Authenticity in Indigenous Tourism:

The Case of Smangus Village, Taiwan

by

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AVE	Average variance extracted
Q & A	Questions and answers
CI	Confidence interval
CR	Composite reliability

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Problem statements

The impacts of globalization, climate change and environmental pollution have caused the public anxiety over the loss of secure living environments, cultural diversity, traditions and identity. As a result, there are increasing demands for safe places, sustainable life and authentic experiences (Lewis & Bridger, 2000; Zeng, Go, & de Vries, 2012). The less developed areas such as indigenous reserves, national parks and wildlife refuges have become popular places for people to experience authenticity (Cohen, 2002).

In Taiwan, many indigenous people still live in the vicinity of the Central Mountain Range, which is the main location of natural reserves and wildlife refuges. Their ethnic culture and nearby natural resources are considered by professionals as highly unique and authentic. These characteristics have been used to enhance the attractiveness of Taiwan as an international tourism destination; for example, the slogan "Naruwan, welcome to Taiwan" promoted by the Taiwan Tourism Bureau since 2004. *Naruwan* is the greeting phrase of the Amis people, the largest ethnic group among sixteen indigenous groups in Taiwan. The Tourism Bureau aims to increase the number of international tourists by promoting indigenous cultures.

The authenticity of indigenous culture has been acknowledged as a driving force motivating tourists to revisit the destination (Kim & Jamal, 2007; Kolar & Zabkar, 2010; MacCannell, 1973). In 2002, the Taiwanese government included indigenous tourism development as part of its national development plan. As a result, many indigenous villages in the Central Mountain Range were suddenly exposed to the tourism market. It is important to consider the unbalanced power relations between host and tourist in tourism development. Prevalent forms of indigenous tourism consist primarily of relatively wealthy individuals from more highly developed societies traveling to poorer and less developed areas (Cohen & Cooper,

1986; Hsu & Nilep, 2015; Nash, 1989). Due to their economic dependence on tourists, hosts typically accommodate tourists' desires, rather than demanding that tourists accommodate themselves to the situation of the tour destination (Cohen & Cooper, 1986). As a result, tourism commercializes the life of local people and causes the loss of authenticity of cultural products and human interaction. The destination gradually loses its attractiveness and the number of tourists may also eventually decline, what Butler (1980) calls a decline stage in a tourist area cycle of evolution. This poses the question of how to maintain the authenticity of a destination so that it can avoid the decline stage and turn to sustainable development.

Recent studies argue that the local residents of a tourism destination should decide what constitutes authenticity in their community. Such an argument can be divided into two managerial issues – maintenance and performance.

The approaches to maintenance of authenticity can be divided into three groups: existentialism, objectivism and constructivism. The first of these approaches, existentialism, views authenticity as the experience of an authentic self. For example, Cohen (1979a) analyzes the factors that motivate tourists to search for authenticity. Wang's (1999) existential authenticity illustrates that tourists' feeling of authentic self is activated by the participation in tourism activities such as rumba dancing performances in Cuba. Analyses such as Cohen's and Wang's focus on the ontological discussion about tourism as a strategy to help tourists who feel alienated and unreal in their own society to pursue their authentic selves. The analyses of this approach emphasize tourists' sense of authentic self in the tourism experience.

The second approach, objectivism, views authenticity as a property of tour objects and events. Boorstin's (1961) discussion of pseudo-events and MacCannell's (1973) concept of staged authenticity charge that tourism events and establishments are created simply for tourist amusement. According to objectivism, the judgment of authenticity should refer to historical origin, which is built on scientific knowledge from scholars and professionals.

The third approach, constructivism also views authenticity as a property of tour objects and events. However, it calls for abandoning objectivism by arguing that toured objects and events have no singular historical origin (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). The argument is that a newly-created cultural product will gradually be recognized as authentic by tourists, what Cohen (1988) calls emergent authenticity. Again, the concept of authenticity is judged by tourists. Among these three approaches, none consider the host viewpoint in the discussion of authenticity of tour objects, events and experiences of authentic self. The host is viewed as a colonized subject unable to respond to tourists' demands in the commercial market, and locals finally loses their authentic self in the commercialized tourism performance.

The issues of performance of authenticity can be divided into two types: living authenticity and non-living authenticity. Living authenticity refers to a cultural property which is being maintained and used by indigenous people in their daily lives rather than one placed at a separate tourism-oriented space such as a world heritage site. Tourism-specific sites separated from daily life are named non-living authenticity. The term *living* originates from geographer Yu-Fi Tuan (1975, 1977), who discusses place as a group of people living together in a certain space. Through living experiences, an individual understands the relationship between people and environment; hence, he/she can identify who he/she is (identity, authentic self). In other words, the living sense of authenticity connects people and the place.

Living authenticity includes two interrelated concepts. The first is object-related authenticity, a tangible cultural property which can be seen and touched, such as the houses local people live in. The second is existential authenticity, an intangible culture, such as local people's identity and sense of place. The existential authenticity is attached to the object-related authenticity through continuous cultural practice. Ise Shrine in Japan is an example of a tourism destination that maintains existential authenticity through continuous cultural practices. The shrine is famous for its periodic reconstruction every 20 years. Ise reflects a continuity of

conservation practices in the Shinto religion as a way of maintaining the traditional source of identity for contemporary Japanese people.

Living authenticity is not only important for local people in maintaining cultural continuity and identity but also an essential element for tourists experiencing existential authenticity, which in turn enhances their intention to revisit. The tourists such as backpackers are described as modern pilgrims who are alienated from their native societies and travel to other places in order to experience authenticity (Cohen, 1979a; MacCannell, 1973). The authenticity here refers not to object-related authenticity, but to existential authenticity attached to the cultural properties and local people.

In contrast, non-living authenticity does not concern the relationship between tourists' experience and local existential authenticity. Scholars suggest that tourists' experience of existential authenticity may have nothing to do with the cultural properties and local people (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Wang, 1999). Their argument is that the experience of existential authenticity is created through the interaction among tourists. For example, Lett (1983) studied the behavior of charter yacht tourists and found that "they rarely mention their social or occupational statuses at home. Instead, they introduce themselves by the first name only. They rent similar yachts, wear similar bathing suits, shop in the same provisioning stores, and buy fuel at the same marinas" (Lett, 1983, pp. 47-48). The interactions among yacht tourists are experienced as equal and authentic. Such experience of existential authenticity is disconnected with the place and local people.

There are not yet empirical studies on performing living authenticity, tourists' perceptions of authenticity and tourists' intention to revisit. Instead, past studies limit their examination to non-living authenticity of attractions such as heritage sites governed by state authorities (Bryce, Curran, O'Gorman, & Taheri, 2015; Kolar & Zabkar, 2010; Zhou, Zhang, & Edelheim, 2013). Those studies are important because they show that authenticity is an important factor

motivating tourists to revisit. However, the tourist experience has nothing to do with local people. We should be aware of the connection between tourists' experiences and the intangible culture in an indigenous tourism destination. In this way, the performance of living authenticity helps tourists experiencing authenticity, as well as helping indigenous destinations to develop in a sustainable way.

The research site Smangus Village is an indigenous tourism destination and also a living place of indigenous people. Their tourism started in 1995. The villagers successfully adapted their traditional values and beliefs into the modern tourism management by establishing Tnunan Smangus, a local cooperative institution based on Atayal Gaga. Gaga, a traditional social norm, stresses the communal action toward shared goals and underpins Smangus' tourism industry. While most indigenous tourism sites in Taiwan perform traditional dancing in cultural theme parks and demonstrate cultural crafts on the shelf in museums, Smangus Village introduces tourists to their living spaces such as houses, church, elementary school and peach farm as they are. At the same time, villagers' living experiences are also shared in a guided tour and a night party. Smangus Village demonstrates their daily lives to tourists rather than a staged production or the ancient memories demonstrated in museums and world heritage sites.

1.2 Research objectives and questions

With the goal of maintaining cultural continuity and enhancing the sustainability of indigenous tourism development, the objective of this study is to explore the maintenance of host authenticity in a living place – an example of living authenticity – and the effects of host authenticity on tourists by examining the performance of living authenticity in the context of an indigenous owned and operated tourism destination. There are three research questions. The first research question focuses on hosts' view. Does Smangus Village maintain 'host

authenticity' during tourism development? If so, how does Smangus Village maintain their host authenticity in the living place? There are three sub-questions as follows.

- How have people of Smangus Village tried to maintain host authenticity in the industry transition?
- How do the villagers manage their tourism settings as a way to maintain their host authenticity?
- How do the villagers maintain host authenticity as living authenticity in tourism programs?

The second and third research questions are about the effects of host authenticity on tourists. The authenticity of Smangus Village is not a static display of cultural objects on the rack, objects that they no longer use in their current lives. Instead, their authenticity is dynamically related to their living experiences and living place, called living authenticity. This living authenticity is performed by the villagers in their tourism settings and programs to the tourists. This raises a concern about whether the performance of living authenticity contributes to tourists' experience of authenticity. I proposed the second and third research questions as follows. The second research question is, what are tourists' perceptions of living authenticity in Smangus Village? The third research question is, do tourists' perceptions of living authenticity influence their intention to revisit?

1.3 Outline of the dissertation

This dissertation has six chapters. Chapter 1 illustrates the research background, objectives and questions, significance, and outline of the dissertation. Chapter 2 critically reviews authenticity theories including existentialism, objectivism and constructivism, which provides a comprehensive perspective for exploring authenticity in the indigenous owned and operated tourism destination. Chapter 3 outlines both the qualitative and quantitative methods used in

this research. Chapters 4 and 5 present the results of the research. Chapter 4 explores how Smangus Village maintains host authenticity in the midst of industry transition, tourism settings and tourism programs. Chapter 5 evaluates tourists' perception of living authenticity in Smangus Village. Finally, Chapter 6 summarizes the findings and reviews the contributions of this research to the understanding of authenticity in tourism studies.

Chapter 2 Literature review

This chapter is comprised of four sections. Section one is a critical review of the three approaches of the authenticity theory ─ existentialism, objectivism and constructivism. It reveals that the host viewpoint is absent in authenticity discourses. Section two provides the definition of host authenticity. Section three discusses the challenges and strategies for maintaining host authenticity in the tourism industry. Finally, section four illustrates my argument on the importance of maintaining host authenticity and performing living authenticity.

2.1 The theory of authenticity

The concept of authenticity has two different senses. The first sense is a view of the authentic self, which is an ontological issue about human existence. There are three points of view for analyzing this issue, including individual and group perspectives. The second sense relates to an authentic object; it is an epistemological discussion about whether the object is authentic according to its historical origin, the observer's expectation, or the societal value. Table 2.1 illustrates the discrepancy of approach, assumption, and analytic viewpoint and lists examples of academic work based on each sense.

Table 2.1 Aspects and analytic approaches of authenticity

Aspects	Authentic self (identity)	Authentic object	
Approach	Existentialism	Objectivism	Constructivism
Assumptions	Authenticity refers to human meaning, identity	Authenticity is based on historical origins	Authenticity is an interpretation of objects by related people
Viewpoint	Individual, group or nation	An etic view (scholars and curators)	Both etic views (scholars, curators and authorities) & emic views (tourists and host providers)

(Continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

Aspects	Authentic self (identity)	Authentic object	
Approach	Existentialism	Objectivism	Constructivism
Examples of academic work	Five types of tourist experience (Cohen, 1979a); Existential authenticity (Wang, 1999); Performative authenticity (Zhu, 2012)	Pseudo-event (Boorstin, 1961); Staged authenticity (MacCannell, 1973)	Four meanings of authenticity (Bruner, 1994); Emergent authenticity (Cohen, 1988)

Source: Compiled by the author based on Boorstin (1961), Bruner, (1994), Cohen (1979a), Cohen (1988), MacCannell (1973), Wang (1999), and Zhu (2012)

2.1.1 Existentialism approach: authentic self

Existentialism is an approach focusing on ontological discourse about the authentic self, or the meaning of being human (Berger, 1973; Heidegger, 1962; Turner & Manning, 1988; Wang, 1999). The origin of the sense of authentic self is emergent in modernization, especially in social and cultural changes/development. For example, Trilling (1972) refers to Frances Yates' work, indicating that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the dissolution of the feudal order and the diminished authority of the Church brought psychological changes to the society which people relied upon. A new type of social value system is emergent in the modern era; this causes people to reconsider the meaning of human existence within the new value system in modern society (Berger, 1973; Heidegger, 1962; Turner & Manning, 1988; Wang, 1999). The assumption is that each human being has its own spiritual center, such as beliefs, ethics, religion or social norms. The center guides people's daily life and behavior. Thus, the sense of authentic self is how people maintain their psychological status, including their identity, when facing challenges in social development. In Wang's terminology, the concept of authentic self is also named existential authenticity.

Figure 2.1 illustrates the concept of authentication, a process of reconstructing the authentic self after changes in the social structure. First, social and cultural development brings psychological changes to people. The new social value is different from the previous one. Thus, identity (the authentic self) is being challenged, which causes feelings of tension and anxiety, or even causes alienation from the beliefs, ethics, religions or social norms that constitute the center of society. Modern people try to find a way out of this unendurable feeling of alienation. In the end, they are able to adapt their identity or authentic self into a new situation – modern society. The sense of authentic self is harmonic existence within the changing world.

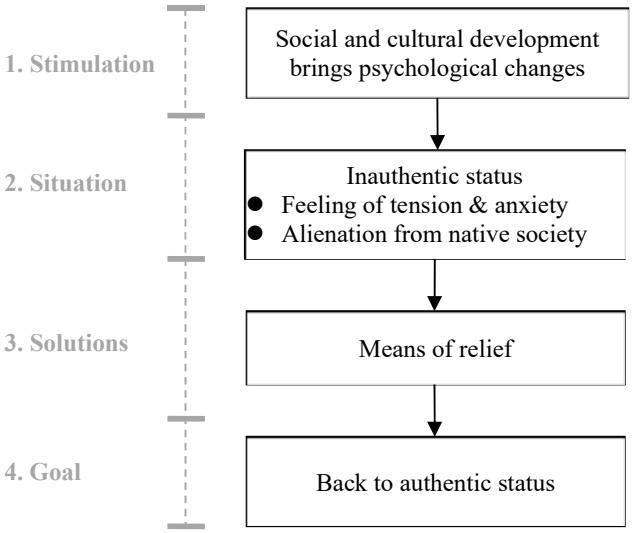


Figure 2.1 A dynamic authentication process
Source: the author

Scholars see modern tourism as a social phenomenon which reflects the problematic condition of modernity. Mitford (1959) and Boorstin (1961) were the earliest cultural critics concerned about tourists' motivation, attitude and behavior. They saw tourists as modern

barbarians (Mitford, 1959) or superficial fools satisfied with the spurious (Boorstin, 1961). Compared with Grand Tours of the 1660s-1840s, the way of travel had changed due to the emergence of mass transport, in particular the railway system, and package tours. Tourism was no longer a leisure pursuit for the middle classes and for those people who had money and time. Rather, low-cost travel such as package tours pervaded all around the world. The tourists lost the original motives to experience new things, to learn new knowledge and to enhance self-understanding. Instead, the modern tourists were happy to receive the information provided by tourism brokers and to be isolated in the environmental bubble of tourist hotels, restaurants and other touristic establishments.

Contrary to Boorstin's (1961) social criticism is MacCannell's (1973) view that modern tourists are craving authenticity. Based on structural-functionalist theory, MacCannell analyzed the relationship between social structure and beliefs in tourism situations. He argues that living in the modern alienated society motivates a modern man's need to experience authenticity. "Modern man has been condemned to look elsewhere, everywhere, for his authenticity, to see if he can catch a glimpse of it reflected in the simplicity, poverty, chastity or purity of others" (MacCannell, 1999, p. 41). He explains that tourists are pilgrims of modern society and their journey is a pilgrimage to the central symbols of human culture, the attractions, such as the annual Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca. From this perspective, tourism destinations such as Taipei 101 in Taiwan, Mount Fuji in Japan or Times Square in the United States are also places for modern people to make pilgrimage.

In line with this structural-functionalist sense, Cohen (1979a) utilizes the religious concept of the *center*, which originated from Eliade's (1959) philosophic discussion about religious cosmos, a symbol of sacred place with an absolute reality. The center is a religious belief which guides the everyday life of human beings. For example, the indigenous Atayal people in Taiwan follow Gaga, a system of a social beliefs governing gathering/hunting activities and festivals.

Through this traditional attachment, people understand their own status of authentic selves. Based on the concept of center, Cohen assumes that the center for modern man will be normally located within the confines of his society. However, along with societal development, social-economic development brings changes to modern man's everyday life. Those changes interrupt the value system which people have relied upon and displace the center. It is therefore that tension from which alienation is generated. What follows is a series of pattern maintenance mechanisms aiming to re-balance the status of the authentic self. From this perspective, tourism serves as a way to ease modern man's alienation in order to maintain the authentic self.

Cohen illustrates that the level of alienation critically influences whether modern man pursues the authentic self and the ways in which the authentic self is pursued. He proposes five types of tourist, as illustrated in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Comparison of tourist types

Type of tourist experience	Level of alienation	Purpose of tourism
1. Recreational	Adhere to the spiritual center of their society	Travel for pressure relief and return to their society refreshed
2. Diversionary	Alienated or center-less	Travel makes daily life endurable
3. Experiential	Aware of their center-less-ness	Through tourism seek meaning in the lives of others (or seek social revolution)
4. Experimental	No longer adheres to the spiritual center of their own society	Search for self, but without a clearly set goal
5. Existential	Fully commits to an elective spiritual center	Individual lives in two worlds. He lives in exile in the world of his everyday life and departs on periodic pilgrimage to his elective center, another world

Source: Adapted from Cohen (1979a)

1. The recreational mode is the first type. The tourists in this category travel just for fun. They are not alienated from their society and do not seek authenticity. The purpose of tourism is physical restoration. For example, they visit thermal springs for rejuvenation.
2. The diversionary tourists are slightly alienated from their native societies, but they do not sense it. They feel bored with routine life. The travel is prescribed as therapy, escaping the meaninglessness of routines into the forgetfulness of a vacation. After they return, life becomes endurable.
3. The experiential tourists have a stronger awareness of their status of alienation and meaningless life. Therefore, they seek ways to find authenticity. One radical way is to transform their society through revolution. Another moderate way is tourism, seeking authenticity in the lives of others.
4. The tourists in the experimental mode no longer adhere to the spiritual center in their native societies. Hence, they are engaged in a search for authenticity. Travel is not the only path; mysticism and drugs may serve as alternative ways to the same goal.
5. The existential mode of tourism is phenomenologically analogous to a pilgrimage. Such tourists do not seek authenticity because they have found the authentic self in the destination society.

In contrast to the structural functionalist analysis of the motivation behind modern man pursuing authenticity, Wang (1999) provides an ontological viewpoint specifying the tourist's status of authentic self. In Schutz's phenomenological terminology, it is called "finite provinces of meaning" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 39). Tourism functions as a reversal of the alienated status, a temporary getaway from the native center. Tourists are able to seek the meaning of authentic selves within the touristic circumstance.

Wang (1999) proposes the concept of *existential authenticity*, an experience of being one's real self in tourism activities. This concept can be further divided into two dimensions,

intra-personal and inter-personal authenticity. The intra-personal authenticity comprises bodily feeling and self-making. In general, bodily feeling consists of two aspects, symbolic and sensual. In tourism activities, the body is free from daily constraints, the control imposed by social structure, such as labor work. Thus the body becomes a subject, displaying personal identity. Examples include wearing a bikini on a beach holiday or wearing costumes at a cosplay gathering. Meanwhile, the body is the source of feeling and sensual pleasure. It is not just a corporate substance but a feeling subject. In other words, existential authenticity is both spiritual and bodily. Self-making (or self-identity) is another way of experiencing intra-personal authenticity. The everyday roles impose constraints within which people find it difficult to pursue their self-realization. Therefore, they turn to tourism to reach this goal.

Inter-personal authenticity comprises family ties and touristic communitas. The concept of communitas comes from Turner (1974), who describes it as modes of human interrelationship outside of everyday life. In other words, it is an experience that is free from societal obligations and constraints.

Family tourism is the typical way of experiencing inter-personal authenticity. Because the relationship between mother and children is considered the most authentic, family tourism is a way of experiencing a sense of authentic togetherness and a real intimacy. Tourism also gives access to an authentic experience of communitas (Turner, 1974), an anti-structural relationship among people who interact with one another as social equals. Tourists get themselves away from social hierarchy and status distinctions. For example, Lett (1983) studies the behavior of charter yacht tourists and found that “they rarely mention their social or occupational statuses at home. Instead, they introduce themselves by the first name only. They rent similar yachts, wear similar bathing suits, shop in the same provisioning stores, and buy fuel at the same marinas” (Lett, 1983, pp. 47-48). The interactions among yacht tourists are experienced as equal and authentic.

Against the ontological discussion on the status of being one's authentic self, Zhu (2012) proposes a concept of *performative authenticity*, a dynamic process of becoming one's authentic self through a cultural ritual practice. The analysis is based on a ritual practitioner's life story including childhood memory (growing up during the Cultural Revolutionary), experience of cultural restoration (training in the revival period), job hunting in the tourism market, and commercialized ritual performance. The informant grew up in a traditional dongba family, a religious group that was formerly respected by villagers but suddenly detested and attacked by people during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). The informant experienced a deep transition due to the changes of social and psychological status. After the end of the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese government established a training center for reviving dongba culture, mainly focused on technical aspects such as ritual scriptures. The informant chose to undergo systemic training and be authorized as a real dongba practitioner. The job hunting procedure reflects the informant's self-authenticity/identity pursuit in the current Chinese society. He chose work that is officially recognized. This decision illustrates his continuous pursuit of the identity of an authentic dongba after his authorized training.

As a result of his job hunt, the ritual practitioner began working in a wedding courtyard where the original ritual has been reduced to a five-minute performance. However, despite changes to the form of the ritual, the informant can still identify the ritual efficacy in the performance. His perception of the efficacy of the ritual performance clarifies his understanding of what authenticity is. His perception of authenticity also becomes performative by transforming his practice into a form of meaning making. This procedure contributes to his sense of identity and enhances his understanding of society. To conclude, the performative authenticity of the ritual practitioner is constructed through his consistent interaction and negotiation with the changing Chinese society.

2.1.2 Objectivism approach: authentic object

The existentialist approach puts the focus on people's motives, attitude and behavior. The objectivist approach, in contrast, discusses the physical settings in the host environment.

This notion of authenticity is similar to the museum-usages for defining the historical origins of museum collections. As Trilling (1972) introduced, "the experts test whether objects of art are what they appear to be or are claimed to be and therefore worth the price that is asked for them. Or if the object has already been paid, worth the admiration they are being given" (p. 93). In other words, the assumption is that there is a judging standard for professionals to decide the authenticity of an object.

In the discussion of authenticity of tourism phenomenon, Boorstin, MacCannell and Cohen not only focus on the criticism of an individual's motive and behavior, they also pay attention to the touristic setting in the destination.

Boorstin (1961) condemns touristic settings as a series of pseudo-events. MacCannell (1973) provides a similar notion called *staged authenticity* and suggests that what tourists see and experience relies upon what local people or the tourism industry allow them to see. The concept of staged authenticity is based upon Erving Goffman's (1959) front-back dichotomy. The front stage is the meeting place of hosts and guests. It is also the place that tourists want to escape because they are motivated by their desire for authentic experience. The backstage is the place for hosts to rest and prepare; meanwhile, it is the place where the tourists desire to see the authentic inward life of the destination they visit, even to get in with the natives. MacCannell (1973) suggests that the front-back dichotomy can be theoretically expanded into six continuum social spaces.

(1) Stage one: this is Goffman's front stage, the place tourist try to penetrate and get behind.

(2) Stage two: a front stage that has been decorated like a backstage region, for example, having handmade crafts on display in an indigenous restaurant which functionally creates the ethnic atmosphere.

(3) Stage three: a front stage that is fully organized to look like backstage region, for example, a customized indigenous harvesting festival for tourists.

(4) Stage four: a backstage which is opened only for certain outsiders, for example, festival preparation where only close friends are allowed to participate.

(5) Stage five: a backstage region where tourists are allowed occasional glimpses.

(6) Stage six: Goffman's back region, the ultimate goal of the tourist.

In short, these six continuous social spaces illustrate a scholastic division of the front stage, a place for tourists' visit, and the backstage, a place for hosts' preparation.

