

MULTICULTURAL HERITAGES IN A CITY AS PRODUCTIVE TOURISM PLACES

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A city can be a place for productive tourism places. Bandung, for example, has become a tourists' city and especially benefited from weekend visitors from Jakarta. Visitors in the city are offered attractions for leisure and consumption. The city's attractions are dominated by heritages: from pattern of street layout to the existence of a distinctive architecture, to the variety of activities to create the city itself as a visitors' experience. These conditions need a deliberate attempt to create the city as multicultural places of consumption for both retail and tourism as part of urban cultural management. This paper examines the creation of the city as a tourism destination. It is argued that changes to the process of capital accumulation in many cities have led to the commodification of place at a local level. Part of this process has been the creation of heritage as a tangible asset and this is linked to changing patterns of consumer retail activity. This paper argued that tourism should not be conceptualized as a distinct activity but rather as a form of consumption in the context of both local and global changes.

Heritage, consumption, tourism driven place design.

INTRODUCTION: COMMODIFYING HERITAGE AND CREATING TOURISM PLACES

The arguments developed in this paper is an effort to show that the use of heritage for the production of consumers and tourism activities, through spatial designs within global capitalizing societies, is not a source of decay or destruction if adequately planned, designed, regulated and managed. On the contrary, it can generate many cultural, economic and financial benefits, with a limited rise in operational costs. Moreover, a correct commercialization of built heritages as input for tourism activities can produce an interesting shift from a static and passive consumption of culture to a more complex and active enjoyment of heterogeneous expression of built heritages.

As part of the tourism industry heritage is a cultural commodity. As the past and its meanings are ultimately intangible, the definition of heritage is debatable as it is constantly being moulded, shaped, interpreted, bought and sold by groups with varying interests. What remains constant, however, is the historical sense of place embedded in the concept of heritage. Places have meanings that are created for consumption by individuals in communities. It is in consuming the meaning of a place that the individual is linked historically and immediately to the material and social worlds in which they are embedded. People thus consume heritage to create a sense of belonging, as the invention of heritage can empower people and their communities by shaping a sense of identity (Rowlands, 2002). This process of creating identity relies on the interpretation of specific heritage sites or material culture, interpretations that are manipulated for specific ends. Cities with heritage sites and trends in the interpretation of

history do not merely exist for nostalgia's sake, but have a distinct relationship to the creation of present social realities. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) states, 'heritage produces something new in the present that has recourse to the past'; in other words—heritage is a way of producing 'hereness'. The 'hereness' produced at a site is a creation process that starts with a specific idea, site, or an invention of a site. For heritage tourism destinations the 'hereness' is interpreted and developed by agents or agencies from professional tourism operators for consumption by tourists and other visitors, without whom the site perhaps has no meaning. It is through the tourist's experience that a sense of place and 'hereness' is formed for tourists and visitors (MacCannell, 1989).

While a shared sense of heritage is part of the process by which groups create their own corporate or shared identity, the powerful role that place plays in the negotiation of the meaning of self can be marketed and sold to tourists seeking to create or change their own sense of identity. It is this marketability or commodification that has permitted the heritage tourism industry to prosper. Yet heritage is a mode of cultural production that relies on the past for authentication, which occurs through local materiality. Those wishing to purchase a heritage experience must receive value for money. Heritage destinations thus must have some sort of historical validation, whether 'authentic' or fictive, for it is this validation that provides both a use value and an intrinsic value to an experience consumed at a heritage tourism destination. In recent decades the tourism industry has co-opted heritage as a vehicle for displaying or showcasing cultural aspects of a particular nation, region or community. This trend towards the use of heritage has led to the recent attention many heritage places have received from the tourism industry, especially sites in areas of redevelopment and economic revival. After all, a heritage destination must have both a sense of place and a compelling narrative to sell to the tourists (McKercher and du Cros, 2002).

COMMODIFIED PLACES

Over the past two decades, the importance of place within advanced capitalist societies as a focus of theoretical and empirical concern has drawn attention from a variety of disciplines, from architecture (Yacobi and Shechter, 2005; Poesori and Adji, 2005), anthropology (Rotenberg and McDonogh, 1993) to cultural studies (Bird, Putnam, Robertson and Tickner, 1994; Carter, Donald and Squires, 1993) to human geography (Harvey, 1989, 1994; Soja, 1989) and sociology (Budd and Whimster, 1992; Cooke, 1989, 1990; Harloe, Pickvance and Urry, 1990). Although offering different perspectives, a number of common issues can be identified and summarized as follows.

