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Laura Shelby West

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Ayşe Seda Yüksel-Pecen, PhD

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Introduction

I first became a tourist in the city of Vienna in 2009, again in 2015, and finally decided to move to Vienna as an au pair and then student in 2017. In the beginning, I was in awe of the picturesque quality that Vienna possessed, with the imperial architecture, intimate coffee houses, masses of cultural offerings, and the overall grandiose aura of the city. I heard all about and witnessed for myself the profound legacy that the Habsburgs left upon Vienna through a myriad of means such as the architectural marvels they had constructed, the art they collected, the music they commissioned, and the history that they influenced.

The image of Vienna that I and tourists like me experience manifests itself mainly through the imperial imagery tied to the Habsburgs and their legacy specifically around the time of the 20th century. In the process of planning a trip to Vienna, while browsing the web for relevant websites to help, one is sure to come across content from Vienna Tourist Board, the City of Vienna's tourism research and marketing arm. Interestingly, a general internet search about travel in Vienna will produce their website with the title, "Official Vienna Travel Guide - City of Imperial Heritage" ("Official Vienna Travel Guide"). Upon clicking on and exploring their website and its content, it is clear that there is a specific strategy when it comes to advertising the image of Vienna. The palaces of Hofburg and Schönbrunn, the architecture of the Ring Road, the horse drawn carriages ferrying sightseers through the picturesque 1st District, the slow-paced beauty of the Viennese coffee house culture, the life and personalities of famous Habsburgs such as Franz Josef, Sisi, and Maria Theresia, and famous musicians and artists that called Vienna home like Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Klimt, and Schiele are all in the forefront and specifically highlighted within the advertising strategy of Vienna's touristic image pushed by Vienna Tourist Board.

The more often and the more time that I spent in Vienna as a tourist and then later as resident, the more my perceptions of Vienna changed, becoming much more complex. I realized that my initial experiences and ideas about what Vienna actually was and who people are as Viennese were heavily dependent on what I learned and retained through tours and being a tourist in general, absorbing the touristic image of Vienna that was presented to me. Meeting the people who lived here and discovering Vienna for myself, independent from these impressions of imperialism, told me a more complex and even, at times, conflicting story of Vienna that is primarily highlighted in tourism here.

Tourism as a global system of societal, political, cultural, and economic flows is hugely influential in a myriad of ways. Indeed, travel for various ends, whether they be recreational, educational, religious, mercantile, etc. has been an aspect of life for millennia. Gyr (2010), giving a comprehensive overview of tourism from a historical perspective with a Western focus, points out the different ways that tourism manifested itself over the centuries, giving way to tourism in its current form. During the medieval period, diverse groups participated in travel, such as “merchants, students, soldiers, pilgrims, journeymen, beggars and robbers” (*ibid.*:7). A precursor to modern tourism as we know it today can be found in the Grand Tour, taking place during the 16th, 17th, and even into the 18th centuries, whose “original goal was to broaden one’s education, mark the end of childhood and acquire and hone social grace; however, over time, leisure and pleasure became increasingly important,” marking a shift in travelling “as an end in itself” (*ibid.*:9). The real beginnings of modern tourism as we know it today, however, began during the 19th century and into the first half of the 20th century, which was caused by rapid industrialization, urbanization, revolutionary transportation advancements, and, perhaps most importantly, “the improvement of social and labour rights, the rise in real income and the resulting changes in consumer demand” (*ibid.*:14).

Since the 1950s, the tourism economy has been one of the fastest growing industries worldwide, with the all-time global peak in 2019 with 1.5 billion international tourist arrivals and a global GDP of US\$10 trillion (“International Tourism Growth Continues to Outpace the Global Economy”; “Economic Impact Report”). More specifically, Austria as a tourist destination has become one of the most popular in the world, ranking in the top 15 most visited countries internationally in the last few years (“National Data”). In 2019, Austria enjoyed 31.9 million international tourist arrivals and a GDP of €30.3 billion (*ibid.*). In Vienna specifically, there were 14.5 million international tourist overnight stays in 2019, far and away the most international overnight stays in comparison to the other regional capitals of Austria (“Tourism 2019”). Although the COVID-19 global pandemic has negatively altered the steady upward trajectory of the tourism industry as a whole, actors in this sector are determined to not only renew but surpass the economic records set in 2019 (“Tourism in the Post-COVID World”).

In our globalized world, destinations need to find ways to market themselves in unique ways that stand out in competition from other tourist destinations. Frequently, the unique heritage of a destination is commodified and utilized to differentiate themselves from other destinations. The concept of commodifying and implementing heritage as a tourism strategy is crucial and a very important component in marketing a place as unique from other destinations, allowing the visitor to know exactly where they are by the promotion of specific ideas, moods,

histories, heritages, and feelings of the past. Furthermore, tourism strategies must rely on and utilize certain perceptions and stereotypes that tourists have about a particular destination before they even arrive. Once these marketing strategies have been implemented, tourists from all over the world flock to various destinations (paying for airfare, hotels, restaurants, etc.) for the opportunity to experience the “authentic,” commodified heritage of a specific place for themselves (paying for and consuming museums, tours, souvenirs, etc.).

The focus of this thesis, placed within the existing literature of tourism studies and heritage studies, is an examination of converging and contrasting interpretations of heritage within Vienna’s tourism strategies. This investigation focuses on one particular group of people that has received limited scholarly attention within both tourism studied and heritage studies: tourist guides. Tourist guides not only function as mediators, brokers, and interpreters of Vienna's culture and heritage within a strictly protected licensing process but also act as small entrepreneurs who must operate within the demands of a tourism industry. Despite scholarly neglect, tourist guides have distinct authority and autonomy to critically engage with and even challenge dominant cultural and historical narratives associated with heritage.

From January to August 2022, I conducted research through primary source analysis, participant observation, and interviews, driven by the following research question: In what ways are heritage regimes in Vienna reproduced within the local tourism structure and who are the main actors and mechanisms that contribute to, reinforce, promote, and challenge the heritage regime in Vienna? I define heritage regime as the intricate system of laws, policies, and practices that govern the management and use of heritage resources. I find looking at the heritagization process – the process by which certain objects or practices are transformed into “heritage” – through this conceptual lens important in order to shed light on tourist guide’s important role within the heritage regime. Through my research and subsequent analysis, I found that the licensing process, containing certain control mechanism to regulate its output, perpetuates a certain dominant narrative and image of Vienna that is largely reflected in the tours they give after the licensing process is over.

Touloupa (2010) argues that tourist guides in general are the perfect place to research “issues of interpretation policies and politics, perceptions of what constitutes cultural heritage and how this is presented” (*ibid.*:5). In line with this, I aim to take a closer look at the laws, policies, and practices of the Viennese and Austrian tourism heritage regime through the mandatory licensing process of tourist guides. I will examine, through these local actors within a greater hegemonic structure, how the reproduction of heritage and heritagization take place within this process and on tours once they are licensed.

In Austria, in order to become a licensed tourist guide and have the legal right and ability to disseminate a touristic image, future tourist guides must take part in a rigorous one and a half to two-year training course and subsequent examinations in one of Austria's regional capitals. While the qualifications are not the strictest in Europe, Austria is, nevertheless, a very interesting case study of the process of control and regulation of a touristic image and how it subsequently is shaped and shared to tourists. Austria has, in comparison to its population and tourism popularity, a huge amount of licensed tourist guides; for example, Austria has over 2000 licensed tourist guides while France has barely 1000 (*ibid.*; "10 Things to Know about Fédération Nationale des Guides Interprètes et Conférenciers"). Furthermore, tourist guiding in Austria has been a strictly regulated and protected profession by law since 1848, much older than most tourist guide regulations in Europe ("10 Things to Know About Austrian Tourist Guides"). Additionally, Vienna in particular possesses an interesting example of heritage's use in creating and utilizing an image in the tourism sphere. Vienna's engagement with its imperial heritage, particularly in terms of the romanticization of the Habsburg monarchy and their legacy in all aspects during the 18th and 19th centuries, is the central narrative that is promoted and reproduced in order to ensure its success as a tourist destination, reinforced by the licensing process all tourist guides must complete.

This thesis contributes to the existing literature by contextualizing these seemingly local actors within a larger system, examining all of the power dynamics that come with it. I will first give a detailed overview of the methodology that I utilized throughout the research process. After that, I will give an overview of the historical context of Viennese tourism, focusing on what heritage, themes, and narratives have been in the forefront in the past so as to better understand the heritage regime within which the current tourism structure exists. In Chapter 4, I detail what laws are in place that enable a structure for licensed tourist guides to exist as well as how exactly the licensing process in Vienna and Austria works, what heritages and themes came up, control mechanisms in place for narrative control, and licensed tourist guides' experiences in this process. The final chapter, then, discusses what it is like being a free-lance tourist guide in Vienna after the licensing process is complete, what kinds of heritages and themes are prominent in tours of Vienna's 1st District, why tourist guides say what they say to tours and how they feel about it, and variations and contestations of the dominant narrative from tourist guides as well as other heritage regime actors.

Tourist guides are able to reinforce heritage regimes on the one hand but also contest them on the other. When using terms like mediators, brokers, and interpreters of heritage between the host and the guest, the significant influence that tourist guides have in creating and

producing, recreating and reproducing converging and contesting narratives and imaginaries of many different actors and stakeholders not yet recognized by the heritage regime is not acknowledged. Tourist guides have a great deal of autonomy and power when it comes to shaping and reshaping the heritagization process, the heritage regime, and the dominant image of Vienna that tourists receive.

Bendix et al. (2012) points out, an important aspect of the heritagization process include the institutionalization of heritage through official, bureaucratic means from the local to the global and everything in between. However, I believe that by focusing on the heritagization process solely through bureaucratic means, namely UNESCO, there is missing the aspect of heritagization that is capable of being used as a broader term to describe how certain individual actors within the heritage regime create and recreate heritage. With that in mind, I feel my research fits perfectly into the anthropological context that Bendix (2009) argues is important to look at through that lens in the heritagization process: “the actors who generate these processes, exploring their intentions” and “how the processes are linked to existing forms of everyday life and how new cultural practices are introduced so as to integrate successful cultural-heritage nominations into everyday life” (*ibid.*:255).

1. Theoretical and Conceptual Framing

1.1 Introduction

Haidy Geismar (2015:72), a social anthropologist with a focus, in part, on heritage in all its forms, points out that the term heritage is polysemic, capable of having multiple meaning. Indeed, Larkham (1995:85) even wonders if heritage simply means “all things to all people”. Not only does the term heritage have a multiplicity of meanings embedded within it, but it also has many stakeholders (experts, academics, law makers, policy makers, individuals, etc.) who claim ownership over it, further complicating the meaning of heritage (Geismar 2015). Furthermore, this multiplicity of meaning and stakeholders can create conflicting definitions of not just the term heritage, but heritage itself. Not only that, but these varying stakeholders wield heritage through a myriad of social, cultural, political, and economic avenues with varied motivations.