Besides the scholarly judgment of the authenticity of touristic settings, Cohen (1979b) proposes that tourists have their own views about authenticity. Based on scholarly notions, the touristic setting can be judged either real or staged. From the tourists' viewpoint, the touristic settings are also divided into real and staged. Thereby, a four-fold touristic situation is illustrated in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 Type of touristic situations

		Tourist's impression of scene	
		Real	Staged
Nature of scene	Real	(1) Authentic	(2) Denial of authenticity (Staging suspicion)
	Staged	(3) Staged authenticity (Covert tourist space)	(4) Contrived (Overt tourist space)

Source: Cohen (1979b, p. 26)

In situation 1, the authentic situation, the touristic setting is real and the tourist perceives it as such. The denial of authenticity situation (situation 2) is when the scene is real but the tourist doubts its authenticity due to provincial impressions. For example, a tourist's previous experience influences their image of indigenous people and may lead them to reject a genuine scene. The third situation is staged authenticity in MacCannell's terminology. The scene is staged but accepted as real by the tourist. For example, indigenous people performing a welcome dance to tourists may be judged *authentic* based on tourists' expectations. The fourth situation is a fully contrived one; for example the contrived indigenous dancing shows in a cultural park. The scene is an inauthentic arrangement for tourism purposes. The tourists are also aware of its inauthenticity.

In line with a dualistic distinction of authenticity, Bruner (1994) provides four ways to define the authenticity of historical reproductions. The first is historical verisimilitude, which means that the reproduction resembles the original. For example, the indigenous Uros people rebuilt the reed islands on Titicaca Lake to show their traditional lifestyle. Those reed islands look like the historical ones. Second, complete simulation is an accurate historical reproduction. In the first way, based on verisimilitude, a tourist will say *the reed island shows Uros people's traditional lifestyle* as the reproduction would conform to what tourists expected the indigenous life to be. In the second way, based on accuracy, an elder Uros person would say *the reed island shows Uros' traditional lifestyle* as the reed island would appear true and real. The third way opposes any reproduction. In this sense, only the historical object is authentic. In the fourth way, the authenticity of a historical reproduction is judged by authorities. For example, Japan's Historic Village of Shirakawa-go is famous for its triangular-shaped houses with thatched roofs. These thatched roofs are repaired every 30 years and this process is legitimized as part of the world heritage site by UNESCO.

In conclusion, Boorstin's pseudo-event, MacCannell's staged authenticity, Cohen's touristic situation and Bruner's definition of historical reproduction are all based on an etic view, an expression of what researchers consider important, to check whether the cultural products or tourism establishments are authentic or inauthentic. In this sense, authenticity is decided by scholars, professionals or authorities. The provider's view seems to be ignored in the authenticity discourse.

Besides, their view point for deciding authenticity is based on a dualistic division, either authentic or inauthentic. In this sense, the concept of culture is a static idea fixed in a certain time and space, like museum collections displayed on a rack. However, this concept is being criticized by constructivists who argue that authenticity is a socially constructed category rather than a static commitment to the past. In other words, it is not only the authenticity of a particular object or experience, but the very idea that the product should match its ideal or original that is socially constructed. At this point, Reisinger and Steiner (2006) suggest the notion of object authenticity should be abandoned because there is no common ground for discussion.

2.1.3 Constructivism approach: authentic object

The constructivism approach provides a broader perspective regarding the judging of authenticity. The basic notion is that the concept of authenticity is emergent rather than a permanent idea. As Cohen (1988) introduced "a cultural product, or a trait thereof, which is at one point generally judged as contrived or inauthentic may, in the course of time, become generally recognized as authentic, even by experts" (p. 379). In other words, the meaning of authenticity is negotiable and gradually emergent in the eyes of tourists to the host culture. This process is named *emergent authenticity* (Cohen, 1988). For example, Disneyland was a contrived theme park but now has become a component of American culture. Similar notions are also seen in Wang's (1999) analysis. He indicates that there is no static origin. Authenticity

and inauthenticity are based on the tourist's perspective rather than the expert's judgment. In this sense, the authenticity of cultural products is determined by the relative power of two groups, provider and tourist. In the context of indigenous tourism, the provider usually becomes the object of observation and gaze by the tourists (Greenwood, 1982; Urry, 1990).

To view culture as a commodity in the tourism business, the different view point between host and guest should be noticed. As Boorstin (1961) mentioned, "The French chanteuse singing English with a French accent seems more charmingly French than one who simply sings in French. The American tourist in Japan looks less for what is Japanese than for what is Japanesey" (p. 106). It is apparent that tourists search for something unusual or different rather than the cultural meaning of the destination. Those signs mean something worth seeing. Thus, authenticity becomes a sign and tourism becomes a search for signs rather than a search for authenticity. Culler (1981) also indicates that most tourists are concerned with searching and experiencing the cultural signs or images of a destination rather than its meaning and function.

The paradox is that many cultural products which conform more closely to the traditional meaning of authenticity go by unnoticed if not marked. The images marketed in travel magazines, advertisements and brochures which are the sources of tourist's understandings about indigenous people are manipulated by tourism brokers (Adams, 1984; Silver, 1993). In order to continue to attract tourists, indigenous people can only maintain the image of being undeveloped and primitive. In this sense, the host's perspective on authenticity has become subservient to tourists' and tour companies' perspective.

2.1.4 Summary

The existentialism approach is composed of four intellectual trends. First, the works criticize the behavior of mass tourists. Mitford (1959) and Boorstin (1961) are the exemplary studies. Tourists, in their eyes, do not search for authenticity. Mass tourism has lost the art of

travel compared with the Grand Tour. The second trend is related to tourists' motivation in searching for authenticity. For example, MacCannell suggested that the motive behind pilgrimage is similar to that behind tourism. Based on a social functionalist viewpoint, he assumes that modern people are alienated from their native society. Hence, tourism is like a sacred journey or a pilgrimage and the tourists are pilgrims searching for authenticity. The third trend is about the tourist types searching for authenticity, such as Cohen's (1979a) work on the phenomenology of tourist experiences. He suggests that the level of alienation influences whether tourists pursue authenticity and also their ways of pursuing it. The fourth trend is the clarification of the meaning of authenticity, such as Wang's (1999) existential authenticity, explaining how tourists perceive their authenticity in tourism activities. Throughout these trends, the concept of host authenticity has not been fully explored. For example, why does a host search for authenticity, and what are their ways for pursuing authenticity? In addition, the observations of previous research are centered on mainstream societies (middle class people or the postmodern generation from Europe and the United States) rather than ethnic minorities. How ethnic minorities adapt to social-economic transition is rarely mentioned.

Regarding the objectivism approach, the assumption is that there is a historical origin as the reference for judging the authenticity of cultural products. Both Boorstin's pseudo-events and MacCannell's staged authenticity are based on this assumption and criticize commercialized tourism establishments as inauthentic. Although Bruner (1994) provides four ways of defining the authenticity of historical products, their viewpoints are limited to curators and scholars. The host point of view is not included in the discussion.

Constructivism claims that the concept of authenticity is socially constructed and interpreted by tourists. The concept of emergent authenticity (Cohen, 1988) illustrates that a cultural product initially created for sale to tourists may eventually become an authentic product of an ethnic group. The touristic situations proposed by Cohen (1979b) also showed that the

tourist's impression is essential for deciding the authenticity of tourism establishments. The paradox is that host and guests may have different ideas about authenticity. Hence, as Cohen (1979b) indicates, "it is not sufficient to study the touristic process from the outside; one has to recognize that the emic perspective not only forms…but is also of consequence for the external manifestations of touristic processes" (p. 32). In other words, the concept of authenticity is a consequence of the host-guest encounter. It is not only interpreted by the outsider. The provider has his own interpretation simultaneously.

2.2 The definition of host authenticity

The three approaches to authenticity described above, existentialism, constructivism and objectivism, center on two dimensions of analysis: the positioning of personal identities (authentic self) and the nature of physical objects or settings (authentic objects).

People are constantly positioning their own identities (authentic self) while facing changing circumstances. For example, the transition of an agriculture-based livelihood into tourism is a typical change faced by indigenous communities. The indigenous workers must face a series of contrary circumstances that do not always match up with their traditional life experiences.

Since the basic premise of tourism is making money from tourists, host workers must meet tourist expectations and industry requirements. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) indicates, the tourism industry requires standardization of economic scales to produce a universally reliable product. Therefore, indigenous cultural presentation is fixed in an unchanged past, in which host workers wear traditional costume and perform songs and dances in a way that their ancestor did. In this sense, indigenous workers need to adjust their identities either to be authentic as indigenous individuals or to be inauthentic selves as tourist hosts. The identity of authentic self is coherent with their real life experience, an experience that does not always match up with the

tourist's expectations or industry requirements. If there is too much imposed conformity in the work place, the indigenous workers might lose their identities. On the other hand, if the indigenous workers can respond to the imposed value from tourists and industry, the indigenous tourism workers maintain their identities and successfully handle the tourism business.

Regarding the nature of physical objects or settings (authentic objects), the authenticity or inauthenticity of touristic settings is a cognitive concept depending on various points of view. For instance, from an objectivist perspective, authenticity is judged by scholars according to their expertise. In a constructivist view, authenticity is judged by various types of tourists based on their prior knowledge. The knowledge may be learned from previous experiences, from the advertisements provided by travel agents, or from the legitimated information provided by authorities such as local government and UNESCO. From this perspective, a paradox is that the understanding of authenticity between host and tourists may contrast with each other, a situation named *denial of authenticity* (Cohen, 1979b). The host provides authentic settings, but the tourists have a stereotypical image of the destination derived from previous experience or from advertisements and brochures (Adams, 1984; McGregor, 2000). When the host environments are different from what tourists expect, they suspect the authenticity of the settings.

In summary, the emergence of host authenticity is related to the impact of tourism upon the unity of indigenous people's identity and the sovereignty of the full power to control their touristic settings. The two dimensions are interrelated in the tourism operation in a host community. Steiner and Reisinger (2006) suggest that the expression of host authenticity operates through hosts defining their own identity and responding to tourists in their own way rather than catering to tourists' expectation. Based on this logic, my definition of host authenticity is: a dynamic process of adaptation evolving by defining one's own identity in commercialized host-guest encounters and by retaining the sovereignty of a full power controlling tourism settings, as a projection of authenticity upon physical settings. In other

words, host authenticity is a set of practices in which hosts maintain their own identity in tourism activities and retain their sovereignty in designing tourism settings. Their practices are continuous behaviors and adjusted based on their needs in different stages of tourism development.

I propose three levels for analyzing host authenticity. The first analysis is that of the authentic self, which shapes people's identity and gives meaning to them. The second analysis is of the host-guest encounters. This includes the ways hosts identify and display their authentic selves within the commercialized hospitality. The third analysis is of the touristic settings, the projection of authenticity upon the physical settings.

One thing that must be emphasized is that the three analyses are not always distinct. In particular, authentic self influences host-guest encounters and touristic settings. In addition, there is feedbacks among the three levels, and the linkages are in dynamic relationship. Both host-guest encounters and touristic settings may adapt and change. The authentic self may be affected by changes occurring at the other two levels. For instance, if there is too much emotional labor in the work places, the host workers may lose identities. On the other hand, if the host workers can resist the demand for emotional labor in the work place, they retain authentic self. Then they can successfully handle the host-guest encounter and their cultural tourism settings.

With host authenticity, the tourism performance (including activities and settings) is not just show to tourists for commercial purpose but given cultural meanings connected with local people, called living authenticity. Living authenticity enhances tourists' experience of the spiritual connotation behind the culture and motivates their intention to revisit.

2.3 Host authenticity in tourism

Section 2.1 illustrated the theory of authenticity with three analytic approaches (existentialism, objectivism and constructivism). I proposed that host viewpoint is a gap in research on authenticity; host perspective has hardly been discussed. In section 2.2, I defined host authenticity.

Section 2.3 is divided into two sections. First, the linkages between tourism and host authenticity are illustrated in section 2.3.1, fostering host authenticity or diminishing it. Second, in section 2.3.2, a review of host strategies for maintaining their authenticity is undertaken as a means of broadening the scope of analysis to various host viewpoints. This review also reveals an insufficient academic understanding of host authenticity in tourism studies. The researchers lack concern for community's viewpoint and only emphasize an individual's reflection, such as the indigenous tour guide (Bunten, 2008), farmer (Daugstad & Kirchengast, 2013; Di Domenico & Miller, 2012) and wedding ritual performer (Zhu, 2012). We need to extend the analysis of host authenticity with a bigger scope so that the maintenance of host authenticity may contribute to cultural continuity and sustainable tourism development.

2.3.1 Fostering host authenticity or diminishing it?

Tourism is seen as a strategy to solve economic and social challenges facing indigenous people. As Hinch and Butler (2007) proposed, indigenous communities have competitive advantages in tourism based on their distinct cultures. In contrast with dominant societies, such distinct ethnicities have been subject to the tourist gaze (Urry, 1990) which has also been used to enhance the attractiveness of particular areas as a tourism destinations. One example is use of the slogan *Aloha* in Hawaii. Aloha is a greeting phrase in the indigenous Hawaiian language and has become a slogan to welcome tourists to Hawaii. Another example is the use of Amis culture in Taiwan. The Taiwanese government has promoted the slogan "Naruwan, welcome to

Taiwan", since 2004 in an attempt to increase the number of international tourists. *Naruwan* is the greeting phrase of the Amis people, the largest ethnic group among sixteen indigenous groups in Taiwan.

Compared with other economic activities such as logging on indigenous traditional land, tourism, if managed properly, is seen as a sustainable activity that is generally consistent with the authenticity of indigenous people.

Van den Berghe and Keyes (1984) point out the positive effect of tourism on Micronesia. Micronesians started to restore the production of *meetooch* goods, the traditional Micronesian crafts valued as fine arts. In this manner, the transformation of native arts and crafts into tourism products serves as a stimulus for indigenous reconstruction of their ethnic identity. This process reflects Micronesians' creative adaptation to societal changes. In other words, the cultural products serve as a tool to express a sense of Micronesian cultural identity in a new international context of intergroup relations.

Aligning with Van den Berghe and Keyes' observation, Cohen (1988) indicates that commodifized cultural products could still retain their old meanings and acquire new meaning for the locals. He refers to McKean's (1976) study of Balinese ritual performances in Indonesia as an example. According to McKean (1976), the Balinese celebrate all their religious rituals publicly and audiences can be categorized into three types: divine (such as gods, ghosts and ancestors, called spirit audiences), villagers and tourists. The Balinese are not disturbed by the presence of outsiders so long as they have proper dress and manner. Meanwhile, they do not make any special effort to please or accommodate tourists. The tourists are *economic assets* in Balinese' eyes (McKean, 1976) and tourists' appearance does not diminish the meaning of ritual performance to the other audiences, divine and villager. Moreover, if the ritual performance is staged for tourists, the tourism revenues are used to increase performers' skills and equipment, thus tourism enhances the possibility of culture conservation.

Although tourism has positive effects on fostering host authenticity, the point of view of economic rationale does not take into account some basic premises. The host destinations should retain the sovereignty over their tourism business, so that they can keep their identities (authentic self) and decide what should be present (touristic settings) in front of tourists.

Tourism as commercialized hospitality is a profit-motivated transaction (Dann & Cohen, 1991) which requires a reliable product that meets a universal standard. In this manner, the host workers are required to employ *emotional labor* (Hochschild, 1983) to suppress their real feelings in order to maintain their outward countenance. Hochschild's study shows that flight attendants are forced to show their smile to consumers regardless of their actual feelings, which is an exemplary case of how authentic selves are lost in the service industry.

Commercialized hospitality makes rigid requirements for indigenous participants to take control over their tourism business. As Altman and Finlayson (1992) point out, managerial employment in tourism-related industries requires a high level of literacy and excellent communication skill, which limits the roles for unskilled or semi-skilled workers to participate in the service industry, and also reduces opportunities for them to have managerial positions in tourism businesses.

According to Education for All Global Monitoring Report in 2012, indigenous populations had lower literacy in societies such as in the United States, Australia, Canada and New Zealand (UNESCO, 2012). Indigenous populations also have a relatively lower level of educational attainment in comparison with non-indigenous populations in Australia, Canada and Taiwan (Table 2.4).

Table 2.4 The university educational attainment by indigenous status in Australia, Canada and Taiwan

	Indigenous	Non-indigenous
Australia [1]	5.4%	23.7%
Canada [2]	9.8%	26.5%
Taiwan [3]	15%	24%

Source: [1] Census of Population and Housing, Australian Bureau of Statistics (2011)
[2] National Household Survey, Statistics Canada (2011)
[3] Population Census, National Statistics of Taiwan (2014)

Table 2.4 shows the educational attainment comparison between indigenous people and non-indigenous people. In Australia, 5.4% of indigenous people have university level of educational attainment, 9.8 % in Canada and 15% in Taiwan. In comparison, 23.7% of non-indigenous people have university level of educational attainment in Australia, 26.5% in Canada and 24% in Taiwan.

In contrast with cases of Micronesian and Balinese people who maintain their sovereignty over tourism business for claiming indigenous identities and demonstrating authentic cultural products, the Djabugay people are an exemplary case of lost authenticity in the tourism business. Dyer, Aberdeen and Schuler (2003) explore the effect of tourism on the Djabugay community by examining their co-managed project in Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park in North Queensland, Australia. The results found that there is an agreement for ensuring Djabugay's cultural and economic benefits from tourism. However, there are few aboriginal employees in managerial positions and none of them are included in the fortnightly management meetings. Consequently, the conditions specified in the agreement are not in operation. For example, a condition of ensuring the authenticity of Djabugay cultural performance in the park is ignored. The Djabugay people complain that the manager is more interested in making money and ignores cultural authenticity. The park manager asks Dajbugay people to shorten their dance to

fit with the schedule, which is contrary to that taught by their grandfathers. Djabugay people are not willing to change their traditional dance and think that the park's portrayal of their culture is inauthentic. However, they have no power and influence on the culture park management. Another condition in the agreement is meant to ensure Djabugay people's financial benefit (50 percent equity) from their presentation in the cultural park. However, the study found that the Djabugay people only have 15.8 percent equity. Apparently, Djabugay people have lost their sovereignty in managing the cultural park. The conditions in the agreement remain uncertain in tourism operation.

The loss of sovereignty to maintain host authenticity not only happens to the Djabugay people in Australia but also occurs among other indigenous people in Third World countries. As Silver (1993) introduced, the indigenous people face having no rights to claim their authentic cultures and being forced to perform a colonized authenticity to entertain western tourists. Silver examines the marketed images of indigenous authenticity on the tourism brochures and argues that travel agents try to portray indigenous people with certain images relating to the Western concept of how the Other should be. The Other in Western consciousness is oriented by colonial experiences. As Said (2003) indicates, *the Other* is "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between *the Orient* and *the Occident*" (p. 2), named *Orientalism*. In this sense, the images of *authentic* indigenous culture on advertisements and brochures are not created by the tourism industry but constructed by Western colonizers, the Western colonial imagination of Eastern countries.

The marketed authenticity of indigenous people is packaged by travel agents for different types of tourists. For mass tours, the descriptions on brochures emphasize a primitive image as a contrast to the Western societies but with modern facilities such as convenient transportation and European-style accommodation. For alternative tours, the image of authenticity is marked as an antithesis to mass tourism. For example, the tour highlights the experience offered on

treks as unique. For chic tours, travel agents target the highly-educated tourists and emphasize traveling in comfort and safety.

Silver's study also indicates that this marketed authenticity on tourism brochures has overlooked the reality in indigenous societies. For instance, most indigenous communities have changed from the traditional way of life and currently live in poverty. But the advertisements tend to portray indigenous societies as static and unchanged to satisfy the tourists who want to experience authenticity, the Western concept of what the Other should be like. Under this condition, indigenous people become a passive provider and must cater to tourists' imagination.

Adams (1984) examines the role of tourism brochures in constructing the authenticity of indigenous culture. She examines the ethnic markers of Toraja people that travel agents have consistently chosen for illustration, such as Toraja houses, rituals and the name *Toraja* itself, which are the most striking ethnic markers.

The word *Toraja* has three meanings in three languages (Nooy-Palm, 1975). The first meaning derives from Buginese language. In Buginese *Toraja* refers the people of the interior and the highlands. The second meaning comes from Indonesian, where *Toraja* means the people with high esteem. The third meaning originates from Toraja language: *Toraja* means the people who are splendid-looking or magnificent.

The author shows that the travel agents and promoters simplify and distort those ethnic markers, leading to the construction of ethnic stereotypes. For example, *Tana Toraja* means land of the heavenly kings. It came from the local government's tourism promotion. The travel agent fortifies this translation by linking Toraja's beliefs and claims that Toraja people believe their land was discovered by god. Another example is that the travel agent creates a false picture of Toraja people as an unchanged archaic group by manipulating their origin myth and saying that they still insist on kinship with the gods. The third example is that the travel agent creates

a new origin myth of Toraja people. The agent explains that the ancestors of Toraja people came by boat, and suggests that the roof shape similar to a boat is proof.

Adams (1984) indicates that the travel agents have taken active roles in remodeling Toraja society to correspond to the image fostered by the brochures. The travel agents' transformation of these particular ethnic markers has led to the construction of powerful ethnic stereotypes. Those constructed images have become the index of authenticity for tourists to verify during visits.

Tour operators are motivated by profit rather than by representing indigenous people in a fair and accurate manner. The tour operators only mark those images which can easily be seen and experienced in the destination. In this manner, indigenous people are pushed to stage themselves to create an impression of authenticity for tourist audiences. The above unequal relationship has been criticized as a form of imperialism (Nash, 1989). Tourism brings a flood of tourists who impose alien values or apply economic pressure on host communities which force conformity and oppress authenticity among hosts.

To conclude the above discussions (Table 2.5), the concept of host authenticity is concerned about sovereignty to claim the authenticity of cultural products. The discussions from Van den Berghe and Keyes (1984), Cohen (1988) and McKean (1976) show that Micronesians and Balinese retain their sovereignty in tourism management. Therefore, they are able to define and justify the authenticity of their cultural products.

In contrast with the Micronesians and Balinese, Dyer, Aberdeen and Schuler (2003) illustrate the managerial constraints of co-managed tourism business faced by the Djabugay people. Examples include the effectiveness of the co-managed contract and the communicative gaps among the native elders, the native managers and non-native managers. Consequently, the Djabugay people cannot decide the manner and the contents of cultural performances in the co-managed aboriginal cultural park.

Table 2.5 Comparisons of understanding authentic cultural product (indigenous people and cultural object)

Author (year)	Ethnicity	Cultural product	Do hosts take control over their tourism business	Outcome
Vanden Berghe and Keyes (1984)	Micronesians, Archipelago in Oceania	Craft art	Yes	The cultural products serve as a tool to express a sense of Micronesian cultural identity in a new international context of intergroup relations
McKean (1976)	Balinese, Indonesia	Religious ritual performance	Yes	The tourism revenue is used to increase performers' skill and equipment, thereby, tourism enhances the possibility of culture conservation.
Dyer, Aberdeen and Schuler (2003)	Djabugay people, Australia	Dance	No	Djabugay people are not willing to change their traditional dance and think that the park's portrayal of their culture is inauthentic.
Silver (1993)	Indigenous people in third world counties	Authentic images	No	The marketed authenticity of indigenous people is packaged by travel agents for different types of tourists and has overlooked the reality in indigenous societies.
Adams (1984)	Toraja people, Indonesia	Authentic images	No	The travel agents simplify and distort ethnic markers, leading to the construction of ethnic stereotypes.

Source: Compiled by the author based on Vanden Berghe and Keyes (1984), McKean (1976), Dyer, Aberdeen and Schuler (2003), Silver (1993), and Adams (1984)

Silver's (1993) study shows that the image of indigenous people's authenticity in Third World countries originates from the colonizers' imagination about what the Other should be like. In the tourism market, tour agencies manipulate this image according to the types of

tourists. Adam's (1984) study indicates that the tour agencies twist indigenous people's authenticity and this leads to the construction of ethnic stereotypes. In both authors' observations, the locals are not entitled to respond to the tourism impacts and become passive providers catering to the tourists' demands. Hence, the hosts are unable to retain their sovereignty to claim the authenticity of their cultural products.

2.3.2 The strategies for retaining host authenticity

In this section I review the studies on what really happens in the host-guest encounters and the touristic settings, and how hosts, who are economically dependent on the presence of tourists, come to resist those imposed values and stereotypical images in order to maintain their authentic self.