First, spatial relations within capitalist economies have been radically restructured since the early 1970s, due in part to the decline of old industries and the growth of the service sector. This can be seen in the evident trend towards spatial decentralization, such as the putting of new retail and manufacturing developments on the outer urban fringes and the development of new growth centers of the economy based on financial and service sector employment.

Second, investment capital is increasingly mobile, so that cities, towns and regions now negotiate directly with multinational corporations and institutions (Mulgan, 1989). Central government policies in many countries, for example, have consistently stressed the need for local councils to act less as providers of services and more as entrepreneurs in order to compete in the marketplace and sell themselves to prospective investors and employers (Atkinson and Moon, 1994; Fretter, 1993; Harloe *et.al*, 1990). Consequently, those with assets or interests in a place find themselves engaging in place marketing strategies in competition with other places (Harvey, 1994). Such changes in the political economy have been matched by changes in patterns of consumption and employment. As the leisure activities shifts away from mass

consumption and mass marketing (package holidays) towards flexible consumption and niche marketing (short breaks, special events and shopping as an entertainment), places have sought actively to create themselves not only as locations of investment opportunity, but also as places of consumption in order to capitalize on the productive tourism/leisure market (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; Hall, 1993). In this way, the urban environment itself becomes a commodity to be bought and sold not only to corporate interests but also to individual consumers.

Competition between localities for inward investment has also led to the adoption of policies that encourage the development of culture and the arts (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Griffiths, 1993), which are perceived to add "cultural capital" in addition to other benefits that regions and more distinct localities have to offer. The existence of a lively cultural scene creates a positive image of a place with a high quality of life, which may be the factor that tips the choice in favor of investment in one place rather than another. In short, the global processes of capital accumulation are made possible by a revaluation and commodification of urban space at a local level.

The processes of revaluation and commodification of place for tourism destination are not simply driven by economic criteria. The creation of tourism destinations involves a relationship of the material practices that rise the urban landscape and the symbolic meanings that are imposed upon or appropriated from it. In this way, the existence of spatial and places designs for tourism destinations occurs, that is, ways of interpreting or reading a townscape as the collections of a particular set of values (Budd, 1992; Duncan, 1990; Harvey, 1989; Zukin, 1990, 1992). Although it is possible to talk of dominant images or design of place, it is important to bear in mind that symbolic value, meaning and image are not simply given but are conflicted or competed, actively involving processes and strategies of inclusion and exclusion (Bourdieu, 1984, 1993; Duncan, 1990; Harvey, 1994; Mills, 1993; Robbins, 1993; Rotenberg and McDonogh, 1993). The creation and interpretation of these place design, therefore, depends on the prior interests or positions of dominant groups who have vested interests and control over the urban environment as much as those who are residents or visitors or tourists (Meethan, 1995). One particular example is provided by Ashworth (1990), who identifies four different readings of the city of Groningen: those of the architects and historians, the legislature, the planners and managers, and the tourists.

As a distinct activity, tourism involves the visual consumption of signs and, increasingly, representation and staged events in which urban townscapes are transformed into aestheticized spaces of entertainment and pleasure (Cooke, 1990; Featherstone, 1991; Jackson, 1994; Lash, 1990; Lash and Urry, 1994; Ley, 1989; Mullins, 1991; Urry, 1990a, 1990b). Within these places of consumption, defined by Ashworth and Tunbridge as tourism-historic cities (1990:3), a variety of activities can be pursued, such as eating, drinking, watching staged events and street entertainment and visually appreciating the heritage and culture of place.

