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CULTURAL TOURISM AND ANGLO-ETHNOCENTRISM: DISCOVERING THE OTHERS THROUGH CONSUMPTION

EL TURISMO CULTURAL Y EL ETNO-CENTRISMO ANGLO-SAJÓN: DESCUBRIENDO AL OTRO POR MEDIO DEL CONSUMO

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Abstract: The present essay review centres a strong discussion on the role of cultural tourism subordinating aboriginal groups to the interests of white status quo. Though beyond the promise of a better world, cultural tourism emulates, there is further poverty, we adopt a more radical discourse which unveil the perverse core of heritage, which was a cultural project of colonial order to discipline natives. The main thesis is that cultural tourism is framed under a logic of expropriation stimulated by global capitalism, to perpetuate the centre-periphery dependence. While during the times of colony, the other should be discovered to be disciplined or even in other cases enslaved, in modern times, the other is gazed to internalize "a role or a biased image" that highlights the Western Supremacy over other local values.

Keywords: Globalization, Tourism, Cultural tourism, Consumption, Aborigines.

Resumen: El presente ensayo se centra en una fuerte discusión sobre el rol que juega el turismo subordinando el papel del aborigen a los intereses del orden blanco. A pesar de la promesa de una mejor posición que emula el turismo cultural, existe mayor exclusión y pobreza. Desde nuestra perspectiva, exploramos el núcleo siniestro del turismo cultural el cual es funcional a la explotación colonial que hoy continua vigente aun cuando por otros medios. La tesis central de este trabajo radica en que el turismo cultural perpetua la dependencia centro – periferia por medio de consumos globales. Mientras en tiempos de la colonia, "el otro no europeo" era disciplinado por la fuerza, en la actualidad es controlado por la mirada del turista que refuerza su imagen como ser superior.

Palabras-clave: Globalización, Turismo, Turismo Cultural. Consumo, Aborígenes.

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Introduction

The quest for otherness, which characterised one of the points of convergence of anthropology and colonialism, was widely criticized after the rise of deconstructionism during 60s decade (Racdliffe-Brown, 1975; Pritchard-Evans, 1977). One of the aspects that defined the needs of discovery for new lands, cultures and peoples was strongly associated to the conquest, or a type of soft paternalism, where Europe was conceived as the most civilized culture, over others which will be next to disappear (Mauss, 1979; Boas, 1982; Malinowski, 1986; Tylor, 1995; Durkheim, 2003). As a result of this, it was not surprisingly that aboriginals and their cultured were romantically stereotyped, commoditized and labelled as weaker agents to protect. To what extent, cultural tourism applies for aboriginals, but not for whites, seems to be one of the questions this essay review will unravel. The current body of knowledge in cultural tourism is based on this old prejudice denoting that aborigines are often considered the key-note speakers of their cultures. This assumption links culture to pristine and primitive life while the urban citizens move beyond the boundaries of what can be marketed as a product. The intersection of anthropology as a fertile ground to cultural tourism should be placed under the critical lens of scrutiny. Besides, in the name of protection, cultural tourism stimulates an implicit ethnocentrism which if unregulated very well may led towards social discrimination. While classic racism claimed by the subjugation of the other per its inferiority respecting to whiteness, now it takes subtler forms where culture plays a leading role delineating the boundaries between gazers and gazed.

Preliminary Discussion

The British Sociologist John Urry (2002) was undoubtedly a pioneer in the study of tourist gaze and its connection with the cultural matrix of society. His thesis argues that tourists are moved by their curiosity and needs of being

captivated by landscapes, experiences and other aspects of aesthetic values. However, this sentiment was subject to the role of mobility and of course globalization. The quest for culture and images as well as the compulsion for mobility are palpable in the tourism industry. Most surely, Urry is convinced that culture echoes to new forms and technologies for mobility. The nationality is a precondition to expand the understanding on the importance of travel to culture. Taking his cue from Bhabha, Urry considers that national stories lead communities gradually to leave behind their tradition (Urry, (because heritage is invented following marketing purposes). However, no less true is that Urry (2001) is more interested in studying the globalization (assuming that we are more mobile than centuries ago) than the inter-classes relationships. Heritage, sociologically speaking, paves the ways for a market of good-exchange, where ethnicity turns out in the main commodity of globalized economy. The process of industrialization as it was feared by founding parents of sociology, sets the pace to a more global and cosmopolitan entities, that commoditizes the periphery by the introduction of heritage.