Bunten (2008) indicates that tourism stimulates and enhances local communities' awareness of authenticity and tradition. She proposes the concept of *commodified persona* to explore how indigenous tourism guides manage and control their product: themselves. The commodified persona is a self-protective mechanism that balances the authentic self with the tour guide's compliant performance. Through a metaphor of cultural persistence, tour guides justify themselves as authentic Natives.

Bunten's description of Tlingit tour guides in Sitka Alaska illustrates three strategies as examples. The first is displaying Native appearance. For instance, the male tour guides make themselves appear Native by growing long hair. The women tour guides wear traditional bracelets or earrings. The second strategy is speaking the Native language. For example, in the beginning of the guided tour, the Tlingit language immediately differentiates the native host from their tourist guests and simultaneously indexes the host's identity as indigenous. The third strategy is showing traditional native things in opposition to the form that analogous things take in contemporary consumer society. For instance, the tour highlights the Tlingit culture as it was

before contact with Westerners and contrasts Native culture to that of mainstream white Americans.

Bunten also points out that the commodified persona is not a unified concept. The tour guides are encouraged to develop their own personae. Besides, the commodified persona is also a consequence of multicultural interaction between host and guest and is constrained by cross-cultural norms. For example, the guides do not discuss the stories that belong to other clans.

Bunten's study focuses on the compliance situation in host-guest interaction. Other strategies of non-compliance and resistance, such as withholding information and offering misinformation, are not included with the commodified persona because they are contrary to the tour guide's job description, to share culture and to show hospitality in the service industry.

Rather than focus on the compliance situation in host-guest interaction, Maoz (2006) emphasizes the hosts' resistance. This study was conducted in the villages Dharamkot, Bhagsu, and Kassol in Himachal Pradesh, north India, which are popular destinations for Israeli backpackers. Maoz illustrates three ways of host resistance to tourists' stereotypes and disrespectful behaviors. The first is *cooperation* with the tourists. In the hosts' eyes, Israeli backpackers are aggressive, militant and always move in a large group. Hosts fear Israelis and tend to meet their demands and tastes in cultural products. The second is *open resistance* to tourists. Some hosts strive to educate Israeli backpackers' away from stereotypes that see the Indians as inferior. For instance, a road sign written in Hebrew lists ten ways of respecting local tradition and culture. Those hosts try to teach the tourists how to behave in India. Other hosts put up a sign saying that they reject Israeli tourists. The third strategy is *veiled resistance*. The hosts translate the tourist's stereotypes into commodities. For instance, Israeli tourists' image of seeking spiritual enlightenment in India provides job opportunities for locals. Many locals change their jobs and become spiritual teachers in order to gain more cash income. In this way,

those self-appointed spiritual teachers retain their host role. They pose as experts and succeed in shaping the decisions tourists make when they purchase commodities and services.

The study of Di Domenico and Miller (2012) focuses on small family farm tourism in the regions of Yorkshire and East Anglia in England. These small family farms suffer due to pressure from large-scale industrial farms. They face the need to diversify into tourism in order to stay in business. This study focus on how this business diversification affects their identities and traditional farming work. Drawing on the concept of experiential authenticity, defined as the trueness to self (Trilling, 1972), Di Domenico and Miller explore the farm families' identities and their ways of managing traditional working farms and tourism farm attractions. The authors provide a model of farmers' experiential authenticity as presented in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6 Farmer's experiential authenticity with the context of farm-based tourism

		Identity	
		Farmer	Tourism business entrepreneurs
Traditional farm & farm venture	Co-management	(1) Deep experiential authenticity	(2) Surface experiential authenticity
	Separated management	(3) Staged experiential authenticity	(4) Contrived experiential authenticity

Source: Di Domenico and Miller (2012); Compiled by the author

There are two dimensions including the farm families' identities and their ways of managing their two businesses. The distinctions made here result in four types of experiential authenticity. The first is deep experiential authenticity. The farmers strongly define themselves as farmers. Tourism is just a source of income for supporting their traditional farm activities. They successfully adapt the farm to meet the tourists' need and retain a deep sense of

experiential authenticity through maintaining their traditional farm business. The second is surface experiential authenticity. The farmers in this category see themselves as tourism entrepreneurs. Their long-term goal is to quit traditional farming. For now, managing two businesses together is an ideal situation which allows them to project a surface authenticity. The third is staged experiential authenticity. The farmers have a strong sense of self as farmers. However, they find it difficult to manage traditional farming and tourism businesses at the same time. Hence, the farming work is separated from the tourism activities. In this way, the hosts have the feeling of staged experiential authenticity due to their failure to adapt the two businesses. The fourth is contrived experiential authenticity. The farm families in this category define themselves as a tourism enterprise owner rather than traditional farmer. There is a distinct separation between the traditional farming work and the farm tourism.

Different from the above analyses focusing on hosts' perception of authentic self, Zhu (2012) proposes a concept of *performative authenticity*, a dynamic process of becoming one's authentic self through a cultural ritual practice (see detail description in section 2.1.1).

Daugstad and Kirchengast (2013) study how the summer farmers deal with their double roles (farmer and tourist host) and compartmentalize the overlapping space (private and public space). In Bregenzerwald (Austria) and Valdres (Norway) the summer farm typifies rural idyll, authenticity and traditional agriculture. In this study, the summer farmers are characterized as lifestyle entrepreneurs who are motivated by gaining life quality rather than economic output. They emphasize communication with tourists rather than maximizing the number of tourist. The farmers tend to educate tourists through demonstrating the authentic farm life and adjusting the stereotypical image of agrarian activities. For instance, the tourists often have a romantic view that the farm should remain the same as it was a hundred years ago. In this perspective, the hosts want to provide a true version of farm life that is hard work without time to go on holidays.

The farmers consciously switch their role from farmers to tourist hosts. For example, farmers have the feeling that they are not private persons but public personae when tourism work starts. The farmers adjust their explanations according to the type of tourists they are talking to. Through recognizing the double roles, they retain their host role as farmer, the authentic self.

The sense of double roles also influences the compartmentalization of private and work-life space. Daugstad and Kirchengast (2013) propose *pseudo-backstage* to explain the touristic space where hosts as mediators lead tourists to have the feeling that they have already entered the backstage and seen the hosts' inner life. For example, the host de-privatizes their living space. Hosts opened their bedrooms for tourist visits but removed all the clothes and personal belongings to a suitcase put under the bed. Another example is to accentuate the rareness of opening this backstage for the public. The farmer opened the cheese cellar for visitors and told the tourists that he does not open to the public because of hygiene regulations. In this way, the host makes tourists feel like they have the privilege to enter the backstage.

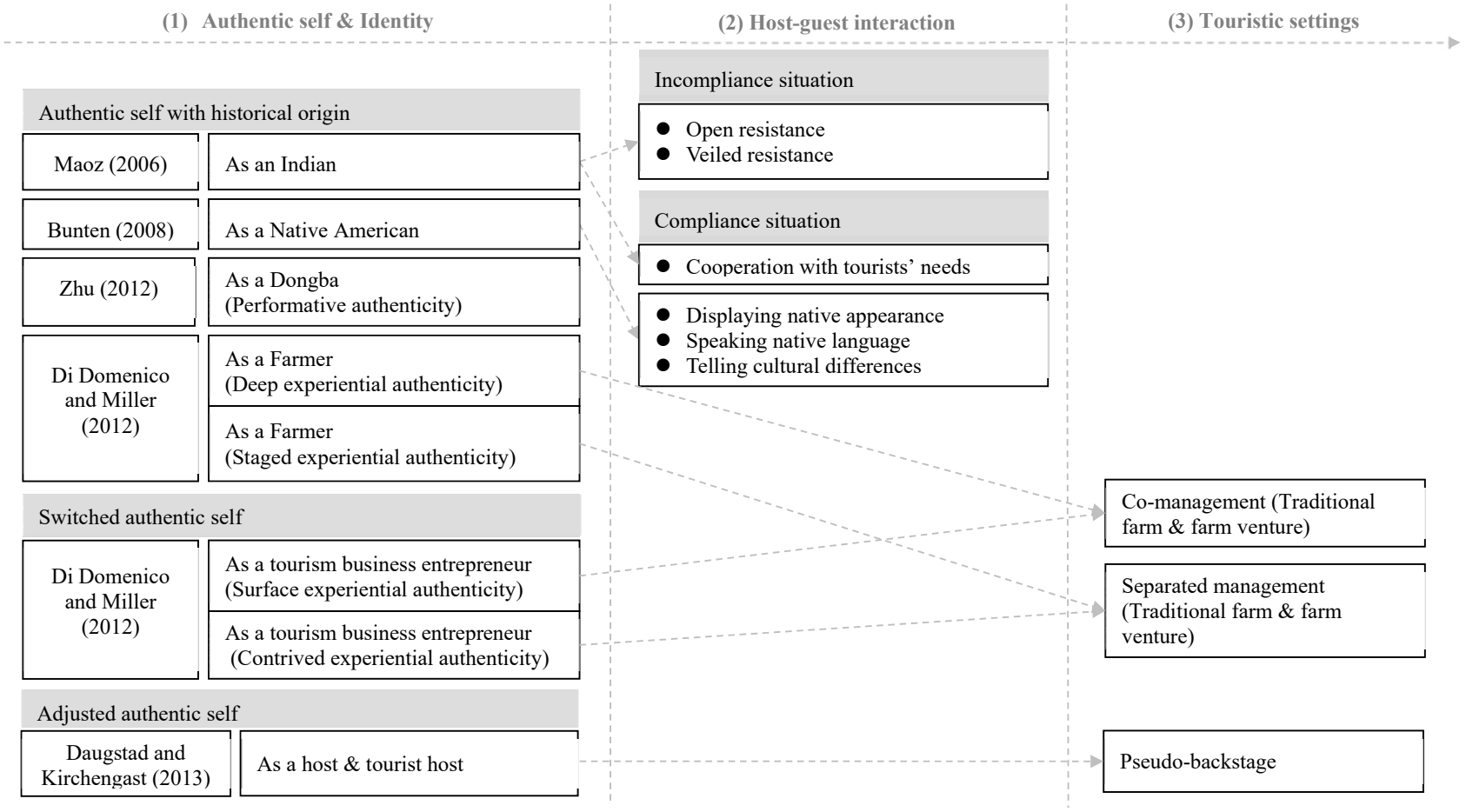
The situational role switching and the construction of pseudo-backstage can be interpreted as the farmers' social and physical practice of displaying authenticity. In this manner, the farmers are in control over host-guest interaction because they retain their authentic selves. Meanwhile, they dominate the touristic setting by creating pseudo-backstage. In this way, farmers also facilitate tourists' authentic experience.

2.3.3 Summary

Studies about host authenticity include backpacker tourism in India, indigenous tourism in Alaska, heritage tourism in China and farm tourism in the United Kingdom, Austria and Norway. All the informants are inhabitants who are participating in tourism businesses. Scholars point out that tourism is a challenge for hosts, especially in terms of tourists' intrusive

gaze/ behavior (Maoz, 2006), tourists' stereotypes (Bunten, 2008; Daugstad & Kirchengast, 2013; Zhu, 2012), and the need to diversify away from traditional work by starting tourism businesses (Di Domenico & Miller, 2012). Those challenges cause hosts to develop mechanisms to maintain their authentic self. To sum up the findings from the five cases, I categorize the discussion into three categories, as presented in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2 Host authenticity discussions



Source: Compiled by the author based on Maoz (2006), Bunten (2008), Di Domenico and Miller (2012), Daugstad and Kirchengast (2013), and Zhu (2012)

(1) Authentic self

Regarding the discussion of authentic self, I distinguish three types of host authentic self: authentic self with historical origin, switched authentic self and adjusted authentic self. In the sense of authentic self with historical origin, the hosts without a doubt try to defend their authentic self as a farmer, a Native American, or an Indian. For the switched authentic self, the hosts have switched identity from their historical origin to their position as a tourism entrepreneur. In terms of adjusted authentic self, the hosts have two identities, private self and tourist host. They change their role depending on whether they are working or not.

Furthermore, Zhu's (2012) performative authenticity provides an additional perspective of host authenticity. The host perceives his authentic self through a link to childhood memories, life experience and ritual practice in the performance. In other words, host authenticity is not only caused by tourism impacts but also influenced by the host's previous life stories.

(2) Host-guest interaction

In terms of host-guest interaction, there are two touristic situations, compliance and incompliance, which influence hosts' means to maintain authentic self. As both Maoz and Bunten have mentioned, the hosts need to make compromises with tourists' expectations in the hospitality industry to ensure tourism revenue. From this perspective, hosts are in situations of compliance; their ways of maintaining the authentic self in host-guest interaction include displaying locally appropriate appearance, speaking native languages and highlighting cultural differences during guided tours (Bunten, 2008). Besides, when facing tourists' intrusive gazes and behaviors, the hosts tend to cooperate with tourists' demand and hide their authentic self (Maoz, 2006). In the incompliance situations, there are two ways of maintaining authentic self. In cases of

open resistance, especially when facing tourists' intrusive behaviors, the hosts react to tourists openly. For instance, some teach tourist how to behave or hang educational signs on their businesses' walls. In cases of veiled resistance, hosts transform tourists' stereotypes into tourism products. For example, Maoz indicates that Indian spiritual teachers and mentors sell an image of spirituality to backpacker-tourists. This image creates many job opportunities for local people. Many local Indians are self-appointed as spiritual teacher to increase their income.

(3) Touristic settings

Three kinds of touristic settings are distinguished. The first is co-location of work, highly overlapping traditional work and tourism work. For example, the farmers open their traditional working farm for visiting. The second is separation of work, with a limited overlap of traditional work and tourism work. The third is pseudo-backstage or a real backstage which has been de-privatized.

2.4 Conclusion

In general, the essential elements of host authenticity include host interpretation, in which the host is able to design a product and take control over tourism business. This suggests that the analysis of host authenticity still remains on a micro-level, from the individual person's view. From the managerial standpoint, I argue that the ontological sense of practice is difficult to generalize to other cases. We need to reconsider its applications in the tourism industry with a wider scope. For example, future work should consider a community's view on maintaining host authenticity in tourism development.

The community's view on maintaining host authenticity is especially important in maintaining cultural continuity, which has been addressed by UNESCO World

Heritage Centre. For example, the *Nara Document* indicates that authenticity relates not only to materials and substances. The intangible attributes such as local spirit, feeling and identity in maintaining a tradition and cultural continuity should be included in defining authenticity. In this perspective, maintaining host authenticity leads to the performance of indigenous culture as living authenticity; the tradition and culture is still being practiced by local people in daily life. In contrast, the tradition and culture performed to tourist for commercial purposes is called non-living authenticity.

Living authenticity includes two interrelated concepts – object-related authenticity and existential authenticity. Existential authenticity is attached to object-related authenticity. Living authenticity is not only essential for hosts to maintain their cultural continuity, but also sought by the tourists. As I have discussed in section 2.1, authenticity in tourism studies begins with tourists' perspectives. Tourists are modern pilgrims who are alienated from their own societies and travel to other places in order to experience authenticity (Cohen, 1979a; MacCannell, 1973; Wang, 1999). What the tourists' quest for is the existential authenticity attached to the cultural property and local people. Living authenticity is shared with tourists through tourism activities, which also enhances tourists' intention to revisit.

In the next chapter, I will illustrate the research approaches of this dissertation. It includes an ethnographic approach for the exploration of host authenticity and questionnaire survey for the examination of tourists' reactions to living authenticity.

Chapter 3 Research method

This chapter outlines the research method. The literature review in Chapter 2 reveals that the role of host is not included in the discussion of authenticity. This study focuses on an indigenous owned and operated tourism destination as the research site. Section 3.1 gives background information of Smangus Village. This includes the village's geography, migration history and current situation. Section 3.2 illustrates ethnographic approaches. Section 3.3 looks into the design of the questionnaire.

3.1 Research site: Smangus Village

3.1.1 Geography

Smangus Village is an indigenous owned and operated tourism destination located in the Jianshih Township of Hsinchu County, 86.4 kilometers from Hsinchu City, which is in the northern part of the Central Mountain Range in Taiwan (Figure 3.1). The village is next to the Takechin River, the upper catchment of the Shihmen reservoir. The reservoir provides water for northern Taiwan.

The village is near the Yuanyang Lake Nature Reserve, which the people of Smangus consider their traditional sacred lake. The village is surrounding by mountains. To the northeast is Hsuehpai and Hsichiussu, to the north is Huli, to the south is Fanshechi, and to the west is Hsinachi. The average elevation is between 2000 and 3000 meters.

The village's population is around 175 people. They belong to Atayal, the third-largest ethnic group in Taiwan (Council of Indigenous Peoples Executive Yuan, 2013). The village started tourism in 1995, when the first car-access road opened. The public media used to describe Smangus as *the dark village* and *the last of Garden of Eden in Atayal* because the village did not have electricity and had a very low rate of alcohol addiction problems. In the

early 1990s, more than 40% of the indigenous population of Taiwan had alcohol addiction problems. In contrast, there were only five villagers addicted to alcohol in Smangus Village (Horng, 2000). According to the villagers, these five villagers were not permanent residents. They were working in the city before they moved back to the village. Hence, the village had no major problems of alcohol addiction.

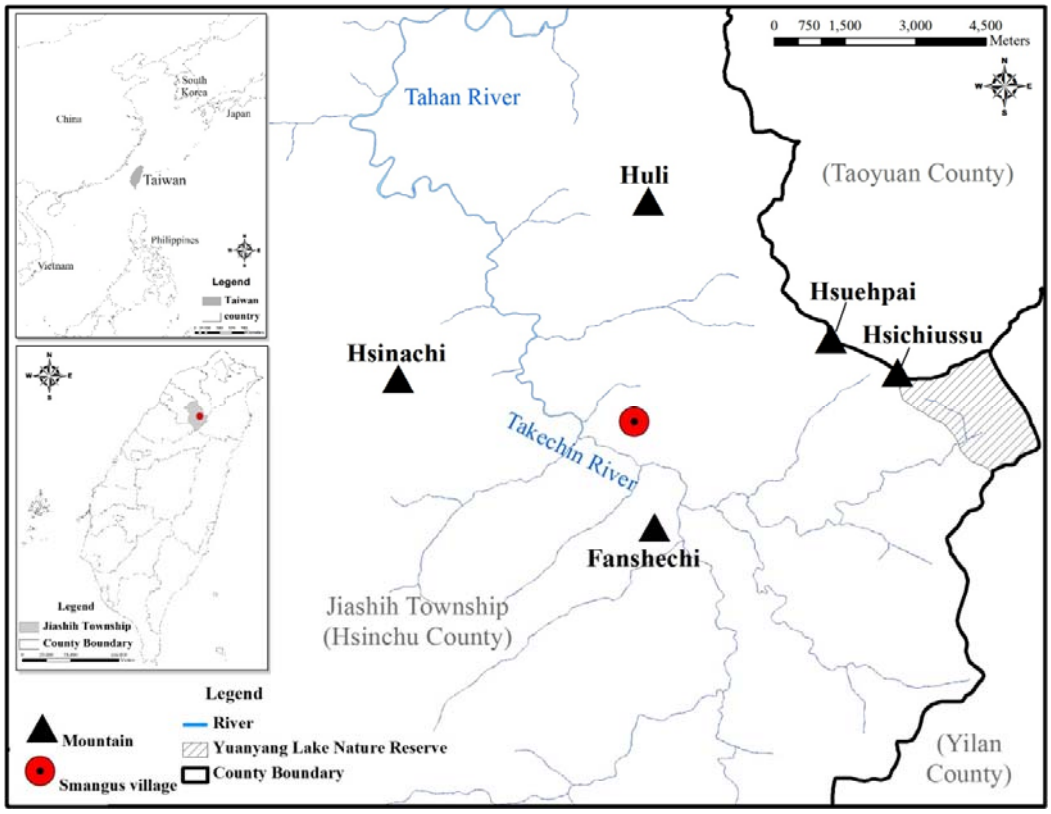


Figure 3.1 The location of Smangus Village in Taiwan
Source: the author

3.1.2 Migration history

According to their oral tradition, Atayal people were located in the center of Taiwan's Central Mountain Range 300 years ago. The origin of Atayal people has two different places in Central Mountain Ranges of Taiwan. One place is Dabajian Mountain (Atayal: *Papak-Waqa*) in the northern part of the Shei-Pa National Park in Hsinchu County, and the other is Jui-Yen Village (Atayal: *Pinsbkan*) in Nantou County. According to Li (2001), the migration toward the northern part of Taiwan likely started in the 18th century.

Smangus belongs to *Mrqwang* lineage. This linage dispersed at *quri-Sqabu*, the highest point of the northern Central Mountain Range in Atayal. Led by Chief Yawiy Pot, they migrated along the north side of Takejin River, and further dispersed outwards to the downstream areas as far north as Wulai District. Another linage named *Mknazi* traveled along the south side of Takeijin River and settled in Cinsbu Village, with further expansion outwards to Thyakan Village, Tunan Village and Tbahu Village.

Of these generations, the story of the five *Necyeh* brothers is particularly important for the village. During my field work in April 2005, Lahuy Icyeh explained this story to me. The five brothers were descendants of Yawiy Pot. They had different skills. The first brother, Talah, was very good at hunting. The second brother, Ahok, was good at jumping. The third brother, Temu, was an expert at bamboo weaving. The fourth brother, Yukan, could do logging. The fifth brother, Miquy, was good at millet cultivation. The current villagers of Smangus are the descendants of the youngest brother, Miquy Necyeh.

Before they settled in the current location of Smangus Village, the villagers had moved to several locations around the back mountain areas. The first place was named Krasan, which means sweet potato heaven. The second place was named Playan, which means rolling boar. A story recounted by the elder said that the boars there were very big and heavy. Villagers could

not carry a boar but only roll it back to the village. The third place is Kyabil, where the villagers were struck by plagues. Those survivors resettled in Rzyaq, which Smangus villagers called the old village. The current location of Smangus was led by Chief Mangus. The villagers name the place as Smangus to remember this first settler. The prefix *S*- means memorial.

The current Smangus population includes five families. One family traces its background directly to the ancestors of Mangus, Miquy Necyeh and Yawi Pot. The second family came from Mknazi linage and one of the members of this second family married with Necyeh's daughter. Between 1960 and 1980, three additional families moved to the village and married with villagers.

3.1.3 Smangus Village

Within the past 26 years, Smangus residents have successfully adapted their traditional values and beliefs into modern tourism management (Tang & Tang, 2010). The village established Tnunan Smangus, a local cooperative institution based on Atayal Gaga. Gaga, a traditional social norm that stresses communal action toward shared goals, underpins Smangus' tourism industry (Hsu & Nilep, 2015). Therefore this village became a case which exemplified a balance between commercialized hospitality and authentic indigenous village[1]. Many indigenous villages in Taiwan come to Smangus to learn from their experiences of tourism development and management.

The village is not only an indigenous tourism destination but a living place. While most indigenous tourism sites in Taiwan perform the traditional dancing in cultural theme parks and demonstrate cultural crafts on the shelf in museums, Smangus introduces tourists to their living spaces such as the houses, church, elementary school and peach farm, as they exist. In addition, living experiences of villagers are also explained in a guided tour and a night party. In other

[1] The host decides what to show to tourists in tourism rather than catering with tourist demands.

words, Smangus residents demonstrates their daily lives to tourists, unlike a staged production or the ancient memories shown in world heritage sites.

3.2 The qualitative method: ethnographic study

This section outlines the ethnographic approach. Section 3.2.1 illustrates the data collection methods, including participant observation, informal interview, and document analysis. Section 3.2.2 describes ethnographic data analysis. Section 3.2.3 discusses the reliability and validity of qualitative research. Section 3.2.4 discusses ethical considerations.

3.2.1 Data collection method

An ethnographic study is done to understand the shared pattern of values, behaviors, and beliefs of a culture-sharing group from the native point of view (Creswell, 2013; Spradley, 1980). Spradley (1980) suggests three aspects of observing when doing ethnographic studies: cultural artifacts, cultural behavior, and cultural knowledge.

First, cultural artifacts are the materials that local people use and make for a specific purpose. Therefore, the materials that Smangus villagers use for tourism purpose are included. Smangus Village provided me records of its meeting minutes from 2001 to 2015. These meeting minutes include Smangus Church activity meetings, village development meetings, villagers' conversations and even notes on the recorder's personal feelings. These records give a detailed description of the village's endogenous tourism development process, the goal of their tourism business and their strategies to deal with host-guest relationships. I also checked the touristic information on the Smangus website and in the brochure. Through different sources of data, I got to know the things people of Smangus did in the past and their plans for future tourism operations.

