RESEARCH

Jan Specht

Architectural Tourism

Building for Urban Travel Destinations

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To my parents,
for their love, endless support and encouragement.

Preface

Since the controversial success of Frank Gehry's Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao tourism related to contemporary architecture gained importance for national and local economies around the globe. Provoked by the so-called 'Bilbao effect', Frausto and Ockman (2005) organised a conference in 2002 about the interdependencies of tourism and architecture while coining the term "architourism." Consisting of a collection of essays and articles from authors of different professional and academic backgrounds the elaborate conference proceedings were amongst the first volumes concentrating exclusively on the topic. However, although several conference proceedings and a few scientific articles explicitly mentioning architectural tourism demonstrate an upward trend of academic interest, most research is still based on theoretical observation or the authors' personal experiences. Therefore, Ritchie and Crouch (2003) pointed out a large number of destinations seeking transformation, and argued that "anecdotal evidence alone is not sufficient and, indeed, may seem confusing" (p. 10). As a matter of fact, several authors have noted a lack of research in contemporary architectural tourism. In 1993, Gaebe (1993) had already claimed that there was a lack of studies analysing the extent to which contemporary buildings in an urban context were perceived by cultural tourists as an attraction (p. 67). Almost fifteen years later, in his doctoral dissertation about architectural tourism and its influence on urban design, Shaw (2007) still argued that there was little academic research related to architourism outside of Bilbao (p. 77). Grötsch (2006) pointed out the obvious importance of aesthetics as travel motivation and wondered at the lack of research (p. 280). Chang (2010) also asked for more research on architectural tourism (p. 970). With reference to "architourism", Gruen (2006) reasoned that "it is too early to speculate about whether the term sticks, but at the very least, architecture should now be considered a legitimate topic of scholarly inquiry into tourism" (p. 5). On the contrary, Bijlsma, van Dijk and Geerts (2004) believed that "a considerable amount of research has been carried out on architecture and the tourist city... issues such as identity, city branding, heritage, and theories such as the tourist gaze and the generic city come to mind when architecture and tourism are considered in the urban context" (p. 2).

Indeed, reviewing the most recent literature, it becomes clear that it is not the quantity of publications, but the types and the focus areas of the existing research that are the main issue. For instance, literature on urban tourism is vast, and the obvious importance of architecture in an urban context allowed for its reference within most of the publications. However, the majority of statements are based neither on comprehensive field studies, nor on research specifically looking into the phenomenon of architecture as a destination, and even less are on contemporary buildings in an urban context. So far, historical monuments are more likely to meet the interest or expertise of tourism researchers, with the result of a comprehensive number of publications within and without the urban context. On the other hand, the few publications focusing specifically on contemporary architecture as a destination or a tourism attraction mainly deal with special cases or individual architectures. Such are often selected iconic buildings like the Guggenheim Bilbao and the Sydney Opera House, or spectacular ensembles such as the Millennium Architecture of London, the architectures of Disney, or the gambling city of Las Vegas. Yet, few authors showed specific interest in contemporary architectural tourism as a distinct segment of tourism.

Architecture is characterised by an enduring presence that forms our environment and exerts an important impact on a destination's image in the mind of both residents and visitors. Furthermore, architecture always evolves from a local, temporal and cultural context. Where modesty might be suitable for one destination, spectacular architecture could be a transformation catalyst or unique selling point for another. Therefore, project developers need to be aware of the local situation as well as the reciprocal relationship between the modern practice of tourism and the built environment. In the words of Urry (2002), "architects and architectural practices are of major importance in shaping the contemporary tourist gaze" (p. 111).

Given my educational background with studies of architecture, as well as of recreation and tourism science, the importance of the relationship between architecture and tourism seemed to be perfectly evident to me. Yet, it still took me a long time to realise the practical and scientific need of research. During my time as a consultant in the Middle East, from late 2007 until early 2009, I have been involved in a range of projects related to the development and management of tourism facilities. To my surprise, most of these projects were based on little knowledge about the interdependencies between architecture and tourism, and none of the involved parties appeared to really understand what was attracting tourism and what tourists were expecting from different types and functions of architecture. Instead, all seemed to be a huge intuitive experiment, driven by money and politics, if not testosterone. However, starting to review the literature, there was not much evidence about the mutual interdependencies between architecture and tourism either – in particular regarding contemporary developments. Experts in both tourism and (contemporary) architecture seemed to be reserved towards the “other’s” discipline. Hence, there was limited knowledge to rely on for both scientists and practitioners, such as: potential tourism developers, urban planners, architects and investors. Yet, without fundamental and specific knowledge about the reciprocal relationship between the modern practice of tourism and the built environment, the development of destinations by means of contemporary architecture is left to chance. This is an unsustainable situation considering the enduring impacts of architecture and the vast financial investments required by such projects.

The objective of the present book is to contribute to the knowledge of the mutual interdependencies between tourism and (contemporary) architecture. Interrelating a wide variety of further disciplines, such as urbanism, geography, economics, marketing, sociology and psychology it strives for insights about the role of contemporary architecture in mostly urban tourism destinations. Therefore, following the introductional chapter, the book is organised along four key questions:

- What are the interdependencies between tourism and the built environment? (see Chapter 2)
- How does architectural tourism relate in a spatial and temporal urban context? (see Chapter 3)
- How can contemporary architecture influence the image of an urban destination? (see Chapter 4)
- Why is (contemporary) architectural tourism dominated by spectacle? (see Chapter 5)

Of course, involving at least two different entities relationships are complex per se, and in the present case, there are far more of them (see Stevenson, 2010, p. 1499). Hence, in the face of the dynamic nature and the complexity of the relationships between architecture, tourism and the urban space, one might ask whether conclusive answers are even feasible and whether a constantly growing puzzle of interconnected topics and terms is ever to be finished. Without claiming to be exhaustive, the following chapters aim to bring some light into this tangle, describing types and qualities of some of the most critical relationships. Based on a comprehensive literature review, the role of contemporary architecture in urban tourism destinations will be explored. Architectural tourism will be controversially discussed and set into a broader context, including a wide variety of disciplines and examples from different periods and regions.

To a large extent the outcome of this publication depended on the people that have been supporting me during the exciting research process of my dissertation and beyond. For this, I would like to kindly thank all my supporters, first and foremost my family. Special thanks go to Prof. Dr. Jaume Guia from the University of Girona, Spain and Prof. Dr. Xu Honggang from Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou, China for actively assisting my research with excellent advice.

Munich Jan Specht

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Conditions and Delimitations

In the American edition of the Encarta World English Dictionary (n.d.), "contemporary" is defined as: "1. of same time: existing or occurring at or dating from the same period of time as something or somebody else… 2. existing: in existence now… 3. modern in style: distinctively modern in style… 4. of same age: of the same or approximately the same age as something or somebody else." In addition, The Free Online Dictionary (2014) noted that "when contemporary is used in reference to something in the past, its meaning is not always clear. Contemporary critics of Shakespeare may mean critics in his time or critics in our time." In fact, this is likewise true for the application of the term "contemporary architecture", which needs to be considered in its temporal context. For instance, architecture such as the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco (completed in 1937), the Eiffel Tower in Paris (completed in 1889) and even the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul (inaugurated in 360) have been considered contemporary architectures in their specific times of construction. Furthermore, regarding their temporal context, all of them employed innovative building technologies. However, at the present time, these examples are no longer considered nor perceived as contemporary architecture. The publication concentrates on architecture which, to date, is generally accepted as contemporary and was mainly created after 1989. However, in order to understand developments and changes over time, examples from other periods, formerly perceived as contemporary architecture, will also be discussed.

Robinson and Foell (2003) stated in a study for the Center of Historical Buildings of the U.S. General Services Administration that "scholars and professionals studying twentieth-century buildings vary widely on their definitions of what the term 'Modern architecture' entails and exactly what time period it encompasses" (p. 12). Indeed, on the one hand, the term is often used in the context of specific movements such as Modernism, Bauhaus or International Style (Palmer, 2009, p. 187). On the other hand, in practice and in literature, the terms "contemporary architecture" and "modern architecture" are often applied synonymously. To avoid misconception, in the following the term "Modern architecture" will only be applied to specifically refer to buildings related to “Modernism” or the “Modern-era”, which were usually built during the time period from the beginning of the 20th century till the late 1960s. Furthermore, the term might also occur in direct citations.

The contents of the present book are based on research that has been conducted in the course of a dissertation at the University of Girona, Spain about the role of contemporary architecture in urban tourism destinations. Furthermore, some of the outcomes have already been presented at scientific conferences and/or published within the following journals and proceedings:

Specht, J. (2013). Architecture and the Destination Image: Something Familiar, Something New, Something Virtual, Something True. In S. Sonnenburg & L. Baker (Eds.), *Branded Spaces: Experience Enactments and Entanglements* (pp. 43–62). Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

➔ largely corresponds to the contents of chapters 4.2 to 4.4

Specht, J. (2012). The Interdependencies between Photography and Architecture: Their Mutual Impacts on the Image of a Destination. *The International Journal of the Image, 2*(2), 45–57.

➔ largely corresponds to the contents of chapter 4.1

Specht, J. (2009). The Role of Architecture in Tourism Destination Development and Branding. In S. Krakover & N. Uriely (Eds.), *Tourism Destination Development and Branding: Eilat 2009 Conference Proceedings* (pp. 98–106). Eilat, Israel: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

➔ partly corresponds to the contents of chapters 1, 4.1 and 5.4

1 Introduction

Frank Gehry's Guggenheim was just about to open its doors, when in 1997 the New York Times called it "The Miracle in Bilbao" (see Illustration 1). The author of the article, American architecture critic Herbert Muschamp (1997), stated that Bilbao "has lately become a pilgrimage town... If you want to look into the heart of american [sic] art today, you are going to need a passport... and find your way to Bilbao, a small, rusty city in the northeast corner of Spain" (para. 2). Indeed, once the second most industrialized place of Spain, the Basque city of Bilbao had been in economic decline since the mid-1970s (Gomez, 1998, p. 108). Losing its former means of existence, while – unlike many other regions of the Hispanic peninsular – still being uncharted territory for tourists, Bilbao sought a new identity, a future prospect. Thus, Gehry's Guggenheim came at just the right time. As Zulaika (2005) believed, "the dreamed transition from the smoky industries of steel manufacturing to a service-dependent and high-tech economy needed a powerful signature building, a flagship image, and Gehry provided it" (p. 155).

Illustration 1: Guggenheim Museum Bilbao, Spain (Author, 2011).

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Within the first years of operation, the museum alone attracted an average of around 100,000 visitors per month and improved the total number of tourists to the Basque Country by some 35% (Plaza, 2000a, p. 1056). The plan worked out, Gehry's Guggenheim paid off. However, the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao was not only an economic success story. What would later be called and controversially discussed as the "Bilbao effect", according to Ockman (2001) a term American architect Peter Eisenmann claimed, was the perception of a whole new era of tourism dedicated to contemporary architecture and in reverse, contemporary architecture dedicated to tourism (p. 3).

Architecture plays a critical role in almost every area of tourism, providing infrastructure to enable tourists to reach the desired destination and, once in place, accommodation to host them, while also offering venues for leisure activities. Thus, by providing space and allowing movement as some of the most basic prerequisites for tourism, it can be argued that tourism is barely conceivable without architecture. However, architecture does not only create basic conditions for tourism, but may indeed be a major motivator for a tourist's destination choice. Historical monuments, from Rome's Colosseum to St Peter's Basilica, from the Pyramids to the holy city of Jerusalem, and from the Great Wall of China to the Forbidden City in Beijing, have all been attractions since the early days of tourism. In the first instance open only to privileged classes, historical monuments are today counted among the strongest pull factors of mass tourism for many destinations. Furthermore, contemporary architecture has been the object of touristic desire long before Gehry created the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao. Buildings from the recent past, such as the Sagrada Família in Barcelona, the Atomium in Brussels and Sydney Opera House are considered landmarks and do not take second place to historical monuments regarding their level of touristic significance. Yet, no other building has increased the awareness of contemporary architecture as a tourist destination as much as the Guggenheim Bilbao. Yesterday one might have gone to Brussels, possibly paying the Atomium a brief visit, whereas today the attraction of choice might be Bilbao's Guggenheim Museum, while a stop in downtown Bilbao is just a dispensable option. Since the "Bilbao effect", priorities have changed considerably, and so has the perception of contemporary architecture in the context of tourism. Culham (2001) even claimed that "never before had a building possessed such alchemical power" (p. 1). It became a symbol for economic revitalisation and touristic development by means of contemporary architecture, calling in action both critics and imitators. Just three years after the opening of the museum, Thomas Krens, former Director of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, stated in an interview that between Gehry's office and his, there were more than 60 requests to participate in urban development and cultural infrastructure projects all over the world (Guggenheim Foundation Bilbao, 2000, para. 3). No wonder critics soon called it "McGuggenisation", while discussing cultural globalisation and its negative social impacts (McNeill, 2000, p. 474). When Azua (2005) stated, “it is controversial, personal, admired, and criticized”, he not only highlighted the controversial dimension of the project but also its tremendous public and political attention (p. 73).

This unprecedented success story of Gehry’s Guggenheim and its apparent omnipresence in international media seems to have been the cause to raise not only a strong public awareness, but also eventually scientific attention to something which was by no means of novel nature. As a result, numerous investigations have been published in regard to the Guggenheim Bilbao, analysing the mutual interdependencies between tourism and contemporary architecture. Inspired by the “Bilbao effect”, a conference was held at the Columbia University in 2002, which discussed architecture as a destination for tourism. In this context the term "architourism" was coined which, in the words of organisers Frausto and Ockman (2005), should now stand for a specific type of tourism analogue to ecotourism, art tourism or heritage tourism (p. 9).

Over the last decade, touristic cities such as Barcelona, Berlin, Paris and Beijing have extensively made use of contemporary architecture to further enhance their image and elevate their position in the perception of the world, attracting interest and investment far beyond the field of tourism. On the other hand, to destinations not yet present on the tourist trail, architourism has offered a whole new perspective. Whereas historical monuments and outstanding landscapes are matchless and site-related unique selling propositions, contemporary architecture might be an instrument to enhance neglected destinations and create new images of such places. Kotler and Gertner (2004) suggested, if too few natural attractions exist, a destination needs to undertake investment to build attractions for tourists (p. 48). As a result, famous architects from Foster to Hadid, Calatrava to Nouvel, Koolhaas to Herzog and de Meuron have been asked to repeat the one-of-a-kind building (or effect) that Gehry was once able to create in Bilbao. In fact, it seems that since Bilbao brand-name-architecture became the favoured global formula to create new destination images and attract masses of tourists. The so-called “star-architect” ascended towards being the new Messiah for little visited tourism destinations which do not possess any important attraction; the Bilbao effect was the new and much needed miracle (Lee, 2007, para. 9). Or was it just the latest to be successful?

When in 1977 the Pompidou Centre in Paris opened its doors to the public, its significance for architecture and tourism was not yet predictable (see Illustration 2 and Illustration 3). Considerable controversy arose over this polarising art centre, designed by architects Renzo Piano and Richard Rogers. In some critics’ opinions the exceptional industrial style did not fit into the Beaubourg neighbourhood. Three decades later, British architect Richard Rogers was named the 2007 winner of the Pritzker Prize, the profession’s highest honour, and the New York Times noted that his Pompidou Centre “turned the architecture world upside down” (Pogrebin, 2007, para. 1). So far, the art centre has received over 150 million visitors and is counted as one of Paris’ main attractions.

Baudrillard, Krauss and Michelson (1982) critically coined the term “Beaubourg effect” some twenty years before the world marvelled at the Bilbao effect, and still, the Pompidou Centre is different to the Guggenheim Museum, just as Paris is different to Bilbao (p. 3). As Joan Ockman of Columbia University pointed out, both the Pompidou Centre and the Guggenheim Bilbao are "alien objects dropped in from another world, but it makes a difference whether the object is dropped onto a world capital or a second-tier city” (as quoted in Lubow, 2003, para. 7). Whereas substantial impacts on Bilbao’s tourism economy can directly be traced back to Gehry’s Guggenheim, the Pompidou Centre forms only a small part within a wide range of attractions in Paris. In other words, it is beyond dispute that many tourists come to Bilbao mainly (if not only) to see the Guggenheim, but it is difficult to prove to what extend the Pompidou Centre is an exclusive reason to visit Paris.

Illustration 2: Pompidou Centre by Rogers and Piano, Paris, France (Author, 2009).

Illustration 3: Striking technical installations of the Pompidou Centre contrasting the "classical" built environment of Beaubourg, Paris, France (Author, 2009).

Nevertheless, there are also distinct similarities, such as their spectacular appearance, which is apparently detached from any surrounding architecture and is therefore controversially discussed. Furthermore, both buildings are so-called “brand-name-architectures”, benefiting from the fame (and brand) of their creators while equally contributing to it. Frey (1998) suggested to call such a process of mutual benefit a “virtuous circle” (p. 114).

But is spectacular “brand-name-architecture” really a warranty for economic success? Is it a valid concept to activate growth or transformation in evolving, stagnating or declining cities and regions? Can success stories such as Beaubourg and Bilbao be repeated in any other location? According to Plaza (2000a), the effectiveness of such strategies in attracting tourism “is not always clear. Cities can increase in aesthetic importance, yet fail to draw a significant stream of tourists” (p. 1055). Various projects following these examples did in fact not bring the aspired success, and critics increasingly proclaimed the end of the era of spectacular architecture and brand-name-architects. Terms such as “Architytranny” circulated (d'Acierno, 2005, p. 140). Klingmann (2006) appealed for a return to modesty and talked about a “culture of copy” (p. 2). In the German newspaper “Die Zeit”, Kähler (2002) warned against an “Architecture of Spectacle (Architektur des Spektakels)” (para. 1). And yet no one seemed to have evidence of critical factors impacting the prosperity and adversity of contemporary architecture as a tourism destination.

2 Tourism and the Built Environment

The tourist landscape is by definition a constructed one (Bijlsma, van Dijk, & Geerts, 2004, p. 2).

Regardless of the place or the activity, most likely one is surrounded by a certain kind of built environment using its various elements. From airports to train stations, trails to highways and canals to bridges, the built environment is critical for human mobility and is also a vital element of tourism. Furthermore, a city – as the most obvious expression of the built environment – provides various functions satisfying people's basic needs, which, in principle, are similar for tourists and local inhabitants. Both sleep, eat and move. Therefore, both require and often share a specific built environment. Lasansky (2004) claims that "the reciprocal relationships between the modern practice of tourism and the build environment... have been inseparable since the first pilgrims descended upon Rome" (p. 1). In fact, the relationship between tourism and the built environment might sometimes even outreach the tourist's own perception. While cities are unquestionably perceived as a built environment, there is a large diversity of interpretation regarding the application of the term. In a report about built environments for sustainable tourism, the World Tourism Organisation (2005) defined the built environment as "the buildings, structures, and ancillaries comprising an interrelated man-made area, often architectural in character" (p. 3). They further pointed out that "it is important to specify that the built environment does not exist in urban settings exclusively, for any man-made construction can be spoken of as a built environment. The context, whether urban or rural, has no impact on the definition of the concept." However, regarding countryside and agricultural areas, the common perception leans towards "natural landscapes", although most of them are still man-made areas. The Oxford Dictionary of English, for instance, provided a definition of landscape as "a picture of an area of countryside" (Stevenson, 2010, p. 991). Furthermore, when it comes to national parks and forest areas, common sense would not link them to the built environment. However, one has to be aware that in 2005, according to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (2005), primary forests accounted for only 36%

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Illustration 4: Primary forest, Belóuve, La Réunion (Author, 1999).

of the worldwide forest areas (see Illustration 4). Primary forests were defined as “forests of native species where there are no clearly visible indications of human activities and where the ecological processes are not significantly disturbed” (p. 3). Hence, although perceived as “natural”, by definition meaning “not made or caused by humankind”, the opposite is often the case (Stevenson, 2010, p. 1183). Similar logic applies, for instance, to certain beaches, lakes and even entire islands used as tourism destinations. Though their appearance provides the image of a natural setting, they are for the most part modified, if not artificially built from scratch (Illustration 5).

Bijlsma, van Dijk and Geerts (2004) claimed that the tourist landscape is by definition a constructed one (p. 2). Goeldner and Ritchie (2009) further included social and cultural aspects into their definition of the built environment:

> The components or activities within a tourism destination that have been created by humans. These include the infrastructure and superstructure of the

Illustration 5: Man-made Al Lulu Island (back right), Abu Dhabi (Author, 2007).

> destination, as well as the culture of its people, the information and technology they use, the culture they have developed, and the system of governance that regulates their behaviours (p. 613).

Taking all these aspects into account, the complexity and the importance of the built environment for tourism becomes apparent. It can even be argued that tourism is in no way possible outside of the built environment.

The emphasis of this book is placed upon those parts of the built environment related to architecture which is defined as “the art or practice of designing and constructing buildings” (Stevenson, 2010, p. 82). Yet, in the context of tourism, the terms “architecture” and “building” are not synonymous. King (2010) suggested “where architecture is making building with the help of architects and the ideology of architecture, buildings are concrete materials” (p. 26). Klingmann (2007) further qualified that “buildings fulfil needs; architecture fulfils desires” (p. 312). Taking into account that tourism is all about desires, the implication should then be that tourism needs architecture instead of buildings.

2.1 The Functions of Architecture in Tourism

We shape our buildings, thereafter they shape us (Churchill, 1960, para. 1).

For Kierchhoff (1997) “a comfortable atmosphere and natural, unspoiled environment are among the most important expectations of tourists visiting a destination. Thus, tourism architecture and its landscape setting are two important factors in the satisfaction of holiday makers with both their journeys and destinations” (p. 249). As a matter of fact, although tourism is a service driven industry, architecture is still one of its most critical elements. Therefore Weiermair (2002) believed that “architecture and design (together with nature and landscape) are tangibles in an otherwise intangible world of (tourism) services or experiences which crucially help in the reduction of quality uncertainly [sic] and in providing coherence to the experience of tourists” (p. 5). A range of authors followed this argument and identified specific combinations of tangible and intangible elements which are defining tourism. Law (2002), for instance, understood as “elements of tourism” as well intangible features as tangible building structures (p. 12) (see Figure 1).

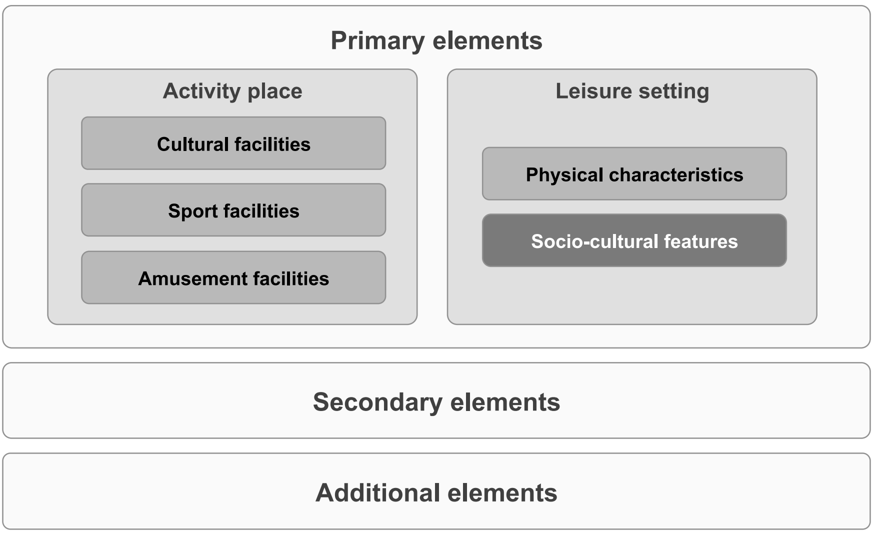

Figure 1: The elements of tourism (simplified after Jansen-Verbeke, 1988; Law, 2002).

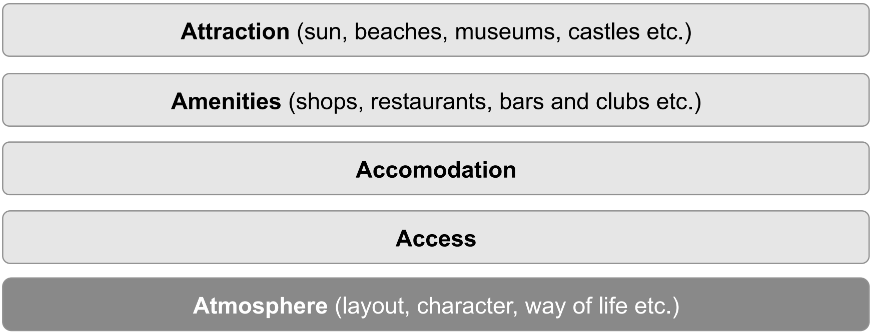

Figure 2: Components of the holiday destination (simplified after Hughes, 2000, p. 125).

Law (2002) distinguished between primary, secondary and additional elements of tourism. Cultural facilities, sport facilities, amusement facilities and physical characteristics formed the primary elements with most of them being different types of tangible architectural attractions, from museums to historical street patterns. A socio-cultural set, comprising of intangible features such as friendliness, security and language completed the primary elements. Secondary elements consisted of facilities for accommodation, catering and shopping, while the additional elements describe features mainly related to transport and information (p. 12).

Following a similar approach, Hughes (2000) divided "components of the holiday destination" into attractions, amenities, accommodation, access and atmosphere (see Figure 2). With the first four categories mainly comprising of tangible building structures from museums to malls to roads, the model's category atmosphere then included components of rather intangible nature (p. 125).

In their model of the tourism phenomenon, Goeldner and Ritchie (2009) understood the built environment as one of the dimensions of the components of tourism which are created by humans (see Figure 3). However, for Goeldner and Ritchie the built environment did not only consist of tangible elements, such as infrastructure and superstructure but also included intangible elements, such as culture, governance and information. Furthermore, by separating infrastructure from superstructure, Goeldner and Ritchie aimed to distinguish the intentions to create certain structures of a destination. According to this logic, infrastructure included

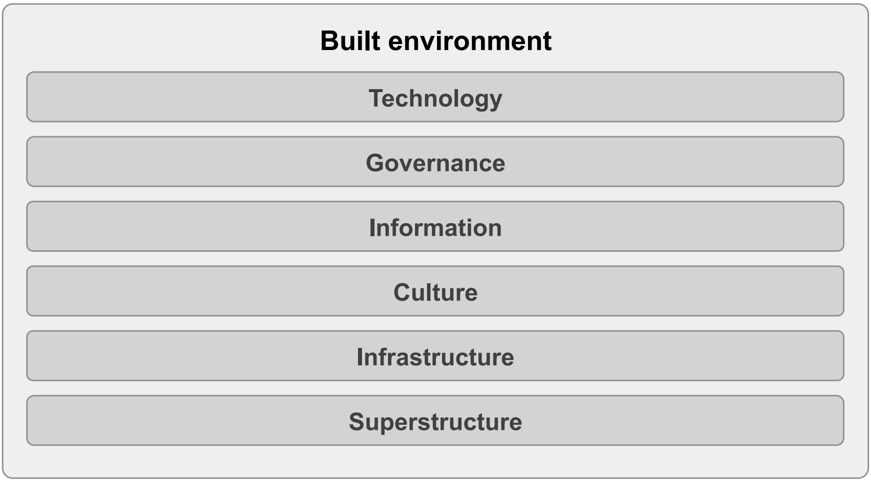

Figure 3: The built environment as part of the tourism phenomenon (simplified after Goeldner & Ritchie, 2009, p. 13).

roads, networks and certain types of commercial facilities and was not intentionally created for tourism, but mainly for the needs of residents. On the other hand, tourism superstructure comprised "those facilities that have been developed especially to respond to the demands of visitors. The most obvious examples include hotels, restaurants, conference centres, car rentals, and major attractions." However, Goeldner and Ritchie (2009) acknowledged that a strict delamination is impossible with infrastructure also used by tourists, while residents "desire many benefits from certain elements of the tourism superstructure" (p. 14 ff.).

Narrowing down the former models to tangible building structures only, a further approach of segmentation relies on the intention, the type and the function of architecture within a tourism system. While refraining from hierarchical classification as done by Law (2002) and Jansen-Verbeke (1988), Figure 4 shows a functional allocation of architecture in the context of tourism. Similar to Goeldner and Ritchie's (2009) approach, the model first distinguishes between the intentions of development. Hence, architecture might be developed for demands of visitors or demands of locals only, but also for the demand of both groups together. Depending on this intention, as well as the type, architecture might then fulfil specific touristic and/or non-touristic functions (see Figure 4 and Figure 5).

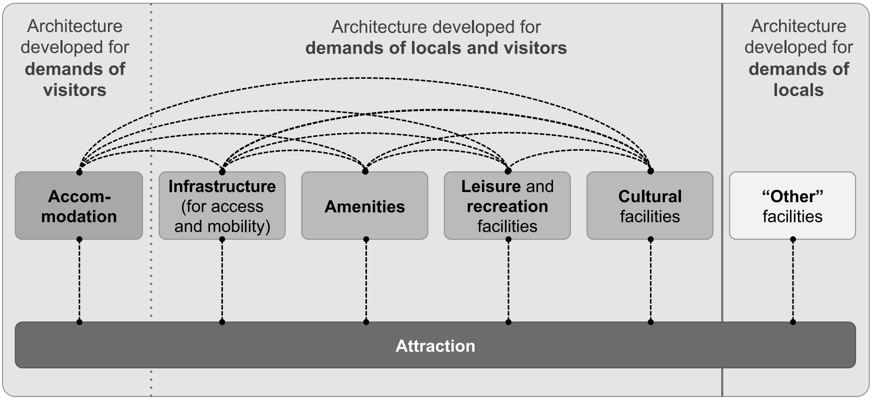

Figure 4: Functional segmentation of architecture in the context of tourism.

Intention	Architecture developed for **demands of visitors**	Architecture developed for **demands of locals and visitors**				Architecture developed for **demands of locals**
Type	**Accommodation** (for visitors)	**Infrastructure** (for access and mobility)	**Amenities**	**Leisure and recreation facilities**	**Cultural facilities**	**"Other" facilities**
Function (Examples)	Apartment Camping site Guesthouse Holiday house Hostel Hotel Motel etc.	Airport Bridge Harbour Railway Road structure Tunnel etc.	Bar Club Coffee shop Commerc. building Restaurant etc.	Casino Parklands and water structure Sports building Theme park etc.	Art gallery Cinema Concert hall Exhibit hall Fair Monument Museum Opera house Showroom Theatre etc.	Educational building Industrial building Office building Public building Religious building Residential building Urban equipment etc.