Although the creation of spatial design that emphasize the heritage of place is necessary for tourism destinations in cities, the kinds of activity undertaken by visitors extend to more than just visual consumption and the purchase of souvenirs and services. As has been show in many tourist destination cities in Indonesia, increasingly, the boundaries between tourism, leisure and shopping have become blurred. In scholarly writing, for example, Jacobs (1993), Jansen (1989), Jansen-Verbeke (1990) and Mullins (1991) have drawn attention to the symbolic importance of heritage nostalgia in attracting shoppers who consume tangible goods as much as signs and the appearance of patterns of consumption that can be described as retail gentrification of spaces that provide the opportunity for "leisurely and recreational shopping" (O'Brien and Harris, 1991:114). In this sense, the design of place consumption include not only the place itself, and the activities within it that mark it as a tourism destination with built heritages, but also indicate opportunities for a wide range of associated consumer's activities.

Similar to tourism as global phenomenon, the commodification of place and the activities that commercializing spaces are linked to global, national and local issues of production and consumption in which economic advantage is sought through the creation and maintenance of spatial design. In turn, this requires the exploitation of a set of values that can be read from the urban environment, part of a process that links the production of the urban townscape to the enjoyment of tourists. One of the central elements to this process is the importance of heritage as an asset in the competition for economic and cultural advantage between places.

CITY'S HERITAGES AND REGULATING THE PROTECTION

Heritage is a concept that seems to carry a plausible meaning, the transmission of cultural property from the past to the present. Although legislation protecting buildings, monuments and landscapes has been enacted in Bandung as well as Indonesia generally, it is only in recent years that a concern with the preservation of the past has achieved a broad appeal with the emergence of what Hewison (1987) has termed the heritage industry. The past two decades or so have seen significant changes to the ways in which heritage has been defined at a variety of scales, from the international to the national, regional and local (Boniface and Fowler, 1993; Corner and Harvey, 1991; Haskell, 1993; Jackson and Penrose, 1993; Lowenthal, 1985; Miller, 1987; Samuel, 1989; Short, 1991; Uzzell, 1989a, 1989b; Wright, 1985). Although heritage has different definitions, it can be viewed as the preservation or reconstruction of material objects, which isolates them from the history through a process of recontextualization in which abstract qualities (the nation, the people, the locality, the past) are attributed to, or embodied in, designs of material culture and localities, designs that emphasize the continuity of the past in the present. Ross, for example, writes that the protection of the urban environment "...emphasizes our continuity with the past, and our achievements as a nation and as a series of communities" (1991:175).

For example, from the late 1960s onwards, successive governments in the United Kingdom have instituted a variety of measures designed to preserve and protect certain elements of urban landscape from what are deemed to be inappropriate developments (Larkham, 1990; Mynors, 1989; Ross, 1991). In 1967, under the Civic Amenities Act, local authorities were given the power to designate certain localities as conservation areas within which development was restricted. In addition, they were also empowered to compile lists of buildings considered to be of architectural, cultural or historical importance. Since then, subsequent regulations have reinforced this legislation, and the number of conservation areas and listed buildings has risen dramatically.

The rapid growth of protected areas and buildings was due to a number of factors. Urban heritage is a commodity perceived to be under threat at both a national and local scale due to the spatial restructuring and in terms of aesthetics as a reaction against the perceived uniformity of modernist architecture resulting in the emergence of postmodern styles of building that emphasize local and regional vernacular styles, the "aestheticization of the past" (Cooke, 1990:54). The creation of heritage can, therefore, be seen as an attempt to establish historical identity in the face of global change. A shift of focus from prestige buildings and monuments to the vernacular and a associated intensity of the elitist aspects of history as scholarship, its spreading appeal to a mass audience, and the emergence of heritage as a form of mass consumption.

Given the contested nature of a nation's heritage (Samuel, 1989; Corner and Harvey, 1991), this is hardly surprising. The significance of the regulations perhaps lies more in the institutional frameworks they established and the dominant values that they encapsulated. As this section has

shown, the development of heritage and tourism as linked phenomena comprises the following interrelated elements: first, the spatial restructuring of commercialization and/or capitalism and the decline of industries; second, the competition between localities for investment; third, the commodification of the built environment in which heritage became a tangible asset; and fourth, the emergence of heritage as enterprise. These elements, in turn, were aided by the introduction of regulations that sought to protect the urban environment. Changes of this sort, however, are mediated by locally specific conditions and locally specific strategies for the preservation, control and exploitation of the heritage of place.