Second, cultural behavior is what people do and say. The cultural behaviors in the village can be divided into backstage and front stage. In the backstage, there are three social situations that are mainly open for villagers including the village's operational meeting, villagers' casual talk, and Sunday worship. Every morning from Monday to Saturday before the daily work starts, Smangus Village has an operational meeting at 8 a.m.. The meeting place is in front of Smangus Store. A coordinator announces daily works. During the meeting, I observed the types of work which include office work, traffic control, restaurant work, mountain cabin cleaning, farm work and facility maintenance. The villagers are assigned into different groups. In general, women's work includes cleaning guest rooms, kitchen/restaurant work, and weeding/gathering. Men's work includes farm work and road maintenance. I attend at least two types of work each day.

My interviews mainly were conducted during villagers' casual conversation, and I always followed up and asked more detail about their concerns regarding tourism work and their experiences of host-guest interaction. Some interviews happened during irregular occasions. For example, an elder always woke up in the early morning around 6 a.m. He fed the pigs and cleaned up the public trash cans every morning. Hence, I had the chance to talk with him in the period of 6 a.m. to 8 a.m. Some villagers prefer to talk in the evening after their daily work finished. The timing was usually in the evening around 9 p.m. to 12 p.m. They invited me to have tea in their houses.

I did not make any voice recording or notes during the interviews because I found that villagers hesitated to talk to me when I brought out my voice recorder and tried to write down what they said in front of them. Hence, I made field notes instead. At the end of the day, I tried to write down in detail as much as I could. For uncertain information, I confirmed with the informant in the next day. I sometimes stayed in Smangus Store to write down a quick summary

of my interview. The villagers always came to me and were very curious about what I was writing. In this way, I also had more opportunities to have a conversations with them.

The village has regular worship in each Sunday morning. During this period, villagers get together in Smangus Church. I also joined their Sunday worship every week.

The front stage behavior is the touristic program including a village guided tour (one hour) and night party (one hour and 30 minutes) without charging a fee. I participated and made video records. The guided tour is regularly conducted each Saturday. On weekdays, the guided tour depends on the number of tourists. In general, the village gives a guided tour when the number of tourists is around 20 to 30. The guided tour follows the village main road. The contents include Atayal language teaching, introduction to sightseeing spots, Atayal footprints history and legends, the Atayal naming system, ethnobotanical knowledge, the village's past life experiences and village landscape and hunting culture. The night party is in Smangus Church, where is the place for villager's Sunday worship. The programs of the night party include the teenagers' dancing performance, Atayal language teaching, the chief's traditional story sharing, Q & A, a Jew's harp performance and a PowerPoint presentation about the village development history.

The third area of ethnographic observation is cultural knowledge. Spradley (1980) defines cultural knowledge as "the acquired knowledge people use to interpret experience and generate behavior" (p. 6). In other words, it is the shared knowledge that Smangus villagers learn and use to engage in their tourism work and daily life. The cultural knowledge is hidden from view but it can be discovered from villagers' behavior and their artifacts.

3.2.2 Ethnographic data analysis

An ethnographic analysis is a search for patterns of cultural behaviors and artifacts that the researcher has observed in the social situation. Social situation refers to the series of

activities carried out by people in a specific place (Spradley, 1980). I started with a descriptive observation of the Smangus touristic situation, a two-day, one-night tour. I found that the village conveys messages to tourists through a brochure, guided tour and night party.

The next step is taxonomy, "a set of categories organized on the basis of a single semantic relationship" (Spradley, 1980, p. 112). The definition of host authenticity (see Chapter 2) has been used as a tool for guiding data analysis. I looked for the meanings of touristic messages to enable generalization about Smangus host authenticity. The final product of the effort is a holistic cultural portrait of the village. This incorporates both the views of the actors in the village (provider's perspective) and the researcher's interpretation of views about host authenticity from a social science perspective (Creswell, 2013).

3.2.3 Reliability and validity in qualitative research

Every method has its limitations. Studies that use only one data collection technique are more vulnerable to errors, for example, untrue responses from interviews (Patton, 2002) . This study intermixed participant observation, informal conversational interview and document analysis so that different types of data provided pass the cross-data reliability check. I compared different informants' information and Smangus meeting minutes and selected the most significant concerns of village tourism management that emerged during my initial fieldwork period. I focused on those concerns throughout the study, refining my understanding of them by working with the villagers in Smangus. I confirmed some hypotheses, learned about new ideas for their tourism management and crystallized my overall conception of how the village operates by constantly triangulating information. Later, I used triangulated information and generalized some of these data to village-wide concerns.

Based on long-term periodic fieldwork, this study illustrates the native viewpoint and the detailed research process. This combination of methods improves the validity of field research.

3.2.4 Ethical considerations

The ethical issues in ethnographic research are diverse because conditions of fieldwork are various. What works well in one situation may be impractical in another (Lipson, 1994; Spradley, 1980). Spradley (1980) refers to the Principles of Professional Responsibility announced by American Anthropological Association and provides five principles to ethnographers.

First, a researcher should not assume that all the informants have the same interest and should notice their interpersonal conflicts. In the field work, I also noticed that some conflicts happened among the villagers during work. During my participant observations, I heard various complaints from different villagers. As an outsider, I did not interfere in their interpersonal relationship and did not judge their complaints. Instead, I kept my role as a silent listener.

Second, a researcher should have a responsibility to safeguard informants' rights and interests. For the video record of each guided tour and night party, I requested participants' permission. I also helped the village to key in the handwritten meeting minutes into MS Word. Meanwhile, a copy of the video records of village guided tour and night party were also made for the village's archive. These video records are kept at the office of Tnunan Smangus.

Third, Spradley (1980) notes that the communication of research aim is an unfolding process rather than a once-and-for-all declaration. The researcher should give an explanation to each informant who participates in an interview. At the beginning of my research, I briefly explained the aims of my research to all villagers in a morning operational meeting. In this way, every villager knew I was in the village. During my subsequent fieldwork, I explained my research aims to each villager who I talked to. In this way, all the villagers knew my research aims.

Fourth, at the beginning of my research, I stressed that the personally identifying information from interviews and village meeting minutes would be confidential and they would remain anonymous.

Fifth, Spradley (1980) suggests the researcher should ensure that what is written for the public should also be available to informants. For academic work such as journal publications, I also provided a copy to the villagers.

3.3 The quantitative method: questionnaire survey

In this section, I examine the authenticity of touristic settings in Smangus through tourists' perspective. Section 3.3.1 describes independent variables and the dependent variable. Section 3.3.2 illustrates sampling method. Section 3.3.3 looks into analytic techniques. Section 3.3.4 illustrates the ethical considerations of the questionnaire survey.

3.3.1 Variables

To examine tourists' perceptions of living authenticity of Smangus Village, this study adopted the consumer-based authenticity model developed by Kolar and Zabkar (2010). The model has been tested with good reliability (CR>0.60) and validity (AVE>0.40). Kolar and Zabkar studied the correlation among cultural motivation, perceptions of authenticity, and loyalty based on tourists' experience at heritage sites in four European countries. The design of authenticity items has two basic dimensions, namely object-related and existential.

For accessing tourists' perceptions of authenticity, Kolar and Zabkar (2010) referred to three qualitative studies (Table 3.1) and summarized the common points of these studies. In terms of object-related authenticity, tourists emphasize the uniqueness of objects and their cultural and historical context. For existential authenticity, tourists focus on personal involvement, experience in the natural landscape and experience of pleasure and escape.

Based on the above notions, the items of object-related authenticity focus on tourists' perceptions of the architecture, the peculiarities about the interior design of the sites, and the streetscape. Respondents were asked to evaluate these items in a constructive sense rather than offering a judgment. For instance, the survey asked how inspiring artifacts were or whether the respondent liked them. For the items of existential authenticity, Kolar and Zabkar emphasize tourists' experiences, feelings and emotions, such as the uniqueness of the spiritual experience or feeling of connectedness to human history and civilization. Therefore, the survey asked whether the respondent liked Smangus religious piety, enjoyed the ambience and felt included in the process of Smangus Village development.

Table 3.1 Tourists' perception of authenticity

	Tourists' description of authenticity	Author (year)
Object-related authenticity	The uniqueness and aesthetic properties of crafts The cultural and historical context of crafts The producers of crafts	Yu and Littrell (2003)
	The locally made arts and crafts	McIntosh (2004)
	The historical accuracy of objects	Goulding (2000)
Existential authenticity	To experience local culture in its natural landscape, as having original values and experiencing local life	McIntosh (2004)
	To feel pleasure and sense of escape To have a social and entertaining experience such as watching a demonstration and purchasing in a shop	Goulding (2000)

Source: Compiled by the author based on Goulding (2000); Kolar and Zabkar (2010); McIntosh (2004); Yu and Littrell (2003)

Kolar and Zabkar also discuss that there is a lack of evidence to discern whether tourists have similar perceptions in other cultural settings. They suggest future studies should include

different types of cultural settings when explaining perceptions of authenticity. Thus, this study expands their work by applying the perspective to an indigenous tourism destination based around living culture.

Kolar and Zabkhar's authenticity items include 10 items along the two basic dimensions: object-related authenticity (Items 1 to 4) and existential authenticity (Items 5 to 10). This study extended the object-related authenticity to seven items and specified questions on the village tourism settings such as buildings (restaurant, granary, woodcarvings and elementary school), environmental settings, and food. In addition, I included the question of *understanding of the village's real history and culture* for assessing tourists' perception of intra-personal authenticity. The items related to existential authenticity are modified into eight items that are evaluated through the experiences and feelings of the visitors, such as their feeling of being connected with history and their enjoyment of the calm and peaceful atmosphere. Besides, for assessing tourists' perception of inter-personal authenticity, I included a question about the connection with the destination and participation in the development of the destination (Table 3.2).

Kolar and Zabkhar's original item 1 is modified into developed item 1 that emphasizes Smangus Village's architecture and road. The original item 2 is expanded into developed items 2, 3 and 4. The original question about the interior design and furnishings is made specific to Smangus' restaurant, granary, elementary school and woodcarvings in the developed items. The original item 3 is divided into developed item 5 and developed item 6. Developed item 5 resembles the original item by asking whether tourists like how Smangus Village blends nature and culture together. An additional item (developed item 6) is added because Smangus currently promotes their local foods and beverages. The original item 4 is modified into developed item 7. The wording *information* is made specific to *the past life experience and development history in Smangus Village*.

Table 3.2 Authenticity items

Authenticity items (Kolar and Zabkar, 2010)	Developed items	Translation
1. The overall architecture and impression of the building inspired me	1. The overall architecture and road impressed me	1. 司馬庫斯的整體建築風格與道路景觀讓我留下深刻的印象
2. I liked the peculiarities about the interior design/furnishings	2. I liked the peculiar design and decor of Smangus Village architecture such as the restaurant, granary and elementary school 3. I liked Smangus Village demonstrating their culture and history on woodcarvings 4. I liked the architecture which fully shows Smangus Village characteristics	2. 我喜歡司馬庫斯特殊的建築設計與裝飾 (例:餐廳、小米穀倉、部落小學) 3. 我喜歡司馬庫斯用木雕的方式展現司馬庫斯文化與歷史 4. 我喜歡部落內的建築，充分展現出司馬庫斯的特色
3. I liked the way the site blends with the attractive landscape/ scenery/ historical ensemble/ town, which offers many other interesting places for sightseeing	5. I liked the way Smangus Village tourism blends nature and culture together 6. I liked food and beverage featuring Smangus Village characteristics	5. 我喜歡司馬庫斯將自然與文化融合在一起的觀光形式 6. 我喜歡司馬庫斯具有特色的食物與飲料
4. I liked the information about the site and found it interesting	7. The past life experience and development history in Smangus Village are fully demonstrated	7. 司馬庫斯族人過去的生活經驗與部落發展歷程充分展現在我眼前
5. I liked special arrangements, events, concerts, celebrations connected to the site	8. The physical settings of Smangus Village are full of Atayal culture	8. 我覺得司馬庫斯的環境充滿泰雅族文化
6. This visit provided a thorough insight into this cultural heritage site's historical era	9. This visit provided me a further understanding about Smangus Village history 10. During the visit I know more about Smangus Village culture	9. 這次的造訪讓我更進一步的了解司馬庫斯的歷史 10. 這次的造訪讓我了解司馬庫斯的文化
7. During the visit I felt connected with the related history, legends and historical personalities	11. During the visit I feel connected with real history	11. 在司馬庫斯我可以感受到族人們過去真實發生的歷史

(Continued)

Table 3.2 (continued)

Authenticity items (Kolar and Zabkar, 2010)	Developed items	Translation
8. I enjoyed the unique religious and spiritual experience	12. I liked Smangus Village's religious piety and enjoyed the ambience	12. 我很欣賞司馬庫斯虔誠的宗教信仰，並且很享受這種氛圍
9. I liked the calm and peaceful atmosphere during the visit	13. I liked the calm and peaceful atmosphere during the visit	13. 我喜歡司馬庫斯平靜與和諧的氛圍
10. I felt connected with human history and civilization	14. Through the visit, I felt the development of Smangus Village and the mainstream society is connected 15. I felt that I participated in the process of Smangus Village development	14. 經過這次的造訪，我覺得司馬庫斯的發展與我的社會是緊密關聯 15. 我覺得自己參與司馬庫斯的發展過程

Source: Kolar and Zabkar (2010, p. 657) modified and translated by author

The original item 5 is modified as item 8. Item 5 asked about special arrangements, events, concerts, and celebrations connected to the site. In developed item 8, the question is about the physical settings of Smangus and their relation to Atayal culture. The original item 6 is expanded into two questions, item 9 and item 10. The questions are about tourists' understanding of Smangus' history and culture. The original item 7 is shortened as developed item 11. The original item 8 is modified in the developed item 12. The original item 9 is used as developed item 13. The original item 10 is split into item 14 and item 15. The original phrases *human history and civilization* are modified as *development of Smangus Village and mainstream society*. Rather than the connection of human history and civilization in general, I focused on the connection of the village's development history and Taiwan's mainstream society. Respondents were asked to evaluate the developed items on a standard 5-point Likert scale (1=Strongly disagree; 2=Disagree; 3=Neutral; 4=Agree; 5=Strongly agree).

The dependent variable is intention to revisit (1=Strongly disagree; 2=Disagree; 3=Neutral; 4=Agree; 5=Strongly agree).

3.3.2 Sampling method

The questionnaire was evaluated by three experts as a pretesting method (Olson, 2010), to identify problematic linguistic structures in survey questions. Following the expert reviews some items were rephrased in order to clarify the language used. A five-point Likert response format was adopted instead of the original ten-point scale format. This modification was suggested by experts based on the experiences with previous surveys. Scholars also indicate that the five-point format would reduce the frustration level of the respondents, increasing the response rate and quality (Babakus & Mangold, 1992).

The field survey was conducted from May 22 to June 14, 2015 using purposive sampling. I chose tourists who had participated in the village's activities (the guided tour and the night party) and asked them to do self-administered questionnaires. This sampling method was based on past work on authenticity theory, including suggestion by Wang (1999) that existential authenticity is activated by tourism activities. A total of 225 persons were surveyed. There were 31 questionnaires excluded from the sample because of incomplete responses. Thus, a sample of 194 respondents remained for the final analysis.

3.3.3 Analytic techniques

Data analysis was carried out through SPSS 18.0. Exploratory factor analysis was used to identify dimensions of tourists' perceptions of living authenticity.

Ordinal logistic regression analysis was used to address whether the dimensions of tourists' perceptions of living authenticity influence tourists' intention to revisit Smangus. The dependent variable is intention to revisit. Respondents were asked to evaluate the statement of

I would like to visit Smangus Village again on a standard 5-point Likert scale (1=Strongly disagree; 2=Disagree; 3=Neutral; 4=Agree; 5=Strongly agree). Independent variables are object-related authenticity, intra-personal authenticity and inter-personal authenticity. Regarding the estimation method, the ordered logit model (Greene, 2012) is described below:

$$y_i^* = \mathbf{x}_i'\beta - \mu_i$$

where y^* is a continuous latent variable (intention to revisit). x′ is the vector of independent variables. β is the vector of regression coefficients. μ is a random error. i is the observation. The observed y is determined from y^* using the following rule

$$y_i = m \text{ if } \tau_{m-1} < y_i^* \leq \tau\alpha_m$$

where m indicates the responses given on a standard 5-point Likert scale (1=Strongly disagree; 2=Disagree; 3=Neutral; 4=Agree; 5=Strongly agree). τ ranging from $-\infty$ to $+\infty$ and the cut-points α_1 through α_4 are estimated.

The probability that observation *i* will select alternative m corresponds to the region of the probability distribution where y_i^* falls between α_{m-1} and α_1:

$$p_{im} = p(y_i = m) = p(\tau_{m-1} < y_i^* \leq \tau_m)$$

3.3.4 Ethical considerations

The interviewees participated voluntarily in my questionnaire survey. In the beginning, I briefly introduced the aim of the research and the pages of the questionnaire. I stressed that the survey is anonymous and the questionnaire is only for academic analysis such as dissertation and journal publications.

3.4 Summary

The use of qualitative and quantitative methods strengthens the study of authenticity in two ways. First, the adoption of an ethnographic approach focuses on exploring how the people of Smangus Village maintain their authenticity through the consistent interaction with the mainstream society in Taiwan. This is against the scholars' dualistic view generalizing tourism either as imperialism depriving the authenticity of the host destination or as a solution helping host destinations to retain their authenticity. A contextual analysis enhances the understanding of the situational nature of authenticity.

Second, the questionnaire survey approach connects the authenticity discussion from the field to market. In other words, the host's practice of authenticity is linked to tourists' perceptions. The result can be utilized in future managerial tasks such as segmenting the market and developing a marketing strategy. The indigenous destination can make a link between site benefits and values, rather than basing management decisions solely on the links between site attributes and tourist benefits.

Chapter 4 Host authenticity in indigenous tourism: the Smangus perspective[2]

This chapter explores how Smangus Village has formed and maintained its host authenticity in tourism development. It begins with a clarification of relationship between the village's traditional beliefs, Atayal Gaga and Christianity. These two overlapping belief systems support the village being authentic while facing the challenges of tourism development. Then the discussion turns to the three aspects of analysis in host authenticity. For the first aspect, I explore how people of Smangus have tried to maintain host authenticity during the industry transition. The second aspect looks into how the villagers manage their tourism settings as a way to maintain their host authenticity. The third aspect discusses how the villagers maintain host authenticity in tourism programs. Finally, I summarize the findings and conclude about Smangus' ways of maintaining host authenticity.

4.1 Christianity and Atayal Gaga

In Taiwan Christianity has played an influential role in reviving indigenous culture, language and traditional social structure. In 2002, over sixty-four percent of the mountain indigenous population (552,687 people) was Christian (Stainton, 2002). The percentage varies from group to group. Nearly eighty-four percent of the Atayal/Taroko converted to Christianity, as well as ninety-one percent of the Tao, eighty-six percent of the Bunun, eighty-eight percent of the Rukai, twenty-six percent of the Puyuma and twenty-five percent of the Saisiat. In contrast, around three percent of Taiwan's total population was Christian, and one-quarter of Christians in Taiwan were indigenous people (Stainton, 2002).

Presbyterians and Catholics have been the two largest Christian groups in indigenous Taiwan. According to Stainton (2002), the main differences between the two denominations are

[2] This chapter is an expanded version of a journal article. The title is "Authenticity in indigenous tourism: the provider's perspective", which is published with coauthor Chad Nilep *in International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies*, Volume 8 Number 2, pages 16-28, 2015.

church organization and indigenous clergy. Catholics were organized based on geographic dioceses. All ethnic groups were unified in parish districts. Besides, Catholic churches tended to hire foreign pastors rather than indigenous pastors. In contrast, the Presbyterians had 15 self-governing indigenous presbyteries on the basis of ethnicity and location. The indigenous Presbyterian churches have tried to empower local leadership and hire indigenous pastors.

In late 1940, the government implemented a series of policies to promote Mandarin Chinese and stopped public usage of Hoklo, Hakka and indigenous languages in functions such as broadcast media, schools and publications. The Presbyterian churches were against the policies and supported indigenous people to use their own languages to print Bibles. The Presbyterian clergy called for economic cooperation in order to prevent the loss of traditional social structure. In 1986 the Presbyterian churches launched an indigenous movement called *return our land* to support indigenous people's rights not only to use the land but also to own it. From these perspectives, the Presbyterian churches tend to support indigenous rights and identities.

In Smangus Village, the first encounter with Presbyterianism was in the late 1940s (author's field note, July 19th 2008). In 1947 indigenous pastor Silan Twalu began preaching Christianity in the back mountain area of Jianshih Township, Hsinchu County. In 1948 a Smangus villager, Yubu Yawiy, participated in the worship in Tayax Village. He returned to Smangus Village with a Bible written in Japanese. In 1951, Smangus Village established the first church. From 1950 to 1969, most villagers converted to Christianity. In 1970 a Presbyterian pastor started to serve in Smangus Village.

During my field work in 2009, I discussed with the person who was then chief of the village the difference between Atayal Gaga and Christianity. He told me that the two beliefs are the same. For example, memorializing ancestors in Atayal tradition, he said, is the same as

remembering God in Christianity. There is no conflict. The Bible says that we have to be filial and we have to conserve our culture, the same as Atayal Gaga. He did not feel that Atayal Gaga had changed after contact with Christianity. Stainton (2002) also pointed out this view. He indicated that Christianity, traditional beliefs, and ethnic identity are overlapping constructs in many indigenous villages in Taiwan.

God's village, a name of Smangus, shows their beliefs in both Atayal Gaga and Christianity. An arch is set at the entrance with a sign that reads "Welcome to God's village Smangus." The name God's village was given by a Presbyterian pastor who visited Smangus in the early years when the village still had no road access to the outside world. The pastor described the villagers as very sincere and very different from other indigenous people in Taiwan who had been influenced by Han Chinese. According to the villagers, the pastor said that staying in Smangus made him feel like he was going back to God's village. The villagers considered the pastor's words as God's will and named their village as God's village. The current chief told me, "We put it there as an encouragement for all the villagers; the villagers should help each other and care for each other". For the people of Smangus, the sign of God's village not only shows their Christian beliefs but also is an expression of their sharing beliefs of Atayal Gaga.

4.2 Industry transition in Smangus Village

The first aspect of analysis in host authenticity is the village's industry transition. Some scholars view tourism as a form of imperialism in which tourism development is dominated by government and entrepreneurs rather than native people (Nash, 1989; Rosaldo, 1989; Sinclair-Maragh & Gursoy, 2015; Zhang & Shelton, 2016). However, I argue that Smangus Village made its own decision to change the village industry into tourism as a way to maintain their authenticity. In the following sections, I will illustrate the exogenous forces that caused anxiety about life in the village and discuss the endogenous practices that helped the village to maintain

host authenticity.

4.2.1 Exogenous forces cause the anxiety about life

Smangus is far less developed than the urban areas in Taiwan. The village is geographically isolated deep inside the Northern Central Mountain Range. In 1979, electricity reached the village. In 1995, the road to the outside world finally opened. Before the road opened to the outside world, there were two ways to enter Smangus Village on foot. The first way is Smangus ancient hiking trail. This hiking trail starts from Yilan country and goes through Yuanyang Lake Nature Reserve. It takes two days by walking according to Smangus villagers. For mountain hikers, this trail took four days and three nights to arrive at Smangus Village.

The second way to the village was driving through the industrial road. It starts from Jianshi Township, passes by the Front Mountain area, Jinping village, enters the Back Mountain area including Tianpu Village and Xiuluan Village. Smangus Village was 40 minutes away by foot from the end of the road. This industrial road was only 60 kilometers long from Jianshi Township to the road end. However, it took more time than usual. The road was unpaved gravel and included many hairpin turns. After going past the Urao police station, the road becomes very steep. Only the cars with high chassis and large four-wheel drive can drive here. Before this industrial road was constructed, villager needed to walk two days to go back to Smangus.

The residents of Smangus became unsatisfied with life, with no roads in or out. One of the villagers said of village life in the late twentieth century, “The life in the past is not for human beings; we also wanted a better life” (過去那個生活不是人過的，我們也是想要那個比較好的生活嘛).

A sense of dissatisfaction emerged when the villagers compared their living conditions with the nearby villages, where roads led to the city and a higher living standard.

Excerpt 1 from a Smangus Village brochure produced by Tnunan Smangus in 2000

describes the hardship of village life prior to the arrival of the road.