Figure 5: Functional segmentation of architecture in the context of tourism (incl. examples).

This functional segmentation of architecture in the context of tourism follows a simplified approach and is based on a general point of view, while exceptions might apply. Certain types or functions of architecture which have initially been developed for the demand of locals might, in specific situations, still cater to visitors. Furthermore, depending on its characteristic, the same architectural structure might serve a variety of functions as, for instance, accommodation and amenities are in reality often combined. Within their venues, many hotels host restaurants and shops. Large casinos or theme parks might even form an integrated functional ensemble. Hence, primarily representing leisure and recreational facilities, such developments may eventually cover all functions, from accommodation to infrastructure to amenities to cultural facilities. Even “other facilities” such as offices can belong to these premises. Forming part of infrastructure for access and mobility, airports and train stations often also host amenities and accommodation. Another rather rare combination is a bridge which at the same time fulfils the function of a “shopping centre”, as in the case of Ponte Vecchio in Florence, Italy. The medieval bridge still has shops built along it, as was once common. Occupied initially by butchers, today’s tenants are jewellers, art dealers and souvenir vendors. At the same time, the bridge is one of Florence’s main tourism attractions.

In fact, whether developed for the demands of visitors, locals or both, and regardless of its function, any kind of architecture might (but does not necessarily need to) be “a place which draws visitors by providing something of interest or pleasure” and hence an attraction (Stevenson, 2010, p. 103). “Attractions are the ‘raison d’être [reason]’ for tourism” and architecture is an important element in this context (Boniface & Cooper, 2005, p. 40). Yet, as pointed out by Lew (1987), “it can sometimes be difficult to differentiate between attractions and non-attractions. Transportation (e.g., cruise liners), accommodations (e.g., resorts), and other services (e.g., restaurants) can themselves take on the attributes of an attraction, further complicating the distinction between various segments of the tourism industry” (p. 554). Examples are the Burj Al Arab in Dubai (see Illustration 6), the Alamillo Bridge in Valencia, Spain, or the National Stadium of Beijing, China (see Illustration 58). Within the tourism system, all have distinct main functions, from infrastructure for access and mobility to accommodation while at the same time representing important tourism attractions of their destinations.

Illustration 6: Burj al Arab, United Arab Emirates: Combining a range of functions, the contemporary luxury hotel is also one of Dubai's most important tourism attractions (Author, 2007).

Illustration 7: Torre Agbar, Barcelona: Office tower and tourism attraction (Author, 2010).

As a matter of fact, even buildings developed for the demands of locals without any direct function dedicated to tourism might still be tourism attractions. An example is Torre Agbar, built in 2005 by French architect Jean Nouvel, in association with the Spanish firm B720 Arquitectos in Barcelona, Spain (see Illustration 7). The privately owned contemporary office tower is one of Barcelona's more recent tourism attractions, although it is not accessible for tourists and fulfils no further function for tourism than its pure appearance and thereby transmitted image. Some architectural structures represent attractions without having any other important function at all – neither for visitors nor locals. Sometimes they have intentionally been built as "pure" attractions, and sometimes they have lost their initial function(s) over time. Two prominent examples are the Eiffel Tower in Paris, France (see Illustration 81) and the Atomium in Brussels, Belgium (see Illustration 25), both built in the context of former World Fairs. First and foremost however, this functional transformation process applies to historical monuments. An example is the Colosseum in Rome, Italy. Once the most important recreation and leisure facility of the Roman Empire, its main function today is as a tourism attraction. Further examples are the Acropolis in Athens, Greece, the Egyptian Pyramids of Giza (see Illustration 76) and the Great Wall of China.

Illustration 8: Rotel Tours, the rolling hotel, Morocco (Author, 2002).

Most architectural functions for visitors and locals alike are represented by fixed building structures. However, there are further types fulfilling similar functions. A cruise ship, for instance, is used as infrastructure for access and mobility while also offering accommodation, a wide range of amenities and sometimes even leisure and recreation, as well as cultural facilities. The same applies to some types of trains, buses and planes (see Illustration 8). Although these are not buildings, all of them are designed structures. Hence, in a wider sense of the term, one might call them "architecture". However, the present publication concentrates on contemporary architecture in the narrow sense of building structures as tourism attractions, according to Figure 4.

2.2 From Tourism Architecture to Architectural Tourism

Without tourist attractions there would be no tourism. Without tourism there would be no tourist attractions (Lew, 1987, p. 554).

Although no clear definitions exist, the term “tourism architecture” describes a wide variety of functions of architecture in the context of tourism. On the other hand, architectural tourism refers to architecture as a tourism attraction (see Figure 4). Acierno (2005) therefore called it “architecture of attractions” (p. 140). Architectural tourism is not limited to a specific period of time or style of architecture. Hence, in a broader sense, it covers any kind of tourism dedicated to architecture from what can be perceived as historical monuments to contemporary structures. However, when referring to historical monuments, the application of the term “architectural tourism” is not very common. Instead, literature often called it “heritage tourism” or understood historical monuments as a part of “cultural tourism”, without further specifications or classifications (see Peterson, 1995, p. 7). On the other hand, the term “architourism” for contemporary architecture as an attraction, coined during a conference in 2002, was used increasingly in press and literature (see Frausto & Ockman, 2005, p. 8). In order to facilitate the understanding, within this book the terms “architectural tourism” and “architourism” will be applied, likewise in the narrow sense of architecture as an attraction of a destination or as a destination by itself. If not specified, the terms might apply to both contemporary and historical structures. P. L. Pearce (1991) defined an attraction as “a named site with a specific human or natural feature, which is the focus of visitor and management attention” (p. 46). Likewise, Swarbrooke (2002) made a distinction between human-made and natural types of attractions while emphasizing that “no clear definition of the term exists”:

- **Natural** (e.g. beaches, rivers and forests)
- **Human-made but not originally designed primarily to attract visitors** (e.g. cathedrals and churches, archaeological sites and ancient monuments)
- **Human-made and purpose-built to attract tourists** (e.g. theme parks, museums, marinas, casinos, health spas, leisure retail complexes)
- **Special events** (e.g. sporting events, festivals, markets and fairs) (p. 5)

Illustration 9: Allianz Arena, Munich, Germany (Author, 2014).

The appeal of natural attractions lies in their naturalness. Nevertheless, in the context of tourism there will always be architecture at the site, such as infrastructure, accommodation or amenities. Furthermore, appearances are deceiving and, as mentioned before, seemingly natural attractions from forests to beaches, to rivers to lakes, might be entirely or to some extent human-made. As for special events, even though availing themselves of architecture too, they are generally not focused on tangible structures but on intangible features. Exceptions are, amongst others, World Fairs, where architecture plays an important role as a visitor attraction. Also, major sporting events increasingly make use of contemporary architecture as part of the experience. Recent examples are the Beijing National Stadium (see Illustration 58), used for the 2008 Olympic Games in China, or the Allianz Arena in Munich, which was erected for the 2006 Football World Cup in Germany (see Illustration 9).

Human made structures are naturally focused on or related to architecture. Swarbrooke (2002) distinguished between structures "not originally designed primarily to attract visitors" and those which are "purpose-built to attract tourists" (p. 5). However, this distinction does not necessarily

Illustration 10: Tamil temple, La Réunion (Author, 1998).

need to have an influence on an attraction being classified, or not, as an object of architourism. When Shaw (2007) discussed architectural tourism and defined it as being "concerned with buildings that are consciously aware that they are tourist attractions", he referred to the architecture, not to the function (p. 21). Hence, he assumed that visitors are primarily or at least to some extent attracted by the architecture of the object and not only by its (touristic) function. For instance, a casino or a retail complex, both according to Swarbrooke's classification "purpose-built to attract tourists", might or might not have an attractive architecture; to some extent their force of attraction for visitors is always due to their function. Another example is a museum. Both the Bilbao Guggenheim and the Louvre in Paris also attract visitors because of their architecture. Some visitors even decide to view it from the outside only instead of visiting the museum and its exhibits. On the contrary, the appeal of other museums, though purpose-built to attract visitors, lies in their collection and their function to serve as an exhibition hall, while the architecture plays a secondary role. Then again, most churches, castles and temples have not been designed to attract visitors. However, besides their historical meaning, today the touristic appeal of such structures is often due to their (monumental) architecture (see Illustration 10).

Interview with Thomas Michael Krüger from TICKET B, Berlin, Germany

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1. **Why is contemporary architecture attracting tourism?**

   I believe to some degree this attraction comes from the contribution of contemporary architecture to the transformational process, the dynamic of a destination – specifically within an urban context. Berlin is a good example for such a city, motivating tourists over and over again to participate in its continuous change. On the other hand, the eternal city Rome is a place you must have seen once in a lifetime, but not necessarily twice.

2. **What are the roles of contemporary architecture in an urban mix of attractions?**

   Contemporary architecture stands for innovation and transformation. It allows a city to express its aspired perspective. It allows for a statement whether an urban society is rather forward or backward looking while providing sustainable and innovative examples for such orientation. Visiting these buildings provides a tourist with the experience of both the present and future development of a city.

3. **Which types of tourists are interested in contemporary architecture?**

   I believe everybody is interested in it! One lives, loves and dies in architecture, while much of it is contemporary. In fact, so many things happen in architecture that you can basically not avoid giving attention to it. Maybe some people are still not aware of this, but we do often identify and stimulate such interest during our tours. Furthermore, the individual level of education might play a critical role. Yet, I hope and believe that the number of people interested in culture in general and contemporary architecture in particular will grow over time. What we observed in Berlin was that the visitor's initial interest and enthusiasm for contemporary architecture did not – as often expected – abate, but is hardly on the wane.

4. **Which features have an impact on the touristic significance of contemporary architecture in an urban context?**

   I think first of all the feature of accessibility. A fabric or office building, no matter how innovative it might be, would not attract the same amount of people as one with a touristic function such as a museum. Every building that understands visitors as active actors rather than as passive observers might work as an attraction. Furthermore, the iconic quality and the uniqueness of a building are important features. People want to be impressed. There are these kinds of buildings which would immediately urge a tourist to take a photo while both the exterior and the interior might provide such stimulus. In fact, best would be a combination of an iconic and appealing form together with an easy accessibility which allows the visitor for a spatial experience of the architecture.

5. **From a tourism-related point of view, are there rather conflicts or synergies between contemporary and historical architectural structures?**

   I cannot think of any kind of conflict but would rather see synergies. Take, for instance, the Reichstag building or the German Museum in Berlin, where contemporary and historical architecture complement each other ideally. Yet, as an architect, I might have a different view to contemporary architecture, believing that – as long as it is of high quality – it is enrichment for a city. Sure enough, there are also bad examples. The Mediterranean coast, for instance, has many areas with low quality architecture harming the landscape. Being contemporary is not enough; the quality of the architecture is crucial.

6. **In an urban context, what should planners take into consideration when developing architecture for tourism?**

   I think that architecture is an underestimated success factor for the internal and external image of a corporation. Hence, the architect needs to convince investors of the importance of open designs with high quality standards. Too many buildings are not open to the public. As a result, the attitude of public responsiveness and transparency that many companies or political institutions would like to express is not reflected in their architectures.

7. Can contemporary architecture serve to reflect the specific atmosphere and culture of its location or is it rather a global form of architecture which barley depends on a specific location?

Whether a building draws attention to contextual aspects has nothing to do with it being contemporary or not. Once again, this is a question of quality and I personally believe that contemporary architecture that is reflecting its spatial, cultural or historical context is much more interesting than any kind of detached architecture. Yet, there are examples for both, while those buildings without a contextual reference are more likely to be criticised. Frank Gehry, for instance, is repeating the same style over and over again. Hence, eventually no more than the form remains, while the actual object could be placed at any location.

TICKET B was founded in 1996 by architects Thomas Michael Krüger and Wolfram Belz. In 2006 they were joined by Susanne Günther. Together with them, an experienced team of certified architects who also have educational training and architectural and urban planning communication skills, have guided more than 30,000 enthusiastic clients around the city of Berlin so far. Thomas Michael Krüger lectures at various universities in Berlin, and is the author and editor of numerous architectural guides and trade publications including the architectural map of Berlin. TICKET B is a founding member of the international network www.guiding-architects.net.

Illustration 11: Thomas Michael Krüger (left) and the team of TICKET B (www.ticket-b.de).

2.3 Between Historical Monuments and Contemporary Architecture

The time makes no difference in the reason of the thing (Wilmot, 1904, p. 232).

In the final report of an analysis aiming "to investigate the impact of good architecture on tourism development and determine how the City of Toronto can promote better architecture and design", the Planning and Transportation Committee of the City of Toronto (2003) initially asked whether architecture can be a tourist attraction. Based on the results of the investigation the report confirmed:

> Other cities around the world are demonstrating that the answer can be a resounding 'yes'…Travel motivated by distinctive buildings and cityscapes is nothing new. The Pyramids, Taj Mahal, Eiffel Tower, Leaning Tower of Pisa, and the thousands of cathedrals, castles and historic town squares and city centres throughout Europe have been attracting tourists for hundreds of years (p. 3).

Culham (2001) referred to the Grand Tours of the 17th through 19th centuries and emphasised likewise that "the connection between architecture and tourism is nothing new" (para. 4). Gruen (2006) believed that the origin of this connection lies even further back in history; he stated that, "depending upon one's perspective, architectural tourism is as old as architecture itself. Some of the earliest sites known to humankind may have had ritual or pilgrimage functions, and people travelled vast distances to encounter them." Drawing a comparison between the past and the present he pointed out that this "was an earlier, arguably different, time. Back then, touring the built environment was a means to an end, whether that end was salvation, knowledge, or refinement" (p. 1). But, did tourist behaviour really change so much over time? Is it true – as many authors believe – that today's architectural tourist wants to be amazed and is seeking "the spectacular" only, while tourists in earlier times were all in search of cultural or religious enlightenment (see Fernández-Galiano, 2005; Foster, 2002; Kähler, 2002; Moix, 2009; Vidler, 2008). O'Gorman (2010) stated in this regard:

> Characteristics of travel for curiosity or pleasure can be found from at least 1500 BC. The tombs and temples of the pharaohs began as early as 2700

> BC, and by 1500 BC, the Sphinx and the three great pyramids were already over a thousand years old, became early tourist attractions, and consequently suffered from ancient vandalism. Inside one of the pyramids, on one of the walls, a 3500 year old graffiti remains. A message that can be dated back to 1244 BC reads: 'Hadnakhte, scribe of the treasury... came to make an excursion and amuse himself on the west of Memphis, together with his brother, Panakhd, scribe of the Vizier' (Yoyotte, 1960, p. 57). When reviewing ancient texts it would seem that tourist behaviour has not particularly evolved over the last 3500 years – see something new, experience something different and leave one's mark behind (p. 3).

Schwarzer (2005) was also of the opinion that “using a building to stimulate tourism and solidify urban identity is hardly a new phenomenon, having history dating back to ancient Greece.” However, for Schwarzer ”the difference today lies in the number of tourist-magnet buildings underway, as well as the global marketing considerations that go into all aspects of project planning, including design.” He believed that “tourism is a far more important sector of the world economy than it was fifty or one hundred years ago” (p. 25). Indeed, today’s tourism is no longer reserved for a small elite but open to a much larger amount of people with different educational and financial backgrounds, and just as different requirements. As a result, largely diversified demand and supply markets have evolved over the last years. However, there is no evidence that travel motivations have radically changed over time. When it comes to tourism and architecture, neither over-generalisation nor black-and-white approaches are appropriate. In the past, not every traveller sought knowledge or salvation only, but might have also been attracted by spectacular architectural forms and images such as the Great Pyramid of Giza or the Colosseum in Rome. Furthermore, although dedicated to god(s), most ancient religious sites (e.g. temples and churches) have made good use of spectacular architecture in order to attract masses and to impress their visitors. On the contrary, not every visitor of the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao today is solely attracted by the spectacular form of the contemporary building, but might also be interested in its exhibition.

For Culham (2001) “the World Trade Center, built in 1973, was one of the earliest examples of contemporary architecture as a tourist attraction, a trend which only gained significant momentum in the late 1990s” (para. 2) (see Illustration 12). He believed that “as one of New York City's most popular tourist attractions, the twin towers were powerful expressions of American contemporary culture… Although the future plans for the site are unclear, it will undoubtedly be of tremendous interest as a reflection of the ideals and values of a post-September 11th New York City" (para. 2). In one way or the other, architecture always reflects and impacts the culture and appearance of a place. Yet, meaning comes in general over time and might – for different reasons – later evolve into social and cultural significance (see Section 5.4 below). However, based on the reason and type of their construction, some buildings are already significant from the outset, just for what they represent or for the political or historical context they have been built in. Therefore, Shaw (2007) argued:

> First, historic buildings, such as the United States Capitol, are often draws for tourists, not based on the architecture, but based more on the function of the building. The seat of the United States government would most likely be a tourist draw regardless of the structure it was housed in... Secondly, historic buildings that have become tourist attractions were not often initially designed as such (p. 17).

As it is the case with the new "One World Trade Center" in New York (till March 2009 called "Freedom Tower"), even before built, some places were so deeply biased with meaning that it seemed almost impossible to give them an adequate architecture (see Lang, 2005, p. 264). Another example is the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin (see Illustration 13), designed by Peter Eisenmann as a field of 2,700 concrete slabs, which eventually opened in 2005, "after years of delays and disagreements over design and construction issues" (see "Berlin Opens Holocaust Memorial", 2005, para. 3). The meaning of architecture is reliant on many factors, but most notably depends on the perspective of its stakeholder. Locals might have different viewpoints compared to visitors, yet both are still far from being homogeneous groups. Taking the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao as a contemporary example, its meaning for locals might range from cultural invader to economic redeemer to transformational activator. On the other hand, for visitors, the museum might rather stand for extraordinary contemporary architecture, while the connection to the city of Bilbao itself plays only a secondary role. In addition, for American visitors, the national perspective could be important because the museum is a branch of New York's Guggenheim, and its designer, Frank Gehry, is an American architect.

Illustration 12: Twin towers of the World Trade Center, New York, United States: Destroyed in a terrorist attack on Tuesday, September 11, 2001 (Author, 1995).

Illustration 13: Holocaust Memorial, Berlin, Germany (Author, 2011).

Contrary to historical monuments, contemporary architecture is unlikely to have a historical meaning or significance, as in the exceptional case of the World Trade Center in New York. Yet, it would simply be wrong to refer to contemporary architecture as generally meaningless. The meaning of architecture for a specific place or person depends on each stakeholder's own gaze or perspective and does not necessarily need to evolve from historical events (see Section 5.3 and 5.4 below). Most architecture has been contemporary at some point in history, while over time it might have gained, changed and sometimes even lost significance (depending again on the individual perspective). At its time of completion in 1931, the Empire State Building in New York was significant for its contemporary form and outstanding dimensions, as well as being the highest building of the world. Today, out-dated in size and form, the building's fame and significance still remains. A similar example is the Eiffel Tower in Paris, once celebrated at the 1889 World's Fair as an engineering marvel. Though it is technologically not a challenge today, the puddle iron lattice tower is still a significant (if not the most significant) icon of Paris and France – for tourists and locals alike. However, whether it really is, or ever was, meaningful has been subject to controversial discussion since its beginning (see Barthes, 1982; Ockman, 2004, p. 237). Yet, this is one of the major challenges for tourism developers who are seeking to attract tourists by means of (contemporary) architecture. Even though the reasons for architecture to become meaningful or significant might be manifold, such quality is difficult to plan and to provoke artificially. Sure enough, there are instruments to influence the process, as demonstrated by the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao. But they are limited and there is no guarantee for a successful investment in architecture as a facilitator for tourism. However, this applies to both contemporary developments and reconstructed or renovated historical structures. To avoid taking risks, developers around the world try to copy successful projects from other destinations. This is a barely new phenomenon, as Judd (2003) remarked when referring to the regeneration strategy of a range of rundown US cities in the 1980s:

> By building fortress spaces, even the most crime-ridden cities were able to carve out islands and reservations that could comfortably be inhabited by tourists and middle-class city residents. In the ensuing years, enclavic tourist spaces have multiplied throughout the world (p. 27).

Besides the social and structural impacts of such “tourist bubbles”, the economical benefits might eventually turn out to be anything but sustainable (see Fainstein & Judd, 1999, p. 266). Many tourists seek the unusual and want to be surprised, if not amazed. But the question remains why one should travel to a destination if the attraction(s) can be seen just as well at home. Furthermore, if a once unique attraction has been copied often enough, it will eventually become usual and lose its force of attraction (see Section 5.3 below). In 1998 when McDonald’s opened its first restaurant in Saint-Denis, the capital of the French Island Réunion, the lines of customers would last for weeks. People travelled around the island just to get a chance to eat their first “Big Mac”. Yet, this sudden and short-term influx might not have been so much provoked by an exceptionally delicious cuisine of the American fast food chain, but rather by the visitor’s appetite to experience something out of the ordinary, something “exotic.” When Lippard (2005b) claimed that “tourists traditionally go to see old things or new things! Not much in between, unless it's a monument”, he referred to the actual age of things (p. 63). Lippard did not specify what is meant by “in between”; in reality, to date still important tourism attractions might well evolve from across the ages. Bilbao’s Guggenheim (1997), Paris’ Centre Pompidou (1977), Sydney’s Opera House (1973), Ronchamp’s Notre Dame du Haut (1955), San Francisco’s Golden Gate Bridge (1937) and Barcelona’s Parc Güell (1914) are all examples of major tourism attractions that have maintained their status throughout time. When it comes to tourism, it is not so much about “old” and “new” but rather about “outstanding” or not. Accordingly, “old” becomes “historical” in the sense of historically meaningful, while “new“ might be understood as “innovative.” As long as things are (and remain) special, their age is just a minor matter. Furthermore, the definitions of the terms “old” and “new”, once again, depend on subjective factors and might differ substantially from person to person.

While literature still discusses the conflicts and differences between historical monuments and contemporary architecture, some destinations have already taken one step further, relying on their synergies. In fact, tourists cannot be easily labelled and, rather than looking for one type of attraction, visitors might often seek a well-balanced mixture. Therefore, more and more destinations move away from a limited branding approach, but at the same time promote themselves, for instance, as historical and innovative or urban and natural (see Illustrations 14 to 16).

Illustration 14: HSBC billboard advertising at Dubai International Airport (Author, 2010).

Illustration 15: Collage of historical monuments and contemporary architecture at Beijing Capital International Airport (Author, 2011).

Illustration 16: Advertisement at Berlin Central Station: "Modern Architecture and Mother Nature Meet at a Sensational Place: In Brazil." (Author, 2010).

When it comes to the reconstruction of historical monuments architects and urban planners are confronted with particular challenges, while – in principle – there are two contrary ways to handle them:

a) Reconstruction, trying to preserve as much of the old structure as possible
b) Causing a conscious contrast by means of contemporary architecture

After wars and natural disasters, planners are often faced with the question of how to treat the remaining structural scars. Germany, with its massive destructions during World War II, provides many such examples. For instance, at the Römerberg, Frankfurt on the Main's historical town hall square, the original building structure had been destroyed to a large extent during the bombing of the Royal Air Force in 1944. Today's historical appearance of the place is a result of reconstruction measures, more or less true to the original (see Illustration 17). Another example is Dresden's Church of Our Lady, built in the 18th century, destroyed in a firebombing in 1945. Finished in 2005, after twelve years of reconstruction, it now represents the reconciliation between former warring enemies. Based on historical plans, remaining parts of the original have been preserved and used as much as possible in the rebuilt structure (see Illustration 18).

Illustration 17: Römerberg (Ostzeile), Frankfurt, Germany. Reconstruction from the1980s (Author, 2011).

Illustration 18: Church of Our Lady (Frauenkirche) Dresden, Germany: The remaining parts of the original are still visible as dark spots within the rebuilt structure (Author, 2006).

The Reichstag building in Berlin (at that time called “Reichstag”) first opened its doors in 1894 for the parliament of the German Empire. Leaning on the surrounding district, architect Paul Wallot used the so-called Renaissance Revival style (also referred to as “Neo-Renaissance”) for its design. A fire heavily damaged the building in 1933, which was then further corrupted during World War II. Only after the unification of Germany, on October 3rd 1990, did a full restoration begin. After its completion in 1999, the Reichstag building again became the host of the German parliament, now called “Bundestag.” The project was led by British architect Sir Norman Foster, who, instead of reinstalling the original structures, chose to set a contemporary architectural counterpoint in the form of a large glass dome with a 360 degree view of the surrounding cityscape (see Illustration 19). However, as is often the case, the decision was not only taken for aesthetical but also for social and political reasons. Today the dome is open to the public who can see the debating “Bundestag” below. The aim is to demonstrate that in a unified and democratic Germany, people are now standing above their political representatives, which was not the case during the Nazi regime nor the government of the former German Democratic Republic. Hence, the Reichstag dome stands for a transformational process towards a new democratic society (see Large, 2000; Morris, 2001). Furthermore, the glass dome was designed to be environmentally friendly and energy efficient. In addition, with “around two million visitors per year”, the building is also one of the city’s most important tourism attractions (Steinecke, 2008a, p. 194). Comparable with a hybrid vehicle that combines the advantages of a combustion engine and an electric motor, the Reichstag is in a position to offer visitors a synergetic combination of meaningful historical and contemporary features. The Louvre Palace in Paris, looking back on an 800-year-old building history, offers a similar combination (though the political impacts are quite different). The glass and steel pyramid, built by Ieoh Ming Pei in 1989, constitutes a contemporary counterpoint which serves as the entrance to the famous Louvre Museum (see Illustration 20).

Mixtures of different styles of architecture are nothing new. Many churches, for instance, combined a variation of different styles within their building structures. This was sometimes due to a long period of construction, for structural reasons, or due to public or political leanings.

Illustration 19: Reichstag building, Berlin, Germany: Mixture of contemporary and historical architecture and a tourism magnet (Author, 2011).

Illustration 20: Louvre Museum, Paris, France: Contemporary entrance setting against a historical backdrop (Author, 2010).

For many visitors, such mixtures – often evolving from successive historical epochs – are difficult to identify. In contrast, a combination of chronologically and stylistically dispersed contemporary and historical structures can be perceived more consciously. However, when it comes to the combination of historical and contemporary architecture, there is no limit to the variety. Examples range from contemporary annexes to existing historical buildings to structural interventions and selective design measures (see Illustration 21). Another approach with significance for tourism that may lead to the creation of interesting combinations of architectural styles is the functional conversions of a building. In case of war or natural disaster, building structures might be harmed while the original function is still needed. However, when it comes to the remains of economical change, things are different. While many fabric buildings have lost their original function and gradually degenerated into industrial wasteland, the basic structure of the architecture is often still intact. Furthermore, for many people such industrial remains represent cultural heritage closely connected to the development of their city or region. Hence, a popular concept of preservation is the functional conversation and economical revitalisation of industrial buildings, often related to tourism and done by means of contemporary architecture. A prominent example is the Tate Gallery of Modern Art at the former Bankside Power Station in Central London. The post-war industrial building was closed in 1981 and re-opened in 2000 after being converted by Swiss architects Herzog & de Meuron. It soon became one of London's main tourist attractions. "It was designed for 1.8 million visitors a year, but gets 4.7 million. (Runners-up are the Centre Pompidou in Paris, with 3.5 million, and the New York Museum of Modern Art, with 2.8 million.)" (Bayley, 2010, para. 1). Culham (2001) pointed out that "the dramatic response is widely, and accurately, attributed to [the designers] Herzog & de Mueron's striking achievement" (para. 12) (see Section 5.3 below and Illustration 100). Another example of revitalisation by means of conversion and functional adaptation is the Las Arenas project in Barcelona, Spain. The former bullfighting ring from 1900 fell into disrepair in the 1990s as bullfighting had not been hosted since 1977. Eventually, with Catalunya's decision to abolish bullfighting by 2012, Las Arenas was irretrievably about to lose its original function. Hence, British architect Richard Rogers was hired to transform the retired bullring into an attractive commercial complex while preserving the circular Neo-Mudéjar style facade of the original (see Illustration 22).

Illustration 21: Historical government building with contemporary façade design in Paris, France: (Author, 2010).

Illustration 22: Las Arenas, Barcelona, Spain: Transformed from a former bullring into a shopping mall in 2011 by British architect Richard Rogers (Author, 2011).

According to press commentary, Rogers design was not only accepted but rather embraced with the potential to become a top attraction for locals and tourists alike. Rose (2011), for instance, wrote in The Guardian:

> Las Arenas had more than 300,000 visitors in its opening week this March: that's around a tenth of the city. The rooftop public viewing terrace has been a huge hit, offering an unrivalled 360-degree view of the city. Families seem to have incorporated the building into their evening stroll (para. 2).

A substantial change from industrial structure to industrial culture has also occurred in the German Ruhr area (Ruhrgebiet). Formerly an industrial centre of coal mining and steel production, today most of the area’s mines and furnaces are no longer used. Yet, many places have already been converted and given a new function. There is, for example, the Zollverein Coal Mine Industrial Complex (Zeche Zollverein), a large former industrial site in the city of Essen. Listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 2001, the complex is now a place for cultural events. Furthermore, a former boiler house converted in 1997 by British architect Sir Norman Foster, is host to the contemporary Red Dot Design Museum. At the entrance of the plot, Japanese architects Kazuyo Sejima and Ryue Nishizawa (SANAA) designed a contemporary cube-shaped building generally referred to as “Zollverein-Kubus” in 2006, which is today used by the Design Department of Folkwang University as a school building. Although it formed an important part of the functional transformation of Zeche Zollverein, contemporary architecture has only been used to a rather moderate extent, while as much of the historical structure as possible was preserved.

Located in a former military factory from 1957, 798 Art Zone is today home to some of Beijing's most important contemporary artists. However, unlike other urban projects, the decommissioned area has not been transformed after a designed master plan. From 1995 it has, step-by-step, been recolonized by individual artists. As it turned out, the Bauhaus-inspired functional design of the former Joint Factory 718 area, once built in cooperation with East Germany, provided an ideal surrounding for exhibitions, galleries and workshops. Since 798 Art Zone has become a tourist attraction, the area was refurbished and made more accessible for visitors (see Illustrations 23 and 24). Once again, contemporary architecture was used to create selective counterpoints, while attempting to preserve the original atmosphere (see Yang, 2008, 17 ff.).

Illustration 23: 798 Art Zone Beijing, China: Contemporary art, architecture and industrial heritage (Author, 2010).

Illustration 24: 798 Art Zone Beijing, China: Contemporary art, architecture and industrial heritage (Author, 2010).

2.4 Form Follows Function or Function Follows Form

My work is not about 'form follows function,' but 'form follows beauty' or, even better, 'form follows feminine' (Oscar Niemeyer, as quoted in Metz, 1997, p. 35).