Touloupa (2010:30), because of its myriad of meanings and uses, purposefully does not define what heritage is. Instead, she simply points out that “it strongly relates to memory, place, ruins, contemporary life, profit and economic interest: it relates to identity, personal expression, meanings and their communication; it weaves the past into the present, making it relevant to us” (*ibid.*). While this is, of course, not strictly a definition of heritage, I find it a helpful springboard to have a point of reference in the discussions to come. With that being said, we will begin with heritage as it can be understood in simple, if not commonsense terms.

1.2 Heritage Contextualized

In daily life, for instance, heritage is an idea that people are confronted with quite often, whether that be through walking in and around their neighborhood comprised of heritage protected buildings, visiting museum or galleries filled with artefacts deemed as heritage, or even drawing a sense of self and belonging to a community from what they view as their heritage. One of my interlocutors, Richard, a tourist guide, instructor, and examiner, gave a very interesting interpretation of what he believes heritage to be while having a conversation in a popular Viennese coffee house:

[Heritage] is like an invisible backpack that you carry around...so, you have right on your shoulders a lot of traditions, history, the kind of different environments, certain behavior that is typical for a place, and all this is part of

your identity, even if you don't know it and are not conscious, so to say. But, growing up somewhere, you absorb lots of things, and I would say, yeah, traditions and the way of living (Richard 25 May 2022).

This common definition of heritage, as one that a person or group of people use to define a sense of community or national identity, a shared past or backpack, if you will, keeping the community together is a common one (Anderson 1983). Many people also see heritage colloquially to simply be “‘old’, grand, monumental and aesthetically pleasing sites, buildings, places and artefact” (Smith 2006:11).

As a field of research, heritage spans many different disciplines and subjects, one of which being an important avenue of study within anthropology. Indeed, the very idea of heritage within anthropology was first focused very much on material culture, particularly in terms of archaeological finds, museums, and ideas of ownership, all closely related to anthropological pursuits (Stocking 1985). Since then, the concept of heritage has undergone a “three-fold process of extension” into what experts and non-experts understand it to be, expanding from purely the tangible, old buildings or artefacts that can be housed within a museum to also include the intangible, histories, activities, stories, dances, songs, etc. (Vecco 2010:324). While all of these commonsense definitions and understandings of heritage are valid, it is crucial to understand that heritage, again, is an extremely complex, contested, and multifaceted concept.

1.2.1 Heritage as a Cultural and Social Process

Another facet of heritage that some scholars have considered is the analysis of heritage from a discursive standpoint, looking at heritage as a communicative act (Harvey 2001). In terms of discourse analysis, a communicative act is the understanding that a conversation, communication, exchange of words, includes the speaker's intentions, the listener's interpretation, and the context within which the communication occurs (Austin 1962; Searle 1969). In other words, language and communication are embedded within a broader context that must be taken into consideration. Some scholars actually seek to challenge the commonsense understandings of heritage mentioned above by approaching it as a cultural and communicative process that is embedded within the people, world, and time around it (Harvey 2001; Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983). Heritage can also be thought of as, “...not so much a ‘thing,’ but as a cultural and social process” (Smith 2006:2). If heritage can be understood as a social and cultural process, then, as Bendix (2009:255) points out, “cultural heritage does not exist it is made”. Lowenthal (1998), similarly, says it is a fabrication. If heritage must be made,

fabricated, then it must be created by various actors. This leads us to the concepts of heritagization.

Heritagization in its broadest sense refers to the act of heritage-making. The heritagization process is based on the fact that, in order for something to become heritage, value must be added to something that, otherwise, would not have value, what some call valorization or valuation (Bendix 2012:17). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) argues that heritage is a value-added industry, when a place, thing, or idea goes through the process of changing from no longer viable to something with value. Smith (2006:3) concurs with the value-added component of heritage when she says “while places, sites, objects and localities may exist as identifiable sites of heritage...these places are not inherently valuable, nor do they carry a freight of innate meaning”. This means that something, the heritagization process, must occur in order for material or an idea to become valuable, to become heritage. This idea of heritage as a value-added process will become important in the next section from an economic standpoint, as well.

Other scholars, like Bendix (2009:254), define the process of heritagization a bit more specifically than simply the process of something becoming heritage. She refers to the selective process of, often through bureaucratic means, turning cultural practices and materials, intangible and tangible, into something called heritage. One of Bendix’s main foci in terms of heritagization is UNESCO, a huge global player in heritage-making through bureaucratic means who has had significant influence in the heritage making process all the way down to the local since the latter-half of the 20th century (Bendix 2012:14). If heritage must be made through heritagization and the valuation process by certain actors, this must be done not just by someone, but it must be done within a certain framing of time.

1.2.2 Heritage and its Temporal Dimension

The idea of heritage as a cultural and social process cannot exist without the acknowledgement of its temporal dimensions. Harvey explains this idea when he says that, “since all heritage is produced completely in the present, our relationship with the past is understood in relation to our present temporal and spatial experience” (Harvey 2001:325). Many scholarly definitions of heritage also acknowledge this idea. For example, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995:269) defines heritage as “a new form of cultural production of the present that takes recourse to the past”. One of my interlocutors, a tourist guide, also explained this idea of heritage being temporal very well to me:

Heritage is always defined by the present, by our generation, by us. What we consider heritage, that is a heritage, and, maybe, in two generations, something today is considered a heritage is not a heritage anymore, or has just a totally different meaning, and the other way around, as well. Our ordinary and not special today could be the heritage in 100 years or 50 years, even. So, it's always defined by us. It comes from the past, but it is defined by the present (Simon 16 May 2022).

It is very important to understand that heritage is something made at a certain period of time and that temporality informs what becomes heritage and why. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996:6) also agree with this position when they say that “the present selects an inheritance from an imagined past for current use and decides what should be passed on to an imagined future”.

Because heritage has such a strong temporal element of the past interpreted within the present, some anthropologists have connected it with the idea of nostalgia. Nostalgia can be understood as “a wistful or excessively sentimental yearning for return to or of some past period or irrecoverable condition” (“Nostalgia Definition & Meaning”). Within anthropology, nostalgia focuses on a longing for or romanticization of elements of the past, of an individual or collective heritage that is no longer attainable that, among other things, can contribute to a collective sense of community or identity. Arjun Appadurai (1996) brings up an idea that he calls armchair nostalgia, or individuals or communities longing for or mourning of something, a heritage for instance, that was not lost by them. Indeed, in Berliner's (2020) book, *Losing Culture: Nostalgia, Heritage, and Our Accelerated Times*, which examines the emergence of a sort of mass nostalgia for cultures and pasts lost in globalized society, he goes into detail about what he called exonostalgia, “nostalgia for a past not experienced personally,” which can be seen in areas such as tourism (*ibid.*:9). These ideas of armchair nostalgia and exonostalgia comes in the forefront when looking at actors such as heritage experts who have a kind of anxiety of the potential loss of heritage and culture, thus, strategically valorizing, through bureaucratic means, more and more heritage to counteract this feeling of loss (*ibid.*:4). Furthermore, Herzfeld (1996), coined the term structural nostalgia, which refers to a wistful yearning for a romanticized or idealized past, capable of being wielded and replicated throughout the years in the political arena, among others. The elements of nostalgia related to tourism will be discuss further in the next section.

1.2.3 Criticisms of Heritage

Within academia, heritage does not exist without criticism. Firstly, because heritage is not created in a vacuum, meaning that heritage is something that is never neutral, steeped in power relations (Klein 2006). Kuutma (2012:23) puts it very well when she says that “heritage emerges from the nexus of politics and power; it is a project of symbolic domination: Heritage privileges and empowers an elitist narrative of place, while dominant ideologies create specific place identities which reinforce support for particular state structures and related political ideologies”. These power relations in all their forms can lead to heritages being contested and conflicting, with some narratives highlighted and others left out. Indeed, “the identification and the evaluation of cultural heritage are inevitably surrounded by contestation” because “programs for preservation and safeguarding pertain simultaneously to the politics of inclusion and exclusion: About who matters, who is counted in, who defines” (*ibid.*:27). Furthermore, some scholars see heritage, its valorization, and heritagization, especially through bureaucratic means like UNESCO, drawing heavily on Western ideals of value and aesthetics (Vecco 2010; Smith 2006; Smith & Akagawa 2009). In other words, these scholars posit that the heritagization process, what is deemed as valuable or not, is Eurocentric in its design and decision making.

Another criticism of heritage, closely related to its temporal dimension is the idea that because heritage is something that is made from the past in the present, it creates a kind of “misreading of the past,” a misreading that can alter the past in peoples’ minds, jumbling it into a singular heritage narrative, “a synchronic undifferentiated dumpster” (Lowenthal 1998:4-5). If there is a misreading of the past into a single narrative, there is the possibility that other histories and narratives are left out. This has also led to criticism by some scholars, particularly Hewison (1987) in his book, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*, says that heritage as a process is, among other things, actually dismantling any version or history of a past that can be considered “authentic” or “accurate.” This creates an image or representation of that history or past that may not actually be how it really was or accurately depict what really happened, sometimes even romanticizing events, painting a picture to make things out to be better than they were.

The criticism of heritage as a process possessing power relations is addressed in Bendix et al.’s (2012) landmark book, *Heritage Regimes and the States*. As mentioned previously, heritage has a myriad of different meanings, being created through a heritagization process that valorizes certain narratives, histories, things over others, a process steeped in power relations.

Bendix et al. go a step further in the conversation of heritage and power relations, coining the term heritage regimes, which “expands our understanding of heritage to include governance and politics rather than being defined simply as an entity (tangible or intangible) upon which governance may be wielded” (Geismar 2015:72). In other words, a heritage regime can be understood as the intricate system of laws, policies, and practices that govern the management and use of heritage resources. This process is complex, multifaceted, and ever-changing, encompassing an array of different actors who concern themselves with the identification, preservation, and interpretation of heritage. A heritage regime can manifest itself and be utilized in a myriad of ways politically, socio-culturally, and economically, crucial in wielding the power of heritage on the local, national, and international stages. A heritage regime is closely related to the idea of valuing some narratives, histories, things, etc. over other ones, as it generally takes a simplistic, singular view on heritage. This one take on heritage is “often actively committed to suppressing multiple constituencies and narratives (Geismar 2015:72). The use of a singular heritage narrative in this way legitimizes nation-states through an idea of “having always been there” (Herzfeld 1991). These claims are further legitimized by the network of laws, policies, and practices that make up a heritage regime, further exemplifying the power of heritage (Choay 2001; Bendix et al. 2012).

Many scholars focus primarily on the intricate global heritage regime of UNESCO and how this international heritage regime affects the national and, in turn the local in terms of bureaucratic heritagization and valorizations projects. With this focus on how global and state institutions create and manage heritage on the world stage, it does not necessarily have its focus on local, non-state actors and individuals. This notion is explored at the end comments of *Heritage Regimes and the States*:

We tend to look at the workings of the international heritage regime from a top-down perspective, namely, by concentrating on what happens to the global heritage discourse once it is in action. It is crucial, however, to understand these processes from below as well, which means to understand the reasons why a group of people decides to appropriate the language of heritage to further their goals, and the kinds of imaginaries and expectations elicited by the heritage discourse (Cesari 2012:406).