Excerpt 1

位於新竹縣尖石鄉海拔一千五百公尺高山上的司馬庫斯，可能是台灣最深僻的原住民部落，這裡在一九七九年才開始有電力供應，對外道路更在一九九五年底才開通，在對外道路開通之前，居民只能花數小時以徒步方式越過河谷到達新光部落，再利用當地的道路和外界聯繫、取得民生物資，當尖石鄉其他的部落正享受道路所帶來的便利時，雙腳仍是司馬庫斯族人最主要的交通工具

[Translation]

Located in the mountains of Hsinchu County's Jianshi Township at 1,500 meters above sea level, Smangus might be the most remote tribal village in Taiwan. Electricity did not reach the village until 1979, before a road leading outside was finally constructed in 1995. Before the opening of the road, the villagers had to spend several hours crossing the valley on foot to reach the Xinguang tribal village in order to access the outside world and get their daily supplies. While other tribes in Jianshi had roads to access the outside world and enjoy a convenient life, feet were the only transportation in Smangus.

The brochure stresses environmental features and compares life in Smangus with that in other villages. In terms of environment, the brochure stresses the village's remoteness and lack of roads. Smangus is "Taiwan's most remote tribal village" (台灣最深僻的原住民部落), distinguished even from "other tribes in Jianshi" (尖石鄉其他的部落) by distance and inaccessibility. This sense of remoteness is emphasized through the specific and detailed description of the location in the first sentence: "Smangus [is] located at 1,500 meters above sea level in the mountains of Hsinchu County, Jianshi Township" (位於新竹縣尖石鄉海拔一千五百公尺高山上的司馬庫斯). Smangus's remoteness from other villages is described not only in terms of space, but also time. The next village, Xinguang, is "several hours" (數小時) away and the late arrival of electricity in 1979 and the road in 1995 evidences separation from

“the outside world” (外界).

The brochure’s text suggests a dissatisfaction with the village living standard in the early 1990s. While villages connected by road could “enjoy convenience” (正享受道路所帶來的便利), the people of Smangus had to endure hard work and relative poverty. Interviewees likewise recall that period as one of hardship “not for human beings”. Village leaders suggest that young people, at that time, were anxious to leave the village for the relative ease of life in urban Taiwan. Hence, dissatisfaction and anxiety over economic inequality constituted an external pressure to change the village’s economy.

Even in the face of economic hardship, villagers continued to see Smangus as distinct and highly valued. While some of the villagers left Smangus for the city during the early 1990s to escape the hardship of living, the majority of residents chose to stay. They struggled to maintain livelihoods within the system of Atayal Gaga. The excerpt above compares Smangus to Xianguang and other tribal villages in Jianshi. It suggests that dissatisfaction and anxiety produced by relative poverty pushed residents to change the village’s economic base in order to improve the quality of life in the village.

4.2.2 Dream divination

While the coming of the road may have provided external pressure for change, villagers point to internal reasons to explain the change in industry. Internal impetus for the switch from traditional agriculture to tourism came in 1991 as the result of dream divination. Dream divination is part of the Atayal Gaga beliefs in Smangus. In Atayal culture, sleep is like a temporary death, hence the individual’s spirit can cross the boundary to communicate with his ancestors and get guidance from them (Lahuy, 2007). According to the guidance received in the dream, the dreamer is able to decide whether planned future actions are workable or not.

The dream that led a village elder to push for the introduction of tourism is related in

Excerpt 2. The man who had the dream related its content to me during fieldwork in 2006. One morning when the village leader was sitting in the front yard of his house before the day's work started, he spontaneously began describing his dream. This dream has become a Smangus tradition; it is described on the village's website and in travel brochures and is routinely told to tourists. The version in Excerpt 2 is derived from the village website created by Tnunan Smangus in 2005.

Excerpt 2

西元 1991 年時，一個夢(spi) 讓一切有了改變，祖先以托夢的方式告訴部落長老，在司馬庫斯東方有巨木群，有一天部落會像拉拉山一樣的熱鬧。這種聽起來有些不可思議，但它的的確確地在司馬庫斯發生，族人虔誠的信仰與認真的生活態度，讓祖先的話語落實在部落生根茁壯[3]。

[Translation]

In the year 1991, a dream (*spi* in Atayal) changed everything. An ancestor told a tribal elder that east of Smangus there is a group of giant trees, and the village will become as lively as Lala Mountain. It sounds unbelievable, but it truly happened in Smangus. Because of our pious minds and serious attitude toward life, our ancestor's words have come true and the village thrives.

The excerpt begins by placing the dream in the year 1991. During that time, Smangus villagers were seeking to improve the quality of village life. By chance, a group of six Smangus villagers visiting relatives in Balung Village, also known as Lala Mountain, arrived during the local peach festival. They saw the tourists flood into Balung during the festival. Thanks to tourism, the Balung village economy was prospering and the quality of village life was rising. Comparing their lot to their prosperous relatives, residents of Smangus experienced

[3] Tnunan Smangus website http://www.smangus.org/tuqi.html

dissatisfaction and anxiety.

According to this excerpt, “a dream changed everything” (一個夢 (spi) 讓一切有了改變). The text provided for Chinese-speaking tourists uses the Atayal word “spi” to label the life-changing dream. Dream divination is part of Atayal Gaga and this connection to tradition is stressed by including the Atayal word in the telling.

While the dream occurred during a period of economic dissatisfaction, it suggested a more satisfying future in which Smangus “will become as lively as Lala Mountain” (部落會像拉拉山一樣的熱鬧). The giant trees foretold in the dream connect Smangus with the cypress forest for which Balung is known.

According to the residents of Smangus, the decision to switch from agriculture to tourism was based on the guidance of dream divination. In this sense, according to the informants, the choice they made is based on tradition, rather than external forces, such as economic incentives. They view the direction of village development as controlled by residents instead of being ruled by the market or the state. Tourism is seen, not as a form of imperialism that erases local control (Nash, 1989), but as an expression of villagers’ will consistent with Atayal Gaga. Gaga can be translated literally as *words from the ancestors* (Wang, 2012). Thus, the coda of the story, which calls the dream “our ancestor’s words” (祖先的話語), stresses the authenticity of the message by linking to Atayal Gaga.

The dream divination was an endogenous force pushing Smangus Village to transition from traditional agriculture to the tourism industry. However, the lack of a vehicle-access road was a limitation for tourism development. The villagers actively tried many ways to push the local government to open a road. The giant tree can be seen as part of the village’s capital. The village utilized it to negotiate with the local government for resolving their anxiety and dissatisfaction of life.

The villagers made a plea to local government to open a road in 1992. Masay Sulung told me the story of how he went to meet the magistrate of Hsinchu County. When he proposed the idea of tourism development, he said that everyone laughed at him because there was no road to Smangus Village. Besides, the village was told by the local government that there was no budget to open a new road.

While negotiating with the local government, the villagers also contacted with media though a university student in Taiwan who was in the village providing medical care in 1992. The villagers invited the media to visit the giant tree and wanted to release the news to the public. With the media promotion, Smangus Village became a well-known indigenous tourism destination in Taiwan in 1995. Meanwhile, the local government also saw the potential economic opportunities in tourism development and then opened a vehicle-access road to Smangus. The villagers spent six years negotiating with the local government and the road finally opened in 1995.

Thus the exogenous forces that caused anxiety related to authenticity in the village include economic hardship, low living standard and lack of a vehicle access road. The endogenous practices that help the people of Smangus Village maintain host authenticity include following dream divination, a demand to local government to open a road and request for media to release the news about the giant tree.

As the people of Smangus Village tell their story, exogenous forces, such as road building, economic hardship and decisions imposed by the Taiwanese state, as well as endogenous factors, such as villagers' aspirations for economic prosperity, are made coherent through Atayal Gaga. The transition from hunting and communal agriculture to tourism is seen as a way to respond to the dissatisfaction and anxiety experienced in response to the incursion of dominant Taiwanese society. By developing new economic practices in ways that are understood as being

consistent with traditional norms and rules, the people of Smangus construe new practices as an expression of an authentic essence. In the next section, I provide a comparative discussion of authenticity theory and the host authenticity in Smangus Village.

4.2.3 Summary of industry transition

Figure 4.1 illustrates the process of maintaining host authenticity. The left column shows concepts from the literature on authenticity theory (Berger, 1973; Heidegger, 1962; Turner & Manning, 1988; Wang, 1999) regarding a process of reconstructing the authentic self after changes in the social structure. The right column illustrates the processes of maintaining host authenticity in Smangus Village. I divide the process into two stages.

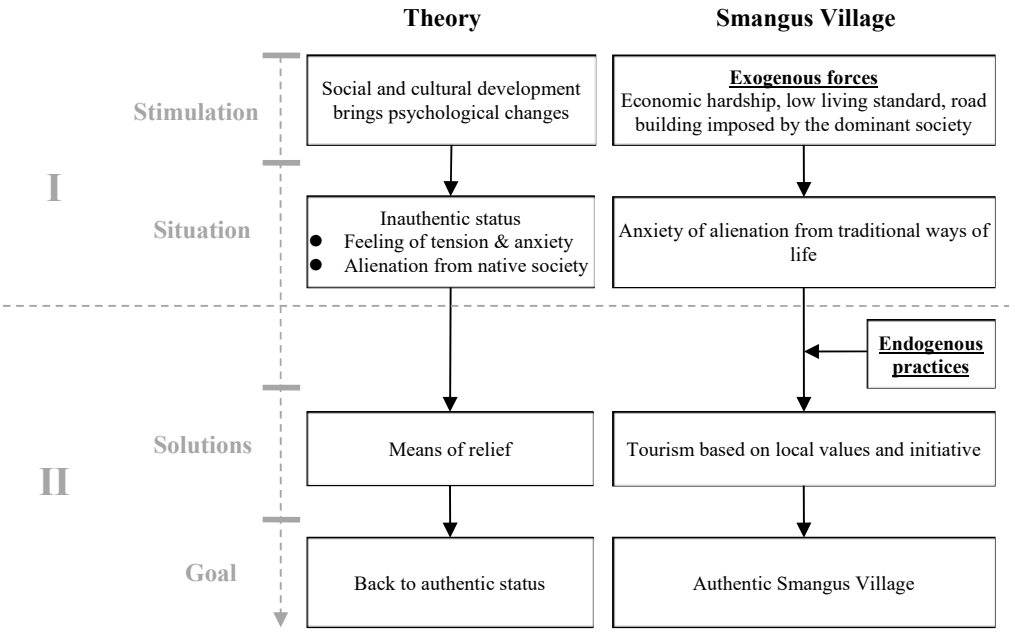


Figure 4.1 Process of maintaining host authenticity
Source: the author

For stage I, a social development brings psychological changes to people. The new social value is different from the previous one. Thus their authentic self is challenged, which causes feelings of anxiety and alienation from native society. In the context of Smangus Village, social development of mainstream society is a set of exogenous forces which broke up the traditional ways of life. Those forces include economic hardship, low living standard, and road building imposed by the dominant society. It caused anxiety among villagers about alienation from their traditional ways of life.

For stage II, in theory people try to find a way out of the anxious feeling and alienation. In the end, they are able to adapt their authentic self into a modern society; hence, the authentic self exists in harmony within the changing society. In the context of Smangus Village, the process of authentication follows endogenous practices. The endogenous practices include following the guideline of dream divination and developing their tourism settings, management and programs based on their values and initiatives. These practices are propelled by Atayal Gaga, a local belief system, which supports the village to decide what to do with their anxiety. The villagers reached a consensus decision to change the village industry from hunting and communal agriculture to tourism. This decision is viewed by the villagers as a way to solve their anxiety. Such decision was made according to Atayal Gaga. Therefore, the village was able to maintain authenticity.

4.3 Tourism settings in Smangus Village

The second aspect of analysis in host authenticity is the methods that hosts used in construction of the tourism setting. Some scholars have pointed out that tourism settings become a series of pseudo-events (Boorstin, 1961) and staged authenticity (MacCannell, 1973); that is , events or settings that are produced primarily to satisfy tourists' needs and expectations. On the other hand, I argue that the Samngus villagers take control over the construction of the

tourism setting and prioritize their own needs and goals. Besides, the villagers established their own managerial institution to fully control their tourism business. In this way, the villagers have kept a genuine Smangus Village while strengthening their host authenticity.

4.3.1 Do not let tourism destroy our development

Between 1991 and 1995, Smangus Village was not a tourism destination but only a resting place for mountain climbers. According to the elders, in the phase between the discovery of the giant tree and the road opening, there were only a few mountain climbers who came to the village on weekends. On weekdays, villagers continued their agricultural work such as mushroom cultivation and gathering Lingzhi mushroom and Chinese mayapple.

There were only two households who could afford to build mountain lodges during this time. They worked together to manage the mountain lodge, providing food and wide plank beds. These two households also applied and setup the first telephone line in Smangus. The tourists, therefore, could make reservations through a phone call. The building materials were local trees and a sheet metal roof. The mountain lodge could accommodate around 100 people.

A guided tour of the giant tree was provided when the tourists requested it. There were no other tourism facilities in the village. The villagers were still practicing labor exchange in agricultural cultivation and they dedicated part of their revenue to the church. The relationship among the villagers was very close and the villagers were tied together through works and beliefs.

In the weekend worship, the Presbyterian pastor always shared stories about the importance of sustainability in village tourism development and also told the villagers that they should conserve Atayal culture and maintain the natural landscape. The people of Smangus had strong and pious beliefs. When the road was nearly open, many villagers worried about the negative impacts of tourism, hence, they limited the road width to two and a half or three meters.

According Masay Sulung, their goal was to not let tourism destroy the village's development, so they can manage their ancestors' land sustainably.

4.3.2 A breakdown of traditional ties (1996-1999)

After the road opened in 1995, the number of tourists increased and mainly came on weekends. By the end of 1997, there were another six new mountain lodges constructed. The village accommodation capacity increased to 300 people. By the end of 1999, another two giant lodges were constructed. The villagers used steel as building materials instead of local trees. The accommodation capacity increased to 400 people.

The types of tourist changed from mountain climbers to mass tourists. Different from the previous lodges, the newly constructed mountain lodges provided rooms with bathrooms inside and which can accommodate two to four people in each room. The old type of rooms (a wide plank bed for four to ten people in each room) was also still used. Meanwhile, another two households started providing food to tourists. The number of restaurants increased to three and grocery stores to two. One household even started to provide karaoke to tourists.

Tourist's reservations still came through the phone owned by the two households that built the original lodge, however. As a result the tourists mainly stayed in the old mountain lodge rather than the six new mountain lodges. The unequal distribution of tourists caused conflicts between villagers. The owners of the new mountain lodges therefore applied for a new phone line and made their own name cards. The villagers started to compete with each other to have more tourists.

The villagers' ties in work and beliefs had dramatically changed. A village elder described the period that they competed each other, "quickly changed, the relationships were bad and destructive competition. Many big mountain lodges". In this phase, the traditional labor exchange and cooperative work in agricultural cultivation were reduced. Instead, the use of

hired labor was more frequent. “Capitalism intruded into the village”, Lahuy Icyeh said. He explained that the villagers did not have life experience related to capitalism, so they got lost.

4.3.3 The new form of Atayal Gaga: Tnunan Smangus

By 2000 Smangus Village had become a popular tourism destination. The number of tourists increased dramatically. According to Horng’s (2000) field observation from January 1999 to January 2000, the number of daily tourists on the weekend was about 300 to 400 people and more than 500 people on national holidays. Therefore, the villagers’ competition for tourist distribution was less. In order to handle the large number of tourists, the villagers started their cooperative work.

In the summer of 2000, the initial cooperative work was conducted by the women’s fellowship of Smangus Church. Each household received tourists’ phone-call reservations individually but all households prepared and cooked food together. In this period, the types of work included grocery shopping, cooking, driving, serving, cleaning, general service and coordination. Excerpt 3 from Smangus meeting minutes is about villagers’ work assignment and procedure during the weekend.

While I interviewed villagers about the initial cooperative work, they told me that this work improved the tension among villagers. The competitive relationship was relieved. Their definition of the work changed from *cook for tourists* to *cook for our tourists*. The word *our* reflects the sharing tradition of Atayal Gaga. Sharing is an essential idea for following development in cooperation.

In 2001, Smangus Village expanded the scale of cooperation to include a restaurant, convenience store and lodge. This cooperative group was organized by eight households. Villagers organized working groups to do accounting, cashier, serving, general service, village planning, construction, and purchasing. In November, the cooperative group established the

Smangus Village Development Association. By 2003, all but two households joined the cooperative work. According a villager, these two households were not permanent residents but returners from the city. The village continuously negotiated with them to join their cooperative work.

Excerpt 3: Smangus Village meeting minutes, August 20 2000. (*Authors' translation*)
1. Grocery shopping; 2. Cooking; 3. Driving; 4. Serving; 5. Cleaning; 6. General Service; 7. Coordination

Still, there were some conflicts among the eight households who joined the cooperative. July and August were both the tourist high season and the peach harvest season in Smangus. Though all the participants had to share all tourism work, some households spent time to sell peaches to tourists while doing tourism work. This caused complaints from the households who had no peaches to sell. "They have incomes from mountain lodges and peaches", the villagers complained. In the second half of 2003, the village focused on this issue and tried to find a solution.

The Presbyterian Church played an important role in village tourism development. The pastor and the church members gave many suggestions on communal land and financial support.

The village meetings on the issues of communal land on May 27, June 01 and June 08 in 2003 showed that some villagers were still hesitant to join the communal land plan. They were concerned about the unequal benefit sharing and suggested that each household contribute 0.97 hectares to a scheme to determine whether the plan of communal land was workable. On the other side, supporters compared the communal plan to the operation of a Kibbutz. They argued

that communal land can be divided into many parts for different usages and that Kibbutzim are examples of successful communal land use to sustain life. Furthermore, they argued that the idea of communal farming in Kibbutz originated in the Bible. Through communal land use, they hoped the village could achieve a goal of the Bible. Moreover, they said, communal land holding makes sustainable usage relatively easy. It simplifies village industry and the work of each household. The communal land plan was offered as the way toward sustainability. Chen, a member of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan and manager of a travel agency, participated in Smangus meetings and introduced various Kibbutz cases to the villagers. He suggested that Smangus villagers visit a Kibbutz in Israel, and raised funds to support a seven-day trip from August 21 to 28 in 2003. Chen arranged for nine Smangus villagers to visit the Kibbutz Program Center in Tel Aviv-Yafo and four Kibbutzim in northern Israel, including Deganian Alef (the first established Kibbutz), Ein Gev, Baram and Givat Oz. During the trip, the villagers' concerns and questions were about communal land management, salary, work arrangement and evaluation, the social welfare system, the source of income in a Kibbutz, and the way to enhance coherence among members. When they returned from Israel the nine villagers actively promoted the plan of communal land and the social warfare system in Smangus.

In October 2003, the cooperative group established the Smangus Worker Cooperative, which is an official registered cooperative in Taiwan. The village uses it for bidding on government projects. The cooperative's income belongs to all the participants.

In 2004, the village's agriculture products and land were finally included in the cooperative management. The villagers reached consensus concerning communal land management and established Tnunan Smangus, a cooperative institution of Smangus residents that manages communal tourism facilities. The lodging facilities, the restaurant and the convenience store are collectively owned by the participants.

The word *Tnunan* in Atayal language refers to a weaving process. According to the villagers, it symbolizes that all the participants spent a long time having discussions and finally achieved a consensus on communal land. It also means that all villagers have the same goal for the village's sustainable development. Besides, they will face the future challenges together.

Tnunan Smangus is now the main authority controlling the tourism industry in the village. Currently, there are three overlapping systems of governance in Smangus Village: the Smangus Village Development Association, Smangus Church and Tnunan Smangus. Although they are thought of as separate institutions, the members of these three systems overlap. The association was established in 2001 during the early years of tourism development. The church is the village's spiritual center. Tnunan Smangus was established in 2004 as a village cooperative system based on Atayal Gaga. There are nine sub-divisions, including personnel, engineering, health & welfare, general accounting, agriculture & land, ecological & environment, tourism, and planning. All divisions are led by Tnunan Smangus.

The nine divisions of Tnunan Smangus practice Atayal Gaga in three ways. The first way is to share food. The villagers built a new restaurant for tourists' use and also for villagers themselves. They reserve four tables every day for the participants of Tnunan Smangus and students of the elementary school to have lunch together.

The second way Tnunan Smangus practices Atayal Gaga is to share work. To increase the work efficiency, the work assignment depends on villagers' expertise. All the participants meet in front of Smangus grocery store at 8 am every morning except Sunday. The work assignment meeting is conducted in the Atayal language. The venue is at the front of Smangus grocery store, a public space. The tourists can also observe the morning meeting. The head of the Personnel Division of Tnunan Smangus announces the daily works for each villager. The gender division of labor has changed due to the heavy workload in tourism. The village men need to do

traditionally women's works such as the food preparation and cooking in the restaurant and the cleaning work in mountain lodges. This change shows that gender traditions can be adjusted according to the need of local people.

The third way to practice Atayal Gaga is to share benefits. Tnunan Smangus provides a comprehensive social welfare scheme for the members. The village offers a baby bonus. Children aged 0 to 2 years old receive 4,000 NTD (124 USD) per month. Children aged 2 to 3 years old receive 2,000 NTD (62 USD) per month. Children aged 3 to 6 years old receive 500 NTD (16 USD) per month. The village is responsible for children's education costs and provides scholarships. When a village member attains age 60, he/she begins receiving a 7,000 NTD (217 USD) monthly pension permanently. Health insurance and medical expenditures are also included. Besides, the village offers 400,000 NTD (12,423 USD) for home-building, 200,000 NTD (6,211 USD) plus five pigs for marriage, and 250,000 NTD (7,764 USD) for death. A free shuttle bus service is provided for villagers to move in and out. The village provides a full-amount subsidy for the cost required to get a driver's license (statutory fees, driving lessons, and training aids). The monthly wage is 16,000 NTD (497 USD) per capita.

For the physical settings in the village, the villagers gradually reduced the accommodation capacity to 350 and differentiated the price by weekend and weekdays. The ten-person rooms were modified into two- and four-person rooms. In addition, the village added three more natural sites around village including Mystery valley, Slibu waterfall walk and Koraw ecological park. Inside the village, the villagers set woodcarvings to demonstrate their history and tradition. For example, the villagers combine indigenous colonial history and their story of cooperative work into a footprint woodcarving (Figure 4.2). The carving illustrates the autonomy phase, colonization phase and decolonization phase. The village guides give interpretation in the guided tour.

Figure 4.2 The footprint woodcarving in Smangus Village
Source: Photo by the author (June, 2015)

In the first phase, the footprint shows a bunion shape. In the past, the villagers had to walk long distances into the forest to gather food. The continuous walking everyday stresses to the foot and cause the bunion formation. These footprints indicate that the indigenous people lived in a traditional way without disturbance by Han Chinese immigration and colonial rule. Excerpt 4 (guided tour in 2009) shows the village's assertion.

Excerpt 4
過去不用穿鞋子的年代啦，那我們祖先的腳掌就長這樣，非常的健美，整齊的這個腳步、步伐就是在說我們原住民過去的自治的這個很早期的時間啦，這個大家生活的非常的有秩序啦，互相幫忙

[Translation]
The era that we didn't need to wear shoes. The foot sole of our ancestors was like this, very healthy and beautiful. The well-organized foot prints mean the era of indigenous autonomy in very early years. Our life is well regulated and mutually supported. (Guided tour in 2009)

By addressing "the era that we didn't need to wear shoes" (過去不用穿鞋子的年代啦), the villager emphasizes their traditional ways of life. Their life was "well-regulated and mutually supportive" (有秩序啦，互相幫忙) before they had influences by colonial forces.

In the second phase, the carving includes various footprints to show the impacts from Han Chinese immigrants and colonial forces. The village argues that the indigenous' traditional ways of life and language have been incorporated into dominant society.

Excerpt 5
中間這個階段呢，腳步開始凌亂了，有穿鞋子的高跟鞋的還有膠鞋的，那這個就是非常紛亂的一個年代啦，到現在啦，原住民的文化阿，原住民的語言齁，受到不同民族的來到台灣啦，影響啦，滿多的原住民的語言慢慢的不見啦，像現在平埔族的語言就沒有了
[Translation]
In the middle-phase, the foot prints are disordered. Some wear shoes, high heels and rubber shoes. That was a chaotic era, until now. Indigenous culture and language were influenced by various migrating ethnic groups. Many indigenous languages gradually disappeared. For example, the languages of plains indigenous have disappeared. (Guided tour in 2009)

The villager describes the second phase as the "chaotic era" (非常紛亂的一個年代). They no longer have a traditional life. The various foot prints refer to different ethnic groups and colonial powers. The villager argues that immigrants and colonial rules cause the loss of

indigenous culture, as Excerpt 5 shows that “Many indigenous languages gradually disappeared” (滿多的原住民的語言慢慢的不見).