For Schwanzer (2000), the nature of architecture is determined by three components: A technical, an artistic and a social one. However, according to his theory, one can only refer to an artistic component insofar as the form of the building has [or is] also a function. On the other hand, he believed that the social component is always existent because every building is also an expression of the social situation of a specific period of time (p. 31). Considering Schwanzer's propositions in the context of (contemporary) tourism, most notably the importance of the social and artistic components of architecture becomes apparent. In fact, architecture always evolves from a specific social context, as was stated in the course of a conference about built environments for sustainable tourism, jointly organized in 2005 by the Oman Ministry of Tourism, the UNESCO and the World Tourism Organization in Muscat, Oman:

> The built environment cannot be understood in isolation of its context. Because of the very fact that it is man-made, it reflects human interaction with its milieu. As such, the built environment is the result of natural constraints and resources, socio-cultural imperatives, economic and functional needs, and technological possibilities. Moreover, it is the identity of a community that is reflected by the built environment. Respect for the sense of place, traditions, and cultures are paramount for the wellbeing of the populations and the sustainability of tourism and of its quality (World Tourism Organisation, 2005, p. 3).

Likewise Gruen (2006) believed that "architectural tourism cannot be separated from economic, political, and social issues that penetrate any other sort of tourism and, in fact, is bound to them." Klingmann (2007) noted that "architecture is a product of complex social, economic, and political interests simultaneously reflecting and shaping the conditions of our environment" (p. 327). In fact, the same piece of architecture might concern a wide variety of people, differing in political and economical interest and belonging to different social and cultural groups. Chang (2010) talked in this regard about the awareness of the production and consumption of place (p. 965). He referred to Goss (1988) who suggested four areas for consideration: producers, consumers, production and consumption processes. Goss differentiated between the meaning of architecture for those groups who view it (e.g. residents), those who produce it (e.g. architects), those who run it (e.g. facilities managers), those who use it (e.g. tenants) and those who own it (p. 398). While each of the groups might again consist of entities of very different natures and interests, tourism adds a whole new dimension to it because – from a single building to an entire urban district – there might always be a conflict of interests between the architecture a resident wants to use, and the one a tourist seeks. Reimann (2011) described the growing conflict between residents and tourists in Berlin Kreuzberg in an online article of German newspaper "Der Spiegel." After more and more apartment buildings had been taken over by hostels and hotels, or had been transformed into holiday flats, residents felt disturbed by rising rents, noise and pollution and eventually held a public event with the title "Help, the tourists come (Hilfe, die Touristen kommen)" (para. 6).

Lasansky (2004) noted that "tourism is simultaneously a cultural product and producer of culture" (p. 1). On the other hand, architecture itself is also a cultural product, which (often, but not always) stands for the culture it evolved from. However, for the most part the local residents' and the tourists' cultures differ from each other and might sometimes even be in conflict (see Sections 5.2 to 5.4 below). With regard to architecture, this does not only interfere with the usage of a building, but also with the artistic dimension reflected in its form and style (see Schwanzer, 2000, p. 31). Goss (1988) suggested that "architecture should be treated as a complex function: as a cultural artefact, as an object of economic value, as a sign, and as a spatial system" (p. 402). Regarding the building as a cultural artefact, he further specified that "the central assumption is that, although constrained by environmental conditions and available construction materials, form and style in architecture reflect the level of technological development and the values of a culture" (p. 402). Yet, when it comes to tourism, most of his statement risks losing ground. Once again taking Gehry's Guggenheim Bilbao as an example, constraints by environmental conditions and the availability of construction materials now appear to be almost irrelevant. Furthermore, form and style neither reflect the identity mentioned by the World Tourism Organisation (2005) nor the values of the Basque culture – at least not at the time of completion of the contemporary American museum. Instead, at its origin, form and style of the expressive sculptural building rather reflected the expectations of the tourists which Bilbao so desperately sought to attract. In fact, the form of Gehry's architecture was so attractive that somehow it became the main function of the building while turning an architectural principle upside down. When American architect Louis H. Sullivan (1896) took examples from nature and argued in an article that "form ever follows function, and this is the law", he pioneered a principle that has ever since been internalised by generations of architects (p. 4). "Form follows function" as an integral part of architectural design is mainly associated with the Modern Movement of the 20th century. Nevertheless, the idea that a building's shape should first of all be based upon its intended purpose, is not limited to this period of time, but for many architects and scholars to date, is a basic principle. On the other hand, Goss (1988) opposed that "a wide range of forms is practical, however, for any function. Only in the most ideal and extreme of modernist architecture will form be reducible to function" (p. 397). He referred to Prak (1968), who argued:

> The function of a building determines its form in a double sense. In a purely rational sense by requiring of it that it will be practical and will work; in an aesthetic sense by demanding that the felt emotional importance of the function finds some expression in architecture (p. 25).

As discussed before, in the context of tourism, the functions of architecture might be manifold. Yet, when it comes to architecture as an attraction, an important function of a building might also be to amaze. This again finds expression most likely in its form and style. However, the intention to use architecture for representational issues, or in order to amaze visitors, is by no means a new phenomenon. With the expression of form exceeding the primary function of the building, public and spiritual institutions have used architecture for hundreds of years for similar purposes, and these building were always also used to demonstrate power and status. Castles, churches and temples are just some historical examples of what fits into a category Goss (1988) called "architecture as sign." For Goss, "each building conveys a meaning as a sign" since he believed that "the architectural object is a signifier which has as its object an ideology, concept, or social relation. Architecture thus constitutes a language which communicates social meaning." Goss further stated that "of vital significance is how function and form interrelate to communicate meaning"

Illustration 25: Atomium, Brussels, Belgium (Author, 2010).

(p. 396). Yet, the meaning and function of a temple and a church are of spiritual nature and do, in general, follow a repetitive formal logic, disregarding any enhancement of their formal expression. Even the Egyptian pyramids were burial sites, although the monumental approach of the architecture might have served different representative purposes. Then again, other than being a sign, what are the meanings and functions of architectures such as the Eiffel Tower in Paris and the Atomium in Brussels (see Illustration 25)? Is there any more that can be done apart from marvelling at the architecture itself or using the object as a viewpoint? If nothing matters but form, is it even appropriate to talk about architecture? Or should one rather call it sculpture or simply art?

Kanas National Park, Providing Tourists with Beautiful Room for a Rest

Since 1982, China has created numerous national parks. Kanas National Park is located near the very northern end of Xinjiang – at the borders with Kazakhstan, Mongolia, and Russia – and was established in 2008 with an area of around 10,000 square kilometres. The park is one of the world's largest (Bagchi, 2011, para. 3). With its main attractions, the "Kanas Lake" and a village of the local Tuva (or Tuwa) minority called "Hemu", the park accounts for around 700,000 visitors per year, with numbers expected to increase. According to an article in China Daily, "a plan for tourism and environmental management of the park has been under consideration for several years. The government has spent 3 billion yuan ($438 million) on these efforts over the past five years. The same amount has been budgeted for the next five" ("National Treasures", 2009, para. 6). Indeed, huge efforts have been made to improve the area's touristic appeal. Building structures, which do not fit into the aspired image, have been removed from the areas around Kanas Lake. Traffic has been restricted and the authorities control any kind of new development. At the same time, the local and regional governments established a comprehensive touristic infrastructure, including a large visitor centre. Most of the structures are made of wood (though often with a core of stone or concrete), modelling themselves on some solid timber houses of the otherwise nomadic Tuva people. However, the authorities took some artistic liberties and only a few of the new developments correspond to the style, size or structure of traditional Tuva houses. Hence, although great importance has been given to the aesthetic aspects of the new building structures, their form and function is sometimes difficult to understand. For instance, a walk down from the parking areas leads through a forest into the valley of Lake Kanas. The landscape first opens up to a smaller lake. Without any close built environment other than a small walk-way and a wooden house with a steeple-like structure on the other side of the lake (see Illustration 26), the scenery blends smoothly into the surrounding mountain landscape. Yet, coming closer, a visitor might ask himself what the prominently featured and formed building represents, what its function is, and he might eventually be surprised with the answer (see Illustration 27).

Illustration 26: Tourism toilet, Kanas National Park, China (Author, 2011).

Illustration 27: Plate of tourism toilet, Kanas National Park, China (Author, 2011).

2.5 Between Art and Architecture

I don't know where you cross the line between architecture and sculpture. For me, it's the same. Buildings and sculptures are three-dimensional objects (Frank Gehry, as quoted in Welchmann, 2005, p. 238).

In his manifesto "Toward an Architecture (Vers une architecture)" Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, one of the pioneers of Modern architecture, who was better known as Le Corbusier, defined architecture as follows:

> Architecture is the masterly, correct and magnificent play of masses seen in light. Our eyes are made to see forms in light; light and shade reveal these forms; cubes, cones, spheres, cylinders or pyramids are the great primary forms which light reveals to advantage; the image of these is distinct and tangible within us without ambiguity (Le Corbusier, 1946, p. 31).

But is there any difference between architecture and sculpture? As Unwin (1997) asked: "Is architecture merely sculpture – the three-dimensional composition of forms in space" (p. 13)? According to the Oxford Dictionary of English, architecture is defined as "the art or practice of designing and constructing buildings" (Stevenson, 2010, p. 82). On the other hand, sculpture means "the art of making three-dimensional figures and shapes, by carving stone or wood or casting metal" (Soanes, 2002, p. 754). Hence, if the main difference is given by the classification of building or figure and shape, the Eiffel Tower can be called architecture. On the other hand, following this logic, Mount Rushmore National Memorial would then represent a sculpture, as it features the heads of four former United States presidents carved out of stone (see Illustration 28). But how about the Statue of Liberty in New York? She (or it) is certainly part of the built environment. But is she sculpture or architecture? Designed by Frédéric Bartholdi, the statue was built by the same engineer as the Eiffel Tower, Frenchman Alexandre-Gustave Eiffel. Supported by an interior framework, the statue is one of the earliest examples of curtain wall construction in which the exterior structure is not load-bearing. Hence, the statue is neither carved, nor casted but constructed. She is as accessible as a building while at the same time representing a figure. In fact, drawing a line between architecture and sculpture is anything but easy or unambiguous. Yet, regarding the interdependencies between form and function of

Illustration 28: Mount Rushmore National Memorial, United States (Author, 1995).

architecture in the context of tourism, terms are not decisive, and neither are structural differentiations and classifications. Rather important are the meaning and intention of the construction. In fact, as discussed before, a difference between many historical monuments and their contemporary counterparts is the initial purpose or intention of their existence. Although many historical buildings today are important tourist attractions, only a few of them have been created with tourism in mind. Even the Statue of Liberty, since her dedication in 1886 greeting thousands of visitors arriving every day in New York, was first and foremost meant to be a symbol of freedom and the commonalities of the American and French Nations.

By contrast, many contemporary architectures (throughout all possible functions from accommodation to traffic infrastructure to attractions) have been intentionally built to attract and not only to serve tourists. Hence, they are consciously aware that they are (and that they were meant to be) tourist attractions (see Shaw, 2007, p. 22). And, if form attracts, then form becomes meaning, becomes function. In this case, not so much in regard to the structure, but rather to the content and meaning, the borders between architecture and sculpture start to blur and to disappear. Architecture becomes, or – as claimed American architect and artist Da-

Illustration 29: Guggenheim Museum New York, United States (Author, 1995).

niel Libeskind – "is public art" (Pitzke, 2009). To a certain degree this might also explain why many museums have increasingly been using spectacular contemporary architecture as a shell to attract visitors in recent years. As Bailey (2002) stated in an online article in the Forbes Magazine, "Gehry's architecture and the Guggenheim's art have proved an irresistible combination" (para. 6). This comes as no surprise if Gehry's architecture was no less (and no more) than art itself. Evans (2003) noted that Le Corbusier's Musée à Croissance Illimitée (1939) and Wright's Guggenheim in New York (1959) symbolises "the modern cultural building as an architectural monument first and a functional gallery second" (see Illustration 29). Evans also claimed that the Pompidou Centre in Paris (1977) has an evident preference for form and architectural impact over function and criticised that the "open plan layout and free standing temporary walls made it almost impossible to show sculpture and painting satisfactorily" (p. 430). He concluded:

> Architectural statement and form over function and the vernacular is therefore a compromise which state and cultural institutions are willing to make, despite the 'danger that the museum as cultural status symbol can shift the emphasis onto the building and its symbolic meaning to a degree to where what is inside hardly seems to matter at all' (Schubert, 2000, p. 98) (p. 430).

Discussing a similar argument, Foster (2002) appealed for a more differentiated view. For him, Frank Lloyd Wright's Guggenheim "is too often seen as a sculptural object, but the Wright has a formal logic, the whitish spiral, as well as a programmatic conceit, the museum as a continuous ramp, that the Gehrys do not possess" (p. 430). In fact, around the globe Wright's principle of the museum as a continuous ramp has been copied and used as a functional element for various exhibitions and museums. An example from 1972 is the museum of German car producer BMW in Munich, designed by Austrian architect Karl Schwanzer. Schwanzer inverted Wright's principle to move from top to bottom and allowed visitors to start their circuit at the bottom of the cylindrical building. Vidler (2008) agreed with Foster and added that, compared to Wright's Guggenheim, "Gehry's museum seemed altogether formless and merely gestural. An object of nothing more than 'touristic awe'" (p. vii). Once again, it depends on individual attitude and affection rather than on a strict and unambiguous classification of terms, if it is to be called architecture or art, building or sculpture. When asked whether he considers himself an artist, Gehry negated this and said that he is an architect – but Michelangelo has also built houses ("Die neue Lust am Bauen", 2007, p. 51). Following this debate, the question arises why the discussion about terminologies is actually taken so seriously. Article 13 of the "Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union" stipulates that "the arts and scientific research shall be free of constraint" (European Parliament, European Council, European Commission, 2007). However, it seems that the same right does not apply to architecture. As Unwin (1997) noted, "architecture is not a free art of the mind" (p. 16). Instead, it appears that any building which is not up to standard has to be justified. The reasons for such critical evaluation might be due to substantial differences between architecture and certain kinds of art. For instance, architecture can usually not be moved or detached from its place of origin, while many artworks – from paintings to sculptures – are easy to relocate or deconstruct. Hence, their long-term impact on the environment is much lower than this of architecture in the form of a building. As with many forms of art, architecture also follows temporary trends, or is at least influenced by them. A challenge is that the piece of architecture might still exist after the trend has long waned. A sculpture, on the other hand, can easily be removed once it does not meet the requirements of its stakeholders, aesthetically or politically (see Illustrations 30 and 31).

Illustration 30: Contemporary art against a historical backdrop in Venice, Italy: Controversial, but easy to remove (Author, 2007).

Illustration 31: Temps de Flor, Girona, Spain: Contemporary art and flower festival in the historical city centre (Author, 2009).

Consciously or unconsciously, architecture is a matter for each and every one. Influencing the built environment, architecture is part of our everyday lives. One can choose whether or not he wants to visit the inside of a museum and to consume certain kinds of art. Architecture, on the other hand, is almost unavoidable. It can be argued that this also applies to public art (e.g. graffiti or a statue); however, such artworks are to be found at selected places only. Architecture is everywhere. The question is whether these are arguments for more or less art in architecture. The Oxford Dictionary of English defines art as "the expression or application of human creative skill and imagination, typically in a visual form such as painting or sculpture…" (Stevenson, 2010, p. 88). Yet, without creative skill, architecture degrades to mass-produced articles wrapped in concrete. It is not only visitors that seek a break from their everyday lives. Cities such as Barcelona are equally popular for their creative spirit and the exciting mixture of architectural styles and times, functions and forms, with both visitors and local residents. From Mercat de Santa Caterina with its colourful undulating roof designed by architects Benedetta Tagliabue and Enric Miralles to Gehry's Fish sculpture at the seafront, Barcelona keeps boredom at bay and leaves room for architectures out of the ordinary (see Illustrations 32 to 34). This is part of a long tradition that can look back on many examples; amongst them the famous works of Spanish Catalan architect Antoni Gaudí (Curl, 2007, p. 308; see Frampton, 2007, p. 64). Functional environments are not necessarily perceived as pleasant places worth living or visiting. Destinations planned in one piece, such as the cities Brasilia in Brazil and Chandigarh in India, are "two examples that grew out of a 'cold sterility' often idealized in the last century" (Hirschmann, 2008, para. 9). The "artistic dimension" is a critical part of architecture, especially when it comes to tourism (see Schwanzer, 2000, p. 31). Yet, creativity does not mean to cut back functionality. Conversely, form and function can compose a harmonious and integrated entity, provided with appropriate legal, economic and political conditions, as well as an architect of great talent. Art and architecture are closely interrelated in many ways. From exhibitions (e.g. museum) to events (e.g. theatre), architecture also provides appropriate settings and frames for art. However, an extraordinary example for the opposite case where architecture was framed and enclosed by art itself was Christo and Jeanne-Claude's wrapping of the Reichstag building in Berlin (see Morris, 2001; Schlinke, 1996).

Illustration 32: Mercat de Santa Caterina, Barcelona, Spain (Author, 2011).

Illustration 33: Fish sculpture (rear right), Frank Gehry, Barcelona, Spain (Author, 2011).

Illustration 34: La Torre Calatrava, Barcelona, Spain: Art or Architecture? (Author, 2011).

From Artist to Architect: Friedensreich Hundertwasser

Friedensreich Hundertwasser (1928 – 2000) was a Jewish Austrian artist who “abhorred straight lines and the rigidity of Modernism” (Curl, 2007, p. 377). Initially dedicated to painting, he later turned to architecture:

> Hundertwasser became involved with architecture because he criticised it. In 1959, as a visiting lecturer in Hamburg, he denounced the aridity of modern architecture, ridiculed symmetry – by wearing different coloured socks – and described straight lines, horizontals and verticals as ‘the tool of the devil’ and ‘the rotten foundation of our doomed civilisation’. He denounced the professional institutions of architecture because they would not permit practice by amateurs. This, he said, proved that architecture was not an art, but a professional conspiracy (Pawley, 2000, para. 5).

As a result he created “organic” architectures leaning on his own colourful paintings (see Illustration 35 and Illustration 36). Irregular forms involving natural features such as trees and grassed roof areas are characteristic of his work. While still controversially discussed, Hunderwasser’s architecture from Austria to the United States and from residential buildings to thermal baths is also an object of tourist interest. Hundertwasser remarked in an interview with German newspaper “Die Welt” that as he “only painted facades, critics often blamed him to create Potemkin villages [based on the myth of fake settlements erected at the behest of Russian minister Grigory Potemkin to fool Catherine II during her visit to Crimea in 1787].” Yet, Hundertwasser said that the modern buildings were much more mendacious and claimed that one cannot exist without lies and "to live without Kitsch becomes unbearable.” He also emphasised that the view to a beautiful building is just as important as living inside of it. Taking as an example his Hundertwasserhaus in Vienna, Löwengasse the creator claimed that “there are 150 living, while around one million passer-by’s per year have a glance at it” (Martens, 1998). German “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung” called it an architectural artwork out of the norm and said it was one of Vienna’s most visited attractions since its opening in 1985. In the true sense of the word, Hundertwasser brought nature into the urban environment (“Hundertwasser-Bauwerke: Sehenswürdigkeiten in einem Rausch aus Farben und Formen”, 2011, para. 2).

Illustration 35: Hundertwasserhaus, Bad Soden, Germany (Author, 2011).

Illustration 36: Hundertwasserhaus (detail), Bad Soden, Germany (Author, 2011).

3 Architectural Tourism in the Spatial and Temporal Urban Context

There can be no separation between our architecture and our culture. Nor any separation of either from our happiness (Wright, 2005, p. 338).

In a survey about the "relative importance of socio-cultural elements influencing the cultural attractiveness of a tourism region", Ritchie and Zins (1978) compared non-residents with residents. As a result, the relative importance of architecture for residents ranked in seventh place and for visitors (non-residents) fourth place after the socio-cultural elements of history (3), gastronomy (2) and traditions (1) (p. 254 ff.).

Although the study might show the relative importance of architecture for a tourism destination, such generalisation holds some shortages and architecture as a (cultural) tourism attraction requires a more contextual view. Depending on the type of destination and the according types of visitors, architecture might be a more or less important element and might also differ in form and function (e.g. rural vs. urban tourism). Even within a specific destination, types of visitors and requirements might diverge substantially. This applies specifically to urban destinations where shopping tourism, event tourism, cultural tourism, as well as many other forms of tourism, take place, sometimes coexisting and sometimes fusing. Furthermore, when it comes to attractiveness and touristic interest, "architecture" as a term is not specific enough for a significant evaluation. For instance, visitors seeking historical monuments might not be interested in contemporary architecture at all (Steinecke, 2008b, p. 190).

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3.1 About the Interaction of Urban Atmosphere and Urban Tourism

Agriculture is the business of rural areas and culture is the business of cities (Robert C. Lamm, as quoted in Azua, 2005, p. 79).

As a result of global change, urbanisation is accelerating on a global scale. Urbanisation or urban drift, “the social process whereby cities grow and societies become more urban”, means that people from the country move to and settle down in a city (Soanes, 2002, p. 927). In the annual “World Urbanization Prospects” from 2009, the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division (2009) stated:

> Between 2009 and 2050, the world population… living in urban areas is projected to gain 2.9 billion, passing from 3.4 billion in 2009 to 6.3 billion 2050… Thus, 75 per cent of the inhabitants of the more developed regions lived in urban areas in 2009, whereas just 45 per cent of those in the less developed regions did so. Urbanization is expected to continue rising in both the more developed and the less developed regions so that, by 2050, urban dwellers will likely account for 86 per cent of the population in the more developed regions and for 66 per cent of that in the less developed regions. Overall, the world population is expected to be 69 per cent urban in 2050 (p. 2).

According to the report, in 2009 “China, India and the United States accounted for 36% of the world’s urban population” (p. 11). Today, China alone accounts for over 100 mega-cities (Augstein, 2008, p. 58). Dubrau (2008) called it “high-speed urbanization” and believed that “there is no end in sight for this trend; it has only just begun” and that it as a matter of fact that it also impacts the development of urban tourism (p. 10). On one hand, an increasing urban society already seeks to escape the cities during holiday periods; on the other hand, with growing and new developing cities, urban tourism destinations will not only gain in volume, but also in diversity. From mega-cities to small towns, historical cities to modern metropolises, tourists can choose from a growing variety of urban destinations and – within these – from a broad mix of attractions. At the same time, more and more cities try to transform themselves into tourism destinations, often by means of special events or contemporary architecture (Shaw, 2007, p. 54).

Figure 6: Types of cities visited by tourists (simplified after Fainstein & Judd 1999, p. 262).

Cities have always been attractive to visitors, from pilgrims to travelling salesmen, to tourists. Judd (2003) argued that “until the rise of mass tourism in the latter half of the nineteenth century, cities held a special status as travel destinations” (p. 25). In fact, during the “Grand Tours” of the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries, upper-class Europeans and Americans visited “cultural” cities, such as Paris, Florence, Naples, Venice and Rome. Ancient ruins, churches, palaces and the architecture of the Renaissance drew the attention of mainly young men “seeking inspiration, sophistication and education” (Culham, 2001, para. 4).

Fainstein and Judd (1999) introduced a three-fold classification of cities that are visited by tourists which also leaned on a differentiation between the intentions to create a destination (see Swarbrooke, 2002, p. 5). Hence, while “resort cities” are entirely and “converted cities” partly created for tourism, “tourist-historical cities” have not been built with any touristic intention (p. 262).

Law (2002) criticised the model’s missing consideration of size and claimed that different places might vary in population size and visitor numbers. Depending on its size, a city’s tourism and economy might be more or less diversified. Therefore, it is “not clear from this classification where large metropolitan areas like capital cities fit in” (p. 5). Indeed, when it comes to large cities, a clear and unambiguous differentiation is difficult. Mixtures or overlaps are more likely. Fainstein and Judd (1999) described “converted cities” as “a type of tourist city in which specialized tourist bubbles are carved out of areas that otherwise would be hostile to or inconvenient for tourists” (p. 266). The Basque city of Bilbao is a good example, with the Guggenheim Museum and its surrounding areas forming, by means of contemporary architecture, a specifically created tourist bubble within an (for tourists) otherwise rather unattractive (though not hostile) environment. The authors took the Times Square as an example for an artificially created tourist bubble while confirming at the same time that it “does not fully exemplify the concept of the tourist bubble, both because of its long history as an entertainment mecca, and because of New York City’s overall character” (p. 266). This logic of a mix of converted and tourist-historical areas also applies to other cities. Examples are Berlin, Beijing, Paris and Barcelona. Paris even has, with Disneyland, an integrated resort city in addition, although it is not located within the inner city limits but in Marne La Vallee, on the verge of Paris’ outskirts. There are only a few created and specialised “resort cities” with a notable size of over one million, such as Las Vegas and Orlando (Law, 2002, p. 6). In turn, today, Macau, one of the world’s largest casino destinations, is composed of a mixture of tourist-historical and resort areas, the latter mainly consisting of casino developments (see Illustration 37). Macau’s largest “tourist bubble” has been created in the context of a land reclamation project between the two islands Ilha da Taipa and Ilha de Coloane.

Illustration 37: Large-scale casino developments in Macau (Author, 2011).

In face of the urban diversification, a distinct classification of entire cities as urban tourism entities is indeed a problematic approach. Selby (2004) pointed out that "the scale of tourism districts within cities, emphasising the clustering of facilities and attractions, has been more attractive to researchers" (p. 12). Hence, research often concentrates on cities' core districts, mainly the historic centres. Shovala and Ravehb (2004) referred to Burtenshaw, Bateman and Ashworth (1991), Yokeno (1968) and D. G. Pearce (1987), when claiming that "a city's historic core, its major cultural institutions…, main business district, shopping districts, and urban parks form the main attractions of urban tourism. These sites are usually concentrated in the innermost parts of the metropolitan area together with accommodation services for tourists" (p. 741). However, as Law (2002) stated, "the post-war period has also witnessed significant changes in the internal geography of cities. From being relatively compact and monocentric (i.e. focused on the city centre) cities have decentralized and become polycentric with consequences for core areas" (p. 32). Again, size plays an important role in this regard with significant impacts on urban tourism. For instance, small and middle "tourist-historical cities" are in the majority of cases still reduced to their historic cores, while global metropolises, in accordance with a rapid growth, experience an increasing diversification of tourism space. Newly developed areas become touristic counter poles or synergetic complements of historic centres. Examples are the newly developed (or redeveloped) districts of La Defense in Paris, Potsdamer Platz in Berlin and Pudong in Shanghai.

Although all aforementioned districts were not created primarily with tourism in mind and also fulfil diverse functions, they also form important tourism areas within their urban destinations. In fact, when it comes to large cities, urban planning occurs in general at district level (D. G. Pearce, 1998, p. 63). However, for tourism, the opposite often takes place; from both the perspective of a tourism developer, a tourism manager and the tourist himself urban districts usually play a secondary role as a destination. The spatial perception takes place most likely on the scale of the urban entity as a whole (e.g. Paris) or the urban attraction itself (e.g. Eiffel Tower and Pompidou Centre, Paris). Exceptions are districts, perceived as an attraction in a body (e.g. Montmartre, Paris). One reason might be that the majority of tourists do not visit an urban destination for one attraction only, but for a bundle or mix of attractions that meet their personal desires and requirements. This mix might then stretch across different districts and cover different types of attractions within an urban destination. However, for researchers, the limitation on specific areas and selected touristic patterns is a simpler approach than the attempt to understand the complexity of urban tourism systems as a whole. Shovala and Ravehb (2004) noted that "although the academic literature on urban tourism has expanded rapidly in the last decade… very few studies have dealt with the differential tourism consumption patterns in cities in terms of content and spatial activity, and most of such research has focused on seaside resorts or small historic cities rather than large multifunctional cities" (p. 742). Thus, literature does not reflect reality. Steinecke (2008b), for instance, believed that a city's touristic force of attraction most notably results from its urban atmosphere and multi-optional offers (p. 742). In a report about architectural tourism potentials, the Planning and Transportation Committee of the City of Toronto (2003) stated:

> Cities are attractive to visitors (as well as to residents and business) not only because of their landmark architectural pieces designed by "label" architects, but also because of their overall design, harmonious composition of open spaces and built form, and streets with views and interesting or surprising features… Most great cities are appreciated for their overall design as well as for the landmark buildings they contain. Think of downtown Boston, Chicago, London and Paris (p. 4).

Grötsch (2006) referred to a visitor survey in Vienna when he confirmed that Vienna's cityscape and architecture plays an important role in a tourist's decision-making process. However, Grötsch also emphasised that in this regard architecture does not mean single buildings and landmarks of the past and present, but rather a kind of urban atmosphere (p. 278). Gaebe (1993) also believed that the structural identity of cities is not given through single buildings but through the diversity of forms and proportions (p. 65). He further stated that even in non-European cities with a preponderance of modern buildings (e.g. Chicago, New York, Singapore or Tokyo), for the most part attractiveness is given by a mixture of buildings from different eras, functions and styles (p. 67) (see Illustrations 38 and 39).

In a report produced for the Research Group of the European Travel Commission and the World Tourism Organization (2005), a broader view was taken and it was stated that "for large cities and metropolises the concept of the creative city, linking the traditional cultural products, services and heritage with the creative industries such as media and entertainment, design, architecture and fashion, can offer great advantages in attracting visitors" (p. ix). As a matter of fact, amongst others, the urban atmosphere evolves from a wide range of factors, formed by the past and present culture(s) of a city's stakeholders. For instance, the urban atmosphere of Barcelona is affected by its architecture, its location between the mountains and the sea, its festivals, its nightlife, the "Futbol Club (FC) Barcelona" and many further factors, which also includes the average age of its inhabitants and visitors. While impacting the numbers and types of tourists visiting the city, many of these factors are of a dynamic nature and might change over time. This also applies to a city's architecture, which – although far from being the only one – is still one of the most important factors impacting the perceived urban atmosphere. As Bijlsma, van Dijk and Geerts (2004) point out, "architecture and urban space itself are, after all the main attraction of the city" (p. 2). Richter (2010) further observed:

> Increasing tourist crowds concentrate particularly in the centre of the metropolitan areas. The largest proportion - almost 63% of a tourist's daily activities consists of visiting famous place, mostly architecture and urban spaces… Statistically, tourists walk 10 km per day through urban spaces, spending two-thirds of the day in open areas of the city (p. 178).

However, urban atmosphere is not only a matter of famous places and architectures. Taking again the example of the tourist city of Barcelona, the spectacular and iconic buildings of Antoni Gaudí form part of the conscious image most tourists have in mind. Yet, there are other structures, which – although anything but spectacular or iconic – contribute just as much to Barcelona's unconsciously perceived urban atmosphere and, hence, also to the city's touristic image.