Of course, Bendix et al. refers specifically to the heritage regime on an international scale, particularly with UNESCO as the main actor, but Cesari argues that there exist scales that can also be observed through this lens. She argues that heritage regimes not only allow us

to observe from an international scale but can and should also be used to observe power dynamics on smaller scales such as the state and local levels, and how actors define, create, preserve, etc. heritage at the local level. This thesis focuses on the local perspective in terms of the heritage regime.

1.3 Heritage as an Economic Resource within Tourism

According to Bendix et al. (2012:12), heritage as a scholarly pursuit, among other things, aims to “assess the economic potential of heritage’s intersection with tourism and leisure, [and] offer critical perspectives on heritage-making’s history and present”. The next section will introduce pertinent literature on tourism as well as how heritage fits into these concepts., as mentioned in Bendix et al.’s definition.

Before talking about heritage as an economic resource within tourism, in order to place it within an anthropological context, tourism as a field of study within anthropology must first be touched upon. Within anthropology and, indeed other social sciences, tourism only emerged as a viable subject of study during the 1970s (MacCannell 1976; Graburn 1976; Smith 1977). Previous to that, tourism was considered an inconvenience to the study of anthropology, disregarded as “an agent undermining ‘intact’ culture” (Bendix 2018:3). Eventually, it shifted from a nuisance to an acknowledged subdiscipline within anthropology, and, since that time, exceptional amounts of academic literature has been written on the subject.

Many scholars have focused on the idea of the commodification of culture and heritage for economic gains that has manifested itself in the last decades. Heritage is viewed within tourism particularly as a product that can be wielded for economic gain (Greenwood 1989; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2009). Hewison (1987:1) discusses the emergence of the heritage industry, which encompasses touristic pursuits, historical preservation of sites, and cultural conservation, where the “economic potential” of culture is being exploited in place of nations producing and manufacturing actual material goods for sale. In other words, a focus on commodification of heritage for the means of economic prosperity is in the forefront. Although his book focuses solely on issues in the United Kingdom, the idea of the heritage industry can be understood as a phenomenon worldwide, particularly when thinking about the tourism industry.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) adds to Hewison’s discussion on the heritage industry in her book, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. One of her main arguments is that the heritage industry is a “value-added” industry. What that means is once an area becomes no longer economically viable, for example a coal mining town, they can become

economically viable again through heritage and, subsequently tourism focusing on that heritage. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett puts it well when she says “once sites, building, objects, technologies, or ways of life can no longer sustain themselves as they formerly did, they ‘survive’—they are made economically viable—as representations of themselves” (*ibid.*:151). This is closely related to the discussion of valorization within heritagization processes. This process creates not only symbolic value for heritage but literal economic value; heritage becomes an economic resource that can be wielded within the tourism sphere.

In placing heritage as a resource within a tourism context, it is also important to understand the tourism imaginary and the tourist gaze and how they interact with one another. The term tourism imaginary refers to images, perceptions, stereotypes, ideas, imaginings, etc. that individuals receive that “‘travel’ through space and time through well-established circular conduits” such as guidebooks, media representations, casual talks with others, etc. (Salazar 2010:9). The tourist gaze is the way that tourists observe, perceive of, and engage with the world around them before, during, and after traveling (Urry 1990). In this way, the tourist gaze is actually informed by the tourism imaginary and vice versa; it is a kind of feedback loop. This feedback loop must be fed by these framed experiences that tourists deem valuable and authentic for the destination.

Tourist destinations use these expectations and desires to create potentially staged environments and experiences, catering to the images and narrative that the tourists have in their head, the tourist gaze. This phenomenon is what MacCannell (1973:595) refers to as “staged authenticity,” experiences, tours, etc. that “reveal inner workings of [a] place,” but, “at the same time, there is a staged quality to the proceedings that lends to them an aura of superficiality, albeit a superficiality that is not always perceived as such by the tourist”. Within this framework, there is a frontstage, backstage, and staged backstage. The frontstage is the visible, polished, and curated areas of destinations (attractions, activities, landmarks, etc.), curated by tourism actors to align with and fulfill the expectations of tourists. The backstage is the behind-the-scenes aspects of destinations that tourists do not normally see (everyday lives of locals, poverty in a destination, etc.) and do not fit within a tourist’s image of the destination. Staged backstage, however, is where the curtain is pulled back, so to speak, showing an “authentic” experience of local culture, for example, but controlled and curated so as to fit the image created by the tourism system, a façade, if you will. The reason that tourism providers engage in this staged authenticity to fulfill the expectations of the tourist gaze is because the histories, heritages, and cultures of these destinations are seen as an asset, a product.

Destinations use their unique heritage as assets or products in creating something that Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2009) calls “hereness.” Hereness (the idea of a destination giving the feeling the visitor knows exactly where they are) of a place in tourism is a necessary part of what makes a destination viable and popular. She says that, “while the marketing of heritage promises experience, and specifically to engage not only sight and sound but also touch, smell, and taste, heritage interpreters often locate truth in what cannot be seen, in the invisible heart and soul of the site” (*ibid.*:168). This means that, although tourism sells actualities (authentic, real experiences), they actually depend very heavily on virtualities (ideas, moods, heritage, and feelings of the past that no longer exist in the present). She says that “increasingly, we travel to actual destinations to experience virtual places” (*ibid.*:171). In other words, destinations utilize heritage that is unique to them and them alone as a branding tool to create an authentic experience.

Another branding tool that is at tourism actors’ disposal can be closely related to heritage is nostalgia. As mentioned previously, armchair nostalgia or exonostalgia can be seen within the heritage discourse but it can also manifest itself in tourism. There can exist an anxiety among tourists about losing heritage before they get a chance to see them as well as nostalgia for heritages and cultures that are now gone that they did not get to see in their heyday (Berliner 2020:4). Indeed, using nostalgia as a destination branding mechanism is something that can be seen as a successful tourism strategy today (Christou et al. 2018; Lee 2015). Chen et al. (2021) explores from a tourism marketing perspective how nostalgia affects tourist experience. They say that “nostalgia can mean that tourists experience more attachment to a destination brand and trigger more authenticity cognition, leading to a positive evaluation of overall brand equity” (Chen et al. 2021:1186).

According to MacCannell (1992), cultural or heritage tourism must but understood not simply from an economic or commercial framework; he says that “it is also an ideological framing of history, nature, and tradition” (*ibid.*:1). A certain framing of history, nature, and tradition can be executed through advertisements before and during a tourist’s stay at a destination, plaques at museums or culturally significant sites, or by what a tourist guides says and shows to tourists. In the next section, literature on tourist guides will be discussed, particularly in terms of heritage and their job in framing and interpreting history, nature, and tradition, as MacCannell describes.

1.4 The Tourist Guide

Holloway (1981), one of the first scholars within the social sciences to concern himself with the tourist guide saw the role of the tourist guide as an information-giver. Cohen (1985), calls what they do a kind of mediation of culture between the host and the guest. Salazar (2018) names this intermediary role a cultural brokers. He says that “cultural brokerage...involves ‘interpretation’: provoking thought and helping tourists connect with the peoples and places they are visiting,” evoking a kind of negotiation and filtering of information, stories, narratives, etc. (*ibid.*:111). This brokering is also carried out by tourist guides when it comes to heritage of the host destination. Touloupa (2010) discusses the idea of heritage interpretation. She says that heritage interpretation is the last step in heritagization, “the end product of all the labor,” and it is by heritage interpretation that heritage is actually shown to the public (*ibid.*:4).

Some scholars (Feldman & Skinner 2018; Salazar 2010) take it one step further and posits that tourist guides do not simply facilitate in their cultural and heritage brokering, but actually have the power to control and shape the relations and contact between the host and the guest, “who [are] familiar with and knowledgeable on all aspects of the host culture and who [have] some understanding of the background of the guest(s)” (Salazar 2018). Within heritage and cultural tourism, tourist guides are extremely important when it comes to the production and reproduction of a destination’s image, having the power to shape and reshape the image to tourists on the ground (Bowman 1992; Cohen 1985).

Furthermore, a tourist guide acts as a kind of trusted public relations representative, tasked with explanation and representation of a destination (Pond 1993). The main job of a tourist guide is to disseminate an image, to “construct representations of a place or destination” for their clients (Touloupa 2010:5). Indeed, tourist guides actually have the ability to “direct” the (tourist) gaze for the tourists (Urry 1990). Within this directing, tourist guides engage in the construction of staged authenticity for tourists, “they construct attractions—both frontstages and ‘staged backstages’—in response to the tourists’ quest for authenticity and, at the same time, to take advantage of the opportunities it presents for profit” (Dahles 2002:787). Through this process, tourist guides are delivering a product to the client and, in turn, maintaining the tourism system, perpetuating, and reproducing the tourism imaginaries of localities that tourists frequent (Salazar and Graburn 2014).

In this sense, tourist guides can be seen as “highly effective instruments of controlling the tourists and their contacts with the host society as well as the images and narratives by means of which the host society presents itself before a domestic and international audience of

visitors” (Dahles 2002:787). In other words, within the heritage regime, a tourist guide acts as an important tool for information control and the image that is shared with outsiders. Touloupa (2010), similarly, explores a case in Greece where there are strict governmental legislation and regulation about who can and cannot be a tourist guide, a further way of controlling the image and narrative that tourists receive. It is important to point out, however, that because “guiding is always to some extent improvised, creative, and spontaneous,” it is impossible for it to be completely standardized and controlled by legislations and regulations (Salazar 2018:113). However, tourist guides are, to a certain extent, actors within “hegemonic forces well beyond their reach” (*ibid.*:112).

This brings up another important aspect of the tourist guide, which is that, in addition to cultural brokers and creators and reproducers of a tourism image, they are also people of business and bound by the market conditions. Dahles (2002) points out that:

Their knowledge of the local culture is not limited to facts, figures, and *couleur locale*, it includes the art of building a network, of monopolizing contacts, a familiarity with the operations of the tipping and commission system, a notion of trends in tourism and of the characteristics of tourists and their countries of origin—all this converging to make the encounter with tourists as profitable as possible for the guides themselves (Dahles 2002:784).

Scholars have explored how tourist guides curate stories, narratives, and heritages as well as wield their social capital into a business that is profitable for them, aspects of a tourist guide that are entrepreneurial in nature (Dahles & Bras 1999).

These hegemonic and structural forces within economic and political fields of tourism and heritage regimes, respectively, have a profound impact in the positioning of the tour guides. They bring national or even global forces of tourism and heritage regimes into the local sphere, acting as a point of contact on the ground for tourists. Tourist guiding activity as well as the formation of the tourist guide through bureaucratic processes is, therefore, the perfect lens through which to look at the intersection of global and local levels within tourism and heritage regimes.