BANDUNG: HERITAGES AND CONSUMPTION

Bandung is now one of the most important tourism destinations in Java particularly, and Indonesia generally. After the operationalisation of *Cipularang* toll-road which links the City of Bandung and Jakarta, an estimated of 1.9 million visitors each year come to Bandung for week-ends and especially shopping (*Badan Pusat Statistik Bandung*, 2005, http://www.bandung.go.id/images/download/BAB8_BDA2005.pdf page 255). As well as being the site of events, the city of Bandung also contains the tangible evidence of a long history. The historic core of Bandung City contains a wealth of built heritages. A street pattern that dates from the colonial era, and a variety of architectural types and styles from the early 19th century to the present. These distinct features of Bandung that mark it out as different and in some senses unique and from which are derived spatial designs of place. Recently, among the more well-known attractions for the visitors are the factory outlets along the Dago street which originally built for housing in colonial era.

The Bandung city history dates from 1488 when the first reference to Bandung exists. But from ancient archeological finds, we know the city was home to Australopithecus, Java Man. These people lived on the banks of the Cikapundung in north Bandung, and on the shores of the Great Lake of Bandung. Flint artifacts can still be found in the Upper Dago area and the Geological Museum has displays and fragments of skeletal remains and artifacts.

The Sundanese were a pastoral people farming the fertile regions of Bandung. They developed a lively oral tradition which includes the still practiced *Wayang Golek* puppet theatre, and many musical forms. "There is a city called Bandung, comprising 25 to 30 houses," wrote Juliaen de Silva in 1614.

The achievements of European adventurers to try their luck in the fertile and prosperous Bandung area, led eventually to 1786 when a road was built connecting Jakarta, Bogor, Cianjur and Bandung. This flow was increased when in 1809 Louis Napoleon, the ruler of the Netherlands, ordered Governor General H.W. Daendels, to increase defenses in Java against English. The vision was a chain of military defense units and a supply road between Batavia and Cirebon. But this coastal area was marsh and swamp, and it was easier to construct the road further south, across the Priangan highlands.

The *Groote Postweg* (Great Post Road) was built 11 miles north of the then capital of Bandung. With his usual terseness, Daendels ordered the capital to be relocated to the road. *Bupati* Wiranatakusumah II chose a site south of the road on the western bank of the Cikapundung, near a pair of holy wells, *Sumur Bandung*, supposedly protected by the ancient goddess Nyi Kentring Manik. On this site he built his dalem (palace) and the *alun-alun* (city square). Following traditional orientations, *Mesjid Agung* (The Grand Mosque) was placed on the western side, and the public market on the east. His residence and *Pendopo* (meeting place) was on the south facing the mystical mountain of *Tangkuban Perahu*. Thus was the Flower City born.

Around the middle of the 19th Century, South American cinchona (quinine), Assam tea, and coffee was introduced to the highlands. By the end of the century Priangan was registered as the most prosperous plantation area of the province. In 1880 the rail line connecting Jakarta and Bandung was completed, and promised a 2 1/2 hour trip from the blistering capital in Jakarta to Bandung.

With this life changed in Bandung, hotels, cafes, shops sprouted up to serve the planters who either came down from their highland plantations or up from the capital to play in Bandung. The Concordia Society was formed and with its large ballroom was the social magnet for weekend activities in the city. The Preanger Hotel and the Savoy Homann were the hotels of choice. The *Braga* street became the promenade, lined with exclusive European shops.

With the railroad, light industry flourished. Once raw plantation crops were sent directly to Jakarta for shipment to Europe, then primary processing could be done efficiently in Bandung. The Chinese who had never lived in Bandung in any number came to help run the facilities and vendor machines and services to the new industries. Chinatown dates from this period.

In the first years of the present century, *Pax Neerlandica* was proclaimed, resulting in the passing of military government to a civilian one. With this came the policy of decentralization to lighten the administrative burden of the central government and Bandung became a municipality in 1906.

This turn of events left a great impact on the city. City Hall was built at the north end of Braga to accommodate the new government, separate from the original native system. This was soon followed by a larger scale development when the military headquarters was moved from Batavia to Bandung around 1920. The chosen site was east of City Hall, and consisted of a residence for the Commander in Chief, offices, barracks and military housing.