Illustration 38: Mixture of buildings from different eras, functions and styles in Chicago, USA (Author, 1995).

Illustration 39: Historical building framed by contemporary structures, Singapore (Author, 2011).

3.2 Architectural Tourism in the Context of Urban Transformation

Tourism is important for cities. Cities are important for tourism (Asworth and Duran, as quoted in Gausa, Banchini, & Falcón, 2009, p. 91).

Both architecture and the urban space are dynamic elements that might change over time, just as the surrounding urban atmosphere might change. However, to what degree and by which means this change takes place can vary substantially and depends on legal, economical, cultural and social aspects. Lynch (1990) opened his book about the image of the city with the following passage:

> Looking at cities can give a special pleasure, however commonplace the sight may be. Like a piece of architecture, the city is a construction in space, but one of vast scale, a thing perceived only in the course of long spans of time. City design is therefore a temporal art, but it can rarely use the controlled and limited sequences of other temporal arts like music. On different occasions and for different people, the sequences are reversed, interrupted, abandoned, cut across. It is seen in all lights and all weather (p. 1).

Cities such as Barcelona, Beijing, Berlin, London, Paris, and Moscow all provide a more or less diversified architectural structure from very different eras of their history, including a broad range of contemporary structures. By contrast, for historical reasons, cities such as Rome, Florence, Venice or Jerusalem are bound to few specific eras from their past, which have coined their cityscapes and their touristic images alike. As a matter of course, all aforesaid cities also provide contemporary structures, yet those are mainly located in the outskirts and are barely present in a tourist's mind. Steinecke (2008b) noted that some cities intentionally try to "freeze" a certain era for tourists, while other epochs are ignored as much as possible. He called it "a conceptual dictate of an era" (p. 192). Law (2002) stated that "in selling a city to tourists, only a part of the city is sold, obviously those components which are thought to be attractive to them." Those might be located close to each other and concentrate on certain districts, but might also be spread across the city. Law calls it "composite product" or "bundle of products" when agencies or local authorities – often on the basis of intuition – put together such packages of city elements for tourists and thereby try to form an image of urban atmosphere, even before a tourist's first visit (p. 54).

Unlike "resort cities", which are in general generated expressly for tourism and put up within a short period of time, most other cities have to deal with a historically formed and transformed urban structure. In this regard, Knox (2011) stated:

> The form of cities has been influenced by design since the earliest times, though the motivation has varied a great deal, from mythology and religion to geopolitics, military strategy, national identity, egalitarianism, public health, economic efficiency, profitability and sustainability. Similarly, the driving forces behind urban design and planning have ranged from despotic powers to utopian idealists, and from democratic governments to private developers (p. 65).

As a result of such variable influences, even cities of geographical and historical proximity might, in form and structure, differ substantially from each other. In "Good City Form", Lynch (1984) provided a catalogue of basic city models from the "radial star" to the "linear city" (p. 283 and Appendix D). However, when it comes to tourism, a city's form and structure are just some of many interacting components influencing the urban atmosphere and the perception of different kinds of visitors. For instance, amongst other factors the potential to be a "tourist-historical city" is determined by the age and degree to which historical elements, from architecture to traditional customs, have been preserved and are still considered interesting and appealing. Hence, while some cities are simply too young to be perceived as historical places by tourists, others suffer from the vast demolition of their historical urban structures by wars (e.g. Dresden, Germany), natural disasters (e.g. New Orleans, United States) or transformational processes (e.g. Beijing, China). Often driven by political and economical catalysts, such transformational processes might then be irreversible and, once destroyed, a historical structure can be lost forever – not only for tourism. However, attempts to rebuild historical structures, from single buildings to entire districts, can be observed all over the world (see Illustrations 17 and 18). Whether such measures are successful or not depends not least on the number of tourists perceiving these rebuilt historical structures as authentic and worth visiting. An example is the redevelopment of traditional Hutongs in Beijing.

The Brand-New Historical Hutongs of Beijing

A hutong (see Illustration 40) is “a narrow lane or alleyway in a traditional residential area of a Chinese city, especially Beijing” (Stevenson, 2010, p. 858). Hutong alleys are formed by lines of so-called “siheyuan”, traditional Chinese courtyard residences. Hutongs were formed connecting one siheyuan to another while sometimes different hutongs join each other, forming a kind of network throughout Beijing. A traditional siheyuan is a courtyard surrounded by four single-story buildings, occupied by a single, but often large, family. However, when, due to population increases and urban drifts, more and more people had to share a decreasing amount of urban space, this traditional mode of operation soon became dysfunctional. Since the mid-20th century, the number of hutongs in Beijing has dropped substantially. As a result of overcrowding, poor hygienic conditions and, not least, a strong increase in real estate value, many traditional structures have been demolished to make way for new road developments and high-rise building projects. The dramatic regression of traditional hutongs has called critics into action. Celebrities, such as Charles Windsor, Prince of Wales, supported initiatives to save and restore the ancient structures (Booth & Watts, 2008, para. 4). As a result, some hutongs have already been classified as “protected areas.” Furthermore, since some of the remaining hutongs attract an increasing number of visitors from inside and outside Beijing, several reconstruction projects took place in different areas of the city. Beijing Architect Zhu Pei, for instance, proposed a strategy “for redeveloping the Xisi Bei hutong area by preserving or ‘freezing’ its best elements, inserting modern interpretations of traditional structures, and adapting industrial buildings added in the ‘50s and ’60s to new uses” (Pearson, 2008, para. 3). However, material usage has been handled quite permissively, and instead of traditional building materials concrete is often used (see Illustration 41). Furthermore, many of these “modern interpretations of traditional structures” come, for economical reasons, with larger building areas or additional floors to use space more efficiently. The same is true for the function. Once a Hutong area becomes popular, more and more traditional and reconstructed siheyuans are used for tourism; they host shops, hotels, restaurants, bars and clubs, while the original function of living is abandoned.

Illustration 40: Traditional Hutong structures in Bejing (Author, 2010).

Illustration 41: Reconstruction of Hutong structures, Bejing (Author, 2010).

Although the reconstruction of historical structures can be an effective instrument to attract urban tourism, it is also a dangerous one. As mentioned before, some tourists might not perceive the replicas as authentic (see Section 5.3 below). Furthermore, by freezing certain eras for tourists, cities run the risk of becoming stuck in the past – a condition that might fast reach beyond tourism and eventually also have impacts on the general mentality and local population. Yet, as with any other product, urban destinations need to reinvent themselves over and over again in order to remain an attractive and interesting place for tourism. Richter (2010) believed that “urban tourism cannot progress without modern [contemporary] architecture” (p. 188). As architecture is also a reflection of urban culture and time, it should likewise represent a city’s present and past in order to provide tourists with an integrated experience instead of a visit to a retrograde open-air museum. Thereby, historical structures and contemporary architectures do not need to be in conflict with each other but might on the contrary complement one another by forming an integrated mix of attractions. As a matter of fact, the same applies to other forms of cultural attractions (e.g. events). Well-planned contemporary structures might also initiate transformational processes with positive touristic, economic and social effects for their surrounding areas, district or even the entire city. Gospodini (2001) argued:

> In context of large groups of cities… design schemes can constitute counter-structure to the familiar environment, by contradicting the established international design trends and being avant-garde... This can be supported by examples from recent history of architecture and urban design: ‘new’ movements appear to have always produced in their beginning, design schemes – at small scale and large scale, buildings, open spaces, urban areas, or even cities – which being avant-garde in their era, constituted ‘counterstructures’ and thereby, great resources of urban tourism. For instance, Modern Movement and Le Corbusier’s Church of Ronchamp, the city of Brazilia; high-tech architecture and the building of the Pompidou Centre in Paris, the Lloyd’s Building in London; Post-Modernism and the glass-pyramids of the Museum of Louvre, the ‘follies’ edifices of La Villette in Paris, the Canary Wharf in London’s Docklands. In the last years, following the movement of Deconstruction, the best example supporting this argument is the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain (p. 931 f.).

Chang (2010) referred to the Guggenheim Bilbao arguing that “appreciation of a particular building prompts a wider engagement with the built environment." He cited Lasansky (2004) and pointed out that "the effects of architourism often extend beyond buildings to entire neighbourhoods and cities as iconic architecture serves as sites of entertainment, education and even national identity." Furthermore, referring to an expression used in an article by Sklair (2005), Chang wrote that "in more ways than one, the Bilbao Effect creates a 'new urban pole of attraction' (p. 498) around which contemporary public life is organised, performed and sometimes contested" (p. 964 ff.). As a matter of fact, inspired by the "Bilbao effect" as well as the former "Beaubourg Effect", many cities tried to revitalise existing urban areas by means of outstanding and often iconic contemporary buildings. Schneider (2008) coined the term "city acupuncture" (p. 130). Shaw (2007) stated "urbanistically, architourism has matured from single gem-like buildings to buildings incorporated in larger urban plans" (p. 11). Also Lang (2005) agreed that buildings might have a "catalytic effect on their neighbourhoods" and referred, amongst others, to the "Grands Travaux [or Grands Projets]" of French president François Mitterand in the 1980s (p. 120). The latter, officially called "Grandes Operations d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme", was an architectural program providing contemporary architectures in Paris to manifest France's role in art, politics, and economy and to revitalise specific districts. Furthermore, some of Mitterand's projects, such as the Louvre Pyramid, Museum d'Orsay, Parc de la Villette, the Arab World Institute, Opéra Bastille and the Grande Arche de La Défense also rank among Paris' most important attractions. However, Kähler (2002) warned that, as in the case of the spectacular "Grands Projets", a sustainable rehabilitation of an entire urban district is only possible if the massive costs of such buildings can be justified (para. 8). Meanwhile, another approach gains increasing popularity. Instead of using contemporary (iconic) architecture to revitalise existing districts, these are used as cornerstones to initiate and distinguish entirely new development areas. A branch of Pompidou Arts Centre in Paris might serve as an example. Designed in Metz, France, by architects Shigeru Ban and Jean de Gastines, it is located in the Amphitheatre District near the railway station and represents the cornerstone of the new development area of around 50 hectares (see Illustrations 42 and 43). Completion of the development project is expected by 2015.

Illustration 42: Pompidou Centre, Metz, France (Author, 2011).

Illustration 43: Construction sites around the Pompidou Centre, Metz, France (Author, 2011).

3.3 Contemporary Architecture as an Integrated Part of Self-Contained Resort City Destinations and Theme Parks

Disneyland is like a piece of clay: If there is something I don't like, I'm not stuck with it. I can reshape and revamp (Walt Disney, as quoted in Smith, 2001).

What Fainstein and Judd (1999) called a "resort city" is a place created expressly and entirely for tourism (p. 262). Of course, cities such as Las Vegas also have local populations, which do not depend entirely on tourism. However, the primary intention to create such cities, as well as their economic focus, is directly related to tourism. When it comes to commercial theme parks, this interdependency becomes even more apparent. Places such as Disneyland in Anaheim, California or Walt Disney World Resort in Orlando, Florida, were almost entirely created for tourism. In fact today, not only the theme parks themselves are economically dependent on visitors, but also their surrounding areas. As a result, in the world's mind Orlando and Anaheim are so closely connected to Disney's resorts that other potential "urban attractions" are overshadowed. The Oxford Dictionary of English defined a theme park quite generally as "an amusement park with a unifying setting or idea" (Stevenson, 2010, p. 1843). P.L. Pearce (2000) used a more specific definition:

> Theme parks are capital intensive, highly developed, self-contained recreational spaces which invariably charge admission. The entertainment, rides, speciality foods and park buildings are usually organized around themes or unifying ideas... These themes are crucial to the operation of the parks as they create a feeling of involvement in setting which is in stark contrast to daily life… (p. 578).

Steinecke (2008a) thought that a theme park belongs to a larger family of "theme worlds", among them "theme hotels, theme restaurants, urban entertainment centres, musical centres, science centres, brand and corporate lands, thermal baths, multiplex cinemas, indoor ski facilities and arenas" (p. 159). For Ritchie and Crouch (2003) Las Vegas and Disney's theme parks are the most famous examples of tourism superstructures, which are almost complete destinations in themselves (p. 125). While the primary function of both is entertainment, the distinctive architectures the places provide play an important part in their success and development to self-contained and integrated destinations. As American architect Jon Jerde pointed out, "with Disneyland, Walt Disney created a threshold where the interpenetration of psyche and environment, of fantasy and reality becomes a unique experiential component of participatory entertainment" (as cited in Klingmann, 2007, p.70). For example, the iconic Cinderella Castles and the futuristic buildings of Epcot (Walt Disney World Resort, Orlando) provide a vital contribution to the parks' recognition value, while at the same time allowing for their specific atmosphere and "je ne sais quoi." As a result, even young children, one of the park's main target groups, can at first glance differentiate Disney's resorts from other theme parks. The story is similar with "gambler's paradise" Las Vegas. Although there is no specific need for exceptional buildings in order to gamble, billions of dollars have been invested into expressive casino architectures for a good reason. Las Vegas wants to stand out and provide more than a place to play for a limited and somehow discredited target group. Instead, the city learned from Disney's theme parks and today provides, within a unique setting of iconic and staged contemporary architecture, integrated family entertainment from musicals to sporting events (see Cass, 2004, p. 244 and Illustration 44).

Illustration 44: Family friendly entertainment: Pirate battle on the Las Vegas Strip (Author, 1995).

Parker (1999) wrote that during the third period of Las Vegas' development "a loosely organized pro-growth coalition emerged to market the city as a tourist destination. Since the late 1980s… there has been a movement to transform 'Sin City' into 'The All-American City'" (p. 107). Las Vegas used contemporary architecture to set a benchmark as "the centre of superlatives", while at the same time making permissive use of "copy and paste." Thus, Knox (2011) observed:

> By any account, the capital of urban spectacle and simulation must be Las Vegas, where the Strip is studded with buildings cribbed from the skylines of other cities. The landmarks of Paris are just across the street from the canals of Venice, and right down the block from the Brooklyn Bridge and the Statue of Liberty. Within the fantastical architecture of themed casino hotels – a massive black pyramid [see Illustration 46], a Disneyesque medieval castle, and so on – are spectacular circus acts, concerts and exhibitions. The Mirage [see Illustration 45], one of the world's largest casinos, has an ecologically 'authentic' tropical rain forest in a nine-storey atrium; a 20,000-gallon marine fish tank behind the reception desk; and, outside, a 54-foot volcano that spews steam and flames into the night sky for three minutes every half-hour (p. 179).

Illustration 45: The Mirage, Las Vegas (Author, 1995).

Las Vegas is often criticised for being inauthentic, a fake city, making use of cultural achievements from other destinations. Though, in contrast to historical replicas, provided at other places, Las Vegas' copies never tried to fool their visitors. Who would seriously think that "original" Venice and Paris could be found within Las Vegas? Who would believe that the black pyramid or the Sphinx of the Casino Luxor Las Vegas are some thousand years old? The aim of Las Vegas' investments in such developments was not to create an image of being anything other than Las Vegas itself, the city of pleasure and entertainment. No more than Disney attempted to copy and create an impression of a "real" historical building by making the "Cinderella Castle" a landmark and flagship attraction for the respective theme parks. Instead, both simply tried to satisfy the desires of their visitors, without ideological barriers in terms of architectural and historical accuracy (see Section 5.3 below). Walt Disney once stated: "We're not trying to entertain the critics…I'll take my chances with the public (as quoted in Marling, 1991, p. 174). In the face of a total attendance of "around 116.5 million visitors to Disney's worldwide attractions in 2007", one might concede that he had a point (Shani & Logan, 2010, p. 160).

Illustration 46: Luxor, Las Vegas (Author, 1995).

Gospodini (2001) tried to interpret "in terms of counter-structures in the formal dimension of environment, the popularity of theme parks" as follows:

> Three-dimensioned and human scaled sceneries, virtual reality spaces, audio-animatronic figures, etc., create an illusionary physical environment that constitutes a counterstructure to real physical environment. For some theorists in architecture and urban design (see Venturi, Brown, & Izenour, 1978), this species of illusionary physical environment appear to attract individuals and tourists in particular; they seem to serve important psychological and social needs of individuals and on this basis, they need to be understood by architects, planners and others, rather than snobbishly criticized, or dismissed (p. 928).

In a similar context, Schneider (2006) talked about "Worlds of Experience (Erlebniswelten)" and consequentially called the thematically imbedded building structures "Architectures of Experience (Erlebnisarchitekturen)." She emphasised the importance of such architectures for a visitor's overall experience (p. 97). Sure enough, exceptional architecture alone is not sufficient to make a city such as Las Vegas the mass tourism destination it is today. The overall experience tourists are seeking is once again given by a mix of attractions, in the case of Las Vegas ranging from gambling, to events, to shopping. However, without its exceptional architecture, Las Vegas would not be Las Vegas. As Klingmann (2007) argued:

> Over the last fifteen years, casinos have proven to be great experts in meeting consumers' expectations by producing holistically choreographed, sensual environments that cater to nothing but pure pleasure and indulgence. Despite all the objections voiced against casino architecture, which critical architectural practice views as lacking substance, one must admit that these mixed-use structures recognize social desires by taking into account the needs of highly diverse user groups. Their achievement is determined above all in terms of commercial success and the large numbers of visitors. In 2005, more than 44 million people flew into Las Vegas, generating over $30 billion in revenue. According to the Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority, the number of annual visitors had increased from approximately 6 million in 1970 to more than 31 million in 2001 (p. 189 f.).

Once again, it is all about the "mix" and yet – regarding tourism – all too often also about the "mass." In fact, part of Las Vegas' force of attraction is not least the mere mass of outstanding casino architectures. What might seem to be a contradiction in terms is an important aspect of contemporary tourism development. Unlike other consumer products, tourism has to be consumed at its place of production. Thus, the travel to and back from a destination presents a good deal of the overall costs. As a result, a tourist wants to be sure that the aspired place is worth visiting and will provide a sufficient mass of attractions to satisfy his expectations. It seems Las Vegas is able to accomplish these requirements. By contrast, taking again the Spanish city of Bilbao as an example, Lee (2007) argued in The New York Times:

> On paper at least, Bilbao seems to have it all: world-class museum, fine Basque cuisine... But like the new bike paths that were rarely used during my visit, the city lacks the critical mass of attractions to take it from a provincial post-industrial town, to a global cosmopolitan city (para. 32).

Bilbao's city fathers are aware of this lack and pin their hopes on the force of attraction of contemporary architecture. International (star)architects from Foster to Calatrava designed further expressive contemporary structures. Only time will tell if the plan works out and if Bilbao can liberate itself from its one-attraction image, resulting from the fame of the Guggenheim Museum. On a larger scale, Dubai pursued a similar strategy. As one of seven of the United Arab Emirates it is to date the most relevant when it comes to tourism. No other state in the region was able to create such a strong image as a tourism destination. According to Govers and Go (2009), "the success of Dubai as a global brand, to date, has not been built on fancy brand communication strategies, but rather through bold actions with impact. Mega-projects such as islands in the shape of palm trees and the world map have attracted international media attention" (p. 88). Still seeking superlatives, Dubai today provides a large mix of attractions from malls to beaches, to indoor ski centres (see Illustrations 47 and 48). Yet, in a tourist's mind, Dubai is closely connected to its iconic architectures. For this reason, in recent years a "culture of copy" escalated in the region involving reams of contemporary mega-projects (Klingmann, 2006, p. 2). Although neighbouring countries come up with similar attractions, they still lack the image provided by Dubai (see Sections 5.3 and 5.4 below).

Illustration 47: Indoor ski entertainment park, as a part of Dubai's integrated mix of attractions, Dubai, UAE (Author, 2010).

Illustration 48: Souvenir photos at Ski Dubai, UAE (Author, 2010).

While not every city can (nor wants to) copy the concepts of Las Vegas and Disney's theme parks, many still seek to benefit from the desire of both locals and visitors to be entertained, and therefore try to integrate respective entertainment areas within their urban spaces. Using as analogy the Roman "politics of bread and circuses [from Latin: panem et circenses]" Eisinger (2000) stated in an article:

> Cities also began to invest with private partners in festival malls, riverfront walks, and urban entertainment districts. Boston's subsidy of the Faneuil Hall-Quincy Market complex in the mid-1970s served as the prototype urban festival mall project, in which developers, with city assistance, combined architectural renovation, high-end retailing, and a wide array of restaurants and cafés as a way of drawing people into the heart of the city. Quincy Market was so successful economically and aesthetically that nearly 250 communities were prompted to copy the model in one way or another over the following dozen years (Walters, 1990) (p. 319).

Judd (1999) confirmed that "cities have come to use enclosed malls as a principal weapon in the competition for recreational shopping and tourism" (p. 46). He believed that "more than any other component of the standardized tourism space, malls establish the atmosphere and the context of a 'utopian visual consumption' that potentially makes every city, whatever its past function or present condition, a tourist attraction" (p. 49). According to Goeldner and Ritchie (2009), "shopping is an important part of any tourist's activities. Shopping leads as the number one or two activities while travelling for both domestic and international travellers" (p. 236). Simultaneously, the boundaries between shopping and entertainment increasingly start to blur, and so do the differences between the related facilities. According to the Oxford Dictionary of English a mall is "a large enclosed shopping area from which traffic is excluded" (Stevenson, 2010, p. 1072). However, today's malls provide much more than shopping facilities. As entertainment became an inherent part of a shopping experience, visitors can now combine it, for instance, with gastronomical, cinematographic or sporting activities. Likewise spatial boundaries are blurring and it became difficult to differentiate between a "simple" mall, a festival mall, an urban entertainment centre and an urban entertainment district (Eisinger, 2000, p. 318). An example for a suchlike fusion is the "Potsdamer Platz" in Berlin, Germany with the integrated "Sony Centre." Today's "Leisure Society (Spassgesellschaft)" has strongly changed its buying behaviours (Romeiss-Stracke, 2005, p. 125). While in the past theme parks might have provided some shopping facilities, today's (festival) malls might provide their own theme parks, attracting both tourists and local consumers. Thus, Goeldner and Ritchie (2009) described:

> The Mall of America in Bloomington, Minnesota, is the largest mall in the United States [see Illustrations 49 and 50]. It has proven to be a real tourist attraction. Excursion motorcoach tours in Minnesota and nearby states now feature packages with Mall of America as their destination. This mall is particularly attractive to children because it features Lego's gigantic space station, dinosaurs, a medieval castle, and other intricate creations. They can also enjoy Knott's Camp Snoopy and plenty of rides. There are fourteen theaters in the Upper East Side entertainment district, plus a comedy club, sports bars, and a variety of nightclubs. While shopping at the West Edmonton Mall in Alberta, Canada, one can view sharks from a submarine, live a Roman fantasy, or soak in a bubble-filled spa near a volcano. This mall is the largest in the world. It even contains a full-scale replica of Columbus's ship Santa Maria, roulette wheels, the Ice Palace, and, of course, hundreds of stores, plus some theme parks. It is Alberta's number-one attraction, drawing in 21 million visitors a year (p. 238).

Urry (2002) claimed, referring to theme parks, that sometimes "education and entertainment are becoming merged." He applied the term "edu-tainment" (p. 136). Tröster (2008) called the fusion of shopping and entertainment "shop-o-tainment" and claimed Las Vegas as a role model (p.33). In fact, checking on large casinos in Las Vegas or Macau, one might be tempted to put their primary functions into question. The combined plethora of opportunities provided by these large complexes integrates gambling facilities, restaurants, stores, theatres and many more. Some casinos provide entire sport arenas or their own zoos and museums. Meanwhile malls started to provide similar entertainment to casinos. "Everywhere is mega-mall" and with the continuously rising visitor expectations the demand of attractive high quality shopping-architecture grew bigger in equal measures (Steiner, 1987, p. 1780).

Illustration 49: Mall of America, Bloomington, United States (Author, 1995).

Illustration 50: Indoor theme park “Knott’s Camp Snoopy” at the Mall of America, Bloomington, United States (Author, 1995).

Despite this range of commercially successful examples, Eisinger (2000) criticised the global and political trend, being in favour of large urban entertainment projects, and reasoned:

> It is not surprising that political and civic leaders increasingly are intent on spending their political and fiscal resources to support such entertainment facilities… Local leaders believe that they hold out the prospect of economic revival... Thus city leaders make entertainment projects a keystone of their urban economic development strategy, hoping that they will generate ancillary investment, high employment multipliers in the hospitality and retail sectors, and local tax revenues. A substantial literature, however, suggests that such expectations are generally misplaced (Swindell & Rosentraub, 1998). The economic effects… show up on the negative side of the balance sheet, and in the few cases when they do not, their effects are highly localized (p. 318).

Following a defined setting and a clear theme, zoological parks and aquariums can also be classified as specific types of theme parks. Similar to other types, most zoological parks pursue the objective to provide their visitors with a well balanced mixture of education and entertainment (edutainment). Just like other attractions, zoological parks also have to keep pace with changing trends in order to draw a critical amount of visitors. Some apply selective advertising measures and an increased medial presence, for instance, within television series' or through the active marketing of newborn animal babies. The interim culmination of such hype represented the polar bear baby "Knut." Rejected by his mother at birth, the little bear became a veritable media star and lured millions of visitors to Berlin's zoological garden ("Baby Bear Becomes Media Star", 2007). At the same time zoological parks also invest in contemporary architecture, which is appropriate to the species and contributes to the parks overall image and atmosphere. An example from 2008 is the elephant house of British Architect Sir Norman Foster at Copenhagen Zoo (Glancey, 2008). Four years earlier, in 2004, Cologne Zoological Garden opened its Asian Elephant Park, designed by German architects Oxen and Römer. Committed to aesthetics and to adequate elephant housing, the park was a groundbreaking achievement for visitors and animals alike (see Illustrations 51 and 52).

Illustration 51: Asian Elephant Park, Cologne Zoological Garden, Germany (Author, 2011).

Illustration 52: Asian Elephant Park, Cologne Zoological Garden, Germany (Author, 2011).

3.4 Contemporary Architecture as a Temporary Event

A country, after all, is not something you build as the pharaohs built the pyramids, and then leave standing there to defy eternity (Trudeau, 1995, p. 366).

As almost any tangible asset, architecture also has a life cycle, which varies substantially, depending on factors such as building material and quality, environment and maintenance. However, architecture has always been surrounded by an aura of eternity. This applies above all in the context of tourism, which is strongly influenced by images of historical monuments. With structures such as the Pyramids of Giza, the Great Wall of China, the Colosseum of Rome and reams of old churches in mind, architecture indeed seems to be everlasting. No wonder the expression "built from stone" stands for something solid, enduring, or even eternal. Yet, architecture might sometimes be of very temporary nature such as, for instance, in the context of special events. From folk to music festivals, arts to Christmas markets, numerous short-term events with an impact on tourism make use of temporary architectural structures. Often, a characteristic feature of such structures is their ability to be to be pitched and disassembled in just a few minutes or hours, without leaving permanent traces at the location (see Illustration 57).

On the other hand, there are also large temporary events (with impacts on tourism), which need other types of architecture. Ritchie (1984) calls them "hallmark events", defined as:

> Major one-time or recurring events of limited duration, developed primarily to enhance the awareness, appeal and profitability of a tourism destination in the short and/or long term. Such events rely for their success on uniqueness, status, or timely significance to create interest and attract attention (p. 2).

For hallmark events, it is mainly urban destinations that apply or initiate them, while hoping that the strong presence in international media will enhance the touristic image of their place and people. Such events include:

- **World Fairs** (also called "world expositions or exhibitions")
- **Major sports events** (e.g. Olympic Games and sport World Cups)
- **Cultural and religious events** (e.g. World Youth Day)

Hallmark events require complex architectural structures, forming part of a comprehensive overall planning. In addition, they are often key attractions and visual ambassadors for both the event and the destination (see Chapter 4 below). Examples are Olympic stadiums (see Illustration 58), and national pavilions of World Fairs (see Illustration 53). Other than for minor events, such structures are not easily disassembled or rebuilt and are often associated with high levels of investment. Thus, at the latest after the event is over, a frequent topic to a controversial discussion is what to do with them. At the same time, Law (2002) noted "a tendency for pre-event studies to exaggerate the benefits" (p. 148). Hence, politicians, developers and scientists alike are looking for sustainable and transferable concepts for a "post-event" utilisation, while World Fairs and Olympic Games turned out to be specifically problematic in this regard. What makes such endeavours so difficult is also the fact that the facilities are often oversized and concentrated in one particular spot, which again is very particular and cannot easily be compared with other places. Furthermore, as demonstrated in the case of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games, there are always two sides to a coin. Morse (2001) referred to Michael Payne, the Marketing Director of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), acknowledging that "Australia was really the first Olympic host nation to take full advantage of the Games in vigorously pursuing tourism for the benefit of the whole country." He further stated that the IOC has declared Sydney's strategy "to be a role model for future host cities to consider" (p. 106). On the other hand, while facing mounting losses, the 800 million Australian Dollar expensive main stadium, built for over 100,000 visitors, was able to attract only a few events during the first post-Olympic years (Law, 2002, p. 149).

The integration of venues and areas remaining from hallmark events is still a challenge for many destinations that decided against demolition. Continuing to build on tourism seems reasonable, in the face of successful destination symbols evolving from former World Fairs. Yet, landmarks such as Paris' Eiffel Tower (1889), Brussels' Atomium (1958) and Seattle's Space Needle (1962) are not only exceptions, but also small components in an otherwise much larger context. Hence, while single key structures might well remain attractions, the entire development often lacks a sustainable utilisation concept, as demonstrated by the former exhibition area of Expo 1992 in Seville (see Lang, 2005, p. 341 and Illustration 54).

Illustration 53: UK pavilion at Expo 2010 in Shanghai, China: The structure costing £15 million to be built was dismantled after the event (Moore, 2010) (Author, 2010).

Illustration 54: Nature taking over some parts of the former exhibition area of the Expo 1992 on the artificial island Isla de la Cartuja, Seville, Spain (Author, 2009).

Illustration 55: Europalia International Arts Festival, Brussels, Belgium (Author, 2010).

Sometimes architecture is not only an important or challenging part of a temporary event, but forms itself the very focus of it. A prominent example is the "Wrapped Reichstag" in Berlin where, in 1995 the artist couple Christo and Jeanne-Claude mantled the historically significant building temporarily with a special tissue. As a result of the controversially discussed event, within only two weeks around three million tourists came to visit the German capital (Steinecke, 2008a p. 196). Konrad (2010) explained, that it "offered the masses a memory on an event at one moment in time, that in history is hardly important, but in the minds of the people remains a personally experienced spectacle" (p. 233). Another example is the international arts festival “Euroaplia”, where from October 2009 until February 2010 a building in the city centre of Brussels was decorated with some thousand lanterns (see Illustration 55) which completely changed its appearance and transformed it into a “cultural alien” of touristic interest (Europalia, 2010, para. 3).