1.5 Conclusion

The complicated, multifaceted concept of heritage has become a subject of interest and inquiry across a myriad of disciplines. The polysemic nature of heritage, with many meanings and even more stakeholders is a dynamic social and cultural process that takes place in the

present through interpretations of the past. This process, extremely context-dependent, is known as heritagization. Heritagization refers to the process where economic and cultural value, through a valuation or valorization process, is attributed or added to something that may lack inherent worth otherwise. Through this process, intangible cultural practices and tangible artifacts, buildings, and areas are transformed into heritage by privileged actors. This process is possible on the local, national, and international levels, often times through bureaucratic channels. Heritage and the heritagization process is also entangled in complex power dynamics, echoing intricate social, political, and economic relations. These power dynamics are acutely apparent in heritage regimes, the intricate network of laws, policies, and practices governing the management of heritage resources.

Additionally, heritage can be seen as an economic resource especially within the tourism industry, when the value-added process of heritagization, a value-added process, occurs where tangible and intangible cultural elements gain value and find a new life through presentation within a tourism context. A utilized concept within the tourism industry that has recourse to heritage is the tourist gaze, or the way in which tourists often draw upon tourism imaginary to engage with and perceive of destinations. This feedback loop shapes the tourist experience and impacts destination marketing and branding, attempting to create a sense of “hereness” and authenticity that caters to the expectations and ideas of tourists. Additionally, nostalgia, an important element of heritage, plays a significant role in tourism marketing and branding, evoking a sentimental longing, almost yearning, for a past heritage that was lost. Practically, all of this within tourism must be framed by a plaque in a museum, a sign at a heritage site, or, indeed, by a tourist guide.

Tourist guides play a pivotal role in being intermediaries of heritage between the host and guest. Beyond simply information providers, they are able to operate as culture and heritage brokers, mediating and interpreting culture and heritage on the local level. Their influence extends to not only reproducing and interpreting, but also constructing, shaping, and even contesting the image of a location, influencing the tourist gaze, and attempting to meet the expectations of the tourists. Additionally, tourist guides are an integral part of the heritage regime, as they can be wielded as tools for controlling the images, narratives, and representations that tourists experience on the ground. Exploring this through the lens of the heritage regime is integral in understanding the role of the tourist guide in such a bureaucratic structure, as it allows for the delineation of actors and the formal structures of the heritagization process. Furthermore, tourist guides are also freelance people of business bound by the market conditions and their social connections within it. In this dynamic interplay, tourist guides hold

a unique and exclusive position, their activities being shaped by not only local conditions, but also by larger economic and political forces, making them integral actors in the intersection of global, national, and local dynamics within the heritage regime.

Due to the unique position of the tourist guide being a local actor within a hegemonic structure like the heritage regime, this thesis will focus on the power dynamics of the tourist guide licensing process in Austria and how the heritage narrative that is relayed to tourists on the ground once the licensing process is complete. I aim to understand the extent to which tourist guides reproduce the dominant heritage narrative and to what extent tourist guides contest the dominant heritage narrative. Exploring this through the lens of the heritage regime is integral in understanding the role of the tourist guide in such a bureaucratic structure, as it allows for the delineation of actors and the formal structures of the heritagization process. Through this, I hope to illuminate the complexities inherent in the heritage-making process performed by tourist guides.

2. Methodology

2.1 Introduction

To begin my research process, I engaged, first, with the following overarching research question: In what ways are heritage regimes in Vienna reproduced within the local tourism structure? I also formulated other, smaller questions to help me answer this overarching question, which were: Who are the main actors throughout the tourism bureaucratic structure that develop and maintain heritage regimes? What is the current tourism strategy in Vienna as it pertains to promoting heritage, and has this strategy changed over time in relation to heritage?

Viennese heritage is one of the main elements that drives tourism strategies in Vienna. As a result of my preliminary research, I found the role of the tourist guide, an actor within the tourism structure in Vienna, as a mediator and broker of culture and heritage particularly interesting within the context of Vienna. To further understand tourist guides' influence with the tourism heritage regime, I asked myself the following questions: What is the role of tourist guides in the development of the heritage regime in Vienna? How do they reproduce or challenge the heritage regime? What kind of specific training and/or licensing and/or certifications are Viennese tour companies and/or tourist guides required to have, and how much do they focus on heritage? What sorts of information, locations, and histories pertaining to heritage are relayed by Viennese tourist guides during tours? To what extent do tour operators and guides in Vienna have the autonomy to define the parameters of heritage within the framework of tourism? With such questions, I sought to explore the complex micro-level dynamics through which heritage regimes and the tourism industry (typically approached from a macro-institutional perspective) are maintained and challenged on the ground by tourist guides and tour companies.

My methodological approaches consisted of a variety of different components. Firstly, I attempted to gain an understanding of Vienna's current tourism heritage regime from the side of the state actors regulating the tourism strategies of the city through the collection and analysis of primary resources from relevant organizations and actors such as law, regulation, and policy documents, intra- and inter-organization informational pamphlets and documents, and archival materials. I also gained entry into a popular tour agency, Composite Tours, which, through this tour agency, I was able to conduct participant observation of their tip based, so called free walking tours of the main sights, attractions, and history in the 1st District of

Vienna.¹ I wanted to take part in these tours, which were conducted by state certified tourist guides, in order to understand what exactly is being said and discussed about Viennese heritage by tourist guides to tourists in such a setting. I also conducted semi-structure interviews with the tourist guides that I went on tours with, as well as other tourist guides that I met through my initial contacts, to understand what it takes to become an official tourist guide in Vienna, as well as their personal experiences and views on what it is they are producing/reproducing and why. Throughout my entire process, I also took detailed fieldnotes in the confessional tale style documenting impressions everything that went on during the research process (Van Maanen 1988; Emerson et al. 2001).

Through my conversations with tourist guides, I found myself particularly intrigued by the licensing process one must go through in order to become a tourist guide. I found this relevant to research because of the role that such a licensing process has within a heritage regime when it comes to shaping the dominant heritage narrative that future tourist guides and then disseminate to tourists on the ground. The licensing process has significant influence through the ability to pick and choose what becomes heritage in the eyes of future tourist guides, a kind of heritagization process. I, therefore, approached people from organizations that take part in the certification of tourist guides in Vienna. These people included instructors and curriculum builders from education centers that offer tourist guide courses in Vienna, relevant actors that work at and with the *Wirtschaftskammer Wien* (Vienna Chamber of Commerce), the organization that facilitates the organization of the examination and certification as well as fights for tourist guides' rights in the public and political arenas, and members of the City of Vienna's tourism research and marketing arm, *WienTourismus* (Vienna Tourist Board).

My research philosophy relied on the concept of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967) to guide me during my research process which allows for a constant flow between data collection and data analysis. Throughout the entire research process, I was constantly thinking about, looking at, and analyzing the data as I collected it to search for ideas and concepts that emerged from said data, following leads of ideas and concepts to try and find patterns rather

¹ Composite Tours offers multiple different kinds of tour experiences, some that need to be paid for up front and some that are tip-based with no payment up front. Prepaid group tours at Composite Tours include bike tours, street art tours, wine tasting tours, pub crawl tours, food tours, sex tours, and ghost tours for prices between 20€ and 70€. They offer their most general and basic tours, however, in the form of the so-called free walking tour, which is free up front, but the client is expected to give a tip of however much they see fit to the tourist guide at the end. After that, the tourist guide must pay commission to the tour agency for procuring the clients, in the case of Composite Tours, 3€ per tourist.

than trying to fit the data into existing ideas. To quote Hammersley and Aktinson (2007:159), “the central injunction of grounded theorizing is that there should be constant interplay between data and ideas throughout the research process”. This greatly benefited me throughout, as it allowed me to be open for any new ideas or concepts that would come to me through primary source analysis, participant observation, or interviews. From there, I could follow new leads and threads to new ends that I may not have been able to come to had I tried to simply fit the data into an existing hypothesis that I had.

2.2. Primary Source Analysis: Law, Policy, and Advertisement Documents

Before I even began with participant observation or interviews, I began by researching Austrian laws and regulations pertaining to tourist guides, tour agencies, and tourism in general. This was a very important first step in understanding the importance of the structural and formal framework of the heritage regime, along with the bureaucratic procedures that collectively guide and shape the heritagization process. In order to see what the promotion and general tourism strategy of Vienna Tourist Board was both presently and in the past, I had access to digital archives of their yearly reports, a lookback on their strategies and achievements of the first 50 years, and their official travel guide website for Vienna, wien.info. I also found it important for me to understand what the various institutes that taught the tourist guide course offered and how they presented themselves online. Additionally, an interlocutor gave me access to some of their curriculum materials from the *Berufsförderungsinstitut* (BFI) that is used in the tourist guide course in Vienna. I was able to find all of these pertinent documents on the internet.

With all of this primary source material, I was able to code it using ATLAS.ti and chose to conduct Ethnographic Content Analysis (Altheide 1987:68). Ethnographic content analysis was chosen over traditional quantitative content analysis due to the fact that I was aiming for a qualitative approach to data analysis. In other words, quantitative content analysis is used to “verify or confirm hypothesized relationships”. I wanted to, on the other hand, “document and understand the communication of meaning, as well as to verify theoretical relationships” (*ibid.*). With that being said, I found the analysis of this primary source material to be very useful during my research.

2.3 Participant Observations: Tours within the 1st District

In order to gain access into the walking tours that I was aiming to go on for my participant observation, I, first, needed to gain entry into this part of the field. I knew that I

could simply sign up for a tour at random online, tell the tourist guide onsite why I am there to make certain that they allow me to conduct research, and then ask if I would be able to interview them directly after the tour or at a later date. However, I wanted to, if possible, go a route that did not involve me surprising them in person right before their tour and, perhaps with my presence, pressuring them into saying yes to something that they did not entirely understand.

As a result, I turned to another important actor within the tourism structure in Vienna: tour agencies. I chose entry into the field in this way for several reasons. Firstly, in the beginning of my research, I wanted to also see how a tour company functioned within the greater Viennese tourism structure so as to give myself as more comprehensive overview. Secondly, tour agencies are official registered organizations in Vienna that have the capability to employ multiple licensed tourist guides at a time, therefore giving me access to a variety of tourist guides to interact with. Finally, a university colleague of mine worked at a tour agency and very kindly gave me the email and phone number of the CEO and founder of a popular tour agency in Vienna, Composite Tours.

After a few emails with the CEO, I was redirected to the Head of Operations, who turned out to be something of a gatekeeper into the field for me. After speaking with him and explaining my research, I was able to give him a text written by me to send to all of the tourist guides in the agency, telling them about my research and if I could participate in some of their tours and subsequently interview them. A few tourist guides contacted me expressing interest, but not enough that I felt I would be able to gain a sound picture, so the Head of Operations and I changed tact. I simply told him which day and time I would be free to go on a tour, and he would contact the tourist guides leading tours that day and ask if it would be okay if I joined them. Every single tourist guide was ready and willing to allow me to be a part of their tour. Not only that, but when I asked them at the end of the tour if I would be able to also interview them, they were all happy to help.