By the early 20's the need for skilled professionals drove the establishment of the technical high school that was sponsored by the citizens of Bandung. At the same time the plan to move the capital of the Netherlands Indies from Batavia to Bandung was already mature, the city was to be extended to the north. The capital district was placed in the northeast, an area that had formerly been rice fields, and a grand avenue was planned to run for about 2.5 kilometers facing the fabled *Tangkuban Perahu* volcano with Gedung Sate at the south end, and a colossal monument at the other. On both sides of this grand boulevard buildings would house the various offices of the massive colonial government.

Along the east bank of the *Cikapundung* River among natural scenery was the campus of the *Technische Hoogeschool*, dormitories and staff housing. The old campus buildings and its original landscaping reflect the intelligence of its architect Henri Maclain Pont. The southwestern section was reserved for the municipal hospital and the Pasteur Institute, in the neighborhood of the old quinine factory. These developments were carefully planned down to the architectural and maintenance details. These years shortly before World War II were the golden ones in Bandung and those alluded to today as *Bandung Tempoe Doeloe*.

The war years did little to change the city of Bandung, but in 1946, facing the return of the Colonial Dutch to Indonesia, citizens chose to burn down Bandung in what has become known as *Bandung Lautan Api*, Bandung Ocean of Fire. Citizens fled to the southern hills and overlooking the "ocean of flames" penned "*Halo Halo Bandung*," the anthem promising their return. Political unrest colored the early years of Independence and consequently people flocked to Bandung where safety was. The population skyrocketed from 230,000 in 1940 to 1 million

by 1961. Economic prosperity following the oil boom in the 70's pushed this further so that by 1990 there were 2 million inhabitants.

Present day Bandung is thriving. As home to more than 50 schools of higher education, there is a vibrant collegiate atmosphere. The *Institut Teknologi Bandung* is well-known in Indonesian education; the Universities of *Padjadjaran* and *Parahyangan* receive students from all over the country. The National Hotel Institute, the National Railway Institute, the Senior Officers Military Institute, the Women's Police Academy, complete the education facilities in the city. The excellent fine arts offerings have produced an artist colony of excitement. In 1987 the city extended its administrative boundaries toward a Greater Bandung Plan (*Bandung Raya*) Plans for the city include higher concentrations of development outside the current city centre, in an attempt to dilute some of the population density in the old core.

There can be little doubt that the *Alun-alun* of Bandung has been an outstanding commercial success and has been much imitated. A spatial design of the city centre surrounding *Alun-alun* is not as a survival but as an immediate experience, an imitation of the past. Although this raises questions concerning the nature of authenticity, what is also significant here is the explicit linking, or exploitation, of heritages as a form of entertainment and commercial enterprise, representing the emergence of a new form of consumption, heritage as entertainment. With the development of tourist's attractiveness to the heritages of urban Bandung, numerous guided tours and walks of the city had been one of the growing areas of tourism activity within the city. Activities such as these are, like the large attractions, creating the city as a place of spectacle and entertainment, inscribing particular stories or narratives on the urban form through a specific reading of the city's heritage.

The development of the Bandung city as a tourist destination can thus be seen as a process that had three distinct phases, through which the city has changed function from a place of production to a place of consumption through the revaluation of the urban environment and the creation of distinct spatial designs. In addition to the planned and unplanned changes that have occurred to the revaluation of the city in terms of its townscape, and the rise of heritage as attractions and mass entertainment, there have been equally significant changes to the pattern of retail trade. Although tourism can be isolated as a distinct form of consumption in some respects, in others it should be regarded as part of the overall pattern of consumption evident in contemporary society, the revaluation and commodification of the city itself as an arena of consumption. This can be seen in the changes that have occurred to the retailing profile of Bandung, as already noted, forms of retail gentrification are often associated with tourism activities.

SHOPPING AROUND

In common with many other towns and cities, certain kinds of retail activity, most notably convenience goods, formerly within the city relocated to out-of-town and greenfield sites (Bridges 1976). While the city was receiving ever increasing numbers of visitors, there was also a corresponding rise in retail outlets dealing with comparison goods. These changes to the nature of retail trade within the city center can be seen as a direct result of the increase in tourist numbers. It is recognizable that without the volume of visitors the city received, it would probably not have the range of shopping facilities it enjoys today.