As this backdrop, we cannot dissociate the conception of heritage from nation-states, which suggests that heritage-management pivots the social scaffolding of modern societies. If the history is cemented by hundreds years of conflict and wars, no less true is that the concept of culture was formulated during the end of 18s century to understand the emergent changes accelerated by the advance of industrialism. In this vein, Tucker and Emge defines heritagemanagement as a *"processes by which heritage managers attempt to make sense of a complex web of relationships surrounding heritage in a manner which meets the values and interests of many of the key stakeholders"* (Tucker & Emge, 2010: 42).

From its onset, the concept was associated to the needs of revitalization, rebirth or renunciation to pastime, which was originally necessary to improve the lives of communities. This concept of heritage for betterment was conducive not only to concerns for environment, but also adopted as a ways of profit-maximization. In tourism fields, this is the meaning of heritagemanagement that prevailed during the passing of time (Gray, 1982; Vitry, 2003; Aguirre, 2004; Dos-Santos & Antonini, 2004; Mondino, 2004; Espeitx, 2004; Toselli, 2006; Fernandez and Ramos, 2010; Bandarin, Hosagrahar, & Sailer-Albernaz, 2011); in addition, some scholars have certainly emphasized tourism as an efficient instrument for improving the conditions of life of aborigines and other ethnic-minorities. In this vein, sustainable development was another troublesome term scholarship somehow associated to cultural tourism. This suggests that many journals in tourism and hospitality adopted the heritage for betterment paradigm as a new vehicle towards sustainability (Altman, 1989; Zeppel, 1998; Moscardo and Pierce, 1999; Simmons, 2000; Ryan and Huyton, 2002; Leanne & White, 2007; Aceredo-Grunewald, 2002a; 2002b; Belhassen, Caton and Stewart, 2008; Hohl and Tisdell, 1995; White and White, 2009; Davis and Weiler, 1992; Dyer, Aberdeen and Schuler, 2003; Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). This raises a more than interesting question, is the concept of heritage and sustainability residual legacies from colonial world?.

Some studies focused on the negative effects of colonialism in forming the local mind which is exploited by capital owners. Following this theory, ignited by De Kadt some nations which faced an experience of colonial oppression have tough or serious limitations to adopt tourism as a vehicle towards development (de Kadt, 1979). This is consistent with the financial asymmetries produced by central powers over their periphery even in tourism industry (Clark, 2010), or the objected dependence, which deepened by the indiscriminate loans to underdeveloped world by world Bank or IMF, (Viola 2000; Esteva 2000) determines host-guest conflicts or the formation of ethnocentric discourse that rules the relations between tourist-delivering and tourist-received nations (Palmer, 1994) (Caton and Almeida-Santos, 2008) (Bandyopadhyay and Morais, 2005) (Almeida-Santos, 2006) (Cahir and Clark, 2010). Although the outcome of this valuable studies illustrates the condition of exploitation fomented by cultural tourism, less attention is paid to the intersection of culture, development and colonialism. If heritage opens the doors towards social distinction, some narratives of superiority surfaces whenever political powers alludes to the creation of "invented forms of past". While elite marks the periphery dotted with some stereotype, it avoids to be marked. To set an example, in American English we understand what "Afro-American", "Latin-American", "Asian American" mean. However less clear sounds the term "Anglo-American". This suggests that White Americans are normal while the rests of society which do not fit with this criterion are the exception. The same applies for cultural tourism. The visit to aboriginal reservoirs are deemed as "cultural tourism", but not when these aborigines plan visiting Chicago in their holidays. By the introduction of these disciplinary mechanism, the periphery is immobilized to fulfill the desires of status quo. In fact, the belief that aboriginals should be protected emulates an old archetype of noble savage that points out "aboriginals" are in inferior conditions respecting to white man because of cultural incapacity. The needs of protection covers an imperialist discourse, camouflaged in "paternalism". In this respect, the idealized image of the other as child, was brilliantly discussed by Anita Casavantes Bradford in her book The Revolution of the Children, where she dissects how American elite develops over Cubans the discourse they are not mature to reach self-determination that leads them towards an autonomous government. The role played by children in the formation of Latin American nation-building. Even, Anglo-centrism encouraged by American media presents Latinas as highfertility agents which pose a threat for the nation. The problem lies in the fact that children-oriented policies conducted by Government are ignored. On the introductory chapter, Casavantes Bradford theorizes the archetype of child as a "nation-maker" not only in Cuba but in other nations as well. The starting point where this discussion starts is described below by author,