My participant observation was very straight forward. I took on the role of a tourist during the tourist guides' walking tours. As Bernard (2006:344) describes it, participant observation consists of "establishing rapport and learning to act so that people go about their business as usual when you show up". This was an interesting situation for participant observation because, unlike some fields, where the researcher is participating with the same actors while engaging in various scenarios, I was a researcher participating in the same scenario but with different actors. This meant that I had to gain rapport anew with every tourist guide I met and every tour that I participated in. Since I participated in so many different tourist guides' tours, I found that it was very important to have had the initial contact with the Director of

Operations of Composite Tours since he was telling the tourist guides that I and my research were allowed, as he had vetted me first through our initial interactions.

My role during a tour while conducted participant observation consisted of following the tourist guide and their guests around and listening to what they had to say on their two-hour walk around the 1st District. I also observed how the tourist guide interacted with the tourists, listening in when tourists would ask questions between stops and seeing how they answered them, paying special attention to how heritage was discussed and how the tours varied from one tourist guide to the next. My general foci in these tours was on the structure of the narratives, what was talked about, as well as the structure of the tour physically, where were we taken and what did we see. During these tours, I took extremely thorough fieldnotes. I did this because I chose not to record the tours that I participated in with a video camera or audio recorder. I felt that this participant observation experience was not only about what was being said by the tourist guide (this is, of course, an important component); other important aspects were what we were seeing, hearing, smelling, and how I felt as a participant while on tour. I wanted to be able to focus on my immediate impressions of the tour written down in my fieldnotes and not have the opportunity or feel the need to go back to a recording of the experience because it would never be the same as the real thing. These fieldnotes that I took, which amounted to over 60 pages, were, just like the interview transcripts, coded using ATLAS.ti. In total, I participated in eight walking tours lasting two hours each between February 2022 and April 2022.

It is worth noting here that Composite Tours offered two kinds of free tours, both of which I took part in at least once. There was a standard 1st District tour, a kind of welcome tour they called it, that was conducted during the day and at night. The other free tour that was offered had a focus on Vienna in and around the year 1900, called *Vienna 1900*, which focused on the year 1900 and the histories, heritages, and people that shaped it, all while giving the subject matter a bit more of a modern spin as well as venturing outside of the 1st District. Initially, I decided to try out both tours to see how they differed in what was discussed. Eventually, however, I decided to stick to the standard 1st District walking tour so as to cut down on variables in my research. The most important part to me was that I participated in a tour in the 1st District, as this is, more or less, the epicenter of tourism in Vienna. Not only that, but the entirety of the 1st District is a UNESCO World Heritage Site. For these reasons, as well as taking time and resource constraints, as well as the small scope allowed in such a master's thesis into consideration, I chose to keep my focus on the 1st District.

The significance of participant observation, as spearheaded by Malinowski (1922) is, of course, considered to be foundational within the discipline of anthropology. I do feel that participant observation is profoundly important, particularly when Spradley (1979:54) defines it as having a double purpose of “(1) [engaging] in activities appropriate to the situation, and (2) [observing] the activities, people, and physical aspects of the situation”. However, I do concur with Hockey and Forsey (2012:70) when they posit that interviews should not be seen as supplemental to or not as effective as participant observation. Instead, during the process of fieldwork, interviews should be carried out, “in order to find out what we do not and cannot know otherwise; to locate the knowledge people carry in their heads, their ‘notions’, the beliefs and values driving their actions” (*ibid.*:71). While participant observation was crucial in finding out what areas and buildings tourist guides showed to tourists, as well as what narratives were highlighted by tourist guides, there were certain questions that remained that could only be answered through the interview process.

2.4 Interviews: What It Means to Be a Tourist Guide

As far as the actual interviews are concerned, I chose, for the most part, to engage in semi-structured interview. Bernard (2006) describes the unstructured and semi-structured interview as similarly being “based on a clear plan that you keep constantly in mind but are also characterized by a minimum of control over the people’s responses. The idea is to get people to open up and let them express themselves in their own terms, and at their own pace” (*ibid.*:164). A key difference between the two is the use of an interview guide in the case of the semi-structured interview due to the fact that the researcher only has one chance to sit down with the interlocutor. It is for this reason that I characterize my interview method as semi-structured. For all interviews with tourist guides, I created general questions that I wanted to know from everyone while also curating specific questions based on what I knew about the tourist guide and specific aspects of heritage that they mentioned on their tour as well as general impressions that I had during participant observation. Due to my curated interview guides, I was able to have what felt like a free-flowing conversation with my interview partner while still maintaining a structure in my head through the interview guide.

With regards to my use of both the semi-structure and structured interview strategies, the reasoning was two-fold. First and foremost, the people that I interviewed for my research were all extremely busy individuals with multiple responsibilities pulling them in multiple different direction simultaneously such as freelance tourist guides, curriculum builders, instructors, examiners, or even combinations of all of them. As a result, during my initial

communication with some of them, it became clear that it would not be feasible for them to find the time to sit down in person with me so that I could conduct an in-person, semi-structured interview. As a result, I gave them the option for me to email them specific questions and they email me their responses. It is important to keep in mind that the methodology throughout may need to change:

...decisions about whom to interview, when, and where, will have to be developed over time, and the interviewing will normally take a relatively unstructured form, though more structured or strategic questioning may be used towards the end of the fieldwork (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007.:4).

It was very beneficial in my initial interviews to have an interview guide to help, well, guide me, but it was very much a conversation between the two where the interlocutor would say something that would pique my interest and I would deviate from the interview guide to ask follow-up questions. Later on in the process, I knew exactly what I needed to know from my interlocutor so, in that way, it also made sense to take a more structured interview approach.

It is worth noting here that the interview partners that I met in person were recorded with their consent using a recording device on my phone. I, then, transcribed the interviews, choosing to implement a very thorough form of transcription. I decided to transcribe the entirety of every single interview that I conducted so that I had the ability to read and visually see all the interview data that I had collected very closely, putting me in a good position to code using ATLAS.ti in an extremely detailed way as well as have the ability to search key words. For every single person that I conducted an interview with, I presented them with a declaration of consent form, which they were to fill out, sign, and date. While all informants gave explicit consent for the data they provided me to be used for this master's thesis, all informants were pseudonymized.

2.4.1 Tour Agencies and Tourist Guides

As mentioned previously, in order to gain access to the field, I needed to speak with the Head of Operations of Composite Tours and be vetted by him, so to speak, so that I could further conduct my research with tourist guides working there. Because of this, I had my first interview with him. Frano is a Serbian man in his 30s who, before his time at Composite Tours, had no experience in the tourism industry. At the time of our interview, though, he had several years of experience at Composite Tours under his belt and was also simultaneously working on a master's in Tourism and Hospitality and Urban Destination Management. It was

interesting to speak with him about Viennese heritage as someone in the tourism sector who is not a licensed tourist guide, an outsider looking in, if you will, as well as someone reflecting on heritage reproduced in the tour agency as a person not from Vienna. However, he has lived in Vienna for a number of years and feels as though it is his home. Frano really gave me my introduction and a first look and impression into the world of tourist guides and tour agencies in Vienna. For this reason, as well as it acting as an entry point into the field, I found my conversation with him extremely helpful. This interview was conducted in the Composite Tours headquarters in January 2022.

With regards to managerial staff working in the tour agency, I also spoke extensively with the CEO and founder of the agency, Christoph. From him, I learned about the innerworkings of a tour agency like theirs, what kind of bureaucratic hoops they have to jump through, how they as a company providing the service of curated tours interact with the idea of Viennese heritage that tourist guides provide, as well as how they interact with other major actors within the heritage tourism industry in Vienna. Christoph is also in his 30s but, unlike Frano, is Viennese born and raised, having actually attending tourism high school in Vienna. I found it fascinating to speak with him about the dynamics between tourism agencies, tourist guides, Vienna Tourism Board, and Vienna Chamber of Commerce from a bureaucratic and practical standpoint, but also from a heritage narrative one, especially as a person having grown up with this heritage all around him. This interview was conducted in the garden of Composite Tours headquarters in June 2022, more or less after all of my participant observation and initial interview of tourism guides at Composite Tours. I found it very helpful to have my two interviews with tour agency managerial staff act as bookends to the main part of research. I was able to use my interview with Frano as a springboard into my observations and conversations with tourist guides, and my interview with Christoph allowed me to reflect back on this first phase of my research with the tourist guides and ask different questions about Viennese heritage tourism and what it is like running a tour agency in Vienna and interacting with licensed tourist guides from the side of the tour agency.

After gaining access to those tourist guides that worked with Composite Tours and participating in their 1st District walking tours, I was able to interview them. In these interviews, I hoped to learn more about what it takes to become a tourist guide, why they show what they show and say what they say on tours, as well as their thoughts and feelings about what they are showing and saying on the tours that I participated in. There were two tourist guides, however, that I interviewed from this tour agency where I did not participate in one of their tours. One was due to the fact that she was no longer giving the type of tip-based walking tour through

the 1st District that I wanted to participate in; she simply was interested in my research as a fellow anthropology student and reached out to me with enthusiasm about taking part in an interview with me. As a result, in addition to asking her about the steps it takes to become a tourist guide and her impressions and reflections of her tours, I also asked her to walk me through what she normally would show and say in such a walking tour. The other instance of interviewing someone but not participating in a tour was because, after having analyzed all of my data from my interviews and participant observation, I felt it would be good to interview at least one other tourist guide who had an extensive background not from Austria to get at least one more perspective on what it was like to go through the licensing process and be a tourist guide in Austria as a non-Austrian.

I interviewed eight different tourist guides that worked for this particular tour agency. These tourist guides possessed a range of ages, gender identities, nationalities, and backgrounds in general which, I believe, gave me a solid base of tourist guides to interact with. Here, I would like to give a brief biographical sketch in chronological order of each of my interlocutors. My goal in this is to complement their stories as presented in the thematic chapters by providing an ethnographic context.

Karoline

Karoline was the first tourist guide that I interviewed, which took place in a Viennese coffee house, Café Tirolerhof, in the 1st District in February 2022, very near to where I participated in her tours. She was born, raised, and still living in Lower Austria, the region surrounding Vienna, and is now in her late 20s early 30s. Growing up, she was inspired by her mother, an art historian and artist who also conducted tours. This was, in part, her motivation to also study art history and later become a certified tourist guide. By the time I conducted participant observation during her tours and conducted my interview with her, she had just finished her tourist guide course at the BFI in Vienna and passed her examinations through Vienna Chamber of Commerce to become a tourist guide a few months previously. This meant that the tours that I went on with her were some of the first tours that she had ever conducted as a certified guide. I took part in two of her tours: one was a standard 1st District tour that took place before our interview and the second one was a *Vienna 1900* tour that took place after our interview. She had a very fresh recollection of the course and exams, having just finished them, so it was a great entry point into the innerworkings of the licensing process.