In the third phase, the village used the well-organized footprints to represent Smangus Village. Different from the second phase in which indigenous people were lost in the dominant society, Smangus Village emphasizes that they have already found a way out. Excerpt 6 shows the village’s assertion.

Excerpt 6
第三個階段，我們的腳掌不再像祖先那麼健美，但是整齊的步伐，又開始往前邁進啦，往前闊步啦，這個什麼意思呢，這個就在介紹，在說明我們現在的司馬庫斯部落。就是我們在新的時代裡面，我們找到了部落發展新的這個模式啦，而且可以適應我們這個部落

[Translation]
The third phase. Our soles are not as beautiful and healthy as our ancestors. But the well-organized foot prints, we move forward again. What does this mean? This is Smangus Village. In a new era, we found a new scheme for village development and the scheme fits our village (Guided tour in 2009)

In Excerpt 6, the villager indicates that the new footprints are different from what their ancestors had in the first phase. They want to emphasize that “we found a new scheme for village development and the scheme fits our village” (找到了部落發展新的這個模式啦，而且可以適應我們這個部落). The new scheme is Tnunan Smangus, a traditional cooperative institution in modern society of Taiwan.

In this way, the woodcarvings as part of the tourism settings demonstrate the real history of Smangus Village, rather than a pseudo-event or staged authenticity.

While doing tourism business, the villagers also spend efforts on Atayal language and

culture conservation in order to achieve their goal, *do not let tourism influence our development*. In October 2003, the villagers established the village elementary school called Hsin-Kwang Elementary Smangus Experimental Branch. The villagers used bamboo as building material to build a temporary class room. The building was near Smangus Church. In 2008 the villagers built a permanent building for the elementary school students. The site for the new elementary school was located at the roadside of the entrance. The villagers decided to change the entrance to another direction because they worried about children's safety. This new road is directly connected with the parking lot. The village school provides dual curriculums combining the mainstream and the Atayal language and culture.

4.3.4 Localization (2009-2015)

The construction of mountain lodges and the restaurant was completed in 2008. The settings of woodcarvings and the nearby attractions were also fixed. In this phase, the village started to reform the old mountain lodges which were built in 1999. Smangus also noticed that the demands of tourists had changed. The village reformed the large rooms into small rooms. This reformation was done in 2015. Currently, two- and four-person rooms are provided. In 2014, the village proposed to reduce the capacity of mountain lodges. The amount of accommodation was reduced into 250 people.

Meanwhile, Smangus has tried to design their local food menu by providing the village women's best dishes. The village women participated in the ethnic food training program held by Chi-Sing Eco-conservation Foundation, a nonprofit organization. Meanwhile, the village also learned from ethnic food restaurants. For example, they invited an Amis cook to visit Smangus and give lessons about how to cook ethnic food by utilizing local ingredients.

In June 2015, one day at noon the village leader and I sat at the same table having lunch in the restaurant. He shared his own experiences with me. He told me that a friend said to him

“the residents of Smangus are the poor people who sit on gold; the village should not only watch the tourists but look at their pockets”. However, he explained his own idea to me, “that is not Atayal culture, not our way”. Rather than maximize the profit, apparently, the village knows what they want from the tourism industry.

“Our living schedule has changed”, he said. In the past, he went to sleep at 9 o’clock but now he could not. He showed me his white hairs and said that he has less time with his children now. Smangus wants to make tourism to fit into their ways of life. This is the reason that they had started to reduce the number of tourists, he explained to me.

4.3.5 Summary of tourism settings

The villagers have controlled their tourism setting by prioritizing their needs. The villagers limited the road width in the beginning. Though they had a short period of breakdown in traditional ties at the beginning of tourism development, the villagers solved the internal conflicts by establishing Tnunan Smangus, practicing the cooperative and sharing tradition. In following development, they reduced the capacity of accommodation to fit with villagers’ lives. They built an elementary school for culture conservation and changed the village entrance to ensure children’s safety. The woodcarvings not only demonstrate past history but also illustrate current cooperative practices. In this way, the villagers present a genuine Smangus Village, a place for living rather than a staged authenticity or a pseudo-event.

4.4 Host-guest encounter in Smangus Village

The third aspect of analysis in host authenticity is the methods that hosts use in handing host-guest encounters. It is a challenge for Smangus Village to maintain host authenticity because indigenous workers need to adjust their identities either to be authentic as indigenous people or to be inauthentic service attendants (Hochschild, 1983). In this section, I argue that

by shaping the host role in tourism programs, Smangus villagers have successfully maintained their authentic self as indigenous people rather than service attendants.

4.4.1 The principles for host-guest encounter

Excerpt 7 consists of three meeting minutes in February 1999, March 1999 and June 2002. The excerpts show that interactions with visitors are of concern to villagers, who developed certain principles governing host-guest interaction in tourism activities. As the discussions show, they position the village and its people as dominant in interactions with visitors.

Excerpt 7
在未來推動觀光之方式經營，以傳統式的布景及活動來經營為主，讓遊客更深認知泰雅文化，並讓他們更尊重原住民。(部落會議記錄 1999.02.04)

部落應該以教育觀光客的方式來經營部落發展 (部落會議記錄 1999.03.08)

部落朋友或個人朋友，應遵守部落規則 (部落會議記錄 2002.06.01)

[Translation]
Tourism management from now on will be based on traditional scenery and activities, allowing visitors a deeper understanding of Atayal culture, and allowing them to pay greater respect to indigenous people. (Smangus Village meeting minutes, February 4th, 1999)

Smangus should educate tourists as a means of community development. (Smangus Village meeting minutes, March 8th, 1999)

Friends of the village or villagers' personal friends shall comply with the rules of the community. (Smangus Village meeting minutes, June 1st 2002)

Each of the three rulings in Excerpt 7 seeks to put Smangus Village in a dominant role

relative to outside visitors. At the heart of tourism activities is “respect for indigenous people” (尊重原住民). By presenting “traditional scenery” (以傳統式的布景) and “[traditional] activities” (活動), tourist programs should instill a “deeper understanding of Atayal culture” (更深認知泰雅文化). The programs are thus attuned, not only to the demands of visitors, but also to Smangus social norms.

Programs are described, not as attracting or entertaining visitors, but as “educating tourists” (以教育觀光客的). By placing tour providers in the role of educators, the minutes envision tourists as learners who are dependent on their hosts. Furthermore, the activities are characterized as “community development” (部落發展), again placing focus on the village itself as part of the tourism industry.

The June 2002 minutes make explicit that outsiders must accommodate themselves to the village standards, rather than vice versa. Friends of the village “shall comply with the rules of the community” (應遵守部落規則). Under this principle, tourists are expected to follow village regulations.

4.4.2 The strategies for maintaining host authenticity

The guided tour in Smangus differs from many tourist-oriented commercial hospitality businesses that aim primarily to maximize tourism revenue. Instead, Smangus guides see their main role as actively expressing the will of the village, rather than fulfilling the demands of tourists (Cohen & Cooper, 1986; Nash, 1989).

In the linguistic interactions between tourists and hosts, there is an asymmetry of power or status such that the hosts are usually at the lower status while the tourists hold the higher status (Cohen & Cooper, 1986). Under this condition, the hosts might have difficulties expressing their will or principle, but, in Smangus Village, teaching greeting phrases is seen as a way to show a Smangus principle. The content of Excerpt 8 is derived from a Smangus guided

tour, during which the local guide taught a bus load of tourists about greetings in the local Atayal language.

Excerpt 8: Fieldnotes 24 July 2008

我們先教大家幾句我們的泰雅族簡單問候語，比如說初次見面阿，你好嗎，我們的 Lokah su ga 阿，HOW DO YOU DO 阿，HOW DO YOU DO，好賭又賭吼 HOW DO YOU DO，我們就說 Lokah su ga，Lokah 是好不好的意思吼，哩午厚謀，su 就是你，Lokah su ga、Lokah su ga 一起唸一遍吼，等一下遇到部落的人你可以說 Lokah su ga。那我們會說 LokahLokah 是，欸，我很好 我很健康吼還有呼吸等等啦吼

[Translation]

First I will teach you a few simple Smangus greetings. For example the first time you see someone, Nǐ hǎo ma, we say Lokah su ga, How do you do, how do you do, hǎo dǔ yòu dǔ. We would say, Lokah su ga. Lokah means good, Li wu hou mou. Su means you. Lokah su ga, lokah su ga, when you meet people you can say, Lokah su ga. We will reply Lokah lokah, which means yes, I'm good, I'm healthy, I'm still breathing.

The comparatively low status of tour hosts relative to guests is often seen in the hosts' use of higher status language of the tourists. Hosts have an economic incentive to accommodate the tourists. However, in Smangus Village, the host reverses the asymmetric roles by teaching guests to speak the local language. This reversal happens in the guests' first encounter with the leader of their guided tour, shortly after they arrive in the village. The guide begins his presentation by telling the crowd, "First I will teach you a few simple Smangus greetings" (我們先教大家幾句我們的泰雅族簡單問候語). The verb "teach" (教) implies the role of educator, with relatively higher situational status. Hence, the host becomes the higher status educator to teach the student-tourists a greeting phrase in the language of the village.

Moreover, the leader of the guided tour demonstrates superior multilingual competence in

front of tourists, who are not familiar with the host language. In addition to Atayal and Chinese—the tourist's own language—he demonstrates facility in speaking Taiwanese and English as well. He offers three greeting phrases in Mandarin, Atayal and English: "'Nǐ hǎo ma', we say 'Lokah su ga', 'How do you do'". In addition to introducing the Atayal phrase, his utterance places the language on the same level as the other two languages and demonstrates the host's facility with all three. He further demonstrates linguistic facility by making a trans-lingual joke: "hǎo dǔ yòu dǔ" (好賭又賭). The phrase makes a pun on the similar sounding English greeting, 'How do you do?', while its literal meaning, 'gambling and betting', parodies stereotypes of indigenous people's involvement with gambling and other socially marginal activities. By positioning himself as teacher, and weaving multiple languages together with the Chinese message to his guests, the tour guide places Smangus in a dominant position in the host-guest relationship. Language use both constructs the role of host and helps to accomplish the village's goal of educating visitors about Atayal practices.

Use of the Atayal language serves as an ethnic marker, similar to the cultural markers described by MacCannell (1999), while demonstrating the language competence of Smangus villagers, as Excerpt 9 shows.

Excerpt 9: Fieldnotes July 24 2009

相較於其他的部落，我們延續的更多我們的族語阿，還有我們的這些重要的儀式等等阿，特別是我們的語言，我們在部落裡面幾乎都是用母語溝通，譬如說(說一連串泰雅語)，如果我這樣子訓練，這個持續講下去，5 分鐘你們就會昏倒了

[Translation]

Compared to other tribes, we continue to use our language more actively, and we have these important rituals and so on, especially our language, we use our native language for daily communication in the village, for example [He speaks a series of sentences in Atayal]. If I teach you like this, if I continue like this, in five minutes you'll pass out.

In Excerpt 9, the tour guide repeatedly refers to “our language” (我們的族語 or 我們的語言) and “our native language” (母語). The host language is used as a marker to distinguish Smangus from other indigenous villages in Taiwan. The guide declares, “compared to other tribes, we continue to use our language more actively” (相較於其他的部落，我們延續的更多我們的族語). In this sense, the position of Smangus Village is different from the other indigenous villages in Taiwan. This distinction marks the village’s value as an ethnic or cultural attraction for tourists, while valuing the villagers’ knowledge and behavior in their own right.

Meanwhile, the host role in the touristic situation is also being stressed. After speaking Atayal for a few seconds the guide says, “If I teach you like this, if I continue like this, in five minutes you will pass out” (如果我這樣子訓練，這個持續講下去，5 分鐘你們就會昏倒了). Under this condition, the demonstration of the host language becomes a symbol of Smangus Village itself and the host, a mediator between villagers and guests. Language serves as a show of locality and ethnicity to the tourists. Therefore, the host language is not only a tool for achieving the goal of tourist education, but also a means for the host to maintain status in the host-guest relationship.

In the evening, after tour buses arrive, the villagers host a party. The evening party is conducted in Atayal with speeches translated into the tourists’ language. As Excerpt 10 shows, two senior villagers give a brief presentation in the local language at the beginning of the party.

Excerpt 10: Fieldnotes May 23 2009

1. 主持人 A: 各位晚安，大家好。
2. 主持人 B: …(泰雅語)
3. 主持人 A: 我是要來幫我們頭目齁，恩，做翻譯，這樣你們才知道頭目在說什麼。
4. 主持人 B: …(泰雅語)

5. 主持人 A: 首先，非常歡迎在座的旅客朋友們，今天我們也非常深知，知道，今天最辛苦的是在座各位，是因為你們坐車坐到最受不了的時候，也在路上吐了幾次齁，才到達我們的部落齁，歡迎你們。
6. 主持人 B: …(泰雅語)
7. 主持人 A: 今天晚上很高興可以邀請各位到我們部落最神聖的空間，就是教會齁（觀光客拿起相機拍照），所以看見在座所有旅客朋友們呢，就好像看見我們當地族人一樣，但是我們部落..部落大人的人數呢沒有比各位多，我們部落的人數不多
8. 主持人 B: …(泰雅語)
9. 主持人 A: 我們也非常清楚知道，今天這一趟旅程是非常辛苦，只是來看個巨木群就回去，我們覺得非常的可惜，所以我們想說透過這樣子的一個晚會，讓你們的行程可以更認識我們司馬庫斯部落這個地方。

[Translation]

1. A: Good evening everyone, hello.
2. B: (speaking Atayal)
3. A: I am going to help the leader, um, do the translation, so you can understand the chief.
4. B: (speaking Atayal)
5. A: (translating from Atayal to Chinese) First of all, welcome visitors and friends here, and today we are very well aware, we know that today was difficult for all of you, because you sat in the bus most of the time and could not stand, but also some of you were carsick on the way, before reaching our tribe. You are most welcome.
6. B: (speaking Atayal)
7. A: This evening we are pleased to invite you to our village's most sacred space, our church. (tourists take pictures) Seeing all of you here is like seeing our villagers, but our tribe ... the number of adults is less than all of you, our population is not so large.
8. B: (speaking Atayal)
9. A: We are very aware that the journey today was very hard, so if the group just looked at a giant tree and then went back, that would be a great pity, therefore through this party we would like to tell you more, so you can be more aware of Smangus, this place.

The structure of this evening party includes three social roles: Host B is the chief of Smangus who speaks only the native language; host A is a senior villager who is responsible for the interpretation of the chief's presentation; and the tourists are cast as receivers of information.

In the beginning of the party, host A points out his position in the program as an interpreter, as seen in item 3: "I am going to help the leader, um, do the translation, so you can understand the chief" (我是要來幫我們頭目齁，恩，做翻譯，這樣你們才知道頭目在說什麼). Use of

the host language in the presentation in the evening party fully utilizes the multilingual competence advantage. This competence functions as a regulative power that controls the scope of tourism information transmission from the host-side to the tourist-side.

The venue for the evening party is not a space specifically designed for the tourists; it is the Smangus Church, where the villagers regularly worship. In other words, the village space overlays the tourist space. As the hosts note, "We are pleased to invite you to our village's most sacred space, our church. Seeing all of you here is like seeing our villagers …" (很高興可以邀請各位到我們部落最神聖的空間，就是教會齁，所以看見在座所有旅客朋友們呢，就好像看見我們當地族人一樣). Putting guests in the villagers' space, both literally and in the welcome speech, implies another meaning—the concept of sharing with the tourists. This sharing concept has a cultural basis from the Atayal Gaga beliefs system, as described earlier.

Smangus controls the number of tourists who arrive in the village and provides the information that they receive about it. As the hosts indicate in Excerpt 10, "Through this party we would like to tell you more, so you can be more aware of Smangus, this place" (我們想說透過這樣子的一個晚會，讓你們的行程可以更認識我們司馬庫斯部落這個地方). The hosts do not provide passive access to the forest, but education about the area and the people who reside there. Therefore, switching between the native language and the tourists' language serves as a tool through which Smangus' purpose of tourist education can be achieved.

4.4.3 Summary of host-guest encounter

The host language plays an important role in Smangus tourism activities. The host language is utilized in three ways: teaching of greeting phrases, host language as a mark of cultural distinctiveness, and translation between the host language and the tourists' language as a link between the two groups. These three activities help to accomplish Smangus' purpose, to educate tourists and to maintain a dominant position for hosts in tourism activities. Moreover,

bringing tourists into the village's church implies the sharing spirit of the Atayal Gaga belief system. In return, the villagers successfully maintain their authenticity as indigenous hosts teaching and sharing indigenous culture.

4.5 Conclusions

In the preceding sections I have argued that the people of Smangus Village have formed and maintained host authenticity through tourism development. Development was based on a communal understanding of the link between past history, Atayal beliefs, common life experiences and future goals. Such maintenance is a dynamic process from past to current life.

During industry transition, the people of Smangus Village experienced the anxiety and dissatisfaction of the hardship in their past life. They sought resolution of this anxiety and decided to start tourism business in a commercialized market to maintain their life in the village. This decision to start tourism business was propelled by Atayal dream divination, rather than the economic and environmental disadvantages. The content of the dream divination has become local lore, told to visitors, printed on travel brochures and shared on the village website. In this way, Smangus makes the new industry coherent with the tradition and the beliefs of Gaga. Hence, Smangus villagers are able to maintain their authentic selves while facing new social and economic impacts.

For the construction of tourism settings, Smangus Village takes control over building. Unlike mass tourism, which customizes the settings for tourists, the villagers prioritized their own needs. They limited the road width in the beginning. Later the villagers achieved a consensus on cooperative work in tourism development. They established Tnunan Smangus, a traditional cooperative and sharing institution. The notion of cooperation and sharing is essential in Atayal Gaga beliefs. Smangus placed Atayal Gaga as the guiding principle in its tourism development. Eating together at lunch time and sharing village work and tourism

revenues parallels the sharing of duties and benefits under the past traditional way of life. Therefore, Tnunan Smangus can be seen as an embodiment of Atayal Gaga in the modern society of Taiwan.

Since Tnunan Smangus was established, the villagers gradually reduced accommodation capacity, making their tourism work fit with villagers' life schedule. Besides, they built an elementary school. The change of village entrance for children's safety indicates that they prioritize their own needs to maintain living space overlaying the tourism setting. Moreover, the villagers set a footprint woodcarving to share their past colonial history and current cooperative work. In this way, the villagers have kept not only their host authenticity but also maintain the village as genuine Smangus, a living place.

For host-guest encounters, the village claims the dominant position of the host over tourists in tourism programs. Unlike mass tourism, which is a consumer-oriented activity, tourism in Smangus Village is a host-led and village-oriented activity. Hence, the Smangus way of managing industry has reversed the traditional power relations in tourism. Rather than pandering to the tourists' needs and desires, tour leaders in Smangus ask tourists to accommodate the hosts' situation. The village shapes its host role as educator teaching local information, language and knowledge. Meanwhile, conducting a night party in the village's church implies the sharing spirit of the Atayal Gaga belief system. From this perspective, Smangus successfully justifies its host role in the host-guest encounter. Thereby, they are able to follow their preference to develop a Smangus-led tourism industry. In return, the villagers maintain their host authenticity as indigenous people rather than service attendants.

The maintenance of host authenticity in Smangus Village is an ongoing process. In the past 26 years, their cooperative works, ways of life and landscape have undergone a large change. One of the village elders I spoke to views the changes of the village as necessary. If they do not

make any change, he explained, the village will become a museum in Taiwan. Another village elder has a similar notion. He said that "culture should be practiced, practice in the life. It should not be an object and set aside because that kind of culture becomes a memory. It will gradually disappear. Culture should be alive." The opinions from the villagers are in line with scholars' views on host authenticity. As Steiner and Reisinger (2006) addressed, host authenticity is about free choices of local residents, not about maintaining a certain traditional concept of the past. Instead, host authenticity is a self-adjustment in order to respond in any circumstances. Therefore, the villagers make their own decision to live authentically when facing the challenges brought by tourism development.

On March 26th 2015 Smangus conducted a seasonal meeting; the village allowed me to participate and make notes. They were discussing the newly constructed mountain lodges which they called Atayal-style lodges. A young villager complained that the speed of construction was too slow. An elder villager replied and described their building works as "constructing village history". The elder emphasized that "we should find a way to teach our next generation". By showing the process of construction to the children, the Atayal knowledge can be passed down to the next generation. Again, the villager emphasized *what they want* from the construction of new mountain lodges; that is, passing down Atayal knowledge rather than catering to the market demands. In this way, the villagers justify their host role in the tourism industry and strengthen their authenticity following tourism development.

In Chapter Four, I have discussed how the people of Smangus Village maintain host authenticity. Such maintenance reverses the unequal power relations within tourism development and contributes to the establishment of an equal and respected relationship between host and tourists. In return, Smangus Village is able to develop its tourism in a sustainable way.

In Chapter Five, tourists' perceptions of living authenticity in Smangus Village, I turn from my research object of the people of Smangus Village to tourists. I focus on the effects of host authenticity on tourists. As I have discussed in Chapter Four, the authenticity of Smangus Village is not a static display of cultural objects on the rack that they no long use in their current lives. Instead, their authenticity is dynamically related to their living experiences, called living authenticity. This living authenticity is performed by the villagers in their tourism settings and programs to the tourists. This raises a question: does the performance of living authenticity contribute to tourists' experience of authenticity in a commercially useful way?

Chapter 5 Tourists' perceptions of living authenticity in Smangus Village

This chapter examines tourists' perception of living authenticity in Smangus Village. My assumption is that the maintenance of host authenticity leads to the performance of living authenticity (see the detail in Chapter one and two); the living authenticity contributes to tourists' experience of authenticity, and at the same time, it enhances tourists' intention to revisit.

The following sections begin with a critique on authenticity theories and empirical studies. Past studies show a lack of concern on the link between host authenticity, tourism performance and tourist experience. Hence, I propose living authenticity as a new approach to bridge the research gap. This is followed by the results of data analysis, discussion, implications and conclusions.

5.1 Critique of the literature on authenticity

5.1.1 Authenticity theories in tourism studies

Authenticity is a slippery concept without a consistent definition in the literature (Belhassen et al., 2008; Bruner, 1994; Wang, 1999). Previous studies on authenticity can be divided into two main topics – the authenticity of the tour object and the authentic experience.

The analytic approaches to the authenticity of the tour object includes objective and constructive approaches. The objective approach originated from use in museums for defining the historical origins of museum collections. As Trilling (1972) stated, experts test whether objects of art are what they appear to be or are claimed to be, and whether they are worth the price that is asked for them. Such an authenticity/inauthenticity divide is an essential qualifying factor in indigenous tourism studies, where it concerns the value of cultural property. This applies to tourist settings, and indicates a concern for justifying whether cultural properties such as architecture, handmade crafts and cultural festivals are made by local people according to

historical origins. In contrast to the objective approach is the constructive approach that judges authenticity through historical origins. It argues that there are no originals or an absolute standard of authentic culture. Rather, the cultural traditions are continually recreated and constructed by the influence of social discourses (Bruner, 2001; Cohen, 1988; Handler & Linnekin, 1984). Through what Cohen (1988) calls emergent authenticity, a newly created cultural object will eventually be recognized as authentic by the public in the course of time. At this point, Reisinger and Steiner (2006) suggest the notion of object authenticity should be abandoned because there is no common ground for discussion.

The analysis of authentic experience is based on an existential approach (Belhassen, Caton, & Stewart, 2008; Betta, 2014; Cohen-Aharoni, 2017; Rickly-Boyd, 2013; Steiner & Reisinger, 2006; Wang, 1999). The assumption is that people who are alienated from their own society pursue authenticity through tourism. Wang (1999) proposes the concept of existential authenticity, an experience of the authentic self in tourism activities. Existential authenticity can be further divided into intra-personal authenticity and inter-personal authenticity based on different approaches to experience (Wang, 1999). Intra-personal authenticity refers to one's perception of the authentic self in contrast to the understanding of another history and living culture. In this way, tourists enhance self-realization and identify the inner self in relation to the external world. Inter-personal authenticity refers to ones' perception of an authentic self through understanding the connection with a place or a group of people. In this way, the individuals understand that they are associated with a specific place or belong to a group. Wang suggests that the experience of existential authenticity might have nothing to do with the authenticity of tourism objects. For example, Vidal González (2008) notes that flamenco is an intangible cultural heritage of Spain but the largest flamenco population is in Japan. Flamenco

serves as a way for Japanese women to experience their authentic selves. During the dancing they are free from social constraints and able to show real emotions and passions in public.