Children have played a constitutive role in the ideological labor through which different actors have pursued a range of modern nation-making projects, starring in the historical myths and metanarratives through which nations have been given concrete expression, bestowing legitimacy to leaders or hastening their delegitmization, and reinforcing or contributing to destruction of institutions within which the range of political belief and possibilities have been contained and national trajectories determined (p. 9).

Based on the idea that Castro's revolution was not a spontaneous act, but a counter-response enrooted in the sociological context of Cuba, this text reminds brilliantly how "*the archetype of children*" are politically constructed to elite to keep its legitimacy. In this vein, chapter one refers to the preliminary works of Jose Marti envisaging an "essentialized" view of Cuba in order for expanding further ideological support to its quest for independence from Spain. Decades later, this image of a vulnerable and immature Cuba served to the interests of elite to support the US invasion. As this backdrop, it not only shored up the relation of subordination of White-Empire (America) and a racialized island (Cuba) but also accompanied the discourse of exiles even during XXth century. At some extent, in the mind of expatriates, revolution failed to achieve a mature democracy (like a child who is vied for parents) that leads Cubans to adhere authoritarian governments.

Tourism and Heritage

Some voices evinced that tourism and heritage shows serious limitations to be articulated simply because ones resulted from the forces of modernity, while the latter one is part of tradition. To overcome this controversy, specialists as Weaver (2011) acknowledges that as a profit-oriented activity, or industry, tourism should be regulated following sustainable policies. At some extent, the success in business are not incompatible with ecology. Although the same argument is present in many others works, Weaver distinguishes four constituent element of heritage, 1) In situ representations based on the memory of tourism and other events by means of plaques, markers, and festivals.

2) Ex situ original sites refers to fabricated places where events have not taken room as museums.

3) In Situ original nodes bespeaks of former infrastructure aimed at making heritage tourism possible as preserved-hotels, or recycled train-stations.

4) In Situ original corridors are represented by protected-tourism strips.

Following this model, three main lines can be found in the specialized literature, a) through the stimulation of consumption, heritage protects locals and enhance the attractiveness of cultural destinations (Zeppel & Hall, 1991), b) heritage, which is predefined from the viewpoint of consumer, allows the liberal rules of market. The negative effects of tourism are automatically corrected by the interplay of supply and demand (Poria, Butler and Airey, 2004) and c) since tourists are prone to discovery, cultural tourism gives an exceptional experience balancing the previous psychological frustration each urban dweller has (Richards, 2002; Richards & Wilson 2004; Timothy & Boyd 2003; Chaabra 2010). In this vein, D. Chaabra (2010) argues convincingly that heritage works as a sum-zero game, or in terms of Fakeye and Crompton by the interlude of push and pull factors. He considers that visitors are motivated by the following hierarchy of reasons.

- 1) To learn further about history
- 2) Education
- 3) Heritage Experience and Curiosity
- 4) Relief from psychological distress.
- 5) Cultural amenities and transportation.
- 6) Building friendship

- 7) Reputation and Prestige.
- 8) Culinary and food amenities.
- 9) Authenticity.