Adele

I conducted my interview with Adele in the 3rd District at a bakery, Josef Brot, in February 2022. She began her course shortly before the Covid-19 pandemic hit and finished it

as well as successfully passed the exam in 2020 or 2021. She was inspired to start her journey as a tourist guide from a YouTube advertisement looking for tourist guides in Norway. She followed the link from the advertisement, took a short course online, and spent several summers in between university as a tourist guide in Norway before she quit her bachelor's program at the University of Vienna to begin the Austria Guides tourist guide course at *Rampitsch*, a higher education institute, in Vienna. During this time, she gained experience by participated in touring opportunities in Vienna that did not require a license, such as Time Travel Vienna.² She also took part in alternative tours created by Composite Tours that did not require a license.³ I went on one standard 1st District walking tour with Adele, which was extremely entertaining and informative. As she was one of my first interviews, as well as the fact that she recently completed the licensing process, she was able to give me a great deal of detailed insight on the course and examination. Being a queer person in her late 20s who is half Turkish and grew up in Austria, I was able to have a very insightful discussion with her about Viennese heritage reproduced on tours and how she feels about it at as a person with her background. Since my interactions with Adele, she has taken on a job as the sort of go-between for the tourist guides and the managerial staff at Composite Tours.

Johann

Johann is a man in his 50s who was born, raised, and still living in Vienna. Before becoming a tourist guide full-time, he worked as a journalist for a major newspaper in Vienna for several decades, worked as a publisher after that, wrote and published a book about World War I, and then decided he wanted something different from his career. A friend of his had been working for 25 years as a tourist guide and encouraged him to do the course, which he completed at the WIFI before passing the exams in 2020. Johann had a very interesting

² Time Travel Vienna is an experience that takes the participant through an immersive journey through the history of Vienna ("Experience the History of Vienna up Close!"). Using virtual reality and animatronics, the museum goes through typical histories associated with Vienna such as showing famous Habsburgs, painters honing their craft, Mozart and Strauss playing music, and a Fiaker (Viennese horse drawn carriage) ride (*ibid.*). Because this is a private institution, they are exempt from the requirement of having a licensed Austria Guide and may, therefore, hire whoever they like and train them for the specifics of guiding inside of their institution (*Gewerbeordnung 1994: §108*).

³ As mentioned in a previous endnote, Composite Tours has a special focus on so called alternative tour. Composite Tours considers these to be anything that shows Vienna in a non-traditional way, such as their street art tours, pub crawls, and the like. In order to be able to conduct these tours at a lower cost and higher return without certified Austria Guides, which required much higher pay, Composite Tours poured over the laws and regulations associated with tourist guides and, in their own interpretation of it, felt that elements such as street art tours and pub crawls did not fall under the jurisdiction of what would require a licensed Austria Guide. This has caused issues and disagreements between Composite Tours and organizations in Vienna that protect the rights of tourist guides. In the last year, in order to uncomplicate things, they have decided to change their policy and only hire certified Austria Guides to lead every single category of tour they offer, including alternative tours.

perspective for several reasons; firstly, it was interesting to get an older person's perspective on the course and subsequent tourist guiding after having talked to almost exclusively young people involved in the tourism industry, so hearing what he thought about the licensing process and the tourism industry in Vienna was very insightful. Another reason Johann had an interesting perspective was because he studied as a military historian and worked as a journalist, so his knowledge and understanding of Vienna from a historical perspective was unique. Also, someone having lived and worked in Vienna for so long was a great perspective to hear about in terms of how he felt about heritage he was reproduced that he has been connected to since birth. The interview was conducted outside on a bench in the 1st District on an unusually sunny day in February 2022 directly after the standard walking tour that I participated in in February 2022.

Antonia

My interview with Antonia was the first interview that I conducted with a tourist guide whose tour I did not participate in. Antonia reached out to me after Frano's initial text to all the tourist guides of Composite Tours asking if they wanted to be interviewed by me. Interestingly, Antonia was studying bachelor anthropology at the University of Vienna at the time while also being a full-time tourist guide, so she contacted me not only to help me with the information that I needed about tourist guides, but also to see how an anthropologist conducts interviews. Unfortunately, she was no longer giving tours through Composite Tours and, as I wanted to keep with the same standard, free 1st District walking tour for my participant observation, I was not able to participate in any of her tours. As a result, I asked her very specific questions about what she talks about in her tour to get a sense of the types of things she points out to guests. Antonia and I met in a coffee shop, Café Latte Art, after one of her anthropology classes directly across the street from the University of Vienna building that houses the anthropology department, *Neues Institutesgebäude*, in March 2022. Antonia is in her 50s and grew up and currently lives in Lower Austria. Interestingly, her parents are from the Netherlands, her ex-husband is Chilean, and she lived in Guatemala for a year, so she has a great deal of influences in her life that are not Viennese. She went through the tourist guide licensing process nearly 30 years ago, so it was fascinating to hear about her experience in comparison to recent experiences, as she was the first person I spoke to who did the test more than just a few years prior. Like Karoline, she was also inspired by her mother, a tourist guide, to go through the licensing process.

Ralph

Ralph is a queer man in his late 20s from the western-most region of Austria, Vorarlberg. This perspective was interesting because he moved to Vienna to study, but did not grow up with Viennese heritage, traditions, and culture like many of my other interlocutors. I went on a standard 1st District walking tour with him and conducted the interview directly afterwards over lunch at Kolar, a 1st District tavern, before he had another tour in the Albertina Museum. He went through the licensing process relatively recently, taking the course at BFI and finishing the exam in 2019. While he went through the course, he also worked at the Albertina Museum and the Time Travel Museum as an unlicensed guide.⁴ Ralph's point of view was very interesting not only because he was from Vorarlberg, but because he is a tourist guide working for the Vienna Tourist Board, the tourism research and marketing arm of the City of Vienna. This means that when bloggers, journalists, etc. contact Vienna Tourist Board that they want to visit Vienna or are in Vienna wanting to write a piece about Vienna, he is the one guiding them. Hearing about the curation of touristic experiences that Vienna Tourist Board wanted him to show these individuals was fascinating.

Joel

Joel is a man in his 30s who was born and raised in Norway and has been working in tourism throughout Europe for over ten years. Previously, he worked as a tour guide who went with groups all over Europe, eventually settling in Paris, but then moving to Vienna. His motivations for moving to Vienna were both romantic and practical; he moved to be with his Austrian girlfriend but also had been to Vienna many times and was drawn to it for the art history (his educational background). Joel went through the licensing process with BFI in Linz and passed the exam in late 2019. My interview with Joel was conducted in March 2022 in a tea house in the 1st District directly after he completed a tour that I did not take part in. I took part in two of his tours before my interview with him, a *Vienna 1900* tour and a standard 1st District tour. For me, Joel was one of my key informants because of his experience in the licensing process and reproducing Viennese heritage after the licensing process as a tourist guide as a person with few connections to Vienna before moving there, a foreigner, as it were. Not only that, but he was able to tell me about what it was like to go through the licensing

⁴ As the Albertina Museum, a popular art museum in Vienna, is also a private institution, they are not required to employ licensed Austria Guides (*Gewerbeordnung 1994*: §108). Instead, they can hire whoever they please and train them to give tours only within the Albertina Museum. This is something that Ralph did prior to being a guide and still does today as a licensed tourist guide.

process not in Vienna, but in Linz, giving me an entirely different perspective in that way, as well.

Simon

Simon, in his late 20s early 30s, is another tourist guide that I interviewed that is Austrian but did not grow up in Vienna. He was born and raised in Styria and moved to Vienna to study. This is another interlocutor who grew up in a family influenced by tourism, as his parents owned a hotel and restaurant frequented by tourists throughout the year. However, Simon did not initially want to follow in his parents' footsteps in tourism but studied international relations and worked in Brussels for a number of years. Eventually, though, he wanted a career change and decided on tourist guiding with the encouragement of a friend that it would be a good fit for him. Simon began the licensing process in 2017 at WIFI in Vienna and finished his exams in 2019. I went on a standard 1st District tour with him, the last tour that I conducted participant observation on, in fact. The tour that I went on with him took place in April 2022 and I did not conduct an interview with him until roughly a month later in May 2022.

Pavlos

Pavlos was another tourist guide whose tour I did not take part in. I came into contact with Pavlos because, after having analyzed all of my data, I realized that I needed at least one more interview to round out my research with the tourist guides. I wanted to interview at least one other person that went through the licensing process as a foreigner, someone not from Austria. To do this, I reached out to Frano again asking if he could contact his guides once more to see if anyone not from Austria would be willing to let me interview them. Pavlos reached out to me and was extremely willing and able to help me in this endeavor. Pavlos is a man in his 40s who was born and raised in Greece. He has worked in tourism for many decades not only in Greece but as a tour guide leading trips all over Europe just like Joel. When he decided that he wanted to leave Greece, he chose Vienna, as he had enjoyed the time he spent there as a traveling tour guide. He completed the licensing process relatively recently. Different from the other tourist guides that I interviewed, I conducted a structured interview with Pavlos where I created a list of questions, sent them to him, and he sent back his responses in a timely manner. In this way, I was able to not only gain another foreigner's perspective of the licensing process, but also understand what it is like to reproduce Viennese heritage as someone who is not from Vienna.

2.4.2 Licensing Process Actors

As stated previously, the first phase of my research laid the groundwork, through grounded theory, for the rest of the fieldwork. It was here, from tour agency employees and individual tourist guides, where I learned concretely what other actors within the heritage tourism structure of Vienna were important to speak to. Furthermore, the contacts that I made through this first phase of speaking with administrative staff at the tour agency as well as the tourist guides that worked with them were pivotal in gaining contacts for the actors in the next phase.

Course Head: Gisela

I found it extremely important to speak to one or more people who are involved in the course that tourist guides must take in order to be certified. Through my connection with Simon, I was able to speak to the Course Leader of Tourist Guide Training at WIFI, the individual in charge of curriculum building and course logistics, Gisela. She was able to tell me about how she creates, changes, updates, etc. the curriculum for the tourist guide course and why. She also teaches the tourist guide course, so she was able to tell me why she focused on certain aspects of tourist guide strategies and not others. She also told me about her experiences at a tourist guide as someone from Austria, as I did not attend one of her tours. This was a structured interview, with a list of questions that I emailed to Gisela, and she sent me back her answers in June 2022.

Instructor: Richard

I also conducted one interview in May 2022 in Café Tirolerhof with Richard, who taught at two different tourist guide training institutions, WIFI and BFI. I was connected to him through Karoline. I asked him about how he became an instructor as well as what exactly it is that he teaches to future tourist guides about how to be successful in the profession, about Viennese heritage, and why he teaches what he teaches. As I was not able to attend a tour led by Richard, I also asked him questions about what sorts of Viennese heritage he highlights on standard walking tours in the 1st District. Richard is a man in his 50s that was born and raised in Vienna and has been a certified tourist guide since 1989 and an instructor in the course since the late 1990s.