The approaches described above contribute valuable insights regarding authenticity of cultural objects and tourist experiences. Largely absent from these approaches, however, is the notion of place, an essential element of tourism. Current approaches to the authenticity of objects calls for abandoning the focus on place of origin, while the experience of authenticity may transcend links between people and places. Belhassen et al. (2008) argue, "This dichotomy [between object and experience] is problematic because it obscures the way that toured sites/objects and social discourses often exist in dialogue with experiences of existential authenticity" (p. 674). We need to reconsider the relationship between experience and object.

5.1.2 Perceptions of authenticity in tourism studies

Within tourism, authenticity theory has mainly focused on its application to non-living cultural destinations and products including cities, natural landscapes, heritage sites, food, indigenous souvenirs, purchasing experiences and historical reproduction (Table 5.1).

Ram, Björk, and Weidenfeld (2016) examined the correlation between tourists' perceptions of existential authenticity and place attachment. The research site included Helsinki Dorm and Helsinki Zoo in Finland and the Tower of David and Jeruslem Zoo in Israel. The result suggested that there is a positive correlation between place attachment and existential authenticity.

Meng and Choi (2016) examined tourists' perceptions of existential authenticity and their intention to participate in slow tourism. Slow tourism focus on authentic experiences such as deep engagement with unspoiled natural areas. Meng and Choi's survey was conducted in Seagull Road in Busan, South Korea. Seagull Road is a slow tourism destination where tourists can experience the uniqueness of oceanic culture. The result showed that the tourists'

perceptions of authenticity in tourism can prompt them to participate in slow tourism. Thus, tourists who preferred authentic activities can be targeted as potential slow tourism customers.

Kolar and Zabkar (2010) developed the consumer-based model of authenticity which analyzed the correlation between cultural motivation, perception of object-related authenticity, perception of existential authenticity, and loyalty based on tourists' experience at Romanesque heritage sites in European countries. The results showed that tourists' perception of object-related authenticity affects their perception of existential authenticity. That is, the authentic perception with tourist settings importantly affects the perception of existential authenticity. Besides, these two dimensions of authenticity are an important link between tourists' cultural motivation and tourists' intended behaviors.

Lu, Chi, and Liu (2015) examined the correlation between tourists' perception of object-related authenticity and satisfaction in Litchi Bay, a historical site in Southern China. The results indicated that object-related authenticity positively influences satisfaction.

Bryce et al. (2015) adopted Kolar and Zabkar's model to Asian settings. They examined the correlation between object-related authenticity, existential authenticity and engagement based on tourists' experiences at Japanese heritage sites. The results showed that object-related authenticity has a positive influence on tourist engagement. In other words, increasing tourists' perception of objected related authenticity will positively influence their engagement, an emotional connection and commitment to the destination.

Zhou et al. (2013) adopted Kolar and Zabkar's model and added a new variable, attitude. They examined tourists' perceptions of authenticity in the Hantai and Mianxian Wuhou Temples in Shanxi Province of China. The result showed two dimensions of authenticity: object-related authenticity and existential authenticity. Attitude has significant effect on the perception of object-related authenticity and existential authenticity. Object-related authenticity

positively influences existential authenticity. However, object-related authenticity has a positive impact on loyalty but existential authenticity does not. This result suggests that tourists are satisfied with the plain understanding of traditional culture and are not concerned about the spiritual connotation behind the traditional culture.

Robinson and Clifford (2012) examined the correlation between foodservice authenticity and intention to revisit in the Abbey Medieval Festival of Brisbane, Australia. The result indicated that the authenticity of foodservice is positively correlated with intention to revisit.

Jang, Ha, and Park (2012) examined the correlation between food authenticity, atmospheric authenticity, positive emotion and value perception. The results showed that food authenticity positively influences the consumer's positive emotion and value perception. Atmospheric authenticity led to positive emotion alone.

Chang, Wall, and Hung (2012) examined the authenticity of indigenous souvenir glass beads sold in handicraft stores in San Di Men Township in Taiwan. The result shows that some tourists did not care about authenticity but were interested in attractive design. Some tourists judged authenticity based on whether the handicrafts are locally made.

Xie, Wu, and Hsieh (2012) examined tourists' perceptions of authenticity of indigenous souvenir cups sold in Ketagalan Culture Center in Taiwan. The result shows that while looking at the object-related authenticity, the tourists consider modern design combined with indigenous markers to be more authentic than the traditional design.

Beverland and Farrelly (2010) explored consumers' perceptions of existential authenticity through analyzing their repetitive purchasing behaviors. The researchers found three goals of experiencing existential authenticity that contribute to consumers' repetitive purchasing behaviors. The first goal is seeking control over object and self. For example, a surfer buys the same brand of surfboard as professionals to improve surfing skills to a professional level. The

particular brand of surfboard is perceived as authentic because it is effective to help the surfer to improve the skills. On the other hand, the surfer feels in control that they can handle the surf skill (to attain a higher level or remain at the current level) and the equipment. The second goal is seeking connection to place, people and culture. Giving cosplay as an example, the participants have regular gatherings where they wear unique costumes. The costumes are the mediator that connects all participants. The third goal is seeking virtuousness consistent with one's own values. For example, a tourist regularly seeks spiritual enrichment by traveling to India where he believes that the local inhabitants are more genuine because they are less interested in material pursuits. Here, the nonmaterialistic life is the tourist's value. He finds that the nonmaterialistic life is being practiced in India. Therefore, the tourists revisits the same destination every year.

Waitt (2000) examined a contrived version of historical authenticity at The Rocks (designed by the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority) in Australia. The restoration of The Rocks has transformed the location into a Eurocentric national imagining by highlighting many Australian firsts: the first cemetery, the oldest surviving houses, and the places where many famous colonial figures lived. The indigenous and scholarly versions of The Rocks' past, such as the stories of exploitation, austere lifestyle and disease, were overlooked. The author identified the artifacts that tourists perceived as authentic and examined whether tourists with different socio-demographic characteristics show differences in their perception of authenticity. The result shows that tourists perceived the contrived designs (overall settings, activities, demonstrations and buildings) of Australia's past as authentic. Especially, male domestic tourists with previous visits to The Rocks accepted what they saw as historically authentic. Only young females or tourists from overseas doubt the historical accuracy.

Table 5.1 The perceptions of authenticity in various tourism settings

Research objects	Operator
Major visitor attractions in two capital cities, Helsinki, Finland and Jerusalem, Israel (Ram et al., 2016)	Government authorities
Oceanic culture in Galmaet-gil (Seagull Road) of Busan in South Korea (Meng & Choi, 2016)	Government authorities
Historic district of Litchi Bay in China (Lu et al., 2015)	Government authorities
Historical buildings in Miyajima's Itsukushima Shrine, Hiroshima Castle and the Golden Pavilion in Japan (Bryce et al., 2015)	Government authorities
Two Chinese calligraphic landscape in Shanxi Province of China (Zhou et al., 2013)	Government authorities
Romanesque heritage sites in European countries (Kolar & Zabkar, 2010)	Government authorities
Contrive version of historical authenticity of The Rocks (designed by the Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority) in Australia (Waitt, 2000)	Government authorities
Foodservice of the Abbey Medieval Festival in Australia (Robinson & Clifford, 2012)	Tourism entrepreneur
Food and atmospherics at Korean restaurants in the United States (Jang et al., 2012)	Tourism entrepreneur
Indigenous souvenirs of the Paiwan tribe in San Di Men Township of Pintung Country, Taiwan (Chang et al., 2012)	Tourism entrepreneur
Indigenous souvenir cups selling in Ketagalan Culture Center in Taiwan (Xie et al., 2012)	Tourism entrepreneur
Consumer purchasing experience (Beverland & Farrelly, 2010)	Tourism entrepreneur

Source: Author Compilation

The above studies are illustrative of the expanding research on tourists' perceptions of authenticity in non-living culture destinations that are operated by tourism entrepreneurs and government authorities. However, no such investigation has been undertaken in living culture destinations that are owned and operated by local people. Moreover, the researchers that I indicate in section 5.4 view authenticity as a commodity marketed to meet tourists' imagination

of cultural properties. A common criticism is that what is marketed as authentic is just one version of the truth (Waitt, 2000; Yoshimura & Wall, 2010). The destinations are manipulated by travel agents, media and authorities as a promotion device which directs the tourists to a limited range of images, instead of local people's representations. In other words, the discussions tend to separate the tour object from the cultural contexts that give it meaning. The results fall into the tourists' subjective interpretations. Such authenticity is no longer related to the living experiences of local people and also far away from the reality of the destination.

5.1.3 Summary of the critique of the literature on authenticity

In theoretical discussions, scholars show lack of concern for the importance of the place and local people on tourists' perceptions of authenticity. In line with this theoretical approach, empirical assessments mainly focus on non-living culture destinations such as heritage sites and museums. Both theoretical and empirical research excludes host role in the discussion of authenticity. In other words, the link between host authenticity, tourism performance and tourists' experience is absent. This leads tourism performance to a static, non-living authenticity. In the end, the hosts might lose their authenticity in the performance of non-living culture and the tourists are not able to experience authenticity. To this end, living authenticity is proposed to fill this research gap.

5.2 Living authenticity: a new approach

The notion of living originates from discussion of place as a center of meaning created by people through living experience (Tuan, 1975, 1977). Living experience connects cultural objects and host authenticity. Through a performance of daily lives in tourism activities such as the interpretation of cultural properties that local people using daily and the interaction with indigenous people, living experience of a place provides the source for tourists' experience of

existential authenticity (Figure 5.1). Such existential authenticity can be divided into intra-personal and inter-perosnal authenticity.

However, such living authenticity of indigenous people faces challenges in the market of commercialized tourism. Studies indicated that the majority of tourists pursue authenticity as a static concept of the past and ignore the current situation of the destination (Bunten, 2008; Theodossopoulos, 2013; West & Carrier, 2004). This view from tourists has a negative impact on the indigenous tourism destination when the indigenous hosts are unable to resist it. The indigenous hosts are forced to present their cultural properties and themselves inauthentically in accordance with tourists' understanding of the past in order to cater to market demands (Silver, 1993). As a response to this inauthentic presentation, scholars suggest that indigenous hosts should take control over their tourism business to define the authenticity of cultural properties (Getz, 1994) and to define their authentic selves (Bunten, 2008). That is, hosts present their cultural properties and themselves in a way consistent with their living experiences while conforming to commercialized hospitality in a tourism business.

The notion of living is discussed from two perspectives. The first aspect is the relationship between human activities and cultural properties (Stovel, 2008; Tuan, 1975, 1977). That is, cultural properties are given meanings through culture continuously being practiced in the real life of the place. At the same time, the traditional meanings of cultural properties are conveyed to tourists. Ise Shrine in Japan is an example of a tourism destination given meanings through continuous practices. Ise is a Japanese Shinto shrine, the spiritual center of Japan and a symbol of Japanese cultural identity (Nelson, 2000). The shrine is also famous for its periodic reconstruction; by tradition the shrine is rebuilt every 20 years. Instead of emphasizing on the cultural objects (such as architectural materials), the authenticity of Ise Shrine is created through living culture. That is, Ise reflects a continuity of conservation practices in Shinto religion as a

way of maintaining the traditional source of identity for contemporary Japanese people. In other words, the object-related authenticity not only refers to tangible objects, but intangible meanings attached to cultural objects in the destination context. This intangible meaning is an important source of identity for tourists to experience intra-personal authenticity. Such intangible meaning is conveyed to tourists through the interpretation by host communities in activities such as guided tours.

The second aspect of living relates to the authentic selves of indigenous hosts. Tourism as a commercialized hospitality is a profit-motivated transaction (Bunten, 2008; Dann & Cohen, 1991) which requires a standardized hospitality and a product that meets a universal standard. This commercialized hospitality is different from the traditional hospitality in living experience of indigenous hosts. It reduces the authentic tradition of hospitality to a mere commercial transaction (Macleod, 2006). Hence, indigenous hosts face challenges to balance their authentic selves with demands of the service encounter with tourists. If indigenous hosts conform to the demands of the hospitality industry and cannot resist standardization, their authentic selves are diminished (Hochschild, 1983). On the other hand, when host workers successfully resist standardized hospitality, they can keep their authentic self while contributing to tourists' quests for the inter-personal authenticity. As Wang (1999) suggests, being one's authentic self in human interaction is an essential element for the individual to experience the inter-personal authenticity, the connection among people. This interaction occurs in tourism activities and service encounters.

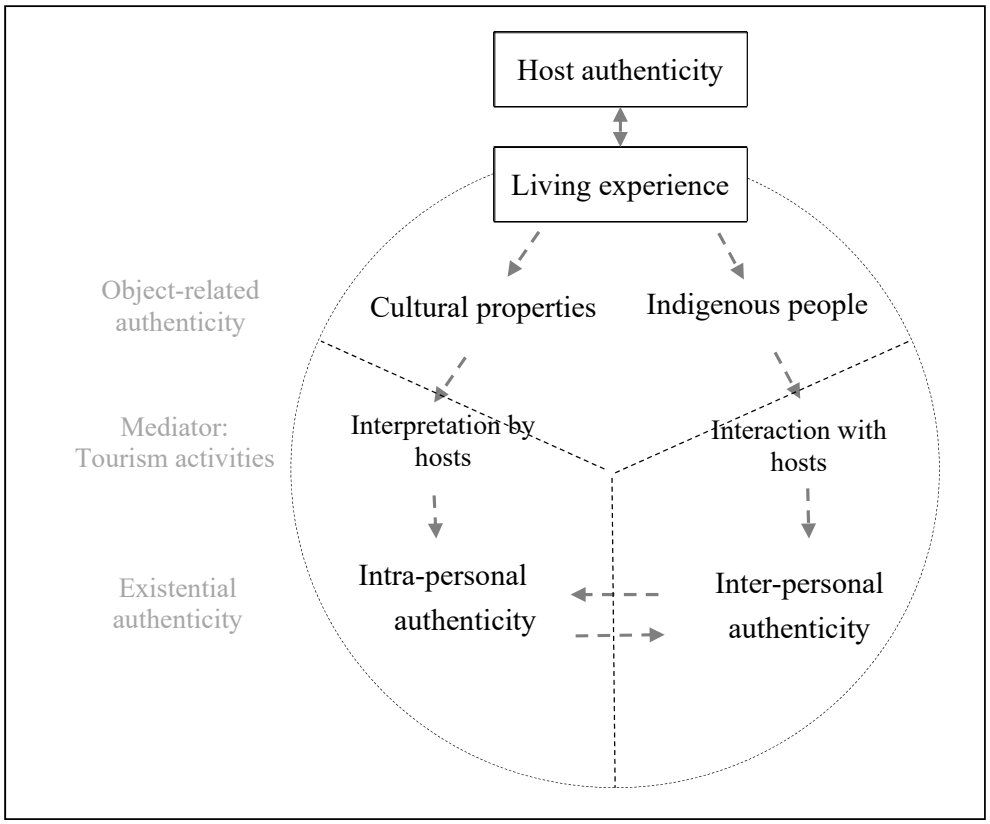


Figure 5.1 Concept of living authenticity in indigenous tourism

Source: the author

Based on the above argument, this chapter examines tourists' perceptions of living authenticity in Smangus Village, one of the most popular indigenous tourism destinations in Taiwan. It tries to answer the following research questions: What are tourists' perceptions of living authenticity during their visits to Smangus Village? Do these perceptions of living authenticity influence their intention to revisit? The following section shows the results of data analysis.

5.3 Results of data analysis

5.3.1 Item analysis

Item analysis is used to examine the quality of developed items.

(1) The value of standard deviation should be above 0.75.

(2) The acceptable range of skewness is below +1 and above -1.

(3) The extreme groups T-test is for measuring the discriminating power of the items. 27 % of the respondents at the top and the 27 % at the bottom are separated for T-test analysis.

(4) Corrected item-total correlation is the correlation between each item and the total score from the questionnaire. In a reliable scale all items should correlate with the total. Nunnally (1978) suggests that the values greater than 0.3 are discriminating.

Table 5.2 shows the result of item analysis. The sample size is 194. Regarding the dependent variables, the value of standard deviation on items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9 and 13 are lower than 0.75. The Cronbach's Alpha for the entire scale is 0.89, which is within the range of acceptable reliabilities.

Table 5.2 The result of item analysis

Item	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness	Extreme groups T-test	Corrected Item-Total Correlation
AU_01 The overall architecture and road impressed me	4.17	.67	-.74	7.71	.58
AU_02 I liked the peculiar design and decor of Smangus architecture such as restaurant, granary and elementary school	4.23	.71	-.44	6.51	.46
AU_03 I liked Smangus demonstrating their culture and history on woodcarvings	4.36	.67	-.57	8.81	.55

(Continued)

Table 5.2 (continued)

Item	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness	Extreme groups T-test	Corrected Item-Total Correlation
AU_04 I liked the architecture which fully shows Smangus characteristics	4.28	.72	-.65	9.07	.52
AU_05 I liked the way Smangus tourism blends with nature and culture together in tourism	4.34	.67	-.62	8.13	.53
AU_06 Smangus past life experience and development history are fully demonstrated	4.13	.81	-.48	13.29	.68
AU_07 I liked food and beverage featuring with Smangus characteristics	3.81	.86	-.21	9.52	.56
AU_08 The physical settings of Smangus full of Atayal culture	4.04	.76	-.43	11.39	.68
AU_09 This visit provided me a further understanding about Smangus history	4.25	.72	-.67	13.28	.69
AU_10 During the visit I know more about Smangus culture	4.11	.75	-.64	11.95	.72
AU_11 During the visit I feel connected with the real history	3.91	.84	-.19	12.90	.65
AU_12 I liked Smangus pious religious and enjoyed the ambience	4.10	.75	-.31	11.04	.59
AU_13 I liked the calm and peaceful atmosphere during the visit	4.49	.60	-.72	7.43	.45
AU_14 Through the visit, I felt the development of Smangus and the mainstream society is connected	3.72	.79	-.09	5.56	.31
AU_15 I felt participated in the process of Smangus development	3.47	.85	.12	7.72	.43

Source: the author

5.3.2 Characteristic of the respondents

Table 5.3 describes the characteristic of respondents. Of the respondents, 58.8% were female and 41.2% were male. In respect to age, 26.3% were 50 years to 59 years old and 23.7%

were 20 years to 29 years old. Additionally, 91.2% of the respondents were first-time visitors. The respondents who had indigenous tourism experience were 45.9%, while 54.1% had no previous experience. Most respondents, 76.8%, spent two days and one night in Smangus Village, and 58.8% of the respondents participated in a package tour.

Table 5.3 Characteristic of the Respondents (n=194)

Items	Number of respondents	Percent
Gender		
Male	80	41.2%
Female	114	58.8%
Age		
<20 years	2	1%
20-29 years	46	23.7%
30-39 years	42	21.6%
40-49 years	39	20.1%
50-59 years	51	26.3%
>60 years	14	7.2%
Times of visit		
1st time	177	91.2%
2nd time	14	7.2%
3rd time	2	1.0%
4th time	1	0.5%
Previous indigenous tourism experience		
No	89	45.9%
Yes	105	54.1%
Duration		
Half day	26	13.4%
One day	10	5.2%
2 days 1 night	149	76.8%
3 days 2 nights	9	4.6%
Accompanied by		
Alone	3	1.5%
Friends	63	32.5%
Families	14	7.2%
Package tour	114	58.8%

Source: the author

5.3.3 Three dimensions of tourists' perceptions of living authenticity

The mean value of each developed item is provided in Table 5.2. For a Likert scale of 1-5, the mean value between 1 and 2.4 indicates a negative perception; that between 2.5 and 3.4 indicates neutrality; and between 3.5 and 5 indicates a positive perception (Tosun, 2002). Overall, the perceptions of living authenticity for each developed item were positive. In particular, developed item 3 *I liked Smangus Village demonstrating their culture and history on woodcarvings* had a mean value of 4.36. This may indicate that woodcarvings are considered as a feature of authentic indigenous culture. During the village guided tour, the local guide gives explanations for each woodcarving. For example, the local guide tells tourists that the owl (Figure 5.2) comes to the house when a woman gets pregnant. Through the owl's voice, villagers can tell the baby's gender. The bear woodcarving relates to stories about how the villagers fought with bears in the past. These stories were based on villagers' life experience. Through the explanation, woodcarvings are not only an object to exhibit to tourists but also a linkage to the daily lives in the village.

Figure 5.2 Smangus story woodcarvings

Owl

Bear

Source: Photograph by the author (June 2015)

The mean values of developed item 14 *Through the visit, I felt the development of Smangus Village and the mainstream society is connected* and developed item 15 *I felt that I participated in the process of Smangus Village development* were lower (3.72 and 3.47 respectively) than the other developed items. This may indicate that tourism settings in the village did not provide enough information about how Smangus Village had developed in the history of Taiwan. For example, currently there is only one woodcarving of changing footprints (Figure 5.3) to illustrate the transition of Smangus Village relative to the mainstream society.

Figure 5.3 Smangus Village's footprint woodcarving

Source: Photograph by the author (June 2015, the same picture of Figure 4.2)

The changing footprints tell how Smangus Village was influenced by the colonial rule in Taiwan. Bare footprints in the early years mean that Smangus people were self-sufficient

without interference from other societies. Later shoe-prints imply that they lost their identities when the dominant culture came into the village. In recent years they have neat footprints which mean that the villagers no longer lose themselves. Instead, they have rebuilt Smangus identity and cooperatively established their own tourism business. In this manner, the linkage between Smangus' development and mainstream society is illustrated in the woodcarving exhibition.

In order to examine tourists' perceptions of living authenticity in Smangus Village, exploratory factor analysis was performed for analyzing the structure of the correlations among fifteen developed items of authenticity by defining sets of factors that are highly interrelated. Each factor contains specific items that are a facet of authenticity.

Communality is the sum of squared loadings for a variable across factors. Small value indicates that the variable does not fit well with the factor solution and should be deleted from the analysis. The items were removed based on communality lower than 0.45 (Comrey & Lee, 1992). Each developed item is removed once and the remaining items are calculated by factor analysis. Three runs of factor analysis showed that developed items 5, 13 and 6 have communalities 0.427, 0.412 and 0.431 respectively. Accordingly, they were eliminated from the analysis.

Factors were extracted if their eigenvalue is greater than 1. An eigenvalue gives an estimate of the amount of variance associated with any factor, so that the rule involves retaining those factors which account for the above-average variance (Ferguson & Cox, 1993). The first three factors had eigenvalues of 1.442, 5.182, and 1.046, and accounted for 20.838%, 30.038%, and 13.042% of the variance, respectively. The cumulative percentage of the total variance explained by three extracted factors was 63.918%.

Exploratory factor analysis with Varimax rotation that produced the final twelve developed items suggested three factors as shown in Table 5.4. A Kaiser-Mayer-Olkin measure

of 0.878 and small values of the significance level of Bartlett's test ($x^2 = 955.031$; $p < 0.001$) indicate that the exploratory factor analysis was feasible. Cronbach's alphas for these three factors range from 0.61 to 0.88, suggesting that the developed items had a high internal consistency. A reliability coefficient of 0.6 in exploratory research was considered acceptable (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2010). These factors are defined and named object-related authenticity, intra-personal authenticity and inter-personal authenticity based on Wang Ning's (1999) authenticity typology.