Undoubtedly, heritage and cultural tourism are inextricably intertwined (Espeitx, 2004; Ryan & Huyton, 2002). As Dean MacCannell puts it, tourism revitalizes not only the social frustration produced by modernism, but also plays the role of totem in secular societies. Born in Washington but fully educated in Berkeley, MacCannell is heavily influenced not only by Marxian theory but also by Goffmanian dramaturgy. Although he has published extensively over the recent decades, his main thesis rests on the needs of discovering the social background that explains why society keeps united. As the previous backdrop, our American anthropologist developed various themes of studies during his career, which may be organized them into three coherent facets. The first stage of investigation explores not only relation of sign in the productive system but how staged-authenticity mediates between citizens and their social institutions (Maccannell, 1973). The second facet is pivoted by a much deeper concern on the effects of capitalism over daily life. In this context, tourism, like totem in primitive communities, revitalizes the frustrations and resulted alienation of urban societies. Not surprisingly, Maccannell adds, Marx was in the correct side at denouncing the oppression suffered by the work-force. Nonetheless, leisure, far from being an ideological mechanism of control (as in whole Marxism), prevents the social disintegration (Maccannell, 1976; 1984). A last more radical insight situates tourism from "the fields of ethics". Whether tourism has proved something that is the lack of interests for the "Other" who is toured -gazed-. Originally opposed to Urry's view, Maccannell does not use the term "gaze" because it is a Foucaultian term that denotes control. This is not the nature of tourism. Everything that can be seen suggests another reality which remains covered. Further, the goals of tourism not only are the leave from ordinary life

as Urry precludes, but the formation of a meta-discourse towards a new consciousness. It was unfortunate that digital technologies and massconsumption are undermining the attachment of people to their cultures and traditions. This leads to Maccannell to contend that tourism is reproducing *"empty meeting grounds"*. (Maccannell, 2001; 2011; 2012).

As a form of leisure, tourism serves as a mechanism of mental health. The modern workers are often alienated and oppressed within the logic of labor. They not only are subject to numerous frustrations, but also their social ties are disorganized by the decline of trust. Maccannell argues convincingly that the struggle of classes wreaks havoc within society since accelerates the hostility (war) of all against all. This ever-increasing Hobbesian competition is conducive to a deterioration of daily relationships. The quest for Otherness, other landscapes, other lives, other cultures is previously determined by the citizen impossibility to develop a strong attachment to its urban neighborhood (Maccannell, 1976). This failure enlarges a gap between citizens and their social institutions, which is fulfilled by tourism. The question whether Totems, as Durkheim puts it, is associated to religion and tradition, the secularization played a vital role by undermining the influence of religion in daily life. It is important not to lose the sight that he is concerned on the clash between western civilization (higher-culture) and aboriginal tribes (lower-culture). The current state of mobility will create an atmosphere of subordination where lower cultures (like in colonialism) will be eradicated by the advance of Occident (MacCannell, 1973; 1976; 1984; 1988; 1992; 2001; 2009; 2011; 2012). The role of authenticity is vital to engage tourists with consumption. Although visitors look for authenticity, this is something they will never reach.

Furthermore, this is the concern of Duman and Kozak (2009) who clarify despite tourist consumes staged-authenticity, they can contribute to protect sites associated to archeology, or local aboriginal reservoirs. By this way, Moscardo and Pierce emphasize on cultural tourism ignited inter-ethnic interaction between hosts and guests in order for learning from other cultures (Moscardo & Phillips 1999). This fits with Lovelock dubbed as "the respect for otherness", necessary to build a platform of cosmopolitanism (Lovelock, 2008).