In a broader sense, art and sculpture festivals might also put architectural structures at the core of a temporary event. While being built up of different materials, such sculptures may represent objects, ranging from statues to famous buildings to fully functional hotels. Examples are:

- **Sand sculpture festivals** (e.g. American Sand Sculpting Championship and Festival Internacional de Escultura em Areia, Pêra, Portugal)
- **Ice sculpture festivals** (e.g. Quebec City Winter Carnival, Canada and International Ice and Snow Sculpture Festival, Harbin, China)

Yet, it is not only artistic events or fully finished buildings that are able to attract large crowds, but sometimes even the process of construction itself. Steinecke (2008a) wrote about a great interest in the (re)development process of the Potsdamer Platz in Berlin following the reunification of Germany in 1990 (p. 196). As a result, the temporary visitor centre of the once largest building site in Europe counted around nine million visitors from 1995 to 2000 (Becker & Steinecke, 1993, p. 27; Ribbeck, 2000, p. 219). With the reconstruction of Berlin's City Palace (Berliner Stadtschloss), a 590 million Euro project which will not be completed until 2019, of similar interest could be observed ("Info-Box zum Berliner Schloss eröffnet", 2011). Once again, a temporary information centre (Humboldt-Box) has been installed, which became a controversial measure and tourist attraction at the same time (see Illustration 56).

Illustration 56: The Humboldt-Box (middle), Berlin, Germany: Architecture of contemporary and temporary nature in front of a historical backdrop (Author, 2012).

Illustration 57: Temporary architecture in the mountains of Garmisch-Patenkirchen, Germany: Pitched and disassembled without leaving permanent traces (Author, 2011).

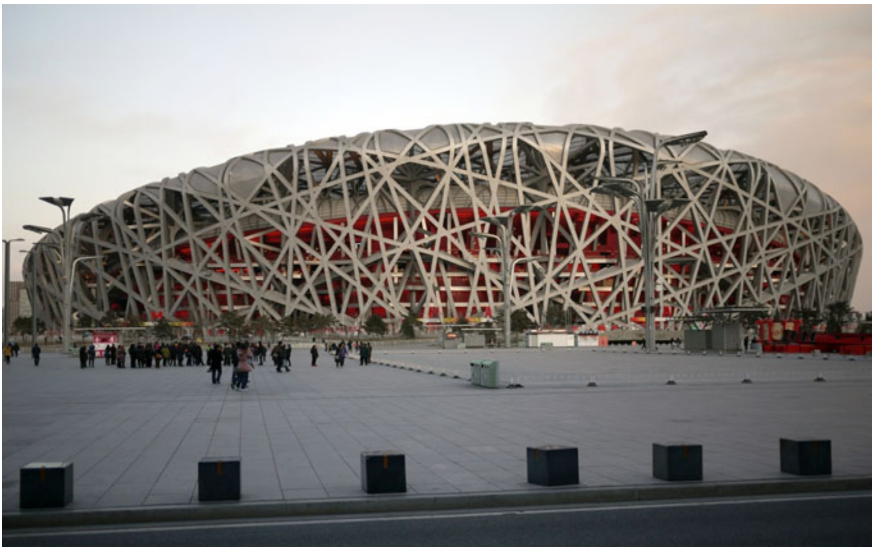

Illustration 58: National Stadium (also referred to as “Bird's Nest”), Beijing, China: Contemporary remains from the Olympic Games 2008 and tourism attraction (Author, 2012).

3.5 Corporate Architecture and Tourism

We will not put up elaborate buildings as monuments to our success (Henry Ford, as quoted in Ford & Crowther, 2006, p. 167).

Architecture as an instrument of representation and a symbol of power has a long tradition. From governments to religious institutions, important organisations have always made use of architecture to manifest and communicate their status and beliefs. Yet, to date, for many industrial corporations, architecture mainly represents a means to an end, providing space for sales, production or administration. Henry Ford, for instance, preferred to convince his customers with excellent products, rather than by means of any symbolic architecture. For German-Iranian architect Hadi Teherani (2004) this was a failed strategy as he believed that both are critical success factors, a convincing product and the expression of a brand's competence by means of architecture. Likewise, Aguareles (2009) argued:

> Architecture's ability to embody allegory led to the pharaohs to build their pyramids in the middle of the desert and the Church to construct gigantic cathedrals, and is now leading big corporations to commission distinctive buildings that endow them with a sharply defined identity in the midst of a city. Today's firms are aware that the architecture of their buildings adds to the elements that make up their corporate identity, so they strive to put their headquarters in symbolic, representative structures (p. 6).

Since more and more companies discovered the emotional value of their buildings, Matzig (2008) called them "Business Cards of Stone (Visitenkarten aus Stein)" and observed that gradually even small and medium-sized enterprises understand "corporate architecture" as part of their "corporate identity" (para. 1 ff.) (see Figure 7). Klingmann (2007) further argued that well designed buildings might, in fact, combine the functional and representative dimensions of architecture:

> Corporate Architecture, as an integral part of a comprehensive corporate identity program, conveys a firm's core ideas and belief systems by simultaneously providing a symbolic dimension, an emotional experience, and an organizational structure that help strengthen corporate values on a perceptual level (p. 259).

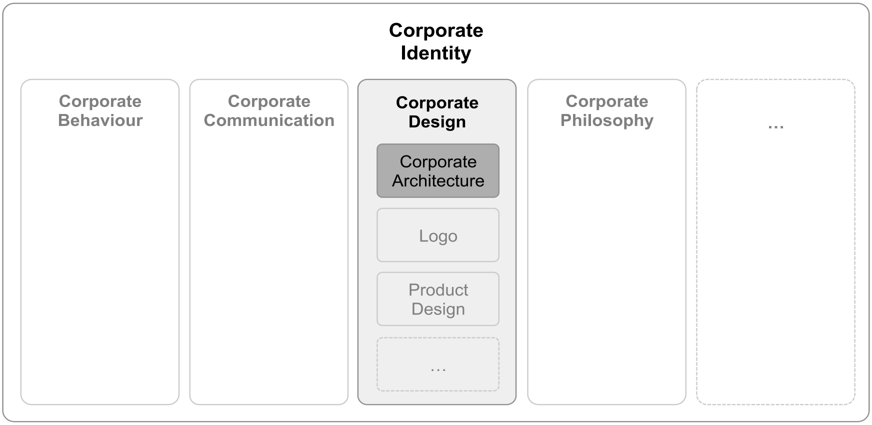

Figure 7: Corporate architecture as part of the corporate identity.

In practice, the different areas and sub-areas forming part of a company's corporate identity are closely related and might differ in terms and structures. Furthermore, there are strong interdependencies between the "corporate identity", which embodies the self-perception of a company, and the "corporate image", representing the perception of outsiders (public, customers etc.). Architecture might impact the internal identity and the external image of a corporation alike, while both dimensions are interrelated. However, while functional aspects, such as for instance the quality of a workplace, might be more important for employees, customers are often attracted by rather visual aspects. Therefore Teherani (2004) believed that only when transformed into a symbol, does a functional building become corporate architecture (para. 1). Likewise, Krieger (2010) reported in an article in German newspaper "Handelsblatt" about the architecture of company headquarters that corporations do not seek for functional buildings, but for symbols (para. 6). Yet, referring to German architect Michael Schumacher, Krieger also wrote that "being spectacular is not a value in itself" (see Chapter 5 below). Instead, the architecture needs to reflect and represent a corporation's values, both inwards and outwards. Technology companies, for instance, might make use of innovative architecture to express their progressive nature. Jürgen Steffen, who designed the new headquarters of Thyssen-Krupp steel and technology group in Düsseldorf, Germany, explained that using bricks would

Illustration 59: Commerzbank Tower (left), Frankfurt, Germany (Author, 2011).

not have been credible. Instead, the chosen design – out of steel and glass – visibly represents the company and the products it stands for (as cited in Krieger, 2010, para. 16). Other corporations demonstrate sustainability by means of so-called “green buildings” (environmentally responsible architecture). For instance, as the tallest skyscraper in the European Union, located in the banking centre of Frankfurt, the Commerzbank Tower is not only demonstrating the financial power of its owners (see Illustration 59). Designed by Sir Norman Foster in the early 1990s, the distinctive 300 meter building was one of the world's first “green skyscrapers”, using environmentally friendly technologies to reduce energy consumption. In addition, winter gardens, as well as natural lighting and air circulation, contribute to the quality of the workplace. Thus, the innovative architecture impacts both the corporate identity and the corporate image of the Commerzbank AG.

In “Corporate Architecture: Development, Concepts and Strategies” Messedat (2005) noticed:

> It has become essential for companies and brands to be clearly recognisable, for them to distance themselves from competitors and to develop an individual profile. With this desire… the architecture of company buildings has taken on a more significant role. (p. 11)

However, when it comes to the requirement of a unique and easy recognisable identity, a tourism destination is similar to a corporation. By the same token, companies employ architecture to represent their products and services, destinations might use them to create images and desires in a customer's mind, and to represent themselves as an appealing tourism product. Companies can create their own corporate architecture (e.g. showrooms or distinctive headquarters) or, for instance, sponsor a stadium, carrying their name and logo (see Illustration 9). Conversely, destinations often need to rely on their (existing) most appealing architectural attractions. As Human (1999) observed, "at its simplest London becomes Big Ben…, Sydney is its Opera House, Paris the Eiffel Tower, New York the Manhattan skyline and so on" (p. 81). Yet, while destinations often make use of such architectural icons, incorporated as visual symbols within the destination's logo (see Section 4.4 below), companies tend to do it the other way around, incorporating their company or brand logos within the corporate architecture. French car producer Citroen, for instance, since 2007, employs a contemporary show room on Paris' Champs-Elysées. Designed by Manuelle Gautrand, out of soaring glass and steel chevrons, the facade structure interprets Citroen's triangular company logo (see Illustration 60). Another example is the corporate architecture of German car producer BMW. When in 1968 Austrian architect Karl Schwanzer proposed a new headquarters for BMW in Munich, the form of a four-stroke car engine inspired it. In addition, the associated corporate museum carried an oversized company logo on its rooftop. Both buildings opened in 1973, in 2007 followed – at close quarters – by the "BMW World." Designed by Austrian architects Coop Himmelb(l)au, the multifunctional exhibition facility pursued the objective to invite potential customers to experience the BMW's most recent products (see Illustration 61). On the contrary, one of the few exceptions of architecture incorporated directly within the logo of a corporation is the former German life-sciences company Hoechst AG, since its merger with France's Rhône-Poulenc S.A. in 1999 called Sanofi-Aventis Deutschland GmbH. From 1947 to 1997 parts of an expressionistic administrative building, designed by Peter Behrens in 1924, acted as the model for the logo of former Hoechst AG (see Illustration 62). Today, the building is part of the project "Itinerary of the Industrial Heritage of the Rhein-Main (Region Route der Industriekultur Rhein-Main)." Yet, located on the restricted industrial site of "Industriepark Höchst", it is accessible for visitors only during limited periods.

Illustration 60: Citroen show room (centre), Paris, France (Author, 2010).

Illustration 61: BMW Welt (left), BMW museum (front right) and BMW headquarter (back right), Munich, Germany (Source: BMW Welt, Am Olympiapark 1, D-80809 München).

Illustration 62: Administrative building from Peter Behrens in Hoechst, Germany (left) and Hoechst logo from 1947 to 1997 (right) (Source: Hoechst GmbH, Unternehmensarchiv, D-65926 Frankfurt am Main)

Corporate architecture might serve as a representative and unique landmark. Yet, it can also be replicated. Thus, many companies developed standardized architectural systems, which are – as far as possible – independent of any specific context. Hence, in order to create recognition values connected to the corporate identity, the same architectural structures are reproduced over and over again. Examples are food chains, such as McDonald's or Starbucks, using similar visual and structural elements throughout all their restaurants and coffee shops, worldwide (see Section 4.4 below). Likewise, companies from Adidas to Apple to Audi increasingly apply standardized shop concepts, at first sight representing the corporate lifestyle images they aim to relate to their brands and products. However, as Klingmann (2007) argued in "Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy", such commercial interests might create potential risks for individual places and societies:

> Because corporate identity programs are inherently market-driven, the implicit danger of this self-referential approach is that it overrides the characteristic qualities of place. As corporations move from place to place, they create departicularized environments that are largely based on a concept of distinctive visibility and fail to engage the local context by simply imposing standardized forms and formulas on the urban or suburban landscape (p. 260).

On the other hand, destinations are immobile and inseparably connected to a specific place. Hence, taking tourism as an example, the consumer (tourist) needs to move to the product (tourism at the destination), as generally the product of "tourism" cannot be moved or delivered. Hence, for tourism, a destinations characteristic qualities and place identities are vital elements, while architecture as a destination symbol needs to be distinctive in order to represent a specific place. Yet, at different destinations around the globe, dozens of similar "Hundertwassers" and "Gehrys" might put into question whether the symbolic and touristic success of such investments will be of long duration (see Section 2.5 above). When, as in the case of Bilbao, architecture designed by a famous "star-architect" is representing a commercial corporation (Guggenheim) and a destination (Bilbao) at the same time, risks and conflicts increase. Stakeholders might wonder what the architecture really stands for: The Corporation, the destination or the architect. And what will happen if both Frank Gehry and the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation try (as they have been asked many times) to repeat the "Bilbao effect" at further destinations, while using a similar architectural approach? Distinctive and well-designed corporate architecture, on the other hand, might even create positive synergy effects for both (tourism) destinations and companies. As the case of Volkswagen in Wolfsburg, Germany demonstrates; the company is not only the region's main employer, but also an important tourism attraction. Adjacent to the Volkswagen factory, the corporate theme park "Autostadt" has attracted over 20 million visitors since its opening in 2000 (ca. 2 million per year). An important economical factor for a city otherwise poor in attractions. As the federal tourism marketing association of Lower Saxony pointed out, the Autostadt has put Wolfsburg on the touristic map (TourismusMarketing Niedersachsen GmbH, 2010, para. 4). Similar examples, regarding economic and touristic patterns as well as the significance for their destinations are "Walt Disney World Resort" in Orlando (Florida), United States and Legoland in Billund, Denmark. However, such "brand lands" or "corporate lands" as well as other "emotionalised" theme parks are far from being the only examples of synergetic bonds between corporations and destinations by means of architecture (Isenberg, 2008, p. 146). For instance, as demonstrated by the attractional force of commercial skylines around the globe, many destinations – from cities to regions to nations – are not only closely linked to specific corporations and industrial sectors, but also to their corporate architectures (see Illustration 63, 67 and 106).

Illustration 63: “Banking city” Hong Kong: Corporate architecture with touristic significance as an ensemble of a skyline (Author, 2011).

4 Contemporary Architecture and the Destination Image

Tourism is, after all, a visual art (Lippard, 2005a, p. 73).

According to the Oxford Dictionary of English , an image is “the general impression that a person, organization, or product presents to the public” (Stevenson, 2010, p. 873). For MacKay and Fesenmaier (1997), “the term image generally refers to a compilation of beliefs, and impressions based on information processing from a variety of sources over time, resulting in an internally accepted mental construct.” They understood a destination’s image as “a composite of various products (attractions) and attributes woven into a total impression” (p. 538). Baloglu and Brinberg (1997) observed as early as 1997 that “the concept of image has received increased attention by tourism researchers, industry practitioners, and destination marketers. Image differentiates tourist destinations from each other and is an integral and influential part of travellers’ decision process” (p. 11). Likewise, Human (1999) believed that “the projection of an appropriate destination image is widely accepted as a vital element in tourism marketing and to be a critical factor in travellers’ decisions” (p. 82). In fact, in a society rich in information and stimuli, more than ever, a clear and convenient image is a crucial competitive advantage. Attraction is almost everywhere, and, in addition, today’s low-cost carriers now seem to make every destination reachable at an affordable price. At the same time, the rising trend of multiple short trips means that the tourist has less time available to plan for and stay in a potential target destination. Hence, in order to deliver concise positive messages, destination managers tend to use selective visual symbols, while excluding anything distracting. As MacKay and Fesenmaier (1997) remarked, “both attention to, and exclusion of, certain destination attributes or symbols can play a part in how destination promotions are perceived” (p. 538). Selby (2004) affirmed, “fundamental to place marketing is the construction and projection of an attractive image of the locality. In many cases there will be an attempt to replace a vague or unfavourable image with one that is conducive to attracting tourists and investment” (p. 16). What meets the assumed desires is appropriate. This applies first and foremost to complex and heterogenic destinations with social conflicts, threats of crime or reputed “unattractive”

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urban or natural landscapes. Rio de Janeiro, for instance, will hardly present its shantytowns, the so-called “Favelas”, in a “mainstream” tourism advertisement. Instead, the destination focuses on symbols with assumed positive connotations, such as Sugar Loaf Mountain (Pão de Açúcar), Copacabana, carnival and samba dancers. Under certain conditions, such repetitive symbols might then burn into the customer’s mind and eventually become icons and representative visual ambassadors for their places and related cultures (see Illustration 64). Human (1999) claimed the important role of the icon, which is determined by its visual quality and must be uncontroversial, readily recognisable and designed to project the desired image of the destination (p. 81). According to Law (2002), “in recent years it has been realized that two of the most important ways a place can change its image is through special events and the construction of landmark buildings, both topics which have great significance to urban tourism” (p. 39). Destinations without a perceptible face, without a clear image, do indeed have a difficult position in global competition. It is hence barely astonishing that more and more developers try to increase their market value and change the image of a destination by means of distinctive visual icons, while architecture and photography play a key role in this regard.

Illustration 64: The Terracotta Army (also The Terra Cotta Warriors and Horses) representing both Xi’an and China as a destination (Author, 2010).

4.1 About the Interdependencies between Photography and Architecture and their Mutual Impacts on the Image of a Tourism Destination

Travel is a strategy for accumulating photographs (Sontag, 1977, p. 9).

For an industry selling products which need to be consumed on the spot and cannot be touched or tested before being purchased, a catchy and reliable image indeed becomes a crucial advantage in global competition. Regarding the distribution of such an image, photography opened a whole new world of possibilities. According to Human (1999), "tourism and photography have undergone an extraordinary parallel process of industrialisation with common origins in 1841" (p. 81). Urry (2002) argued further that, "if photography had not been 'invented' around 1840 and then enormously developed through the cheap Kodak camera [and recently the distribution of digital photography] then contemporary tourist gazes would have been wholly different" (p. 129). In particular since photography, contemporary destination images are no longer formed and transported as narratives and by word of mouth, but as "real" pictures via visual media, making a destination not only tangible, but also more credible in a tourist's view. Tooke and Baker (1996) evaluated an article of Butler (1990) about "the influence of the media in shaping international tourist patterns" and remarked:

> Butler traces the promotion of destinations through visual media back to the paintings and sketches brought home by those who undertook 'Grand Tours' in the 17-19th centuries. Subsequently posters and illustrations for railways and steamship lines were designed to demonstrate the destination and its attractions to potential visitors. Photographs and postcards are also a valuable form of promotion for the destination. For over a hundred years these effective advertisements have been purchased and distributed by the target market at no expense to the destination. More recently, motion picture films and television film have had a powerful influence on people's tastes and ideas. Butler suggests that as people read less, what is shown in movies, videos and television will become even more important (p. 88).

In fact, it seems that today's all-determinant imperative is whether a destination's attractions are unique and photogenic. As Urry (1995) argued,

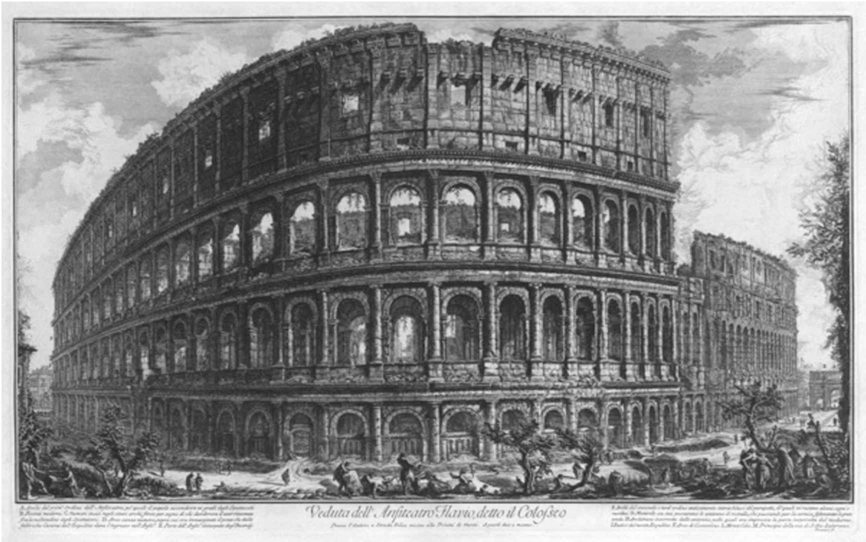

Illustration 65: Giovanni Battista Piranesi's "Il Colosseo" (1757) from "Vedute di Roma" (Source: R. S. Johnson Fine Art, 645 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 60611).

"environments which are not visually distinct in some way or other are very unlikely to be consumed" (p. 189).

As an early precursor of consciously designed and idealised place images for tourists could be seen the painting series "Views of Rome (Vedute di Roma)" of Italian architect Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778) (see Illustration 65). It is remarked that Piranesi made his "Views of Rome" with sales to tourists in mind (MacCannell, 2005, p. 27). Piranesi restaged what, in his opinion, was worthwhile for a visitor to see – similar to the "image manipulation and physical retouching", used during the 19th Century photography of architecture (Pelizzari and Scrivano, 2011, p. 108). In the same way, contemporary tourism developers and marketers carefully select and stage those items which should represent their location, thus shaping the aspired destination image.

In an essay about photographic tourism, Palmer and Lester (2005) pointed out that "the stereotypical image of tourists taking pictures of all that they encounter highlights the ongoing relationship between photography and tourism." They referred to Edensor (1998), who "has described the iconic image of the tourist easily identified by the prominent existence of a camera as a 'banal and familiar' sight" (p. 15). Also for Urry (2002), "much tourism becomes in effect a search for the photogenic." He believed, "as everyone becomes a photographer so everyone also becomes an amateur semiotician" (p. 128). But what exactly is the "photogenic" a contemporary tourist is seeking? What makes one object appealing for tourism, while another does not raise any touristic interest? Or, as Lasansky (2004) in the foreword of the book "Architecture and Tourism" asked, "why does the selective eye choose some elements of Rome for attention and discard others as valueless?" (p. xviii). Richter (2010) pointed out the example of Brandenburg Gate (Brandenburger Tor), where "a blue dot shows the visitor exactly where to place him or herself for a perfect picture in front of the historical backdrop, in front of the cornice of the real Brandenburg Gate" (p. 180). However, not all tourist sites are favourably disposed towards such guidance, suggesting objects worth a picture, while even providing a place for the "perfect" picture including the tourist himself. Furthermore, specific objects and destination images often attract tourists long before they visit the site. Based on literature review, Piggott, Morgan and Pritchard (2004) described "promotional material, secondary experiences (e.g. the opinions of others) and the media" as the "three main influences on destination image formation" (p. 208). Garrod (2009) believed that "photographs play a crucial role in the promotion of tourism destinations, working through a range of media including brochures, television commercials, and picture postcards." He referred to Urry (1990), who linked the practice of photography and being a tourist, suggesting that "they may constitute a self-reinforcing 'closed circle of representation' in which tourist photographs both reflect and inform destination images" (p. 346). Garrod further stated that "the fundamental motivation of tourists travelling to such destinations, then, is to gaze on [and take pictures of] the panoramas, landscapes, buildings, people, and other manifestations of place they have been led to expect to find there through exposure to visual representations" (p. 347). Based on an empirical study, Garrod, in principle, confirmed Urry's theory of the "closed circle of representation", while calling attention to possible exceptions. He also referred to a further study carried out by O.H. Jenkins (2006) in Australia, with the major conclusion that, "very much like the tourists in Urry's tourist gaze, backpackers to Australia do indeed tend to seek out particular

Illustration 66: Billboard advertising at Baiyun International Airport, Guangzhou, China: Beijing employing architectural elements to promote itself as a tourism destination (Author, 2010).

views that were considered ‘photogenic’ or ‘iconic,’ and to reproduce these in their photographs” (p. 348). MacKay and Fesenmaier (1997) cited Deighton and Schindler (1988) and Mitchell (1986), stating that “through advertising, especially the visual component, image becomes an artificially created differentiation as product attribute beliefs are formed and influenced” (p. 540). Referring to Hecker and Stewart (1988), they then emphasised that “over 50% of advertisement response variability is attributed to nonverbal factors.” As Romeiss-Stracke (2008) observed, around 80% of the advertising material used in tourism employs architectural elements, which are mostly of historical but increasingly also of contemporary nature (p. 14). Hence, when it comes to tourism destinations, “nonverbal factors” are often expressed by means of architecture (see Illustration 66).

Photography might have changed the reasons for travelling just as much as the development of mobility has changed the way of travelling. As Adler (1989) pointed out, “the aristocratic traveler who was addressed, often by his tutor, in early manuals of advice, went abroad for discourse rather than for picturesque views or scenes” (p. 9). Architecture, on the other hand, has always formed part of what travellers were seeking, whether for their studies or for the picturesque view. For instance, in the early years of photography, architecture and landscapes were popular subjects among the bourgeoisie, stimulating travels to a world, so far reserved for a privileged minority (Ackerman, 2002, p. 26). Yet, photography has not only changed tourism and brought architecture into (the camera's) focus. Photography has also had a major impact on the development of architecture itself, in particular when it comes to contemporary structures in the context of tourism. Unwin (1997) understood "making frames" as one of the purposes of architecture at its origin. He believed that "the products of architecture can frame images of gods; they can frame the remains of dead people; they can even frame the family pet. But perhaps their noblest purpose is to frame the lives of people" (p. 75). Yet, according to Unwin, photography fundamentally changed this architectural order:

> Photographs often portray buildings not as frames but as objects. This is a consequence of the process of photography, which is one of placing a two-dimensional frame around something. This process deprives us of our experience of buildings as frames, turning them into objects which are themselves framed (p. 75).

This aspect becomes particularly evident with examples such as Hong Kong and Singapore, where much of the architecture is often worth nothing but a tourist's gaze. The view is the attraction, while many tourists have no further interest in the architecture itself or an actual visit of the framed objects (see Illustrations 67 and 68). They form just (photogenic) part of the destinations' image. In fact, since photography has become an important element of tourism, architectural developments, seeking touristic significance, have to adapt in many ways. Walter Benjamin's (1980) pioneering thoughts about "the work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction" apply more than ever. Nowadays, "production and reproduction stand as two terms within a continuous cycle, their roles overlapping", while "the product (the 'original') and its reproduction (the 'copy') are confused with each other" (Colomina, 2002, p. 208). Before photography, the users of architecture were the audience, while today the audience is the user, consuming the building by means of visual reproduction. "In turn, the work itself is changed" (Colomina, 2002, p. 209). Architects need to think more "photographically" (Pelizzari and Scrivano, 2011, p. 108). While Piranesi could adjust his "Views of Rome" (see Illustration 65) by means of manual skills, regardless of the "real" situation, today's architecture not only needs to be of photogenic form, but also needs to be placed in a position that allows for a "perfect" picture (see Illustrations 67, 68 and 70 to 72).

Illustration 67: Viewing platform facing the skyline of Hong Kong (Author, 2011).

Illustration 68: Viewing platform facing the Marina Bay Sands Integrated Resort, Singapore (Author, 2011).

Hence, in order to correspond to Urry's "closed circle of representation", both the tourists and the tourism marketers and developers have to be able to put the architectural object into the "required frame." Therefore the view (through the camera lens) has to be free of anything distracting. Destinations aware of such aspects therefore seek to identify and protect strategically important views. The city of London, for instance, provided a policy for the management of strategic views within its spatial development strategy, while stating:

> A number of views make a significant contribution to the image and character of London at the strategic level. This could be because of their composition, their contribution to legibility, or because they provide an opportunity to see key landmarks as part of a broader townscape, panorama or river prospect. The Mayor will seek to protect the composition and character of these views, particularly if they are subject to significant pressure from development (Greater London Authority, 2011, p. 223).

The so-called "London Plan" distinguished between different types and levels of strategic views (see Illustration 69) and furthermore identified "three strategically important landmarks in the designated views: St Paul's Cathedral, the Palace of Westminster and the Tower of London" (p. 224). Special attention should be given to these specific landmarks regarding two aspects:

- **Landmark Viewing Corridor** – the area between the viewing place and a strategically important landmark that must be maintained if the landmark is to remain visible from the viewing place.
- **Wider Setting Consultation Area** – the area enclosing the landmark viewing corridor in the foreground, middle ground, and background of the protected vista. Development above a threshold height in this area could compromise the viewer's ability to recognise and appreciate the strategically important landmark.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) also considers an undisturbed view as an important quality of an architectural landmark, as demonstrated by the example of Cologne Cathedral (see Illustration 84). A city landmark and one of Germany's most important tourist attractions, the Gothic church was added to the UNESCO World Heritage List of culturally important sites in 1996.

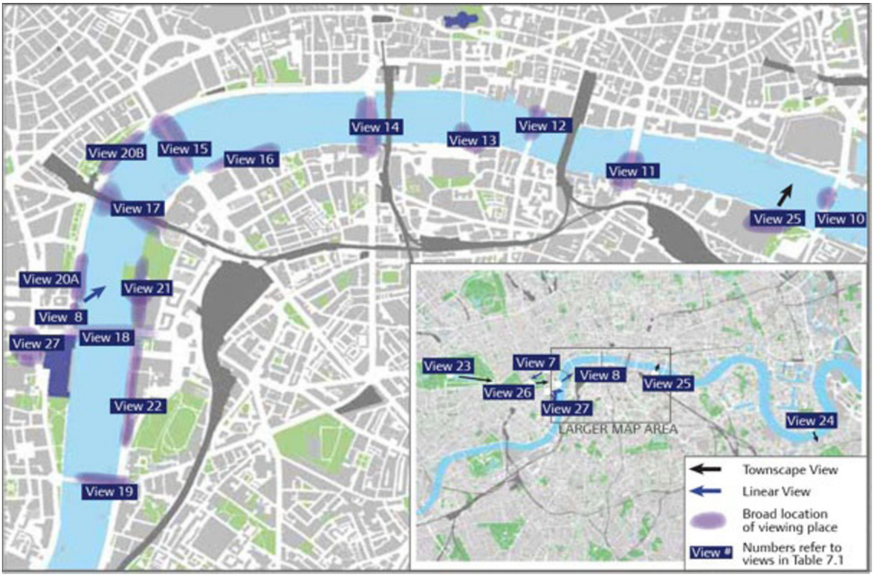

Illustration 69: "View Management Framework", city of London (Greater London Authority, 2011, p. 223).