Examination Committee: Renata and Richard

I also spoke to two experienced tourist guides who were on the exam committee (there are only about thirteen members in total in Vienna) that, in part, tests the would-be tourist guides to determine whether they are, indeed, ready to be certified Austria Guides. Richard is

not only a course instructor but also an examination committee member. Before we met in May 2022, I was unaware of this fact; we met to talk about his involvement as a course instructor, but it quickly came out that he was also an examiner. As a result, we talked extensively not only about the course but also about the examination at the end. Through my connection with Antonia, I was also able to speak to Renata, an Austrian born and raised woman in her 60s, about her experiences at an examiner. Interestingly, Renata is not just an examination committee member. She is also an instructor for the tourist guide course, but she did not mention this in our interview; I learned this information from another interlocutor. I wanted to find out how Richard and Renata and the rest of the examination committee decided who passed or failed, how they decided which questions to ask and why, etc. all within the lens of heritage. It is worth noting here that all of these individuals who are involved in the tourist guide course and exam in this capacity are also tourist guides themselves. As a result, I also asked them questions about what they would normally present to tourists on a typical walking tour of the 1st District as well as their impressions and reflections of it. As this exam committee is created, in part, by Vienna Chamber of Commerce, the organization that gives out the tourist guide certification, Austria Guides, I wanted to speak with one or more individuals from that organization, one that was not connected through being a tourist guide.

Vienna Chamber of Commerce Staff: Karl

The person at Vienna Chamber of Commerce that is in charge of the tourists guides as far as certifications are concerned is the Director of Leisure and Sports Businesses Sector in the Tourism and Leisure Industries Division. I had the pleasure of a structured interview over email with the man in this position from 1981 to 2019, Karl, who I was put in contact with through Richard. He was able to shed more light on what exactly Vienna Chamber of Commerce does for tourist guides as well as why it is a regulated profession in the way that it is today. This interview was conducted in August 2022.

2.5 Reflections: Positionality and Problems as a Researcher

The role of a researcher was something that I was very aware of throughout the entire research process. Like all anthropologists before and after, me, I am not a *tabula rasa*; my experiences throughout my life have molded my worldview, and it is important to be reflective in that way (Clifford & Marcus 1986). I have a real influential role in the narratives, arguments, ideas, etc. that I present due to my own subjectivities and biases that have been influenced by my personal experiences throughout my life (Jackson 1989). It is, therefore, important to not take a more interpretive stance as opposed to an explanatory one, focusing on thick descriptions

of my participant observations and what my interlocutors have to say, their experiences, thoughts, feelings, etc. (Geertz 1973).

As a newcomer to Vienna relative to my interlocutors, it was crucial for me to be aware that the cultural heritage that I was conducting my entire research on is not mine, I do not draw identity from it in the same way as some of my interlocutors, nor is it something I was brought up with. As a result, I was extremely wary and delicate of the way that I spoke about as well as challenged heritage narratives, particularly during interviews but throughout the entire research process. Thankfully, there did not appear to be any instances where I came across as disrespectful or rude with regards to discussions of Viennese heritage in interviews or during participant observation as far as my interlocutors were concerned.

It was very important to me to remain open and honest about my research with the people that I interacted with. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) discussed reasons why a researcher would choose either a covert or overt form of research. One reason for a covert research method would be if the researcher felt that the gatekeeper would act as a “bouncer” and disallow entry into the field (*ibid.*:53). I found my gatekeeper to be particularly ready and willing to help me and, therefore, did not feel the need to engage in covert research methods. Therefore, I engaged in what Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) call overt research, being open and honest to everyone I encountered during the research process. I did not present any false pretenses to anyone I interacted with in order to gain more or “better” information, nor did I refuse to answer any specific questions that anyone may have had regarding my research.

In the beginning, I wanted to inform the tourists that I was a researcher going on the tour with them to collect data. After the first tour, however, I decided that I would allow the tourist guide to decide whether to disclose my identity as a researcher or not. Upon reflection, I felt that they, perhaps, would be afraid that it had the potential to affect the way that their tour would be received and perceived by their guests and, thus, not collect as much tip as they otherwise would have. Not wanting to affect the tourist guides’ livelihood in anyway, I simply gave them the choice. I felt that, ethically, this was appropriate, as my participant observation had very little or nothing to do with the guests in any case. Furthermore, none of the data that I collected and used for this thesis are related the tourists that took part in these tours.

Throughout my participant observations, I felt I was in a particularly interesting position, as I was technically participating in a circumstance that normal participant pay for, a cash tip amount of the participant’s choosing. As a result, I reflected for a long time about whether I should also pay for the services of tourist guides. I was very aware of the “exploitative potential of ethnographic research” (*ibid.*:218). However, after participating in

the first tour and seeing how it went, I found that it would feel inappropriate to the tourist guide if I paid for the tour, as we had gained a very friendly rapport that felt as though they were happy to help me in my scholarly pursuits and I was clearly not a client or tourist. This rang true for all tourist guides whose tours I participated in. Thus, I did not ever tip the tourist guides at the end of the tours that I went on. I felt that I should not pay my interlocutors, so as to keep the integrity of the research. Hammersley and Atkinson point out, though, that “the researcher should give something back, in the way of services or payment” (*ibid.*). What I did do as a gesture of good faith is pay for their drink or meal at the café or restaurant where we conducted our interview. It is worth noting here for full disclosure, however, that several of my interlocutors insisted on paying for my drink or meal at the café or restaurant, as a sign of appreciation for our interview. Of course, I politely tried to refuse and pay for them instead, but I felt that insisting would be inappropriate.

There were several organizations that I would have liked to speak to but to no avail. I was really hoping for the opportunity to speak with someone from Vienna Tourist Board in order to better understand their marketing and branding strategy for Vienna. Originally, in December 2021, I got into contact with someone from the PR division there who told me that they did not have the capacity for an interview but would give me access to their digital archive of yearly reports dating back decades. After several months of follow-up with no response, I finally received a reply saying that they would not be able to do that after all. As I said before, my interlocutors in the first phase of research were pivotal in gaining access to other actors in the tourism structure in Vienna. Therefore, I received a contact from Christoph at Composite Tours of a person who worked in the department that was in charge of creating and maintaining the tourist information points scattered throughout Vienna. Once receiving the go-ahead that I could interview them about Viennese heritage (re)produced within Vienna Tourist Board, I emailed the head of this department a list of questions to be answered and emailed back to me. Unfortunately, however, it was at that point where I received a response saying that they, in fact, could not answer these questions because they were pertaining to heritage, a topic that they were unable to expand upon.

In my attempts to understand the tourism strategy in Vienna, I also reached out to an individual from *Österreich Werbung*, the organization that oversees each tourism research and marketing board for each Austrian region, through a connection with a friend of mine, hoping to get to Vienna Tourist Board that way. However, this individual deflected my emails. Additionally, I contacted the *Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Wirtschaft* (Federal Ministry of Labor and Economy), to see if they could shed some light on tourism strategies in Vienna,

but they did not respond. I also emailed the *Österreichische UNESCO-Kommission* (Austrian UNESCO Commission) to understand their role in Vienna and Austria as it pertains to tourism, as they are a huge player in heritage making and the heritage regime on the global scale. However, I also received no response from them. The general refusal of larger organization to help me in my efforts meant that I needed to rely more heavily on the primary source documents that I was able to obtain, as well as turn my focus more on organizations and interlocutors that were willing to engage with me.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed in great length about my research process, as well as what methodology I chose to employ. I began with an overview of my data collection from start to finish, detailing my entry into the field along with gatekeepers that I encountered along the way. Then, I discussed my utilization of primary sources and ethnographic content analysis. I talked about my use of participant observation and fieldnotes during walking tours of Vienna's 1st District. After that, I went into great detail about how I used semi-structured and, later on in the data collection process, structured interview strategies to speak to the tourist guides whose tours I participated in. I outlined how, after speaking with tourist guides as well as using grounded theory to analyze those interviews, I sought to additionally focus on other actors that influence the tourist guide licensing process. This led me to conversation with people who created the curriculum for the tourist guide course, individuals who taught the course, members of the tourist guide examination committee, and officials who deal with logistics and hiring for the examination and examination committee. Finally, I highlighted my role as a researcher and problems that I encountered.

It is here where I ponder the role of the anthropologist in a research project such as this one. My goal is to fulfill the job of anthropology in the field of heritage that Geismar (2015:82) lays out when she says that “anthropology remains to document these ‘facts on the ground’ and to evaluate their resonance for communities who rarely get to manage or control the recognition and management of their own pasts”. Interestingly, while the community of tourist guides and other actors involved in the heritage-making process in Vienna are a larger part of a hegemonic structure that, to a certain extent, is out of their reach, they, nevertheless, do have agency to influence and shape the heritage narrative surrounding them. I am still seeking to give the tourist guide a voice, separate from their own within the tourism sphere, to talk about their experiences in the heritage-making process that is the licensing process and beyond.

3. Viennese Heritage Tourism Contextualization

3.1 Introduction

Tourism in Vienna and Austria as a whole has a very long and complicated relationship and history that dates back centuries. Interestingly, one can see that similar motif and imagery that were used over the last centuries to commodify, promote, and represent Vienna can be seen today within the tourism heritage regime in Vienna. These images were represented and disseminated to the tourist often times before they even set foot in Vienna through the form of travelogues, guidebooks, advertising, and other types of promotional campaigns, creating the tourism imaginary and informing the tourist gaze. The representations of Vienna solidified a nostalgia for a memory of Vienna long past and no longer attainable. This resulted in a kind of performance, a staged authenticity, of a certain “Viennese-ness” that tourists expected to see. At the heart of the traditional and widely accepted tourist image of Vienna that has dominated travelers’ perceptions is a strong sense of nostalgia for and romanticism of the imperial times. Because of this, it is extremely important to understand how Vienna came to be represented within a tourism context throughout its history in order to understand why some of these images and motifs appear to persist.

It is worth noting here that it is not possible to talk about tourism in Vienna without at least briefly touching upon tourism and history in Austria as a whole. Many institutional changes within tourism took place on the national level that then affected tourism in Vienna. Not only that, but the image of Vienna is also defined by what it is not in comparison to the rest of Austria; rural versus urban, conservative versus liberal, ethnically homogenous versus ethnically diverse. That is why Austria as a whole will also be discussed, as well as Vienna.

In this chapter, I have broken down different time periods of tourism in Vienna and Austria into different eras that I have defined to be distinguished from one another in order to best understand what was going on from a historical perspective as it pertains to tourism. I will begin with what I call proto tourism dating back to at least the Middle Ages with merchants and pilgrims. I will, then, discuss Vienna’s role in the European Grand Tour. Next, I will talk about the beginnings of mass tourism in pre-World War I Vienna. After that, I will highlight the economic, social, and cultural importance of tourism and the image that had been created in the reconstruction of Austria post-World War I that was reused after World War II. Then, although its use will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, I will underscore Austria’s

increased use of governmental regulations in the realm of tourism as well as the emergence of UNESCO as a global heritage player and where Austria fits in in the latter half of the 20th century. Finally, I will briefly touch upon tourism images and motifs in the tourism strategies of 21st century Vienna as a springboard into my research in the following chapters.