For Holman, cultural tourism emulates a tactic of exploitation and commoditization that perpetuates the colonial logic between inferior and superior men. One of the aspects that cemented the success of colonialism to index non western cultures consisted in the fact they introduced a hope, which was enrooted in some binomial terms, as us vs. them, civilization vs. barbarie, order vs. chaos. This instilled in aboriginal mind not only the biased idea they were inferior respecting to Whites, but the dreams of being civilized if they did everything what Whiteness asked. Needless to say this was a big error, simply because as Homan writes,

> This paternalistic, neocolonial us and them representation reflects well Pratt's concept of the anti-conquest, whereby the European subject (in this case Souther) attempts to secure what Pratt terms his innocence-by employing, donating and contributing to the struggling locals- at the same time he asserts his Western, capitalist hegemony. Thus, the unnamed locals who receive donations to their unnamed town are represented as passivated social actors, who serve as a the affected or beneficiary the ones who are affected... (Holman, 2011: 103).

In this respect, L. Pennington-Gray seems not to be wrong at observing, "Tourists impact hosts and hosts impact tourists. The level of impact or the rate of cultural change in the host community is of great concern. Fragile indigenous and ethnic communities are most vulnerable, as the impact is more pronounced when there is greater cultural development between the host and the guest" (Pennington-Gray et al, 2005: 267). Last but not least, Jean and John Comaroff calls the attention to the problem called "Ethnicity Inc", which reflects the troubling relationship of aboriginals and modern nation states. Beyond the promises of globalized economies, the industry of heritage can be explained by the needs of finding new sources of exploitation, the ethnomerchandise, where costs are reduced and profits enhanced. To some extent, anthropology as an academic discipline emerged over concerns that non-Western cultures were disappearing. Social scientists in the fields were concerned to create an inventory of different non-European cultures before their extinction. Once these disappearing cultures adopt empowerment to improve their living conditions, their culture is marketed to be sold as a commodity. This new type of identity, though more flexible, objectifies the local inhabitant to the extent to its needs are enslaved to a fabricated past. Basically, cultural tourism not only evokes a vibrant past which does not exist, but confers to local communities the legal mechanism for launching a new selfrepresentation. The value of aboriginal culture is determined by those features that legitimate the West supremacy. Aboriginals may say something if this discourse can be commercialized. This represents a much deeper process of alienation where cultures are disclosed from their original roots. In doing so, the culture is sold attending only to the interests of consumers.

On one hand, tourism uses cultural protection to re-draw the geography of the world. On the other, indigenous populations construct their sense of belonging in view of what they believe tourists want to hear and see. The merit of this work consists in reminding that this trend not only blurs the boundaries between past and present but also impose new economies based on ethnomerchandise where production never ends. The classical rules of economy teach us that the rise of demands entails a decline in the production. Needless to say, this does not happen with ethno-merchandise. The more the demand for cultural consumption, the better for production; that way, the destination never declines in what it can produce (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009).

Following this, Rodanthi Tzanelli explains that the host-guest meeting is based on a cultural matrix, which corresponds to an ethno-centricity crystallised in a European way of thinking where the Other is subordinated to Western materiality. Subject, this way, to a double circle of hermeneutics, that's sees

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locals according to the gaze of international travellers, heritage replicates symbolic allegories that deepen the dependency of centre and its periphery. These stereotypes are subtle but stronger, sometimes embedded with the aesthetics of film, tourism, mega-events and other cultural industries (Tzanelli 2004; 2006; 2015^a, 2015b; Korstanje, Clayton & Tzanelli, 2014). This is the reason why, many writers see heritage as the main element of postmodern tourism (Timothy 1997; Timothy & Boyd, 2006; Olsen, 2003; Raj & Morphet 2007; Korstanje, 2012). However, further investigations are needed to expand the current understanding in regards to the function of heritage in our contemporary world.