In 2004 UNESCO classified the cathedral as "World Heritage in Danger", because of plans to construct a high-rise building on the opposite side of the river Rhine. According to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, the intended project would have visually impacted the site and disturbed the view. Only after the authorities' provision of a policy limiting the heights of any future construction near to Cologne Cathedral, UNESCO removed it from the "List of World Heritage in Danger" in 2006. By contrast, the Dresden Elbe Valley (Dresdner Elbtal) in eastern Germany had its status as a "World Heritage Site" revoked in 2009 as a result of the construction of the four-lane bridge "Waldschlösschenbrücke" across the valley.

Whether of historical or contemporary nature, an undisturbed view might indeed be an important enabler for the touristic success of architectural objects, providing some basic conditions for a photogenic appearance and medial presence. As Schwarzer (2005) noted, "it has helped that both buildings [Gehry's Guggenheim Museum Bilbao and Calatrava's Milwaukee Art Museum] photographed well. Their size and complexity can be captured in a single immediately identifiable shot. Such reductive image-bites are employed in a variety of sales campaigns – from billboards to postcards, brochures, magazine spreads, and the internet" (p. 26). In fact, regarding the public interest, Azua (2005) wrote that, from 1998 until 2002, "Bilbao believes it has received an estimated 103 million citations in press coverage (80 million from the international press and 23 million from radio and TV)" (p. 91). As a result, Plaza (2000b) asserted that "the diffusion of Frank Gehry's masterpiece's image through printed and audiovisuals [sic] means of communication is making the museum a fashionable imperative for tourists" (p. 273). Lippard (2005b), on the other hand, critically observed:

> You can't escape the Bilbao Guggenheim, even if you've never seen it. To paraphrase Walter Benjamin [original quote derived from "A Small History of Photography", 1931]: 'Will not the media coverage become the most important part of the experience?' In these days of virtual tourism and torrents of received information, not having seen a famous tourist site may almost be an advantage…what's the difference [between having seen a site or not]? I can see all of them in my mind's eye. Sometimes I can't remember if I've been to a place or just know too much about it, or maybe I dreamed it. If I had seen Bilbao, could I have kicked the preconceptions and actually had a lived experience? (p. 59)

Without a doubt, the mutual impact of photography and architecture on the image of tourism destinations is significant. Further amplified by modern mass media, it has a lasting effect on a traveller's pattern of decision and behaviour. Only time will show which influence the further development of "virtuality" will still have on (certain types of) tourism. In future, will there be tourists that are – due to an intensified image distribution – even more motivated to visit the "real" destination? Will they continue to make their own photos or films, while – posting them back onto the virtual space –contributing further to the "closed circle of representation"? On the other hand, will there be those who will close themselves off from all kinds of tourism due to an excess of media coverage, long perceived as unbearable? And what about tourists being content with a "virtual visit" to a destination, while otherwise abstaining from "physical travel"? Many touristic structures, from parks to museums to hotels, already offer virtual visits of their premises. Google (2014) even invites users on a virtual journey from Moscow to Vladivostok with the “Trans Siberian Railway”, providing the following introduction:

> The great Trans Siberian Railway, the pride of Russia, goes across two continents, 12 regions and 87 cities. The joint project of Google and the Russian Railways lets you take a trip along the famous route and see Baikal, Khekhtsirsky range, Barguzin mountains, Yenisei river and many other pictu-resque places of Russia without leaving your house. During the trip, you can enjoy Russian classic literature, brilliant images by photographer Anton Lange and fascinating stories about the most attractive sites on the route. Let's go!

Travelling the world from the comfort of your sofa? Perhaps not such an absurd prospect after all, given the growing numbers of internet users that – rather than meeting face-to-face – already favour communicating with friends by means of Facebook or other social networks.

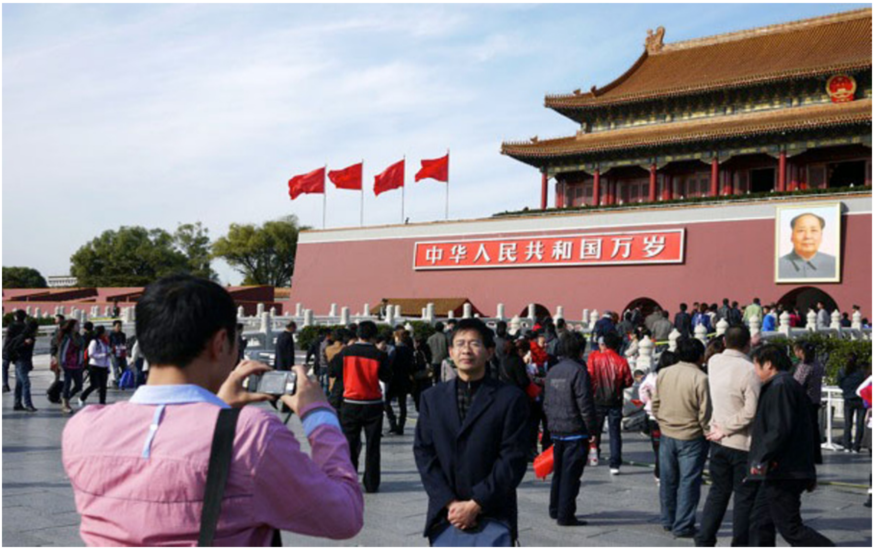

Illustration 70: Tourists at the Forbidden City (front side view) in Beijing, China: An open area and the Tiananmen Square in front of the attraction allow for the “perfect” picture (Author, 2010).

Illustration 71: Tourists on one of the peaks of Jingshan Hill (also known as Coal Hill) in Beijing, China: A famous viewpoint and spot for photos of the Forbidden City (Author, 2010).

Illustration 72: The Forbidden City (back side view) in Beijing, China from Jingshan Hill, situated immediately north (Author, 2010).

Visiting the Stars: Architecture in the Context of Movie Induced Tourism

Within the strong and multifarious relationship between tourism and visual mass media, the area of media-related tourism represents a very special niche. According to Busby and Klug (2001), it "involves visits to places celebrated for associations with books, authors, television programmes and films" (p. 316). Referring to the literature, he claimed that there was no doubt that specifically "films and television programmes create an increase in visitor numbers at their respective locations" (p. 317). Tooke and Baker (1996) pointed out that "a movie may generate and sustain interest in a destination in a way which destination marketers cannot afford to do" (p. 88). Sometimes, a movie might even make a destination popular, which otherwise lacks reasons for developing tourism (O'Connor, Flanagan & Gilbert, 2008, p. 425). As a result, specifically urban tourism destinations created active policies of attracting filmmakers (European Travel Commission and the World Tourism Organization, 2005, p. 42). Furthermore, due to its "limited duration in viewing time" a movie adheres to Ritchie's (1984) definition of a hallmark event, which has been discussed in chapter 2.2.4 (Tooke & Baker, 1996, p. 88). Riley, Baker and Van Doren (1998) pointed out the importance of iconic objects or elements in a movie, which viewers are able to attach to a specific destination (p. 923). Such icons might, for instance, be natural landscapes, such as Maya Bay on the island Koh Phi Phi Leh in Thailand, the main location for shooting Hollywood Blockbuster "The Beach" from 2000 (see Illustration 73). Yet, when it come to icons and recognition values related to movie induced tourism, once again, architecture plays a dominant role. Thus, perhaps the most prominent example of a building featured in countless films, with impacts on the image and visitor numbers of its destination, is the Eiffel Tower in Paris. Further examples are the Empire State Building in New York (e.g. King Kong, 1933), the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao (e.g. James Bond, 1999) and Plaza de España in Seville, built in 1928 for the Ibero-American Exposition of 1929 (see Illustration 74). The ensemble of Spanish Renaissance Revival style architecture was used as a location for scenes in films such as Lawrence of Arabia (1962), Star Wars Episode II: Attack of the Clones (2002), and The Dictator (2012).

Illustration 73: Maya Bay, Thailand: Location for “The Beach” (Author, 2011).

Illustration 74: Popular film location Plaza de España, Seville, Spain (Author, 2011).

4.2 The Role of Signs, Symbols, Icons and Ducks

Recognition is more important than knowledge (Auge, 2005, p. 91).

For Berger (1998), a symbol is "something that stands for something else" (p. 206). Vernon (1971) further defined it as "anything to which meaning is attributed" (as cited in Colton, 1987, p. 347). Depending on appearance and context, a cross might, for instance, represent Christianity. Yet, it might have many other meanings too, which ultimately depends on the recognition of individuals and groups of people and their respective behaviours. Therefore "symbolic interactionism is based on the premise that human society is characterized by the use of symbols and meanings, and that the meanings of various social and nonsocial objects or symbols are derived through the interaction process" (Colton, 1987, p. 346). This interdependency might be as old as the phenomenon of society itself, with symbols perceived as such both consciously and unconsciously.

In literature and practice, the terms "symbol" and "sign" are often used in an interrelated and sometimes even synonymous way. American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914), for instance, believed that a sign "is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity" (as cited in Zeman, 1977, p. 24). He thus focused on three aspects, the "iconic, indexical, and symbolic dimension" (Berger, 1998, p. 4). The Oxford Dictionary of English , on the other hand, defined a symbol as "a shape or sign used to represent something such as an organization" (Stevenson, 2010, p. 1802). Religious and political institutions are represented by all kinds of signs or symbols, to which the meaning of power is often attributed. Likewise, those are used by commercial corporations, for instance, in the form of brand and product logos (see Section 3.5). Signs and symbols are also an important instrument in tourism. Depending on type and connotation, they might, under certain circumstances, function as visual ambassadors for a destination, linked to specific values creating desires in a tourist's mind. Such symbols might be humans, such as the samba dancers who stand for Rio de Janeiro and a desired zest for life; or animals, such as elephants and lions symbolising Africa and a spirit of wilderness and adventure. Likewise landscapes might express natural beauty, which in tourism is often linked to recreation or outdoor activities. Even specific types of plants or an entire local flora might be able to represent a destination, as natural symbols and tourism attractions alike. An example is the massive Coastal Redwood (Sequoia Sempervirens) of northern California, the tallest tree species on earth. However, when it comes to destination symbols, a dominant role is played by architecture, from historical monuments to contemporary structures. Recognition value might be one of the reasons, and the tourist's search for the photogenic, another. There are only a few landscapes and natural monuments, such as Ayers Rock and the Great Barrier Reef in Australia or, for instance, the Grand Canyon in the United States, which can be distinctively identified on a photo or a postcard. Even the giant Redwood tree might not always be easy to relate to a specific destination, but rather to a region or type of landscape. And who is able to tell from a picture of a beach or mountainscape, where exactly it might be located (see Illustration 75)? Yet, an important success factor in tourism is to differentiate a destination from its competitors. As Urry (1995) argued, "environments which are not visually distinct in some way or other are very unlikely to be consumed" (p. 189). Ritchie and Crouch (2003) pointed out that both awareness and image of destinations are amongst the most important factors regarding their competitiveness (p. 243). Hence, if linked to a positive destination image, visually distinct attractions might provide a competitive edge to those who are lucky enough to have them available. This applies above all to such attractions – whether natural or man-made – that are not reproducible and inseparably connected to their specific locations. A desire to see the Pyramids requires a visit to Egypt (see Illustration 76); the Colosseum demands a journey to Rome, and China is the place to go to glance at the Great Wall. On the contrary, beautiful beaches can be found in many places around the globe, and consequently there is strong competition between so-called "sea and sun destinations." And what about destinations that need to enhance their touristic appeal, or those which still aspire to become a destination at all, but do not yet have any important attractions? Beautiful and distinctive landscapes are rather "God-given" opportunities, while it is in the hands of residents and visitors alike to treat them with care and responsibility. Yet, the human influence in transforming or creating landscapes is (fortunately) limited. Although there are, for instance, discussions about constructing a 2,000-metre mountain in the flat Netherlands, the country will hardly consider transforming itself into a skiing destination, just to satisfy tourist desires (see Wieten, 2011, para. 2).

Illustration 75: Children at the beach of French island Reunion, in the Indian Ocean: Appealing, but neither distinctive nor easy to associate with a specific destination (Author, 1998).

Illustration 76: Great Sphinx of Giza (front) and Great Pyramid of Giza (back): Unique selling proposition for Egypt's tourism industry (Author, 2007).

Architecture on the other hand – as demonstrated in almost any context by historical and contemporary cases – can be purpose-designed and individually adapted or staged, perhaps eventually giving rise to a desired symbol, which is linked to a positive destination image. Konrad (2010) argued in this regard:

> The semiotics in tourism is mostly linked to clear and recognizable images: Visiting the Alps, the tourist will take a picture of mountains, a wooden cottage and cattle. Visiting Pisa, the tourist will take a picture of the Leaning Tower. Visiting Paris, the tourist will take a picture of the Eiffel Tower. For the masses, architecture is a major element of the semiotics of tourism leading to the connotation of a place. Therefore, the recognizable and memorizable iconography of buildings – that is the use of images – is crucial to the tourist's world. And because of expanding tourism the construction of architectural icons has become an increasingly popular phenomenon (p. 228).

Hence, just as Zeman (1977) before, Konrad also emphasised the iconic dimension of the sign as an important aspect for semiotics, which is "the study of signs and symbols and their use or interpretation" (Stevenson, 2010, p. 1691). Defined as "a person or thing regarded as a representative symbol or as worthy of veneration", an icon thus has an inherent positive and often emotional connotation, while a symbol can also stand for something negative (Stevenson, 2010, p. 867). In the context of architecture and branded spaces, Klingmann (2007) reasoned:

> Because icons have the power to reflect a social system, they become objects of veneration that are imprinted in people's memory. Hence, every country has its icons: Big Ben has come to stand for London; the Eiffel Tower symbolizes Paris and, in the larger context, French culture; the World Trade Center towers represented American ideals to the world - so much so that even after their physical destruction, they leave a permanent trace in people's minds (p. 50).

Goeldner and Ritchie (2009) therefore concluded that "Internationally recognized tourism icons are a powerful draw to any destination fortunate enough to have inherited or created one… the challenge for all destinations is to find 'the stroke of genius' that will uniquely associate the icon with the destination – and that will, for any number of reasons, become internationally popular" (p. 247). As demonstrated for hundreds of years, such icons will most likely find expression in architectural structures. In an essay about "spectacle architecture", Smith (2008) argued, "at the most general level, architecture has for centuries supplied the image economy (the “iconomy”, for short) with key markers, with built stakeholders that seek to arrest the image flow, to tie it down to place, a brand, and a purpose” (p. 3). Jencks (2005) called attention to the Seven Wonders of the World and wrote that, “While the amount of iconic building that goes on today is unique, the practice is old” (p. 23). He believed that after the war, in a period otherwise dedicated to “reconstruction and austerity”, the “first modern icon” was a little chapel (which he also called a “spiritual icon”) in the region of Franche-Comté, France (see Illustration 77):

> The first post war icon, the little church at Ronchamp [Chapelle Notre-Dame-du-Haut] by Le Corbusier, the building that was to set the standard for all subsequent work in the genre, the sculptural explosion that opened the door to what becomes the hero of the tale, the ‘enigmatic signifier’. (p. 24)

In fact, even in the present day, Ronchamp is mainly known for its chapel, which long ago became more than a destination symbol, but a destination in itself. The reasons for an (architectural) object to become significant for tourism and eventually a destination symbol, a famous icon uniquely associated with a specific place, are still not clear. However, being photogenic and represented in international media definitely has an impact and interrelates with many further factors. Yet – whether historical or contemporary – a valid differentiation only works if architecture provides an emotional and unique selling proposition; or, as Grötsch (2006) called it, a “unique aesthetic proposition” (p. 280). Once again, while taking Gehry’s Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao (see Illustration 78) and Calatrava’s Milwaukee Art Museum as contemporary examples, Schwarzer (2005) held their “iconoclastic form” responsible for being chosen “among other possible designs. At the time of their construction, they looked like no other architecture” (p. 25). In “Learning from Las Vegas”, Venturi, Brown and Izenour (1978) called such buildings “ducks”: structures, which are “permeated with naively or gratuitously expressive values”, while relying on their mere form. The term derived from a poultry restaurant of this very shape, on Long Island, USA (p. 130). Yet, while the expressive and often “iconoclastic form” of the “duck” is shaped on purpose, a similar outcome might even result from chance or mistake, such as the Leaning Tower of Pisa for example. “Completed in 1350, the tower became a tourist icon because of an engineering error” (Judd, 1999, p. 265).

As a matter of course, the types of tourism need to be differentiated. An architectural symbol or icon might not have the same importance or meaning for a “recreational tourist” seeking a beach holiday, as it has for a “cultural tourist” or “urban tourist.” Still, even “sea and sun destinations” might seek “the architectural stroke of genius” in the form of an architectural icon that will make them easily recognizable. An example is the Spanish resort island of Tenerife, where Santiago Calatrava designed the Auditorio de Tenerife “Adán Martín”, an iconic concert hall with a distinctive and emblematic roof structure. Opened in 2003, this exemplary “duck” is today considered the landmark of the island’s capital, Santa Cruz de Tenerife (Borowski, 2007, p. 248). Yet, in his book “The Iconic Building”, Jencks (2005) strongly criticised Calatrava’s design and wrote that it was “meant to do for that port city what iconic architecture did for the ports of Sydney and Bilbao – transform the economy – and it has resulted in one of the biggest empty gestures in architectural history” (p. 138). In an interview with American architect Frank Gehry, he further stated that it “has this great bird-like protuberance that people associate with a quiff of hair, architecture as hair styling. This quiff serves no function except to be a huge icon for the city, and certainly it functions well in the travel advertisements” (p. 172). In a report about city tourism and culture, the Research Group of the European Travel Commission and the World Tourism Organization (2005) therefore suggested:

> Detractors of signature architecture for cultural institutions have pointed out that the danger is that the context will dominate the content. Only when both the content and the context are of ‘signature’ level can they succeed over a long(er) period of time (p. 43).

What is valid for the building itself applies even more to the broader context of the destination. “To rely on the icon is to undermine the accepted value of tourism to the destination. Certainly it can reduce the more nebulous benefits flowing from an appreciation of other people’s history, heritage, values, culture, anthropology, cuisines, living and other habits” (Human, 1999, p. 83). Bilbao might be the prime example of a destination focusing on only a few architectural icons. As Lee (2007) wrote in the New York Times, “Architecture alone does not a city make. Bilbao is all dressed-up, but hasn't figured where to go” (para. 33).

Illustration 77: Chapelle Notre-Dame-du-Haut de Ronchamp, France: The "first modern icon" (Author, 2010).

Illustration 78: Guggenheim Museum Bilbao, Spain (front): Contemporary "duck" and controversial destination symbol (Author, 2011).

4.3 The Tourist's Desire to Go and See Something New – While at the Same Time Seeking Something Familiar

The traveller sees what he sees, the tourist sees what he has come to see (Gilbert K. Chesterton, as quoted in Konrad, 2010, p. 227).

According to Urbain (1989), "one of the oldest and most widespread reasons for traveling was to see the unusual" (p. 107). He cited Jousset (1860):

> When, in 1830, a Parisian yielded to the travel demon, he was leaving gaily with his umbrella under his arm by the St. Cloud stage coach. It was called: to go and see something new. Nowadays, one has to travel far away to find as much. The commonplace spreading nearer and nearer covered everything with a uniform grey color (p. 1).

What was true in 1860 has not lost any of its relevance today. On the contrary, the continuously increasing stimulus satiation provokes a likewise increasing stimulus threshold. What was regarded as spectacular yesterday might today already be perceived as rather trivial. The media age makes it all visible for everybody, no matter how far away the actual site might be. For tourism developers, this leads to the need forever new attractions, which are (and, at best, remain) unique and appealing. Not an easy task, as demonstrated by Las Vegas, "the capital city" of spectacular architectural icons. "Las Vegas might be the prime example of a location where there are only signature buildings, and consequently, the Eiffel Tower, Campanile, a volcano, Statue of Liberty and the Great Pyramid become boring once the next new casino is built" (Shaw, 2007, p. 82).

On the other hand, there are also examples of significant architectural landmarks which have not lost any of their appeal for tourism, although the initial triggers for their fame no longer exist. Size, for instance, is a strong force of attraction, with historical examples from the Great Wall of China to the Pyramids of Giza and, not to be forgotten, the no longer existing Colossus of Rhodes. Architectural "superlatives" have always been an expression of power and at the same time attractors of floods of pilgrims and other visitors: a convenient synergy, which has been appre-

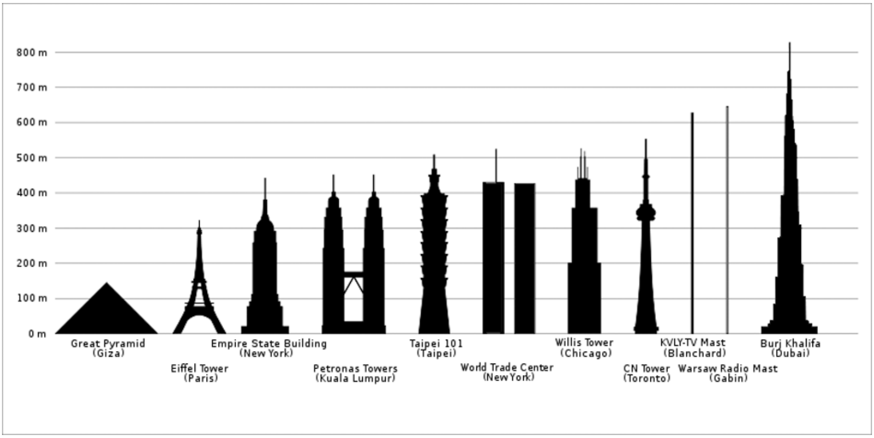

Illustration 79: Examples of current and previous height record holders with significance for tourism (Source: Rama, Cc-by-sa-2.0-fr, 2010).

ciated by religious and secular rulers for centuries, and might as well have given inspiration to one destination developer or another. Hence, since the biblical Tower of Babel there is a perpetual and increasingly faster competition for the tallest structures (see Illustration 79). When in 1889 the Eiffel Tower in Paris surpassed the Washington Monument, it represented the tallest building in the world. It took over 40 years until the slightly taller Chrysler Building at 319 metres in New York City was constructed. However, only 11 months later within the same city, the (without antenna spire) 381-metre tall Empire State Building followed. It stood as the world's tallest building for 40 years until the construction of the World Trade Center, once again in New York City in 1972. In 1998 and many broken records later, the Petronas Towers in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, represented the tallest buildings in the world, surpassed by Taipei 101, Taiwan, in 2004. Since 2010, Burj Khalifa in Dubai, United Arab Emirates holds the record at 829 metres (see Illustration 80). Yet, Saudi Arabian Prince Al-Waleed bin Talal has already signed the construction contracts for the Kingdom Tower, which is intended to be the first to break the one-kilometre mark (see Reuters, 2011, para. 1).

Whether as single buildings (e.g. Empire State Building, New York) or as structural urban ensembles (e.g. Manhattan Skyline, New York), sky-

Illustration 80: Burj Khalifa, Dubai, UAE (left) and Petronas Towers, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (right) (Author, 2010 and 2011).

scrapers stand for the contemporary urban destination like almost no other type of building. And all too often, being the tallest one also means being the most famous. Yet, sometimes fame lasts longer than merit, as applied to all the previously mentioned towers. Although they might have lost their records as the tallest structures in the world, they never lost their touristic significance. On the contrary, today many of them succeed in attracting more visitors than ever. Urry (2002) noted to this effect:

> First, there is seeing a unique object, such as the Eiffel Tower, the Empire State Building, Buckingham Palace... These are absolutely distinct objects to be gazed upon which everyone knows about. They are famous for being famous, although such places may have lost the basis of their fame (such as the Empire State Building, which still attracts two million people a year) (p. 12).

In a study about determinants of tourism destination competitiveness in Asia Pacific, Enright and Newton (2005) discovered that, for the urban destinations Singapore, Hong Kong and Bangkok, the "well-known landmarks" ranked 4th to 5th, while "interesting architecture" ranked 9th to 10th on a scale of 15 attractors, ranked by "importance mean scores" among visitors. For all surveyed destinations, the aspect of “safety” ranked first (p. 345). In fact, with the overabundance of propositions in tourism, well-known landmarks carry out a number of functions. Among those is the need to satisfy a tourist’s natural desire for orientation. As Specht (2009) pointed out:

> As much as multinational chains (e.g. McDonald’s and Starbucks) are able to provide the security of the familiar in any place, the tourist also wants to feel safe in his selected holiday destination – not only safe in a physical manner, but also protected against disappointment. Vacation time is valuable and must not be wasted. Therefore the desire to discover the unknown is complemented and sometimes even substituted by the requirement to find the familiar. And symbols are a perfect instrument to combine those two desires. Seen for a hundred times in pictures, movies, books and the internet, the Eiffel Tower is familiar long before the tourist has even visited Paris (p. 100).

According to Bijlsma, van Dijk and Geerts (2004) “contemporary tourists are looking for familiarity; they want to feel at home in a strange place” (p. 2). Cohen (1972) was one of the first to suggest a tourist role typology, which was based on a “novelty-familiarity continuum” (see Jiang, Havitz & O’Brien, 2000, p. 965; Lepp & Gibson, 2003, p. 609). And Baloglu and Brinberg (1997) claimed that “future research should take into consideration an individual’s familiarity with the destination because of its potential influence on image formation in tourism literature (p. 14). MacKay and Fesenmaier (1997) stated in an article about image formation in tourism that: “Image is subjective knowledge. The implications and impact of promoted image can affect tourists through the creation of expectations and the desire for image verification” (p. 541). Referring to Gartner (1989), Leisen (2001) argued likewise that “once a consumer decides to travel, he or she expects a rewarding experience from the trip. The traveller’s anticipations are derived from the image the traveller has of the destination” (p. 51). Yet, a symbol or well-known landmark, linked to the destination image, does not only satisfy a visitor’s expectation, the entire visit might be validated by means of it. Goeldner and Ritchie (2009) took Paris’ Eiffel Tower (see Illustration 81) as an example and claimed it to be “one of the world’s most instantly recognizable icons” and a “must-see structure for all visitors to France. A photo taken beside the tower is a lifelong treasure for many tourists” (p. 247). A picture alongside the Eiffel

Illustration 81: Eiffel Tower, Paris, France: Widely visible, an instantly recognizable and photogenic icon and must-see structure for tourists (Author, 2010).

Tower is the ultimate proof of having been in Paris – for the visitor as well as for those who are staying at home but are aware of this specific destination symbol. Even before a visitor's return, his pictures might be uploaded to Facebook, Picasa or other Web 2.0 applications. Thus, the visitor is sharing his travel experience with family and friends, while at the same time fostering a common understanding of destination symbols and images. Once again, he contributes to Urry's "self-reinforcing 'closed circle of representation' in which tourist photographs both reflect and inform destination images" (as cited in Garrod, 2009, p. 346).

However, photos are not the only popular proof of a tourist's visit to a destination. According to Garrod (2009), "like tourist photographs, postcards represent a 'trophy' of the tourist gaze: tangible evidence that the trophy-bearer has visited the destination and in some sense consumed it" (p. 348). In fact, postcards often carry the same symbols and icons of a destination the visitor is already familiar with and seeks to capture in his own photos. Furthermore, besides postcards, tourists can also get physical replicas of their "favourite" attractions. "Souvenirs, the material artefacts of tourism", are present everywhere and available in almost any form and size (Benson, 2004, p. 33). The Eiffel Tower made out of metal, glass or wood; in a snow dome, on a t-shirt or as a key ring shows there are no limits to the power of commercial imagination (see Illustration 82). Contrary to landscapes, architectural icons are ideal to be transformed into tangible memorabilia, while, as a result, not only occupy a virtual position in a tourist's mind, but also a physical place in his living room.

Illustration 82: Miniatures of the Eiffel Tower: Material artefacts and memories of a visit to Paris, France (Author, 2010).

4.4 The "Virtual" and the "Real" Symbol and Why One Is Not Just Like Another

Among the various things that make an iconic building successful, one… is its relationship to local society (Jencks, 2005, p. 48).

Nowadays most corporations employ a so-called "logo" which is described in the Oxford Dictionary of English as "a symbol or other small design adopted by an organization to identify its products, uniform, vehicles, etc." (Stevenson, 2010, p. 1040). Hence, the design of a bitten-into apple stands for a technology company, a tick mark for a fashion producer, the image of a jaguar for a car manufacturer and a shell represents a multinational oil and gas company. The success and sustainability of such logos then depends on their recognition value and the perception and ability of targeted customer groups to relate them to specific brands and products. Evans (2003) believed that "logos have been used at least since Ancient Greece as a form of shorthand that communicates specific information using a minimum of visual support, to refine and condense a range of complex, even disparate, meanings and knowledge in one integrated symbolic image (Lip, 1995)" (p. 421). For tourism destinations, architectural structures often serve as such "symbolic images." Yet, in order to become an appealing tourism attraction and, furthermore, to be widely accepted as a destination symbol, architectural structures need to comply with a range of requirements, ultimately depending on each individual context. According to Konrad (2010), "Most tourist attractions work with a code that is easy to decipher - height, size, shape, typology, materials, and so on." Taking the Sydney Opera House as an example, he explained, "the major semiotic level is the syntax, the shape. We perceive a shell-like structure in front of an open field of water. The tourist reads this uniqueness as an attraction and that makes the opera house an often photographed building" (p. 229). Likewise, Steiner, Pirker and Ritter (2001) emphasised the importance of the symbolic dimension and wrote about the Sydney Opera House:

> It is one of the most important symbolic architectonic examples of the 20th century. Its identity-giving silhouette still serves as a model and precedent for many symbolic buildings. There isn't a picture of Australia that gets by without the skyline of the Sydney Opera House. It is the most prominent example of the architecture of the 20th century creating new and timeless architectonic symbols. (p. 9)

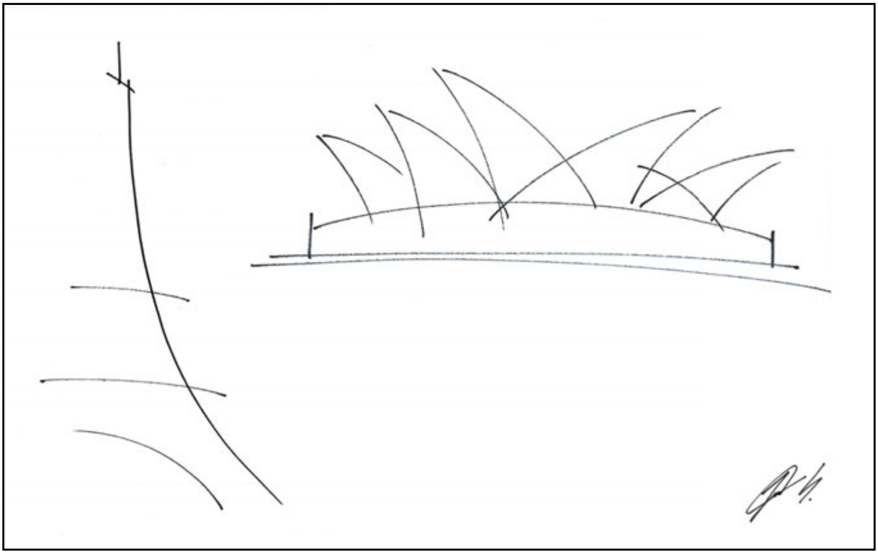

Illustration 83: Simplified pictograms of the Eiffel Tower, Paris, France (left) and the Sydney Opera House, Australia (right): Remaining recognition value despite strong abstraction (Author, 2009).