Table 5.4 Perceptions of authenticity and factor loadings

Item	Mean	Fac.1	Fac.2	Fac.3	Communality
AU_02 I liked the peculiar design and decor of Smangus Village architecture such as restaurant, granary and elementary school	4.23	**.805**	.112	.011	.66
AU_03 I liked Smangus Village demonstrating their culture and history on woodcarvings	4.36	**.764**	.264	.010	.65
AU_01 The overall architecture and road impressed me	4.17	**.712**	.234	.207	.61
AU_04 I liked the architecture which fully shows Smangus Village characteristics	4.28	**.622**	.331	.055	.50
AU_10 During the visit I know more about Smangus Village culture	4.11	.288	**.794**	.061	.72
AU_11 During the visit I feel connected with real history	3.91	.079	**.790**	.254	.70
AU_09 This visit provided me a further understanding about Smangus Village history	4.25	.323	**.780**	-.017	.71
AU_07 The past life experience and development history in Smangus Village are fully demonstrated	3.81	.225	**.754**	.180	.65
AU_08 The physical settings of Smangus Village are full of Atayal culture	4.04	.299	**.700**	.135	.60
AU_12 I liked Smangus Village's religious piety and enjoyed the ambience	4.10	.177	**.583**	.287	.45

(Continued)

Table 5.4 (continued)

Item	Mean	Fac.1	Fac.2	Fac.3	Communality
AU_14 Through the visit, I felt the development of Smangus Village and the mainstream society is connected	3.72	.071	.079	**.856**	.74
AU_15 I felt that I participated in the process of Smangus Village development	3.47	.066	.301	**.765**	.68
Sum of squared loading (Eigenvalue)		1.44	5.18	1.05	
Percentage of variance explained (%)		20.84	30.04	13.04	
Cumulative Percentage of variance (%)		20.84	50.88	63.92	
Cronbach's Alpha		0.77	0.88	0.61	
Note: KMO = 0.878; Eigenvalue of factor 4 = 0.72; EIgenvalue of Factor 5 = 0.67					

Source: the author

Object-related authenticity refers to the perception of authenticity in tourism settings such as local buildings and woodcarvings. There were four developed items grouped together by exploratory factor analysis and named object-related authenticity. These developed items include, *AU_02 I liked the peculiar design and decor of Smangus Village's architecture such as restaurant, granary and elementary school*; *AU_03 I liked Smangus Village demonstrating their culture and history on woodcarvings*; *AU_01 The overall architecture and road impressed me*; and *AU_04 I liked the architecture which fully shows Smangus Village characteristics*.

Intra-personal authenticity refers to the perception of tourists' authentic selves through the understanding of the village's real history and culture. For example, tourists deepen their understanding of the past and daily lives of Smangus people today. Six developed items were classified as intra-personal authenticity. These items include *AU_10 During the visit I know more about Smangus Village culture*; *AU_11 During the visit I feel connected with real history*; *AU_09 This visit provided me a further understanding about Smangus Village history*; *AU_07 The past life experience and development history in Smangus Village are fully demonstrated*;

AU_08 The physical settings of Smangus Village are full of Atayal culture; and *AU_12 I liked Smangus Village's religious piety and enjoyed the ambience*.

Inter-personal authenticity refers to the perception of tourists' authentic selves through understanding the connection with another society. There were two developed items grouped together by the exploratory factor analysis and related to people's feelings of connection with the destination. These developed items are *AU_14 Through the visit, I felt the development of Smangus Village and the mainstream society is connected* and *AU_15 I felt that I participated in the process of Smangus Village development*.

To conclude, exploratory factor analysis shows three factors which are highly intercorrelated representing facets of authenticity. These three factors (object-related authenticity, intra-personal authenticity, and inter-personal authenticity) are different from those of Kolar and Zabkar's (2010) work but corroborate Wang's (1999) authenticity typology. In Wang's qualitative analysis, existential authenticity can be further divided into two dimensions: intra-personal authenticity refers to identity and inter-personal authenticity refers to connection with the destination.

In contrast with Kolar and Zabkar's research that focused on tourists' perception of a static concept of non-living authenticity in 25 Romanesque heritage sites, Smangus Village provided living authenticity for tourists, including living space and host-guest interactive tourism activities (guided tour and night party in the village). Rather than interpreting ancient history, the village emphasizes its living history. Smangus Village guides brought tourists around villagers' living areas and elaborated cultural practices and personal life experiences. As Wang (1999) notes, intra-personal authenticity and inter-personal authenticity are activity-related. These two authenticities can only be perceived in human interactions.

5.3.4 Perceptions of living authenticity and intention to revisit

Table 5.5 presents the result of ordinal logistic regression. Three dimensions of living authenticity, when regressed together, had significant effects on the intention to revisit. The overall model was significant with $p < 0.05$. This suggests that the model is significantly improved over the baseline intercept-only model.

Table 5.5 Ordinal logistic regression analysis for predicting intention to revisit (n=194)

Parameter Estimates								
							95% Confidence Interval	
	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Object-related authenticity	.423	.141	8.997	1	.003	1.526	.146	.699
Intra-personal authenticity	.596	.143	17.380	1	.000	1.815	.316	.876
Inter-personal authenticity	.446	.145	9.464	1	.002	1.562	.162	.731

Note: model chi-square = 34.025, df = 3, $p < 0.05$; Nagelkerke R-square = 0.179

[a] The ordinal dependent variable, intention to revisit, was rated into five categories: 1=Strongly disagree; 2=Disagree; 3=Neutral; 4=Agree; 5=Strongly agree.

Source: the author

Nagelkerke R-square indicates that the model can account for 17.9 % of the variance in the intention to revisit. This can be considered satisfactory as the values of pseudo R-square measures are always smaller than the R-square of a linear regression model (Norušis, 2004). The coefficient of object-related authenticity was .423. The odds ratio: exp (.423) = 1.526 (95% CI, 0.146 to 0.699; Wald $x^2(1) = 8.997$, $p < 0.05$) which indicates that the odds of having a higher intention to revisit increase by 1.526 for each unit increase in the perception of object-related authenticity. The coefficient of intra-personal authenticity was 0.596. The odds ratio was exp (.596) = 1.815 (95% CI, 0.316 to 0.876; Wald $x^2(1) = 17.38$, $p < 0.05$) which indicates that the odds of having a higher intention to revisit increase by 1.815 for each unit increase in the perception of intra-personal authenticity. The cobefficient of inter-personal authenticity

is .446. The odds ratio was exp (.446) = 1.562 (95% CI, 0.162 to 0.731; Wald $x^2(1) = 9.464$, $p < 0.05$) which indicates that odds of having a higher intention to revisit increase by 1.562 for each unit increase in the perception of inter-personal authenticity. In summary, the perceptions of object-related authenticity, intra-personal authenticity and inter-personal authenticity are all positively correlated with the intention to revisit. In other words, the result found that the tourists' perceptions of living authenticity in Smangus Village influence their intention to revisit.

5.4 Discussion and implications

The first research question of this study was to examine tourists' perceptions of living authenticity in Smangus Village. Exploratory factor analysis revealed three dimensions, which are highly intercorrelated representing facets of living authenticity: object-related authenticity, intra-personal authenticity and inter-personal authenticity. This result differs from two dimensions of authenticity (object-related authenticity and existential authenticity) found in the work of Kolar and Zabkar (2010). Kolar and Zabkar's work focused on the static concept of non-living authenticity in heritage sites. In contrast, this study modified Kolar and Zabkar's questions and emphasized living authenticity by adding the questions related to intra-personal and inter-personal authenticity. In this way, this study tried to enhance the explanatory power of the model of tourists' perception of authenticity. In addition, the different cultural setting may contribute to tourists' perceptions of intra-personal authenticity and inter-personal authenticity. For example, the case of Smangus emphasizes hosts' dynamic living experiences and provides their living space to tourists. As Kolar and Zabkar suggested, there is still a lack of evidence to tell whether tourists have similar perceptions of authenticity in different cultural settings. Thus, the result of this study also contributes to the discussion of tourists' perceptions of authenticity in the dynamic context of living authenticity in indigenous tourism destinations.

The second research question was to analyze if tourists' perceptions of living authenticity influence their intention to revisit. Ordinal logistic regression analysis showed that perceptions of object-related authenticity, intra-personal authenticity and inter-personal authenticity were all positively correlated with the intention to revisit. This result is consistent with findings of previous studies demonstrating this relationship (Kim & Jamal, 2007; Kolar & Zabkar, 2010). Considerations for object-related, intra-personal and inter-personal authenticity will lead to further success in the sustainable development of indigenous tourism. This research provides managerial suggestions for Smangus Village in future tourism activities.

Since Smangus is not just a tourism destination but a living place, the village should show their living experiences and their cultural practice more concretely. For example, the village can further display the transition in their livelihood in parallel with the economic transformation during the same time in the larger society of Taiwan. Woodcarving exhibitions in the village can be an effective way to show this. By addressing the development gap between the economic deprivation in Smangus and the economic prosperity in mainstream society, representations of object-related authenticity can be made more concrete and visible for short-stay tourists to understand.

In terms of intra-personal authenticity and inter-personal authenticity, scholars indicated that both concepts exist in tourism activities (Wang, 1999). I suggest that the village should consider ways to inspire tourists during the tourism activities for enhancing tourists' perceptions of intra-personal and inter-personal authenticity. For example, introducing the common history (e.g. colonial experiences) between villagers and tourists could be very insightful for tourists. In this manner, helping tourists recognize the distinctive practices of village life and their source of identity may enhance tourists' perception of intra-personal authenticity. In addition, Smangus Village can illustrate a communal lifestyle in contrast to the

competitive daily life in the tourists' society. For example, explaining more about how the village's goals of social equality such as working and eating together functions among villagers could be helpful for tourists' understanding. In this manner, tourists can realize inter-personal authenticity in the traditional ties and the collective nature of human beings.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter seeks to synthesize current discourses regarding authenticity of tour object and tourist experience by proposing the concept of living authenticity. Scholars have argued that the dichotomous approach to objects and experiences tends to separate the existential experience of authenticity from local place and people. This leads to discarding the meaning of cultural objects and, in turn, it does not enhance sustainable tourism development. This study reasserts the importance of the connection between tour object and existential experience. Based on a survey conducted with tourists in Smangus Village, it reveals that living authenticity has three dimensions: object-related, intra-personal and inter-personal. These three are correlated with tourists' intention to revisit. The concept of living authenticity is thus suggested as an incorporated concept that combines tour object and tourists' experience, existing in dialogue between host and tourist.

Smangus Village is an indigenous owned and operated tourism destination. The village owners long to maintain their tradition and values in the tourism market. As discussed in Hsu and Nilep's (2015) study, village leaders pledge that "tourism management from now on will be based on traditional scenery and activities, allowing visitors a deeper understanding of Atayal culture" (pp. 22-23). In other words, the villagers seek to show an authentic Atayal culture to tourists. The above consideration of object-related authenticity, intra-personal authenticity and inter-personal authenticity may contribute to this village goal and help their future management, which in turn will enhance the probability of tourists' revisiting. In any

case, the initiative and participation of villagers in their tourism activities is a key for success and sustainability. Thus, authenticity will remain an important concept in the study and practice of indigenous tourism.

Chapter 6 Conclusions

This final chapter summarizes the research findings based on the examination of authenticity in an indigenous owned and operated tourism destination in Taiwan. Research contributions and implications for practice are provided, as well as limitations and directions for future research.

This dissertation discusses how approaching authenticity from the perspective of hosts – indigenous people – can contribute to sustainable indigenous tourism development. As I explained in Chapter 1, indigenous tourism development is predominately based on the interventions of government agencies and tourism entrepreneurs. Besides, the global trend of seeking authentic experience in indigenous tourism consists of wealthier tourists from more highly developed societies traveling to poorer indigenous areas. This causes an unbalanced power relationship between indigenous people and tourists. Tourism as a commercialized hospitality often prioritizes tourists' expectations and lack of concern with the real life of the destination. Indigenous people are frequently excluded from the discussion of authenticity. I argued that the experience of authenticity is not only the privilege of tourists. The hosts of tourism destination also actively maintain their own authenticity at the same time that they are providing expected services.

In the literature review (Chapter 2), I categorized authenticity studies into three approaches, existentialism, objectivism and constructivism, and two analytic aspects, the experience of authenticity and the authenticity of cultural objects. This review reveals two research gaps related to managerial issues. The first is about maintenance of authenticity. Among these three approaches, scholars did not include the host view (host authenticity) in the discussion but only focused on the view of tourists and outside professionals. The lack of concern for host authenticity leads tourism performance to a non-living authenticity, the second research gap. That is, local spirit, identity and sense of place are gone. The tradition and cultural properties

are only shown to tourists for commercial purposes, as happens at world heritage sites managed by outside authorities. This results in tourists' experience of authenticity becoming unrelated to the experience of indigenous people. To this point, the places toured and the local people have been excluded in the discussion of the authenticity of tourism studies. From a geographic perspective, I argued that the place and local people are an important source of existential authenticity. To this end, living authenticity was proposed to bridge this research gap.

Based on above arguments, this study explored the maintenance of host authenticity in a living place – an example of living authenticity – and the effects of host authenticity on tourists by examining the performance of living authenticity in the context of an indigenous owned and operated tourism destination. This study was designed to answer the following research questions. The first research question is, does Smangus Village maintain 'host authenticity' during tourism development? If so, how does Smangus Village maintain their host authenticity in the living place? The second and third research questions are related to the effects of host authenticity on tourists. The authenticity of Smangus Village is related to their living experiences, called living authenticity. This living authenticity is performed by the villagers in their tourism settings and programs to the tourists. This raises a concern about whether the performance of living authenticity contributes to tourists' experience of authenticity. Therefore, the second research question is, what are tourists' perceptions of living authenticity in Smangus Village? The third research question is, do tourists' perceptions of living authenticity influence their intention to revisit?

Through a mixed methods approach including ethnography and questionnaire survey, this study primarily attempted to clarify how the maintenance of host authenticity and performance of living authenticity contributes to the sustainability of indigenous tourism development. The ethnographic investigation of host authenticity relied on data collected from participatory

observation in tourism programs (guided tour and night party), interviews with villagers, information from Smangus meeting minutes and information from the village website. The examination of performance of living authenticity was based on a questionnaire survey conducted from May 22 to June 14, 2015. There were 194 respondents.

6.1 Summary of the findings

Question 1 was addressed in Chapter 4. How did Smangus Village maintain their host authenticity during tourism development activities? There are three findings. First, although villagers suffered from the anxiety of economic hardship, low standard of living and no vehicle access road, they made their own decision to transfer village industry from agriculture to tourism on the basis of a dream divination. This dream divination is part of Atayal Gaga, a traditional social norm that guides villagers' life. They view tourism development as a practice of Atayal Gaga, rather than something imposed by external force. On this point, they maintain their authentic self successfully.

Second, while constructing tourism settings, the villagers prioritized their own needs, rather than catering to tourists' demand. In the initial phrase of tourism development (1991-1995), villagers decided to maintain low accessibility to the village by limiting the road width to three meters. In this way, they reduced the number of people who came to the village by car. As Cohen (2002) suggested, the critical of factor for sustainability is to control the number of tourists. At this point, the villagers had made their first step toward sustainable tourism development.

The village had a temporary breakdown of traditional ties between 1996 and 1999 because there was unequal distribution of the number of tourists among households. Some households reduced the price of accommodation and constructed larger mountain lodges in order to attract more tourists. In 2000, the competition was alleviated because the women's fellowship of

Smangus Church started cooperative work in a communal kitchen. In 2001, the villagers expanded the scale of cooperation to include a restaurant, convenience store and lodge.

In 2004, the villagers established Tnunan Smangus, a village cooperative system based on Atayal Gaga. It emphasizes communal properties and economic benefit sharing. The agriculture products, the land and tourism industry were all communally owned and operated by the participants of Tnunan Smangus. The participants have lunch together every day, share the village's work and also the revenues generated from the tourism business. In this way, Tnunan Smangus parallels the sharing of duties and benefits under the past traditional life.

Since Tnunan Smangus started working, sustainable tourism development has become a common goal among villagers. They gradually reformed mountain lodges and reduced the accommodation capacity from 400 to 250 people. Meanwhile, villagers set woodcarvings to demonstrate their past living experiences and current cooperative work. While constructing tourism settings, they also built an elementary school to conserve Atayal culture and language. The village entrance also changed because the road was near the school. The villagers decided to lead tourists to enter the village from another side connecting with a parking lot. In this way, villagers provided a safe environment for children.

Third, in the village tourism activities such as the guided tour and night party, the villagers viewed themselves as educators and wanted tourists to understand ethnic culture and respect indigenous people. Their language Atayal became a tool to educate tourists. For example, the villagers teach a local greeting phrase to tourists. Meanwhile, by speaking their own language in tourism activities, they pointed out their ethnicity and limited the information apportioned to tourists. For example, they indicated that the local language is still used by all the villagers while comparing this with other indigenous villages in Taiwan that have been assimilated into mainstream society. Another example was that the host introduced Smangus Village in Atayal

with a Chinese translation in the night party. In this way the village claims the dominant position of the host over tourists in tourism activities.

Questions 2 and 3 were discussed in Chapter 5. In terms of question 2, the result of exploratory factor analysis showed that tourists' perceptions of living authenticity include object-related, intra-personal, and inter-personal authenticity. This result is different from previous studies which focused on non-living authenticity consisting of two dimensions of authenticity – object-related and existential (Bryce et al., 2015; Kolar & Zabkar, 2010; Lu et al., 2015; Zhou et al., 2013). This study examined the notion of living authenticity that emphasizes place as an important source of existential authenticity. The meaning of place is constituted by the relationship of people and environment. Those meanings are made through living experiences. In other words, a place is a way of understanding about the relationship between self and the world. For example, when a village guide tells tourists that the location of Smangus Village is in the headwater area, tourists recognize that this place provides their drinking water. By understanding a place, tourists are able to recognize their connection to a destination. The results decompose the concept of existential authenticity into intra-personal (the perception of tourists' authentic selves through the understanding of the village's real history and culture) and inter-personal authenticity (the perception of tourists' authentic selves through understanding the connection with another society). In this way, living authenticity is an incorporated concept that bridges tour object and tourists' experience.

For question 3, the result of ordinal logistic regression showed that the three dimensions of living authenticity, including object-related authenticity, intra-personal authenticity and inter-personal authenticity, are all positively correlated with intention to revisit. In other words, tourists who perceive Smangus Village as more authentic on each dimension are more likely to say they plan to visit again. This result reaffirms the importance of authenticity to tourists'

intention to revisit, as previous studies have indicated (Bryce et al., 2015; Kim & Jamal, 2007; Kolar & Zabkar, 2010; Lu et al., 2015; Zhou et al., 2013). These results can inform discussions of the managerial issues of living culture in other indigenous tourism destinations similar to Smangus Village.

To achieve the goal of sustainability of indigenous tourism development, we should pay closer attention to how authenticity is managed in the real life of a tourism destination. Accordingly, when addressing the issues of object-related authenticity, the village should show their living experiences and their cultural practice more concretely. For example, woodcarving exhibitions can be an effective way to show the link between living experience and traditional cultural practice. Smangus villagers can display their past livelihood hardships in parallel with the economic transformation taking place in the larger society of Taiwan during the same time.

For intra-personal authenticity, the village could interpret the common history (e.g. colonial experiences) between villagers and tourists in tourism activities. In this way, local guides help tourists recognize the distinctive practices of village life, and this source of identity may enhance tourists' perception of intra-personal authenticity.

For inter-personal authenticity, the village could illustrate its communal lifestyle in contrast to the competitive everyday life in tourists' society through tourism activities. For example, explaining more about how the village's goals of social equality, such as working and eating together, functions among villagers could be helpful for tourists' understanding. In this manner, tourists can realize inter-personal authenticity in the traditional ties and the collective nature of human beings.

6.2 Research contribution

This study contributes to expanding the discourse of authenticity in four ways. First, it suggests that a communal sense of authenticity is an alternative aspect in authenticity discourses.

As I have argued in Chapters 1 and 2, the three approaches – objectivism, constructivism and existentialism – lack concern for hosts' perspectives on tourism management. As opposed to the theoretical discourses discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, Zhu's (2012) work addresses host perspective by analyzing how an indigenous ritual practitioner is able to experience his own sense of existential authenticity through performances that visiting tourists see as just for fun. However, it is difficult to generalize the results of Zhu's ontological sense of practice in tourism activities to other studies. Continuing this line of inquiry, the study in this dissertation extends the analytic scope into a village's practice. The host authenticity in Smangus Village emerges in their communal works, which the villagers call Tnunan Smangus. Tnunan means weaving together. All the participants in Tnunan Smangus share the village work depending on their expertise. The tourism revenue is equally shared through a social welfare scheme (see the details on page 77). Moreover, the properties such as mountain lodges, land and agricultural products are owned and operated by Tnunan Smangus. In this way, host authenticity represents a series of communal practices rather than an individual's reflections. Such communal practices in their tourism business are the authentic expression of traditional spiritual practice.

Second, this study reasserted the importance of the connection between cultural objects and existential experience. As Tuan (1975, 1977) indicates, place contains various meanings related to the relationships with people and environment which are made through living experience. By understanding a place, tourists are able to recognize who they are and their authentic self (identity) related to a destination. In this sense, the experience of authenticity is object-related. Through the term living authenticity this study aims to bridge the two positions, living culture of indigenous people and tourists' experience. That is, place is an important source for tourists experiencing authenticity through which the destination and the authentic self are interrelated.

Third, previous studies overestimate the contribution of existential authenticity to intention to revisit. By adding the aspects of intra-personal and inter-personal authenticity, living authenticity enhanced the explanatory power of revisiting studies.

Fourth, the result of this study also contributes to the discussion of tourists' perceptions of authenticity in the indigenous owned and operated tourism. Past studies of tourists' perception of authenticity mainly focus on non-living cultural destinations operated by governmental authorities and tourism entrepreneurs. These studies have lacked concern for culture that is dynamic rather than static. Culture should be practiced by local residents in daily life, rather than just seen as a cultural product showing the past history to tourists.

6.3 Implication for practice

Based on the analysis of authenticity in an indigenous owned and operated tourism destination, I make the following recommendations for the indigenous host and policy makers as well.

First, the decision of tourism development should be made by indigenous hosts on the basis of local tradition. In Smangus, Atayal Gaga, as a cultural and societal center, gives endogenous support to inhabitants when the village faces economic difficulties. Villagers are able to resolve anxiety by understanding new commercial activity as being an authentic expression of traditional spiritual practice. Although the Smangus approach cannot be universally applied, the principle of developing tourism practices around traditional beliefs may be utilized by other indigenous communities for future tourism development and management. This makes it possible to give the power back to the indigenous hosts and reduce the conflicts between tourism development and local culture conservation.

Second, authenticity should be decided by indigenous people as a way to justify their host role in the commercial tourism industry. In Taiwan indigenous tourism development has

become part of a national development plan. We should notice that this top-down approach of tourism promotion has been criticized from the point of view that indigenous people have no place to claim their authentic culture. Hence, the Taiwanese government should include indigenous people in the planning of indigenous tourism development.

6.4 Limitations and direction for future study

The case study of Smangus reveals several themes that are relevant to tourism development in tribal villages in Taiwan. Four points can be made concerning the balancing of indigenous culture and the commercial market in tourism development.

First, the local tradition and locally-made decisions played an important role in maintaining authenticity in tourism development. It would be helpful to have a comparative study including other factors on the discussion of maintaining authenticity. For example, the effects of generation and gender on maintenance of authenticity should be considered. Smangus was led by elders, only men, who experienced the past hardship. In recent years, the constitution of the village has gradually changed due to marriage with other ethnic groups. Some young people also join in managerial positions. Women have started speaking their opinions. From this perspective, the ways of maintaining authenticity might differ.

Furthermore, the factors that influence communal practice of tradition should be further studied. The case of Smangus was a case of endogenous development. Despite the dream divination, the chief of Smangus proposed the idea of cooperative works and sharing tourism revenue in the initial development phrase. He contributed his personal mountain lodge to be communally owed by the village. Other indigenous villages might have different stories about their tourism development.

Second, the performance of living authenticity, tourists' perceptions of authenticity and tourists' intentional behavior for this type of tourism may not be representative of other types

of indigenous destinations such as ethnic culture theme parks. Therefore perceptions of living authenticity should be studied in a variety of destinations.

Third, the research was conducted in Chinese but reported here in English. The translation of authenticity items from the questionnaire may lead to some loss in meaning.

Lastly, the study also did not discuss the impact of demographic variables on authenticity and intention to revisit. Future studies can investigate such questions from the perspective of market segmentation.

In sum, authenticity is not just an attribute of a physical space but a projection of sense of self, identity and belongingness. Both hosts and tourists are in search of authenticity in order to maintain the inner self consistent with social ideals. Their awareness of authenticity occurs when they face challenges in which they begin to incorporate traditional identities into an understanding of self that is compatible with the norms of a particular value system. As such, maintaining authenticity represents an implicit mutual contract between the self and another value system. In other words, authenticity presupposes the coexistence of cultural diversity in a society. The maintenance of authenticity may contribute to balance the dual demands of marketed product and local need. That is, the maintenance of host authenticity in an indigenous tourism destination contributes to its cultural continuity. With host authenticity, tourism performance becomes living authenticity which is an essential source for tourists to experience authenticity and enhances their intention to revisit. With these two criteria (host authenticity and living authenticity), an indigenous tourism destination can develop in a sustainable way.

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