In a pungent investigation, Nicole Guidotti Hernandez (2011) sets the term "unspeakable violence" for understanding the passive role of state facilitating violence when its interests were at stake. She acknowledges that Nation states are formed under process of differentiation and its economic reorganization of territory. Faraway of being a site of frank dialogue, stability and understanding, US-Mexico border shows a legacy of territorial disputes and conflict. At the same time, nation-states administrate racism and sexism to control their citizens, who under some circumstances may defy on the economic conditions that sustain the class hierarchy, a much broader selective memory narrates some events over-exaggerating certain aspects of politics but silencing others. Following this argument, it is not accident that borders are spaces of multi identities that needs from violence to exist; in so doing, multiracial communities enact violence each other to perpetuate their own cultural values and amnesia. Since the concept of race, was previously negotiated and introduced by elite, we must to rethink what is the centre of hegemony. The narrative of hegemony corresponds with an unspeakable violence which is oriented to discipline the inferior other before coaction. Heritage plays a leading role in forming the texts, contexts, beliefs, and emotions to legalize a bloody past.

Globalizing art, deepening weakness

The process of globalization has changed our contemporary art, as well as the Cosmopolitan imagination in urban cities. This seems to be exactly the concern of Marsha Meskimmon who presents her book Contemporary Art. The interest for the other, opened by new mobile cultural industries as movies and tourism, brought the global to the local. Homes are refurbished according to the cultural styles of tribes and moments the dweller never met. While a modern citizen is at home, is being connected with the external world. Being at home represents an attempt to be globalized. What authors seek to debate is to what extent globalization opens the door for a frank dialogue with the other.

As the previous argument given, three significant questions articulate the argument of this project, what role does art play in configuring the political, ethical landscape of our times?. Art would serve as an instrument of "mutemirroring" to mould the understanding of the real. At a second place, what type of subject is created by global consumption of art?. The answer to this question is very hard to grasp. Globalization is replicating certain modelled subjectivities with serious ramifications in the psychological mind. Art is being produced and circulated in the same pathways that capital, which are monopolized by globalized economic elites. Last but not least, she wonders what are the ethical and political consequences to belong to a globalized sense of home?. Certainly, the act of dwelling proper of modernity posed the cosmopolitanism as a new way of connecting to the difference. Based on the logic of aesthetic, Meskimmon adds, new forms of materiality engendered new imagined worlds. The main thesis of this valuable book is that "cosmopolitan imagination" is of paramount importance to instil a global sense of ethics and politics at the level of the subject. It may help to understand us, and the others using art as a form of dialogue, as a tactic to make the world, beyond the mere representation. She goes on to say:

Imagining ourselves at home in the world, where our homes are not fixed objects but processed of material and conceptual engagement with other people and different places, is the first step toward becoming cosmopolitan. Art is specially able to convey the intimate relation between the material and the conceptual that this requires, invoking the contingency of home by positioning us at the nexus of the real and the imaginary, while using the sensory force of object, image, and spaces to engage memory, desire, and cognition (p. 8).

In modern times, art plays an ambiguous role in the modernity, because it articulates the cosmopolitan imagination so that people gains further understanding, but at the same time it is replicated to anesthetize the critical consciousness. By foundation, Meskimmon understands a re-signification of home as embedded in the local but open to global exchange. This viewpoint defies the old paradigm where home was viewed as a stable shelter that gives security to the subject. Besides, cosmopolitan imagination not only usufructs the mobility of a much complex global world but paves the ways to coalesce the interpersonal cosmologies of people with geopolitical networks (Meskimmon, 2011).

Her explorations lead to think that imperialism rests on the problem of passage. She addresses the problem of "passage" to describe the details of European Imperialism. Empire does not create objects, but meanings in order for objects to be interpreted. Therefore, the empire's success is based on its ability to discipline subjects and their bodies. To the concept of "real economy", she insists, which facilitates the circulation of persons and goods it is important to add a new concept, "corporeal economy" given by the productions of objects to make bodies meaningful. The question of passage rests on the idea that one product may be fabricated with source coming from diverse points of the world, and transported to be sold in Europe or any geographical place. The ideological success of Imperialism consists in processing raw material in fine finished products. Last but not least, "landing" is understood as simple pauses characterized by moment of self-reflection when the subject may opt to change its life-direction. Landing can be viewed as a hope, as a promise of a good future which put us face to face with ourselves. Whenever migrants feel nostalgia of lost home, this means landing (Meskimmon 2011).