Indeed, a distinctive shape might facilitate media distribution, which might then further intensify the recognition value of the building and, in the long run, turn it into an unquestioned and enduring destination symbol, into a "must-see icon." Providing a distinctive form, some architectural icons are so well established in media and tourism that – even when simplified or displayed in a strongly abstract manner – they can most likely be recognised and linked to a specific destination by a large audience (see Illustration 83). An example is the Office du Tourisme et des Congrès de Paris (2011), which used the Eiffel Tower for the logo of its official website, while creating an abstract visual link with only two simple strokes. Further abstractions of the Eiffel Tower can be found within various logos of companies, events and products, somehow related to Paris or France. Likewise, the Sydney Opera House is used within various logos of Australian tourism products, including those of the Olympic Games 2000. Displayed in an often abstract manner, the shape of the Opera House's roof structure could also be understood as waves of the Australian seas, which gives the logo(s) a deliberate double meaning (see International Olympic Committee, 2011).

Illustration 84: Umbrella brand of KölnTourismus, used on a panorama picture with the river Rhine (front) and Cologne Cathedral (back right), Germany (Source: KölnTourismus GmbH).

Another example, based on a similar approach, is the logo of “KölnTourismus” which is the official tourism board of the German city of Cologne. The main attraction and an unquestioned destination symbol of Cologne is the gothic High Cathedral of St. Peter and Mary (also referred to as Kölner Dom). The iconic landmark was classified as a “UNESCO World Heritage Site” in 1996. KölnTourismus integrated the cathedral into its logo by means of the transparent simplification of its two characteristic spires. The resulting umbrella brand links the destination Cologne to its most famous landmark, while still allowing space for other content (see Illustration 84). Yet, despite many examples of architectural destination symbols used in tourism marketing and branding, such physical structures are very different from virtual symbols, usually used for other consumer products. When Belgian artist René Magritte created “The Treachery of Images (La Trahison des Images)”, showing a pipe, he wrote below it, “This is not a pipe (Ceci n'est pas une pipe)” (see Illustration 85). He later explained, “Could you stuff my pipe? No, it's just a representation, is it not? So if I had written on my picture ‘This is a pipe,’ I'd have been lying!” (Magritte & Torczyner, 1977, p. 71).

Illustration 85: La Trahison des Images (Magritte, 1929).

In fact, as Magritte expressed, a painted pipe does not fulfil any function of a physical one, apart from having a similar appearance. Hence, it is not "real", but just a sign, an image of an object, which does or does not physically exist. Italian semiotician Eco (1976) wrote:

> Semiotics is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign. A sign is everything that can be taken as significantly substituting for something else. This something else does not necessarily have to exist or actually be somewhere at the moment in which sign stands for it. (p. 7)

Yet, unlike other symbols, architecture does indeed exist and is located somewhere, which eventually has a major impact on its application as a destination symbol and/or within a logo.

Companies might choose amongst almost any kind of sign to represent their brands and products. Sometimes these symbols do not even logically correspond to the products they stand for, as is the case of Apple Inc., using the image of bitten-into fruit to represent consumer electronic products. As long as the targeted consumers make the link between the sign and the product, its original meaning becomes irrelevant. The same ap-

Illustration 86: “Virtual” logo of Pizza Hut Inc. (left) (Source: Pizza Hut Germany) and a “real” pizza “hut” in Zhuhai, China (right) (Author, 2011).

plies to the American restaurant chain and international franchise Pizza Hut Inc., which uses a red hat to represent its brand and products (see Illustration 86). Yet, while the connection between the image of a piece of headgear and American fast food might not be obvious, the company’s name and word mark of the logo “Pizza Hut” are directly linked to the physical place of consumption, the pizza “hut” or pizza restaurant. Depending on its strategy, the target markets and the general “Zeitgeist”, Pizza Hut Inc. might at any time decide to relaunch its logo, to adapt the form or colour or even to use a completely different design. Ultimately it is just a virtual symbol, owned by a specific company, while impacting a fairly limited group of stakeholders. Things change when it comes to the related architecture(s). Hence, while the “virtual” hat serves only representational functions, the “real” hut (or restaurant) consists of physically existing architecture thus providing, first and foremost, space to process and consume the company’s products. Located in a specific place, it has to adapt to an individual built environment as well as to a specific cultural context. At the same time, its physical presence and any related change might impact a large range of stakeholders from owners to customers, to employees to neighbouring residents.

What applies to corporate architecture, applies a fortiori to architecture as a destination symbol. Such a symbol is not only linked to a specific destination, it represents it, together with its residents and the related culture. Hence, in general a destination symbol concerns a much larger group of stakeholders than corporate architecture does which is involving visitors and residents, from far beyond the object's direct neighbourhood. As a matter of course, just as with corporations, destinations can also relaunch their logos, whether containing architectural elements or not. Yet, the physical architectures behind them cannot be changed as easily or be adapted to a new style or "Zeitgeist." On the contrary, any intrusion into the (built) environment might have long-term effects. Whether these are positive or negative, whether they are perceived as ugly environmental scars or architectural gems, depends on many factors which are often related to the foresight and instinct of developers and politicians. A company, first of all, has to keep an eye on its customers when choosing an appropriate brand or product symbol. Yet, a destination cannot only focus on the customer group of tourists, but needs to consider, first and foremost, the requirements of its own residents. Only a symbol accepted by those whom it represents – the people living and defining the culture of a place – can be successful in the long-term which is a fact developers and politicians should keep in mind when intending to copy the "Bilbao Effect", in order to create a new image of a destination and thus increase the numbers of visitors. While visitors can leave after having gazed at a destination's architecture, the residents will have to stay and live with it, whether they want to or not. As Klingmann (2007) reasoned in "Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy":

> We are confronted with an economy dominated by a privileging of the image – giving rise to a climate in which publicity and perception play an ever more crucial role in the marketing of architecture. Yet, architecture is more than an image. Unlike products, architecture is characterized by an enduring public presence that defines our environment more than any other brand as a lived, day-to-day experience. (p. 327)

Hence, whether promoted as a destination symbol or involved in any other way in the branding process of space and place, architecture needs to be understood and assessed within an individual overall context, linked to its large group of stakeholders.

5 Architectural Tourism and the Spectaculture

The spectaculture demands its sites of pilgrimage; architourism requires destinations (Ockman, 2001, p. 1).

According to Pretes (1995), "contemporary society is dominated by spectacle. Tourism sights, whether natural or man-made, are spectacular" (p. 4). Debord (1996) described this phenomenon in his book "The Society of the Spectacle" (first published in 1967) as follows:

> The entire life of societies in which modern conditions of production reign announces itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles. Everything that was directly lived has moved away into a representation (p. 2).

With regard to the interdependencies of architecture and tourism, Ockman (2001) called it "spectaculture", while taking the "Bilbao effect" as a prime example (p. 1). Architecture has indeed long followed this trend, acting almost as a tangible image of the spectaculture, while being captured and distributed by means of photographs and mass media (see Section 4.1 above and Illustration 87). Yet, this development has not only been subject to a lot of criticism, but as well predicted, an early end, by tourism scholars and architects. For instance, British urbanist Sir Peter Geoffrey Hall stated that architectural icons bring us to a zero-sum (as cited in Moix, 2009, para. 1). In an interview about his work in the Gulf region, architect Bernardo Fort-Brescia claimed that "the era of shock architecture is over" (as cited in "Returning from Fantasy Island", 2009, p. 6). While Gilmore (2004) believed that "the modern world is no longer rocked by superlatives" (p. 179). Furthermore, as if it was a matter of course, places like Las Vegas and Disneyland are almost automatically dismissed as artificial and inauthentic (see Illustration 88). But is this exuberant criticism justified? Are times of spectacular and iconic architectures for tourism really over? Although critics might differentiate and specify more accurately than the above stated catchwords suggest, the current discussion seems to have a single direction, as d'Acierno (2005) rightly asked:

> Does architecture need to treat the issue of spectacle and its current institutional inscription with spectacle culture directly? Do architects, in their buildings, need

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> to take up consciously a position either for or against the spectacularization of architecture?... Is a critic of architecture-as-spectacle possible? (p. 139)

When discussing spectacular architecture, similarities to the stock exchange often appear where exaggeration and dissociations from fundamental data are common events. The trend rules, facts are generalised, individual sight gets lost. In the introduction to their book “Architourism”, Ockman and Frausto (2005) asked for a good reason if there was anything different about the “contemporary architectural effect” from that produced by earlier historical monuments. From the Pyramids to the Vatican, the Taj Mahal to the Neuschwanstein Castle, visitors always seek to be amazed (p. 9). Although historical architectures have rarely been built with tourism as the prevalent motivation, there is still no evidence that contemporary architourism needs to be less sustainable. Authenticity is a subjective perception and tourism has long involved spectacle. Tourists seek to find unique and distinctive attractions (see Section 4.3 above). And yet this reflects two different factors often lumped together. Uniqueness does not necessarily mean spectacular, while spectacular implies a certain uniqueness. At the time of its construction, the Bilbao Guggenheim provided a unique architectural experience for its visitors. However, if Gehry builds similar museums all over the globe, Bilbao and all its copies might eventually lose their force of attraction, just as they have lost their exceptionality in the tourist’s mind. Nothing would be spectacular about them anymore. Klingmann (2006) calls it a “culture of copy” when successful concepts are transferred repeatedly, causing the opposite effect to that which branding intends to generate (p. 2). People and places must differentiate themselves in a global economy, and this applies even more for the tourism industry. A culture of copy makes places more homogeneous and less spectacular at the same time, while furthermore creating problems of identity. There is nothing amazing about what one can see everywhere. The value of a successful destination lies in its potential to reduce substitutability. “Good destination branding is therefore original and different, but its originality and difference needs to be sustainable, believable and relevant” (Morgan & Pritchard, 2004, p. 65).

Illustration 87: Lijiang Waterfall Hotel Guilin, China: Featuring a waterfall with a height of 45 meters, listed in the Guiness Book of Records (Author, 2012).

Illustration 88: Caesars Palace, Las Vegas, USA: Spectaculture as dominating impetus (Author, 1995).

5.1 In Search of a New Balance

People are looking for the extraordinary (Urry, 2002, p. 38).

In "Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture" (first published in 1966) Robert Venturi, coined the expression "Less is a bore", which was a post-modern antidote to Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's famous modernist dictum "Less is more" (Venturi, 2002 p. 17). He explained that "where simplicity cannot work, simpleness results. Blatant simplification means bland architecture." However, Venturi, who was awarded the Pritzker Prize in Architecture in 1991, was not negating simplicity as a general concept, but even described it as a "method of achieving complex architecture." On the other hand, he emphasized that complexity "does not mean picturesqueness or subjective expressionism" (p. 18). In fact, spectacle for the sake of spectacle reduces architecture to an empty shell, just as simplicity for the sake of simplicity might do. What Venturi calls a "false complexity" and a "false simplicity" accords in a way with Sullivan's (1896) principle that "form ever follows function" (p. 4). Here as well, true beauty comes from within, while an empty shell sooner or later risks being perceived as soulless and inauthentic. As Urry (2002) pointed out, "Tourism has always involved spectacle… Because of the importance of the visual, of the gaze, tourism has always been concerned with spectacle" (p. 77). However, historic spectacular buildings – from the pyramids in Egypt to medieval cathedrals in Europe – did not primarily intend to attract and amaze visitors, but held profound meaning, which was based on their reflections of local societies and interdependencies with the surrounding built environment (see Section 2.4 above). Jenkins (2006) described some of today's spectacular stand-alone icons as "fragments" (p. 196). She cited Rybczynski (2002), who referred to such buildings that pay little attention to their surroundings and are "rarefied creatures, often refined and styled to the point of caricature" as "show-dog architecture." Being spectacular is no guarantee for becoming extraordinary, while contrarily some extraordinary architecture evolved out of a combination of modesty and creativity. Chang (2010) observed a change in the field of architourism, where "increasingly, non-iconic buildings of vernacular architectural styles are also appreciated by visitors as a way to authentically experience a place" (p. 963). In 2003 the New York Times Magazine

Illustration 89: Church of the Sacred Heart (Herz-Jesu-Kirche), Munich, Germany: Ecclesiastical architecture of spectacular modesty (Author, 2010).

devoted a series of articles, called "Tomorrowland", to the architectural "wow-factor", induced by spectacular buildings. In this context, Rosemary Mahoney (2003) embraced in a critical contribution Munich's contemporary Church of the Sacred Heart (Herz-Jesu-Kirche) from 2000 (see Illustration 89), as a welcome relief in a time otherwise "volatile, over stimulated, wickedly efficient, technologically afire…" (para. 4). Yet, the church is anything but short on spectacularity. With doors covering almost the whole front of 20 meters wide and 16 meters high, the church, designed by German architects Allmann Sattler Wappner, was build so that these doors can completely open up and merge with the outside. However, the wow-effect comes as a surprise hidden by an otherwise pure and silent architecture.

In an environment which is largely defined by spectacular and iconic buildings, the countertype might eventually stand out and become the extraordinary. An example is the Museum of Islamic Art in the Qatari capital Doha, which was designed by architect I. M. Pei and opened its doors to the public in 2008 (see Illustration 90). Instead of competing with its neighbours, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia, for the highest and most expensive architectonic superlatives, Qatar chose a different path. The booming emirate has taken up the cause of sustainable construction and cultural integration, with Pei's museum being one of the key developments. There is no doubt that, located on the edge of Doha harbour, the contemporary building sticks out and cannot deny a high level of iconicity. Yet, unlike many other examples of the region, the cubic pyramid captivates with a rather silent geometric design, while at the same time integrating Islamic symbols and elements of the local culture (see Illustrations 90 and 91). To allow for this, the Emir of Qatar granted architect Pei with the necessary time to study and find "the soul of Islamic architecture", which brought him on a six-month odyssey to different places in Europe, North Africa and the Middle East .

A further example of exciting and yet somehow silent architecture, is given by a contemporary thermal bath from 1996, in the municipality of Vals, Switzerland. Using locally sourced "quarried gneiss stones", Swiss architect Peter Zumthor did not try to simply copy or adapt the local style, but to build an architectural bridge to the modern age. Epitomizing the so-called "Swiss-Box" school of clear forms wrapped in a single material, he created a vast monolith hosting a labyrinth of space and water (see Nuttgens & Weston, 2006, p. 195). However, despite its size and massive body, Zumthor's design is not grabbing for attention. Instead, it merges with the surrounding mountainscape and reveals emotions with surprising details and elaborate plays of light and reflection (see Illustrations 92 and 93). As a result – likewise the Spanish city of Bilbao – the remote valley of Vals succeeded in attracting and sustaining a large number of visitors by means of a single architectural structure. Yet, the destinations' strategies were completely different, as were their initial positions. Vals was looking for a design capable of attracting tourism without disturbing and contradicting the traditional order of the Swiss mountain village. Bilbao, on the other hand, was asking for urban transformation and renewal (see Section 3.2 above). To a certain degree, many other cities face similar challenges, as Kotler, Haider and Rein (1993) observed, "almost all places are in trouble, but some are in more trouble than others…At the most desperate extreme are places that are dying or chronically depressed" (p. 3). However, a focus on spectacularity and individual buildings is, by far, not the only concept of urban transformation. New Urbanism, for instance, is a movement that arose in the United States during the 1980s. It advocates for a more sustainable development of local communities. Founded in 1993, the organizing body of the movement, the Congress for the New Urbanism (1996), accounts for the Charter of the New Urbanism, which stated:

> We stand for the restoration of existing urban centres and towns within coherent metropolitan regions, the reconfiguration of sprawling suburbs into communities of real neighbourhoods and diverse districts, the conservation of natural environments, and the preservation of our built legacy. We advocate the restructuring of public policy and development practices to support the following principles: neighbourhoods should be diverse in use and population; communities should be designed for the pedestrian and transit as well as the car; cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces and community institutions; urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrate local history, climate, ecology, and building practice…(para. 2 ff.)

Supporters of New Urbanism are specifically critical with the uncoupled nature of individual iconic buildings, calling some of the most famous examples from Libeskind, Koolhaas and Gehry, "unnatural" and "disorienting" (B. Jenkins, 2006, p. 196). On the other hand, without questioning New Urbanism as a concept in itself, Shaw (2007) remarked in his dissertation that it is "generally a very small to mid-scale concept that thus far as [sic] been unable to actually challenge urban core concerns of public/private space, urban decay and non-human scale" (p. 85). Furthermore, Weiermair (2008) warned against a return or adherence to past structures and traditions and believed that only continuous transformation of cultural and architectural urban structures according to the requirements of new generations resulted in authenticity (p. 115). Yet, Weiermair's theses are not contravening the philosophy of New Urbanism, but appeal to a more differentiated approach. Concepts and solutions need to be as individual as the challenges and stakeholders of different places. As Knox (2011) concluded in his book about cities and design:

> 'True urbanism' recognizes the multiple actors in systems of provision as well as the need for flexibility and diversity in guiding urban development. 'Integral urbanism' recognizes the need for greater integration in the tasks that planners and architects typically conceive of as being separate from each other. Sustainability recognizes the interdependencies among issues affecting not only the environment but also social justice and the economy (p. 236).

With tourism in mind, the development of spectacular architecture needs neither to be an inappropriate decision nor out of date. Furthermore, as proved by many examples (see above), spectacular does not necessarily mean “loud”, but can just as well impress in silent reticence. The extraordinary however, is vital. An extraordinary that can be understood by “the common tourist” in order to be widely accepted as such. As some works of Swiss-French architect Le Corbusier testify, “exclusive” architectures comprehensible for experts only might, despite their acknowledged excellence, fail acceptance of local communities and visitors alike. However, in order to be sustainable sources of attraction and admiration, tourism architectures do not only need to be creative and innovative, but also consistent against copy and further development (see Section 5.3 below). Relying, for instance, only on the attribute of being the highest tower in the world, might be of short duration, since somewhere else a higher structure might soon follow. The exception proves the rule and, hence, the Empire State Building became a sustainable destination symbol long before the Griffin Television Tower in Oklahoma surpassed it in 1954. However, keeping the height record for 23 years as well as being present in famous movies such as King Kong did support this process (see Section 4.1 above). Due to the continuing build-up of attractions as well as the medial distribution, the threshold of today’s tourist is in constant rise. The challenge for contemporary tourism developers is, hence, the creation of a sustainable exceptionality being able to form a strong image in the tourist’s mind, which is linked to desires and most notably to specific places and destinations. However, while movements such as New Urbanism almost blend out the visitor, some planners and politicians do the opposite and put all their attention on the economical opportunities of tourism. As a result, urban “tourist bubbles” and individual architectures arose, which risk being in conflict with the local societies (Judd, 2003, p. 27). Hence, a first step towards sustainable developments might be a good balance between the global view and a local understanding of the particularities of places and people (see Section 5.2 below).

Illustration 90: Museum of Islamic Art in Doha, Qatar (Author, 2011).

Illustration 91: Museum of Islamic Art in Doha, Qatar: Ceiling structure seen from the main foyer (Author, 2011).

Illustration 92: Thermal bath of Vals, Switzerland: Materialising out of the mountain (Author, 2010).

Illustration 93: Thermal bath of Vals, Switzerland: Surrounded mountainscape reflecting in a window, just like a picture in a frame (Author, 2010).

5.2 Between Grobalization and Glocalization

And because of the globalisation of the tourist gaze, all sorts of places (indeed almost everywhere) have come to construct themselves as objects of the tourist gaze (Urry, 2002, p. 115).

Among the range of studies, which examine the attitude of residents towards tourism development, are Ap and Crompton (1993), Hernandez, Cohen and Garcia (1996), Lankford (1994), Ross (1992), and Zamani-Farahani and Musa (2008). Jencks (2005) emphasised that such an attitude is specifically relevant for the success of iconic architectural developments (p. 48). On the other hand, Chang (2010) claimed that increasingly “tourists are attracted not just by the singular and iconoclastic, but also the vernacular”, which is closely related to the local culture (see also Section 5.1 above). Chang thus observed a transition in literature from “studying the built environment predominantly for its symbolic meaning (e.g. Gottdiener, 1983; Rowntree & Conkey, 1980) to one that also engages with everyday uses and users of spaces” (p. 964). However, Eisinger (2000) remarked that although the economic impacts of large tourism projects on local communities are tested in the literature, “little attention is given to the political and social implications of building a city for visitors rather than local residents” (p. 316).

Globalisation is not to be imagined from the daily life anymore. All kinds of products are physically or virtually transported around the world, leading to homogeneity in fashion, food and media. Location, on the other hand, cannot be moved or transported and still became “subject to the pressures of globalisation” (Govers & Go, 2009, p. 55). Nowadays, one is unable to find an urban environment without a McDonald’s, a Starbucks, an Apple Shop or a Nike Store. Thus, Ritzer (2003) coined the term “grobalization”, to describe the “imperialistic ambitions” of corporations as well as nations, and other entities and their desire “to impose themselves on various geographical areas” (p. 194). The term was based on their constant need of profit growth (“gro(w)balisation”). However, as much as this kind of globalisation (or grobalization) might give cause for criticism, it clearly has a certain degree of local approval. While depending on local acceptance and – more vital – local consumption, none of the former mentioned multinationals (also referred to as “global players”) would otherwise have gained ground.

Things change when locations are mainly built for and consumed by groups other than local residents (e.g. tourists). In an article about "building the city for the visitor class" Eisinger (2000) takes "urban entertainment facilities" as an example to demonstrate the social and economical risks of projects focusing on visitors and ignoring the needs of residents. She thus emphasized that a potential effect might be a strain of the "bonds of trust and accountability between citizens and their leaders", complemented by negative impacts on the civic agenda (p. 323). On the occasion of the opening of the Pennsylvania Convention Center in 1993, Edward Rendell, the Mayor of Philadelphia, expressed:

> I feel like a Roman emperor. I can't give decent city services, I want to close health centres, and I want to cut back on library hours, and here I am giving bread and circuses to the people (as quoted in Bissinger, 1997, p. 202).

Yet, as sadly proven by many failures, such strategies are not only expensive, but also shortsighted and needless. In fact, the local and the global do not need to be in conflict, and neither do residents and visitors. On the contrary, as demonstrated by the concept of "glocalization", which can be understood as a counterpart to the meaning of "grobalization":

> Glocalization is the result of the relationships between the global and the local. These relationships allow the global and the local to reinforce and complement each other rather than compete with each other. Although markets, customers, and products may be global in many contexts, they are local in their designs and content (Reisinger, 2009, p. 23).

Since the pressures of globalisation, the need for destinations to differentiate themselves from their competitors through the creation of unique identities became more critical and apparent than ever (Klingmann, 2007, p. 281; Moilanen & Rainisto, 2009, p. 3; Morgan & Pritchard, 2004, p. 60). Yet, fighting the negative impacts of globalisation by means of globalisation itself would just be like "putting the fox in charge of the henhouse." Without any doubt, urban space undergoes and needs to undergo constant transformation. To freeze in nostalgia, preserving and reproducing the same traditional architectures repeatedly is unnatural and might become unhealthy for the development of a society (see Sections 3.2 and 5.1 above).

Furthermore, for hundreds of years, global trends and currents have influenced architectural styles. Neither the Eiffel Tower in Paris, nor the

Sydney Opera House have been using any kind of typical architecture traditionally related to their locations. In addition, both faced severe criticism and opposition from local residents. Nevertheless, both became widely accepted and admired destination symbols, while the reasons for this development are not always clear and certainly difficult to control (see Section 5.4 below). Beijing is now following a similar path, with uncertain outcome. Despite criticism, in 2007 the National Centre for the Performing Arts (NCPA) has been completed near to the Forbidden City and Tiananmen Square (see Illustrations 94 and 95). What created considerable controversy was the historical significance of the environment, the futuristic architecture and the fact that not a Chinese, but a French architect (Paul Andreu) designed the centre. Similar protest arose over Rem Koolhaas' CCTV Headquarters (see Illustrations 96 and 97), completed in 2012 (see Scheeren, 2004, p. 38 ff.). To a certain extent it also concerned the National Stadium from the Olympic Games 2008, designed by Swiss architecture firm Herzog & de Meuron (see Illustration 58). While the local public has not been involved in the decisional process at all, media accused foreign architects of not understanding Chinese culture and needs, but "using China as a playground for their experimental ideas" (Dubrau 2008, p. 14). Today they are already visitor attractions, only time will tell if these buildings also achieve sustainable recognition and admiration from local residents.

Undoubtedly, public participation is complicated and time-consuming. However, in a study about "Socially Appropriate Tourism Development in British Columbia", Cooke (1982) found that the broad participation of residents from planning to managing tourism was a key factor for sustainable success (p. 27). Furthermore, not least in case of an economic failure, large public acceptance is a crucial coverage for the responsible policy-makers. The identification of the local population with any kind of development (not only architecture) contributes to its credibility and authenticity, and this also applies with regard to the perception of visitors. As Onion (1998) pointed out, "the only values you can sell to tourists on a sustainable basis are those developed, adopted and shared by the local inhabitants" (p. 43).

Illustration 94: The Forbidden City (front) in Beijing, China from Jingshan Hill, with the National Centre for the Performing Arts in the background (Author, 2010).

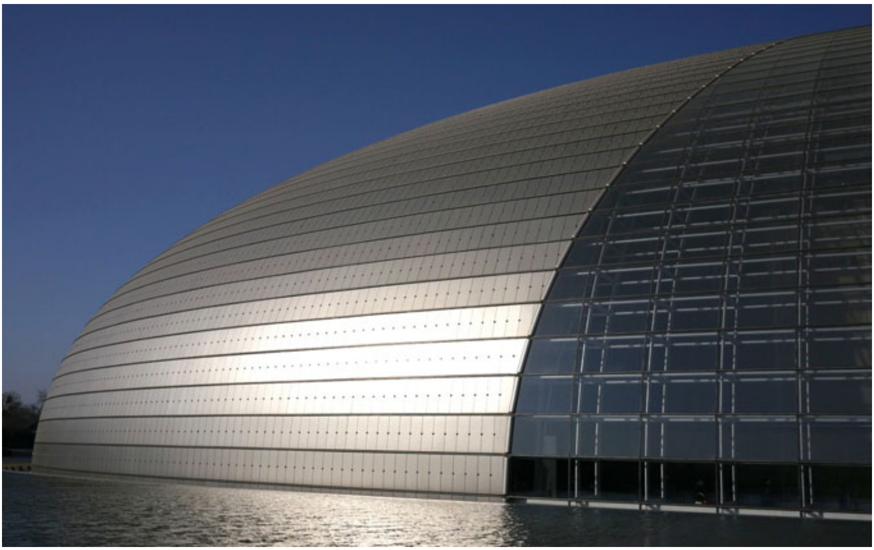

Illustration 95: National Centre for the Performing Arts in Beijing, China: Controversial contemporary “steel-egg” (Author, 2010).

Illustration 96: CCTV Headquarters Beijing, China: Contemporary iconic alien in a vibrant city (Author, 2011).

Illustration 97: CCTV Headquarters Beijing, China: Extraordinary formal language (Author, 2011).

5.3 Starchitects Between a Culture of Copy and a Quest for Authenticity

Authenticity is a primary concern of tourists and landscape planners (Chang, 2010, p. 964).

Kühn (2008) remarked in the context of the “Austrian National Award for Architecture (Österreichischer Staatspreis für Architektur)” that the “new [or post-modern] guest” is nearly free from the burden to distinguish true from fake. Expecting a staged environment almost everywhere, he is as happy about a good fake as about the so-called “authentic” (p. 15). In this regard, Cohen (2004) stated in an article about “Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism” that contemporary tourism is anyway “damned to inauthenticity” (p. 102). However, in a former publication Cohen (1979) further distinguished that tourists might find themselves in different situations, while then again having different perceptions of scenes (p. 26). He thus proposed a four-cell model of tourist situations (see Figure 8).

Nature of scene	**Tourists’ impression of scene**: Real	Staged
Real	**A** Authentic and recognized as such.	**C** Suspicion of staging. Authenticity questioned.
Staged	**B** Failure to recognise contrived tourist space.	**D** Recognised contrived tourist space.

Figure 8: Four cell model of tourist situations (based on Cohen, 1979, p. 26).

Kühn (2008) and Cohen (1979) pointed out two important aspects of the “element” of authenticity in tourism, which are a) the ability to recognise contrived tourist spaces, and b) the degree of acceptance of spaces perceived as “inauthentic.” However, when it comes to tourism, one might initially ask what “authentic” and “inauthentic” really mean. In this regard, little can be concluded from the Paperback Oxford English Dictionary’s definition for “authentic”, simply described as “the quality of being authentic” (Soanes, 2002, p. 49). Conversely, its antonym “inauthentic” was defined by the same dictionary as “not in fact what it is said to be” (Soanes, 2002, p. 419). Applying the latter definition to destinations and theme parks, such as Disneyland or -world and Las Vegas would then mean that they are “perfectly” authentic, as they provide exactly what they profess to: staged entertainment. Neither casino destinations nor theme parks pretend to be anything than what they are and the same holds for their architectures (see Section 3.3 above). Who would think that an Egyptian Pharaoh built the Pyramid of Luxor Las Vegas or that the old Romans ever worked at Caesars Palace (see Illustrations 46 and 88)? Apart from minors, who would seriously believe that Disney’s fairytale castle was once a “real” castle or that it “really” arose from a fairytale? In fact, while in the centre of Las Vegas, a spectacular casino might easily be perceived as authentic, the contrary could be the case for a historical church building. Authenticity is related to place, but it is first and foremost also related to people. As Spode and Klemm (2008) stated, authenticity is not a physical parameter, but a social construct. Authentic is what people perceive as authentic (p. 108). Furthermore, as Chang (2010) argued, the very idea to individuals and societies of what is “authentic” might also change over time (p. 970).