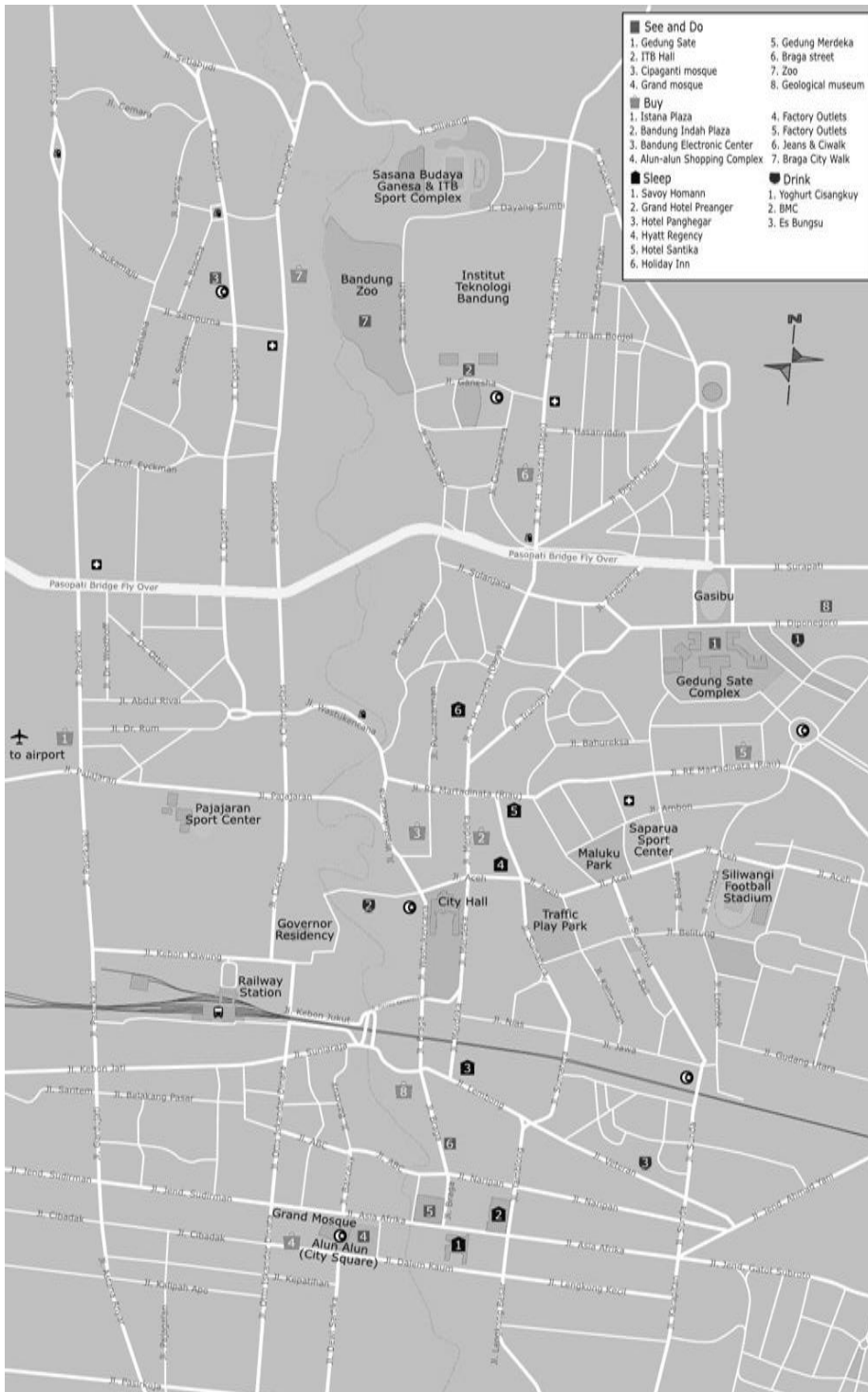


Figure 1. Map of Bandung and the pattern of street layout.
Source: <http://wikitravel.org/en/Bandung>

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There was a tendency for specialist or comparison shops to be clustered in the vicinity of the different zones within the city, *Jalan Cihampelas* is “jeans street”, *Jalan Dago* is factory outlets street, etc. The levels of trade in those zones are above the national average and that the turnover of floor space for recreational goods is above the national average, all of which are attributed to the demands of tourists especially the week-enders from Jakarta. In the meantime, the city center of Bandung and the shops therein seem to indicate a certain affluence, though whether this is a reflection of Bandung's inhabitants or its visitors is open for question.