While globalization has caused positive effects oscillating to further tolerance to the reduction of conflictive atmosphere among nations (Pinker 2011), reflexibility which means the possibility to situate in the place of others, allowed an atmosphere of cosmopolitanism as never before. Nonetheless, Skoll and Korstanje (2013) have recently discovered cultural tourism is far from achieving the peaceful atmosphere of cooperation some romantic scholars preclude, unless by hiding of some undesired groups. Based on a comparative case study methodology, authors examine how art may be independent or dependent of economic forces. Riverwest, situated in Milwaukee, US seems to be a clear example of how art-works decelerate the negative effects of modernity such as gentrification, discrimination and real-estate. The social conditions of Riverwest evidence the fact that artists may very well strengthen the social bond in the neighbourhood. Rather, El Abasto in Buenos Aires, Argentina takes the opposite direction. The process of gentrification is accelerated by a rapid reproduction of capital where art plays an active role. Art, music, tango and tourism would weave an exclusionary narrative where "undesired migrants" are unvoiced, traced and exiled to other peripheral spaces. The divergence between one and other example is explained by the adoption of cultural industries as tourism to refurbish the architecture of building. Whenever tourism is adopted as main industry, art is subordinated to be systematically replicated at a large scale.

As early discussed, C. Mansfield (2008) explores the world of travelwriting as the platform for cultural tourism. For the specialist, it is important not to lose the sight that European paternalism that was embedded with anthropology, evinced a type of tension between objectivity and subjectivity. The solution was given to the needs of moving to know reality. As novels, since ethnographers considered the only ways of knowing the truth was to "be there", where natives dwell, it paved the ways not only for the rise of modern scientific spirit but cultural tourism. Psychological needs to rediscover what covert is, seem to be one of primary concern of travels. In view of that, Mansfield indicates that texts work similarly to a souvenir because it is strongly associated to the identity of passengers. Underpinned in the assumption that a souvenir is linked to a wider sentiment of nostalgia, our British scholar leads us to an underexplored argument: souvenir works as a mechanism of return transforming the physical distance in emotional proximity (Mansfield, 2008). Observations of this caliber were empirically validated by Osagie and Buzinde who studied Antigua's case. It was unfortunately, they admit, through tourism consumption, the colonial myth of native and beautiness persisted. The ahistorization of the "others", not only distorts their real history but imposes a static viewpoint, isolating peoples as at showcase but at the same time connecting them to what tourists want. Unless otherwise resolved, this way of seeing heritage creates a center-periphery dependency which is very hard to break. As in the times of colonialism, always if natives are excotisized, there is no real solution to the dilemma of heritage.

Conclusion

After further examination, it is safe to say that cultural tourism as it was adopted by tourism practitioners should be placed under the critical lens of scrutiny. Though the term is used under the heritage-for-betterment paradigm, some voices alert on the possibility inequality and the material asymmetries of aboriginal tribes are being enlarged. If the discourse of heritage as it was delineated by nation state alludes to the needs of protection, it remains unclear protect what, or to whom?

There is an intricated connection of language and hegemony which merits to be rediscovered, but aside from this, to what extent elites mark

"aboriginals" as commodities while they are unmarked seems to be one of the pungent points of discussion, ignored by specialized literature. In this vein, this essay review not only was aimed at fulfilling this gap, but provided enough discussion material to expand the current understanding of heritage as well as the legacy of colonial law. This work supports the thesis that heritage tourism emulates the older logic of colonialism which situates the "non-European other" as an object of desire but beyond sexuality. The Anglo-centrism, which centers on social Darwinism that posits the idea of the survival of the strongest, appeals to conceive Europe, and US as reified and exceptional forms of civilization consolidated during centuries thanks to democracy and trade. This type of unilineal evolution that posed both as talented culture should be exported in order for making of this world a better place. Voluntarily or not, these hopes and dreams are framed under the logic of an ideological discourse proper of "imperial thought". Last but not last, far from achieving a fairer wealth distribution in local communities, cultural tourism reinforces the perverse core of "Anglo-centrism".

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