share a history of significance and of being recognisable points of identity, for the religious values, for the local areas and increasingly for international audiences. The systems approach forces the guardians to confront some of the difficult issues in the constructions of these layers of identities and the decision of what to appear as to the visitors in the experience economy. The sacred core should underpin the decision making and arguably sets the parameters on what is considered 'acceptable'. These sacred limitations are supported and challenged by the logics emerging from the commercialisation of the sites, which gives added significance to the processes involved in cost benefit analyses at the sites, by their guardians and by their visitors.

One of the key boundary questions which emerge from the analysis is found in the construction of the brand and the identification of the brand attributes. For the new markets we question whether the brand of sacred site, even more delimited as Christian site, is sufficient for the successful realisation of a commercialisation strategy. We would argue that the respect of the sacred core is a vital component of the brand but what we witness is a brand extension as the sites reach out to a new set of visitors and seek to satisfy their diverse expectations.

These decisions are facilitated and limited by the guardians' sense of knowledges, both tacit and explicit, and the openness of their dominant knowledge sets. In this research we have not encountered anything like a 'throw the merchants out of the temple' mentality (although this certainly existed in Hungary when our research began in Diocese) but there are differences in the acceptance of consumerist logics. Moreover these knowledge sets also determine the guardians' abilities to identify and recognise the help they can draw on from outside the sacred communities they inhabit. The introduction of the visitor centre, and the logics that underpinned the investment and development, at Derby Cathedral required a paradigmatic shift in thinking about visitors and their relations to the church as both building and institution. Interestingly Pannonhalma has managed a similar shift but without such a relationship shift. The two aspects of the life of the building are held as distinct spheres of life within the World Heritage Site.

This suggests explanations for the strong and weak ties that can be found between stakeholders and the ways in which these relationships impact on the developments. The future for our sites will continue to reveal new challenges but the contemporary relations will also support the guardians in their attempts to deal with those new (to them) opportunities and obstacles. How they are perceived and responded to will be largely determined by how far the commercial knowledges have become embedded within the institutional knowledge frameworks. The elaboration of explicit and tacit knowledges into direct actions will necessitate the mobilisation of cultural and social capital in and around the sites. But these actions are not the final statements as the soft systems model reminds us. Our actions today are only the stepping stone for further

actions in the future, which will be influenced by our positions in the here and now, positively and negatively.

Conclusion

We began this research with the aim of analysing the commercialisation of sacred sites through an analysis of the paradoxes we found between the drivers of conservation of the sacred with the recognisable benefits of the commercialisation of the sites. We have highlighted the importance of knowledge management in these developments as the guardians of the sites have been dealing with the pressures of a different way of thinking.

In attempting to reconcile the paradoxes that exist, and by using the SSM framework, we recommend a pro-active approach, adapting a supplier-led cost-benefit analysis and harnessing both site specific sacred and secular explicit and tacit knowledges, to help sites maximise current resources & employ key processes for change. As one observer notes religious sites are expensive to maintain, money is tight, worshippers are few yet numbers of visitors are many (Shackley, 2005: 39). Those involved in the management of sacred sites are, whether they like it or not, in the religion business and in the business of delivering services (in both senses) in highly challenging times. The bottom line is the need not only to balance the budget but also to present the mission and ministry of the site to its staff and visitors. We are able to confirm that the commodification of religious sites is not contradictory to sacred mission. Our SSM methodology allows other sites to test the benefits and costs of increased tourism.

The study highlights the importance of values in driving decision making and identifying possible ways forward. It highlights the need to hold a core of sacred value to retain the sense of authenticity and difference that makes the sacred sites 'interesting' to visitors seeking a new experience. However we also identify that if the sacred values are held too tightly they will stifle the commercialisation by delimiting the sense of possibility in dealing with the different types of visitors which emerge from the reconceptualisation of the markets for touristic visits.

We have demonstrated that sacred and commercial knowledge sets can sit side by side within sites, where there is a clear sense of core purpose and an equally strong recognition of the potential benefits of commercial activity. Our three cases demonstrate that in undertaking commercial activities there is no need to sell out the primary role of the sites. In deed if this were to happen, we would argue that the site would lose value for commercial activities as well. The experience economy does not ask for empty shells, but rather extracts value from sites of meaning/value.

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