Despite this apparent success, retailing of all kinds faces continuous pressure to satisfy the demand of tourists and visitors. In order to respond to this, the entrepreneurs have instituted creative strategies in order to maintain their own shops and Bandung's position in the retail hierarchy. The way each tourists-driven-retails responding is to compete on different terms by making shopping in their particular shop a special experience: a combination of its unique environment, cultural, administrative and particular facilities coupled with improved and expanding shopping facilities that would provide an unbeatable.

The revaluation and commodification of the townscape is, therefore, seen as a response not only to the demands of the tourism market, but also to the demands of creative retail strategies. Much of the charm of the Bandung's townscape stems from its shops because by virtue of the positive nature of retailing they lend it a visual variety and liveliness which forms attractive places to the distinct of the architectural pieces. With the day-to-day needs of the population being increasingly serviced by supermarket developments, the center of the city has become a spatial design of consumption that involves both the pursuit of leisure shopping and sightseeing, which also reflects current trends within the retail sector as a whole.

Bandung city center, now facing competition from out-of-town centers and other tourism-destinations-zones, often seek to combine shopping, entertainment and leisure facilities with local and regional heritage themes, which, in effect, creates distinctive designs of place. One such is the Dago Street, a discount factory retail outlet built adjacent to a university campus and zoo. In *Jalan Riau*, designed in heritage style factory outlet as well as Chinese atmosphere shop, seeking to combine images of the built heritages with contemporary consumption. In other cases, idiosyncratic elements are added in order to emphasize the uniqueness of place, such as the provision of many eating facilities at the front of the factory outlets as well as mini open-air market.

These developments represent the emergence of new spaces of consumption that are dependent on the attraction of a heritage theme for their economic viability. Both have been built on land that was formerly occupied by small workshops and warehousing and, although new, the style of architecture and design is overwhelmingly that of the past. The paving in both cases is constructed from the materials favored by the particular company, the shopfronts are constructed in pseudo-colonial style, offering a postmodern pastiche of an imagined colonial era; both are paved in traditional materials and furnished in heritage style.

However, none of these developments would have been possible without the active encouragement of the local council. It is clear that in regard to the development of the city center, the council exert considerable control over not only the physical appearance of the townscape, but also to the pattern of activities, such as allowing street entertainers and buskers to perform, that are carried out within it.

CONCLUSIONS

The city of Bandung can be seen as a microcosm of recent changes to the urban environment that work on a variety of spatial scales, from the global to the national, regional and local. The processes that gave rise to the production of the townscape of Bandung, and by extension to other towns and cities, have now become subsumed and revalued under the production of a national and local heritage in which the processes of history are commodified and organized as designs of objects and spaces for leisure consumption.

Although a reflection of national trends, in particular the growth of heritage as entertainment, spectacle and mass consumption, the production of these tourism destination designs is mediated at a local level through the actions of the local entrepreneurs and other stakeholders, such as property developers and those in the heritage industry. The intrinsic demand of tourist destination uniqueness have been able to exert aesthetic controls over the environment, as well as the activities that take place within it, in a deliberate attempt to create the city as a site of consumption for both retail and tourism. The relation between these two activities can be seen in the ways in which the designs of place that emphasize the city as a place of the past, of heritage, have been used by property and retail developers in their attempts to ensure economic success, and the ways in which retailing is viewed by the entrepreneurs as an activity that contributes to the overall vitality of the city center.

Tourists and shoppers visiting Bandung are offered a series of tourism destination designs in which heritage dominates, from the pattern of street layout to the existence of a distinctive architecture, to the variety of activities and spectacles that seek to create the city itself as an experience, to the gentrified retail outlets — in short, as a series of opportunities for leisure and consumption. Developments such as Dago Street are, however, pedagogic in intent, bound in the same patterns of production and consumption as much as the developments of Cihampelas, the same processes of aestheticizing and commodifying the past as both an experience and a consumable object: neither is reducible to the other. Inasmuch as tourism involves the consumption of space, time and signs, so too do the activities associated with shopping in the tourism-destinations city.

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