Lasansky (2005) believed that authenticity is all about intangible experience (p. 54). Then again, authenticity is closely related to knowledge. Taking as an example the “Church of our Lady (Frauenkirche)” in Dresden, Germany, some tourists might not be aware of its former destruction and reconstruction and perceive it as an authentic “historical” building. Others, aware of it, might still classify it as authentic due to its detailed reconstruction and the fact that some of the original elements have been integrated into the rebuilt structure (see Illustration 18 and Section 2.3 above). Others, however, might always dismiss it as an inauthentic replica of the (historical) original. This all depends on knowledge, culture and the individual perspective and will eventually influence the tourist’s experience of place and object. In this regard, another interesting example is the Spanish “Poble Espanyol” in Barcelona (see Illustrations 101 and 102). The village was constructed in 1929 for the “Barcelona International Exhibition”, as an open-air architectural museum. According to Mendelson (2004) the aim was to appear to tourists as an authentic representation of the architecture, customs and trades of various locations and eras from around Spain (p. 129). Mendelson pointed out that “today the Poble Espanyol is still one of Barcelona’s greatest tourist attractions” (p. 144).

Indeed, day by day there are crowds of visitors wandering through the narrow streets of this staged village in the middle of the Catalan capital of Barcelona, taking photos of architectural styles, which are otherwise possible to find in Andalusia, Murcia or Madrid. Authenticity, however, does not seem to be an issue anymore. But, how about a “French” chateau and a “European” village in China? Located to the northwest of Beijing, Chateau Changyu-AFIP opened its doors to the public in 2008 as the latest of four chateaus of wine producer Changyu Pioneer Wine Co. Inc. (see Illustrations 103 and 104). Ever since, representations of architectural styles from different eras and European countries offer the mainly Chinese visitors an ideal image of a romantic European setting, which is much like in the movies. As a result, more and more Chinese filmmakers are also using Chateau Changyu-AFIP as a cheap substitute for locations in Europe, while at the same time further contributing to its popularity. The question is, what makes one more authentic than the other? Is it the place, the age or the context? Is the Poble Espanyol more authentic than Chateau Changyu-AFIP, just due to the geographical proximity to its cultural origin (or the cultural origin it aims to represent)? Does not the age of almost 85 years alone make the Poble Espanyol authentic? Or are both just the same type of decontextualized copies of otherwise authentic settings, for the sake of tourism? Eventually, the determination lies in the eye of the beholder (or visitor) and depends on his individual perspective and perception. In Western societies, however, there is a tendency to not question what has reached a certain age, but to accept it as historical and thus authentic. An example is the “Chinese House (Chinesisches Haus)”, a pavilion in Sanssouci Park in Potsdam, Germany (see Illustration 98). Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, commissioned it and it was built between 1755 and 1764 in the then-popular style of “Chinoiserie”, combining elements of rococo with parts of Chinese architecture. This style not only reflected a general interest of the noble class in Chinese culture, but also a romanticized perception of it (see Illustration 99). As a matter of fact, the representations of what was supposedly the Chinese way of life were often far from reality. But how about the authenticity? Was the Chinese House in the 18th century, what Chateau Changyu-AFIP is today, just the opposite way around? Would Chinese and Western visitors alike understand it as authentic now? Did it become more authentic after almost 250 years, or has it always been?

Illustration 98: Chinese House (Chinesisches Haus) in Sanssouci Park, Potsdam, Germany (Author, 2011).

Illustration 99: Detail of the Chinese House (Chinesisches Haus) in Sanssouci Park, Potsdam, Germany (Author, 2011).

Illustration 100: Tate Gallery of Modern Art, London, United Kingdom (David Larreina Garcia, 2014).

Once again, it all depends on the individual perspective and when it comes to the perception of authenticity, decisions should not be based on "snap judgements". Nevertheless, in the context of contemporary developments, critics soon centre on the topic of authenticity, as was also the case for the newly built Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain. To avoid this opposition, the initial idea was to "recycle one of the historic industrial buildings." However, as it was assumed to not have attracted masses of tourists, it was eventually dismissed (Lippard, 2005b, p. 67). A similar concept was used some years later in London by architects Herzog & de Meuron, who transformed the former Bankside Power Station in 2000 into the Tate Gallery of Modern Art, which is now attracting several thousand visitors a day (see Section 2.3 above and Illustration 100). Yet, is it really more authentic to take a building out of its context and give it a new role completely detached from its original purpose? Furthermore, London is not Bilbao and one should not argue rashly against one or the other without a differentiated view of the individual situation (see Section 2.4 above).

In the quest for authenticity Benjamin's (1980) thoughts on the reproduction of the work of art also need to be considered (see Section 4.1 above).

Thus, in the context of contemporary architecture and tourism it was, once again, Gehry's work (of art), in the form of the Guggenheim Bilbao, which came to the centre of attention. Plaza (2000b), for instance, warned that "Frank Gehry could replicate this style elsewhere… perhaps causing Bilbao to lose its present advantage" (p. 273). And indeed, it was exactly what Gehry did, as for example in 2003, with the "Walt Disney Concert Hall" in Downtown Los Angeles, USA. Yet, the feared dramatic decrease of visitors to Bilbao did not take place. Nevertheless, in tourism, where uniqueness and exceptionality are critical factors, such concerns are all legitimate. If, for example, a current destination tried to copy Gaudi's Sagrada Família in Barcelona, still few tourists would have trouble distinguishing the original from the copy and it can be assumed unlikely that Barcelona would have lost any of its force of attraction. On the other hand, what would happen if almost every major city around the globe had a contemporary museum designed by Frank Gehry? Would the Guggenheim Bilbao still be considered the original? Would people still want to visit Bilbao for a specific building, if a similar one, designed by the same architect, is to be found around the corner? Or would all of them lose their force of attraction due to their high number and thus lack of uniqueness? Klingmann (2006) called such a process a "culture of copy", where signature buildings are "imitating one another in their offerings and aesthetics" (p. 2). According to Evans (2003), such "copycat design and regeneration concepts are now commonplace" (p. 431). However, both authors emphasised that the challenge is mainly linked to the export of signature buildings and this also marks a major difference to architectural movements of the past. Architects have always influenced each other, while reproducing elements of the works of others and including them in their own architecture. In fact, with an important enough group of architects, who are sharing similar aesthetics, eventually new styles of architecture (and art) might evolve and spread around a region or even "go global" (see Jacobs, 2006, p. 12). Nevertheless, nobody would refer to movements such as the Renaissance, the Art Nouveau or the Modernism as cultures of copies. Neither would one classify their representatives as copyists, although they used similar styles and elements as others did and/or reproduced their own style at different places. So why are some of today's most famous architects criticised for doing the very same thing? Maybe, the fact that now everybody seems to seek their own "universal" style, which is detached from place and people, is causing this opposition. In a series about contemporary architecture in the New York Times, Lubow (2003) wrote that “the best contemporary architecture doesn't share a style” (p. 2). Though one might not share this opinion, it is indeed not easy to classify contemporary architecture after the 1980s. In an article about the “Dialectics of Design” B. Jenkins (2006) wrote that despite the widely varying styles of architects such as Eisenman, Gehry, Hadid, Koolhaas, Libeskind, Tschumi, and Coop Himmelb(l)au, they share, amongst others, “the rejection of historical national styles and tradition” (p. 198). Often described as deconstructivists, some of the most important representatives of the movement (among the above mentioned, first of all Frank Gehry) deny any conscious allegiance with it (see B. Jenkins, 2006, p. 208). However, whether sharing a style or not, another common point of many of these loosely called deconstructivists is their status as “architectural superstars” (also referred to as star-architects, starchitects, label-architects or brand-name-architects). Much like Hollywood with its global film-industry and culture of superstars linked to dreams and expectations, star-architecture (or starchitecture) became a favoured global formula for destinations which seek to create new images and attract masses of tourists. And while Hollywood’s producers demand cinema blockbusters from their film stars, tourism destinations place great expectations in their “starchitects” to create blockbuster architectures at whatever cost and risk (d'Acierno, 2005, p. 140; McNeill, 2007, p. 63). As a result, the ‘new’ London carries the signature of Sir Norman Foster, Valencia is associated with Spanish architect Santiago Calatrava, and the Arab Emirate of Abu Dhabi plans to create an entire museum island with branches of world-class institutions such as the French Louvre. Each museum is intended to be designed by another starchitect, including Frank Gehry, Jean Nouvel, Tadao Ando, and Zaha Hadid. It seems that now the place needs to conform with the architect and not the other way around. However, the cult of the starchitect, who is imposing their own specific style to different places and cultures, is not only a contemporary phenomenon. An example is French architect and engineer Gustave Eiffel (1832-1923). Scattered around the globe, some of his works, which range from the Eiffel Tower in Paris to the Statue of Liberty in New York, churches to bridges and hotels to stations, initially failed to engage the local context. Yet, it seems that over the time most of them have widely been accepted by locals and visitors alike as an inherent and authentic part of place and destination (see also Section 5.4 below).

Illustration 101: Poble Espanyol, Barcelona, Spain: Representation of architecture, customs and trades of various locations and epochs from around Spain (Author, 2011).

Illustration 102: Pople Espanyol, Barcelona, Spain: Also in a staged Spanish village, a church could not be missing (Author, 2011).

Illustration 103: Chateau Changyu-AFIP, China: "French" chateau in the northwest of Beijing (Author, 2010).

Illustration 104: Chateau Changyu-AFIP, China: Photo session in a staged "European" village (Author, 2010).

5.4 From Non-Place Architecture to Destination Symbol to Archibrand

Place is to architecture, it may be said, as meaning is to language (Unwin, 1997, p. 15).

For Praeger (2010), “the traditional idea of a place is connected to the user. The meaning of a place depends on what the people in it do” (p. 221). Hence, according to Cresswell (2004), “place” could be defined as “a meaningful location” (p. 7). In turn, “space is a more abstract concept than place... space, then, has been seen in distinction to place as a realm without meaning” (p. 8). In “Place: A Short Introduction” Dovey (2010) further explained that a difference between place and space is the intensity of place that “connects sociality to spatiality in everyday life” (p. 3). However, Cresswell (2004) also pointed out that “although this basic dualism of space and place runs through much of human geography since the 1970s it is confused somewhat by the idea of social space” (p. 10). This is an issue that gains increasing importance in times of Web 2.0. In his book “Place and Placelessness” Relph (1976) described the identification of people with a particular place as “insiderness” (p. 141). On the contrary, “outsiderness” applies when a person is somehow divided or separated from a place – or at least feels this way. Based on Relph’s arguments, Seamon and Sowers (2008) explained, for example, that the feeling of homesickness in a new place can be a kind of “outsiderness” (p. 45). Lew (1987) pointed out that “tourists are, by definition, outsiders”, while their degree of “outsiderness” might vary depending on the individual perception and the way they are perceived and accepted by the “insiders” or locals (p. 560). As for a “tourist place”, P.L. Pearce (1982) defined it as “any place that fosters the feeling of being a tourist”; this might include positive (e.g. relaxation) as well as negative (e.g. homesickness) feelings (p. 98). Thus, in order to create successful destinations, tourism developers and marketers need to create and promote positive and meaningful place images (see Chapter 4 above).

Yeoman (2008) stated that “brands and images will become more important, because the choice of destination will be shaped by the values held by the consumer” (p. 37). Busby and Klug (2001) explained that the “physical place is replaced through sensibilities by an image of place which is no less real… places are being constructed in the image of tourism, both socially and physically; places are then sold as products” (p. 322). However, Human (1999) warned in this regard that “the ability to assign meaning to a place is an act of power which has real effects on the people living in it” (p. 83). Indeed, as Govers and Go (2009) claimed, “the ‘true’ identity of place, ‘the’ place image does not really exist.” Instead, individuals and communities may have very different perceptions. Govers and Go, hence, suggested a referral to a “dominant view” instead of “the” image of a place (p. 18). While there may be discrepancies in the terminology, without question, meaning and the related images depend on individual perspectives which may be very different when it comes to residents (or locals) and visitors (or tourists). In fact, finding sustainable concepts allowing global and local requirements to reinforce and complement each other might be one of the greatest challenges for destinations (see Section 5.2 above). Klingmann (2007) suggested that, while corporations need to "think globally and act locally, places are confronted with the reverse paradigm. They have to think locally and act globally, using their local differences as equity” (p. 272). Taking such suggestions all too literally, some surprising approaches which combine a variety of global and local elements can today be found around the globe. Important examples are again some of the Arabic Gulf States which – due to tremendous wealth coming from oil – have to cope with a matchless rapid social and economic change that also reflects in the architectural development. The search for a new identity driven by the desire to be innovative, modern and important while at the same time preserving old values and traditions provoked some spectacular eclecticisms of international structures combined with local elements. Dubai’s luxury hotel and iconic landmark Burj Al Arab mimics the sail of a boat (see Illustration 6). Some giant malls of Saudi Arabia and the Emirates carry abstract tent roofs. Various islands formed like Arabic palms have been created along the coastlines of Dubai. There is hardly a skyscraper that is not complemented by traditional Arabic elements. Wind towers (also referred to as “wind catchers”), once built in the region for natural air conditioning purposes, become inoperable adornments in a new context. Yet, similar eclecticisms can also be found in China or other Asian countries, where contemporary skyscrapers are often given traditional roof structures, sometimes resembling hats from a retro fashion show (see Illustration 105).

Illustration 105: Marriott Hotel, Singapore: Combination of contemporary and traditional architectural styles from different geographical areas (Author, 2011).

As a matter of fact, “the meaning of a place is not entirely determined by the physical properties of that place” (Ward & Russel, 1981, p. 123). Architecture, however, remains an important and controversial image vehicle and means of identification for locals and visitors alike (see Section 4.2 above). Klingmann (2006) even claimed that in a global context, architecture is not only an integral part to branding and vice versa, but has become the essence of marketing our environment (p. 1). There may be a broad consensus that the tower-block developments, such as the ones that can be found in tourism regions along the Mediterranean, do not connect with their specific environments and few destinations would build them on purpose to create their destination images. The contemporary architectural icon, however, is where opinions differ. Such buildings, often spectacular and designed by so called “star-architects”, are in the focus of critics, dismissed as narcissistic masterpieces representing the style and name of their creators only, without reflecting their surrounding areas and cultures (see Section 5.3 above). Many perceive such structures as inauthentic, Relph (1976) warned against “an inauthentic attitude towards place” which he thought would eventually lead to “placelessness” (p. 90). In this regard, Relph emphasised the special role of the media. On the other hand, in his book “Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity”, Augé (2008) pointed out the important role of architecture. Cresswell (2004) argued that Augé’s “non-place” is what essentially makes “the space of travellers.” He further claimed, “non-places demand new mobile ways of thinking” (p. 46). And indeed, in face of economical, social and technological transformations of global scale, the evaluation of place (and placelessness) might need to be reconsidered. In an article about the Bilbao Guggenheim, Gilbert-Rolfe (2005) described the modern world as “both happily and unhappily engaged in the loss of local identity” and as being a:

> Placeless world of technologically advanced consumerism,… in which every place is simultaneously present to all the others, united by a common economy, which itself is no more bound by constraints of place than architecture is by the limitations of materials (p. 230)

Hence, while developers and architects must deal with new social and technological requirements, the issue of how individual buildings relate with their context will always remain a fundamental concern in urban design. Lang (2005) described this as follows:

> Should a building meld in with those around it or stand out? Should it be a foreground or a background building? Almost all developers and their architects want their buildings to be foreground buildings and resent any guidelines or other design controls that they see as limiting their imaginative power. Interestingly, major architects seem to have less difficulty in designing background buildings than minor ones striving to make their mark. (p. 115)

Yet, for B. Jenkins (2006), architecture in the context of tourism cannot just "fit in." Instead, "to attract tourists or gain cultural status, buildings must exhibit radical difference of some sort" (p. 196). As discussed before, the built environment is just one of the aspects of place, while the social factor is (or should be) inseparably linked with it. As Knox (2011) argued in a book about the relationships between design and urban environments:

> An erosion of the distinctive sense of place associated with particular localities… is not simply a matter of the aesthetics of the built environment. Sense of place is always socially constructed, and a fundamental element in the social construction of place is the existential imperative for people to define themselves in relation to the material world" (p. 173).

However, a sense of place might change over time, and so might the identification of people with specific elements of the built environment. It must be allowed to ask whether there has, for instance, been any specific relation between Utzon's Sydney Opera House or the Eiffel Tower and their social environments. Today both architectures are unquestioned tourism magnets and symbols standing for their cities and nations. Yet, in the time of their construction, both faced controversial discussions and massive opposition, putting into question their social and cultural value (Jencks, 2005, p. 198; Knox, 2011, p. 184). In his dissertation, Shaw (2007) used a more recent example from Redding, California, where the approval for the Sundial Bridge, designed by Spanish architect Calatrava and completed in 2004, was granted by only 51% of public support, over spending money on a library. Shaw noted that, "however, the bridge has been well-received by the public since that time, and now 90% of those in Redding are pleased that the bridge was built instead of the library" (p. 162). MacCannel (2005) claimed a similar development for the Bilbao Guggenheim, often criticised for its detachment from local culture, and pointed out that "the people of Bilbao, even those who were displaced to make room for the museum, take pride in it and now embrace it as their own" (p. 24). Would it be all that strange to imagine the Eiffel Tower, for instance, being London's landmark today, if it had been constructed by Eiffel on the occasion of a World's Fair in England instead of France? For French literary theorist, philosopher, critic and semiotician Roland Barthes (1982), the Eiffel Tower was a pure and virtually empty sign, a kind of zero degree of the monument (as cited in Ockman, 2004, p. 237). And yet, this might be one of the reasons why it was even possible for everybody to project his cultural connotations and associations into it, to give it an individual meaning and to make it become such an outstanding destination symbol for both visitors and the local population. Architecture cannot be developed in isolation but evolves from a local, temporal and cultural context. Whether it will be perceived as "non-place architecture" or become a destination symbol depends on many factors. Thus, a positive balance between the force of attraction, mainly important for visitors, and the degree of acceptance, related first and foremost to residents, creates ideal conditions (see Figure 9). However, while both aspects can be influenced by means of diligent and communicative planning, there is no guarantee for the creation of "successful" architectures in the context of tourism. Destination symbols might evolve over time as perceptions and values of locals and visitors change. On the other hand, the opposite process can also happen, with initially celebrated architectures gradually losing their force of attraction and/or acceptance. In some cases, however, a single architecture might become so important that it exceeds the function of a "normal" attraction and a destination symbol. Instead, it becomes an important destination and a brand of its own. With tourists visiting particularly for a specific building, the degree of popularity of such an "archibrand" might even become higher than this of its actual destination or place it is located. Examples are the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain (see Illustrations 1 and 78) and the Chapelle Notre-Dame-du-Haut de Ronchamp in France. As for the latter, many visitors would not even stopover at the little village of Ronchamp, located at the foot of the hill with Le Corbusier's iconic church on top (see Illustration 77). Also, the Pompidou Centre in Paris, France, can be considered an archibrand although not on a scale of the city of Paris but of the urban district of Beaubourg (see Illustration 2). As a matter of fact, there is a smooth transition and an archibrand might be (and often is) a destination symbol at the same time. Furthermore, between a non-place architecture and a destination symbol there is still much room for structures which are difficult to

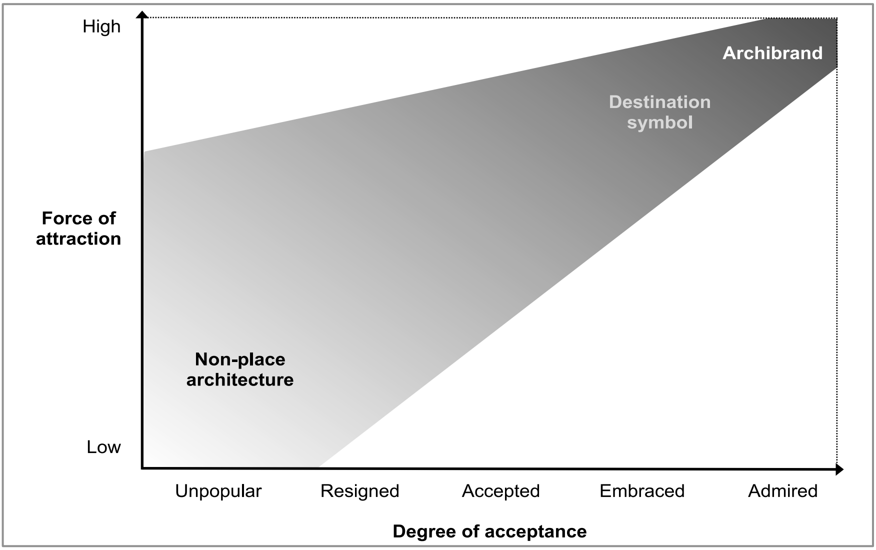

Figure 9: From non-place architecture to destination symbol to archibrand: Simplified model for the classification of architecture according to its force of attraction and degree of acceptance.

classify or to name (see Figure 9). However, it is critical for people involved in the process of destination development to be aware of the (sometimes) different perceptions of “insiders” and “outsiders”, as well as the individual situation and requirements of each specific place.

In a place with rich cultural heritage, a stable social and economic structure and a contented population, new development might tie in with the existing architecture. Various societies, however, are in a state of flux. Bilbao was a city in economic decline when Gehry created the Guggenheim Museum as part of a bigger plan aimed at transforming the town by means of contemporary and spectacular architectures. Bilbao sought transformation, wanted to reinvent itself, and thus a modest solution might have failed external and internal recognition. Also the formerly mentioned Gulf States, such as the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait and recently Qatar, are all seeking in somehow different ways, transformation by means of contemporary architecture (see Illustration 106). Whether perceived by “outsiders” as authentic or artificial, aesthetic or kitschy, sustainable or short-lived, paradise or Disneyland the discussions should

Illustration 106: New Doha skyline seen from the Museum of Islamic Art, Qatar (Author, 2011).

not hide the fact that this transformation is borne by large parts of the local population. Neither should it be forgotten that within only a few years the United Arab Emirates, and first of all Dubai became important tourism destinations. In this process the choice of spectacular architecture has made an essential contribution to create a strong destination brand and has formed a new and distinctive destination image.

Nevertheless, architecture is more than a brand or an image. Sustainable architecture needs to be flexible in order to adapt to changes. Medical doctors need to analyse patients and their history with diligence, in order to make valid diagnoses and to find appropriate therapies. And likewise, so do tourism developers, politicians and architects need to deal with the whole spectrum of aspects defining their people and places and enter into an open dialogue with all stakeholders. Otherwise rapid results might turn out as treatment of symptoms not leading to any sustainable development. And if the worst comes to the worst, imprudently and rashly taken actions might leave irreversible scars in the architectural as well as the social and economic structure of a place. As Konrad (2010) pointed out, “it is not the quest on whether buildings are iconic or not but if they are able to contribute to the construction of our society” (p. 234).

6 Conclusions

The objective of this book is to contribute to the knowledge of the mutual interdependencies between tourism and (contemporary) architecture. In this context the research aimed at findings regarding the role of contemporary architecture in (urban) tourism destinations. By putting the discussion into a broader context some important interrelationships with other disciplines could be achieved. At the same time the contextual view disclosed the complexity of the enquiry and demonstrated how broad this objective is. As a result, a first important finding was that there is no such thing as "the" role of contemporary architecture in urban tourism destinations. Instead, contemporary architecture can play a multitude of important roles. On the one hand there are, for instance, these defined by the primary types and functions of the architecture with vital significance for the tourism industry, such as accommodation, infrastructure, amenities etc. In this context, it is secondary (not irrelevant though) whether the architecture is of contemporary nature or not. On the other hand, all types of architecture might at the same time represent attractions and furthermore contribute to the image of their (urban) destinations. In this regard, being contemporary or not indeed constitutes a critical feature. In the following, some of the aspects related to the role of contemporary architecture in urban tourism destinations will be highlighted and discussed along an elementary key question for each chapter (see also Preface). However, without any claim of being complete or conclusive, the resulting answers rather aim to summarise the findings.

What are the interdependencies between tourism and the built environment?

As a service related industry, tourism first and foremost depends on people. On the other hand, the built environment contributes with an indispensable framework, defining the destination and thus providing the location for tourism. In this context, the built environment can well go beyond what is generally perceived as architecture and also comprise natural-looking, but human-made structures, such as artificial islands, beaches and even national parks. Also, art might form part of the built environment of a tourism destination. However, whether art can be understood as a

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kind of architecture or architecture as a kind of art is anything but clearly defined. When it comes to tourism and the built environment, traditional boundaries can vanish and rules might be put out of play. Hence, in face of spectacular architectures (and/or art objects), such as the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, the traditional concept of form follows function is often replaced by a function that now rather follows the form. In tourism, more than ever (and yet not always) form became an important (if not determining) aspect. In fact, unlike natural landscapes, the built environment can be formed comparatively permissively. As a result, it can be adjusted to changing requirements, which again are influenced by both long-term developments and short-term trends, as well as economical and political interests. Whether this capacity is perceived as rather positive or negative, is a different matter altogether. In any case, regarding the interdependencies between tourism and the built environment, (contemporary) architecture plays (and always played) an important role.

How does architectural tourism relate in a spatial and temporal urban context?

Within the built environment, a city represents the largest possible accumulation of architecture. At the same time, cities all around the world constitute important tourism destinations. Urban agglomerations are dynamic formations in constant flux, which again might come from the interior or exterior, occur steady or impulsive, happen subliminal or obvious. In any case, this flux affects the urban and architectural structure and vice versa. Exploring a city's architecture is like reading in a three-dimensional book about its history, with witnesses to important economical and cultural periods, scars recalling wars or disasters and experiments, once criticised, later accepted and today embraced as important parts of the distinctive urban atmosphere. Perceptions might change over time, which has been proven by prominent examples, such as Sydney's Opera House and Paris' Eiffel Tower. In fact, change has always been a controversial issue for societies. However, stagnation in reality often means stepping backwards. In the effort for urban transformation, contemporary architecture can play a critical role as an initiator and facilitator and (architectural) tourism might thus be an important ally. Gehry's Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao was an example for transformation on an urban scale, the Centre Pompidou in Paris represented this of an urban district (Beaubourg) and Dubai, as Las Vegas before, demonstrated the birth of an entire destination by means of contemporary architecture. Furthermore, hallmark events, such as Olympic Games and World Fairs, which are closely related to contemporary architecture and tourism at the same time, might trigger similar transformational processes. Yet, how sustainable such temporary events and the related effects will be, depends to a large extent on the quality of the strategies and the aptitudes to find a balance (or even a synergy) between the requirements of both visitors and local residents. In this regard, the Spanish Seville that was host to the Expo 1992 can be taken as a negative example regarding sustainable development. In the same year and country, Barcelona was hosting the Olympic Summer Games. However, unlike Seville, the Catalan capital managed to use the strong media presence, enhance the image of the city and transform itself into one of the world's leading urban destinations and a Mecca for architectural tourism.

How can contemporary architecture influence the image of an urban destination?

In tourism, a clear and convenient destination image constitutes a strong competitive advantage. Destinations with famous natural or historical monuments such as, for instance, Niagara Falls or the Pyramids of Giza, do not need to worry about the achievement of a distinctive image. On the other hand, there are still many places that are seeking to change or – at least – create an image as a tourism destination. According to Law (2002), "two of the most important ways a place can change its image is through special events and the construction of landmark buildings, both topics which have great significance to urban tourism" and indeed both topics which are related to contemporary architecture (p. 39). An urban destination might be defined by a multitude of elements of all kinds that can attract visitors. However, to create and maintain a destination image often selective visual ambassadors or symbols are used, which are capable of creating desires and positive connotations in a tourist's mind. An important attribute of such symbols is their recognition value and thus a characteristic, which only few natural landscapes can offer. Recognition value might be one of the reasons for the dominant role of architecture as a destination symbol, the tourist's search for the photogenic, another. Even before the digital age and the tourists' urge to share experiences and memories online with friends and family, photography represented an important element of tourism. Garrod (2009) referred to Urry (1990) and called it a “self-reinforcing closed circle of representation”, when – further amplified by modern mass media – tourists sought to gaze on the objects they have been exposed to by former visual representations (p. 346). However, in order to be credible and sustainable, these symbols needed to represent more than a virtual image of a place only, but somehow reflect what a visitor can expect from the destination. All the same, images are often idealised and therefore symbols, which attract tourists, might at the same time allow them to validate their visit. Already familiar with the appearance of the object, a symbol provides a tourist with a kind of security of not being disappointed, but getting what he came for. Finding romance in Paris cannot be guaranteed, but finding its ambassador, the Eiffel Tower, can be! Once a symbol has reached such significance, it often does not matter any more where it really came from. It is famous for being famous (Urry, 2002, p. 12). Nevertheless, tourism developers seeking to create symbols by means of contemporary architecture need to keep in mind that architecture is never exclusively a visual ambassador or a logo of a destination, such as the virtual logos corporations use to represent their products. Instead, as Klingmann (2007) claimed, “architecture is more than an image. Unlike products, architecture is characterized by an enduring public presence that defines our environment more than any other brand as a lived, day-to-day experience” (p. 327).

Why is (contemporary) architectural tourism dominated by spectacle?

Ockman (2001) claimed that “the spectaculture demands its sites of pilgrimage; architourism requires destinations” and took the “Bilbao effect” as a prime example (p. 01). Indeed, destinations from Bilbao to Barcelona, London to Paris, and Las Vegas to Dubai all offer spectacular contemporary architecture to gaze on. Yet, referring to Ockman’s term “pilgrimage” the early beginnings of tourism come into mind with pilgrims travelling to gaze upon spectacular religious sites. Later, during the Grand Tours of the 17th through 19th Centuries, the objective was to marvel at the no less spectacular cultural legacy of the classical antiquity and the Renaissance. In fact, since well before Debord’s (1997) manifest from 1967 was the spectacle already part of the society and also formed an important element of tourism. Whether related to historical or contemporary architectural tourism, event tourism or nature tourism, examples of spectacular attractions are available almost everywhere and so are the tourists seeking them. However, whether the spectacle represents a dominant force of attraction or not is less a question of the type of tourism than of the type (or role) of tourist. There are many roles of tourists related to contemporary architecture, and not all of them favour the spectacle.

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