3.2 Viennese Proto Tourism

Proto Viennese tourism can find its roots during the Middle Ages (“Fremdenverkehr”). Merchants made their way through Vienna or even stopped to open up branches there. One could find many different kinds of people and languages within the city limits of Vienna from the hustle and bustle of trade as well as the many religious travelers and crusaders passing through or even visiting locations in Vienna (Jäggle 2021). From the Middle Ages on, Churches such as Mariabrunn Parish, Saint Stephens Cathedral, Pfarre Gießhübel, Pfarre Ottakring, Pfarre Speising, Mariahilferkirche, Maria Trost, and Saint Maria Rotunda were popular destinations for religious travelers to stop and pay their respects while on their way to other pilgrimage destinations or were in their own right the destination itself (*ibid.*). The Viennese suburbs (which later were incorporated into the city of Vienna) of Baumgarten, Lainz, Hütteldorf, Salmansdorf, Neustift, and Sievering were also popular pilgrim sites for Catholics during the Baroque era. The question must now be raised, however, if pilgrims and tourists can be compared in this way (*ibid.*).

Historically, there has been a hard distinction between pilgrim and tourist, even being considered as opposites to one another, with the pilgrim’s motivation being only religious and the tourist’s only secular. It is, however, quite a bit more complicated and nuanced than that. Indeed, Badone and Roseman (2004:6) even go as far as to say pilgrimage does not need to be only religious and that travel is actually implicitly religious. There is a constant question among both pilgrims and tourists for authenticity and meaning (*ibid.*). Moreover, the motivation or motivations of any given group is impossible to know completely due to the research tools of an ethnographer (*ibid.*:2). Badone and Roseman put it well in their discussion of pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela and Canterbury:

Among the large number of medieval Europeans who traveled to Santiago de Compostela and Canterbury, it is not likely that all were propelled by uniquely pious motives. Likewise, can we guarantee that presentday tourists who come to locations such as Rome or Jerusalem in search of culture and heritage will leave those sites unmoved by religious inspiration? (*ibid.*:2)

In other words, there is more of a multiplicity of motivation when it comes to both the tourist and the pilgrim, causing blurring between the definitions of the two words. I argue that it is extremely important to understand these blurred lines between pilgrims and tourists, particularly in the context of Vienna, as many of the churches and holy locations in Vienna mentioned above that were once (and still are to a certain degree) visited by Catholic pilgrims are major tourist attractions today (Jäggle 2021).⁵

3.3 The European Grand Tour

As mentioned previously, there is a kind of blurring between pilgrim and tourist, especially when it comes to motivation. Dyson (2020:83), discusses what he calls cultural pilgrimages. Cultural pilgrimages are, “visits to pay homage to great art and artists, separate from religious or other categories of past greats, [which] go back to the early Renaissance and increased in frequency and intensity in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries”. One huge part of early tourism, or indeed modern tourism itself, falls into this category, according to Dyson, which is the Grand Tour.

Starting in the 17th Century up until through the 19th Century, this new kind of new kind of travel emerged in Europe, which was a traditional rite of passage type trip that an affluent male member of British society would embark upon (with his many servants and tutors) when they had come of age. The Grand Tour’s main goal was to, “...round out the education of young men of the ruling classes by exposing them to the treasured artifacts and ennobling society of the Continent” (Buzard 2002:38). The tour would consist of a trip lasting anywhere from one to five years through a fairly standardized route around continental Europe. High society young men of other nationalities would also do a similar kind of tour around Europe during this time period.

One would begin in England, crossing the English Channel in France to explore all of the sophisticated art, culture, and society that France had to offer. Then, a stop in Geneva would occur before crossing the Alps to settle in various parts of Italy for a few months, experiencing the wonders of the high art on display there. Then, stops in Austria, Germany, and The Netherlands took place on the return journey, all the while meeting and experiencing the high society peoples of the Continent. Fascinatingly, sometimes the traveler and his entourage

⁵ There are several pilgrimage routes that begin in and around Vienna that are also frequented by hikers. The *Wienerwallfahrerweg* (Vienna Pilgrimage Route) along an old Roman road from Via Sacra to Mariazell is a popular one (Jäggle 2021:24). Another example is Jakobsweg (the Way of St James) in the Weinviertel area are two popular routes. (*ibid.*:23).

would go the other direction, beginning with the Amsterdam, German, Austria route. This was sometimes considered more advantageous because it:

[saved] what were seen as the more challenging parts of the travelling education – Italy and socially brilliant Paris – until later in the process. Proceeding in this direction, the rough-diamond young Tourist might be ‘rubbed at three of the considerable courts of Europe – Berlin, Dresden, and Vienna’, before arriving in Italy ‘tolerably smooth and fit for the last polish’ (*ibid.*:39).

As one can see, Vienna was painted as a place during the Grand Tour time period that was full of culture, art, architecture, and nobles (Steward 1999b).

During this time, travel writings or travelogues, published diaries/letters of individual travelers, fictitious travel accounts, etc. were popular sources of entertainment, as well as an information source. Not only that, but these writings contributed to the overall image of a destination on the Grand Tour, Vienna included (Hanley & Walton 2010; Urry 1990). These writings “[specialized] in recording an individual traveler’s distinctive reactions to the stimuli of the tour” (Buzard 2002:49). They were “highly personal” and “impressionistic,” creating a kind of “picturesque” image of a place for the reader to consume and impacting itineraries and attitudes of travelers traveled in a huge way (*ibid.*:38-44). Buzard even goes so far as to say that these writings had “the power of authorship and artifice of endow places with cultural identity and value” at least from a traveler’s perspective (*ibid.*:44). Guidebooks also existed during this time and contributed to the overall image and expectations of travelers, assisting in the creation of the tourism imaginary of Vienna, as well as the tourist gaze for tourists visiting. These will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

It is worth noting here that the Grand Tour was not the only kind of travel going on during this time period; pilgrimages were still taking place, as well as travels of non-religious, non-aristocratic individuals (*ibid.*:38). By the end of the 19th century, the middle-class throughout Europe, with the advent of fairer working conditions, were gaining more money as well as free time, which created space for leisure activities to emerge, such as tourism (Barton 2005; Löfgren 1999). That, coupled with the onset of the railroad created the perfect conditions for the demise of the Grand Tour and the emergence of mass tourism (Buzard 2002:38).

3.4 Beginnings of Mass Tourism in Pre-World War I Vienna

As mentioned previously, the expansion of the railway system as well as modernization and economic development were major factors in the development of mass tourism in Europe

in the late 19th century (Steward 1999a:80). Most tourists coming for leisure travel to Vienna were actually citizens of the Habsburg Empire, especially the middle class due to Vienna's position as much farther east than other major European cities of touristic note (*ibid.*:79). At this time, the upper-class from all over Europe were still visiting Vienna due to its prestige as a stop on the Grand Tour, however, but the vast majority were citizens and residents of Austria-Hungary.

A big turn was when the first tourist association was founded in 1882, *Verein zur Förderung des Wiener Fremdenverkehrs* (Association for the Promotion of Viennese Tourism) ("Fremdenverkehr"). During this time, as well, a state department under the monarchy in charge of tourism in the Empire called the *Reichsstelle für den Fremdenverkehr* (Imperial Office for Tourism) was initiated inside of the *Ministry für öffentliche Arbeiten* (Ministry for Public Affairs) (Peniston-Bird 2005:165). Although it would become more controlled in later years, it is here that we see the beginnings of the importance of government regulation in tourism in Austria going as far back at the 19th century.

During this time of massive touristic growth in pre-World War I Vienna, there was an abundance of different motifs, images, and stereotypes that helped to construct the tourist gaze, the narrative and representation of Vienna that visitors had in their minds. In this section, we will examine what tourism looked like in Vienna before World War I and what images and motifs were used at that time. Before we take a closer look at these motifs and images, we will first discuss the representation and reproduction of these images in guidebooks, postcards, etc. of that time period.

As during the time of the Grand Tour, the beginnings of mass tourism before World War I also had literary contributions to the construction of touristic landscapes, images, and representations in destinations. The guidebook, an impersonal and objective form of writing aimed at tourists that gained its distinction from travel writings during the Grand Tour era, "contributed to the social and spatial mapping out of tourist zones" (Steward 1999a:82). Guidebooks and other touristic publicity materials:

...marked out specific places and spaces as tourist sights, incorporated verbal and visual images which reinforced particular ways of viewing the city and indicated the whereabouts of appropriate forms of leisure and entertainment. Visitors were told where their requirements could be met, and which sights and spectacles were most worthy of attention. The most important of these within the tourist zones became recognized as commercial assets as visitors behaved

in a way which was influenced by the standardizing and normalizing recommendations of their guidebooks (*ibid.*).

This image of Vienna that the tourists had in their mind from, perhaps, even before they arrived in Vienna due to guidebooks and other touristic publicity material was, in turn, constantly reproduced to satisfy the tourist gaze. Now we will move on to talking about what exactly was consumed by tourists, suggested to them through guidebooks and other touristic materials.

The *Ringstraße* (Ring Road), a grand boulevard lined with imperial buildings and monuments encompassing the old town, was a central element of tourism in pre-World War I Vienna. Once it was completed, it became a “natural and self-contained arena for touristic activities” (Steward 1999b:126). In fact, this area not only was the epicenter of tourism practices in turn of the century Vienna, but it embodied the relationship between Vienna and the Habsburg Dynasty and the Austrian Empire that they ruled (Steward 1999a.:80). The mere fact that the monarchy was present in the city was a tourist attraction at the time, with tourists gathering around palaces to try to catch a glimpse of the royal family; additionally, simply the imperial buildings and Habsburg monuments attracted significant tourist activity, as well (*ibid.*). As Steward puts it, “the royal presence generated a glamour lacking elsewhere [in the Empire]” (*ibid.*). Indeed, from an architectural standpoint, these buildings and monuments, visible, visual symbols of the power of the Habsburgs, were paramount to the way that the tourists and visitor saw Vienna. In addition to the glamour brought to Vienna by the monarchy, Vienna was also seen as a modern cosmopolitan capital. This cultivated a kind of image of “luxurious and fashionable elegance and high-class shopping facilities” that visitors would take part in, particularly within the old town (*ibid.*:89).

Vienna was considered a “modern cultural city” due, in part, to its close association with “the arts” (music, art, theater, film, museums, etc.). As a result, these elements became particularly important attraction in Viennese tourism prior to World War I (*ibid.*:82). Again, we see the Ring Road as central to tourism, with art, music, and drama exhibitions, concerts, and performance in museums, theaters, and various other buildings all around the boulevard encircling the 1st District (*ibid.*). Prominent art organizations also found their home in Vienna such as the *Wiener Werkstätte*, the *Hagenbund*, and the *Wiener Secession* (*ibid.*:89). Not only that, but Vienna was considered to be the city of music, home of Brahms, Beethoven, Mozart, and Strauß (even though none of them were born or raised there), creating a cultural hotbed in which these musicians were given the freedom to create the art for which they gained their fame (Jones 2016).

Something else that was very important to tourism in Vienna as well as locals were the Viennese coffee houses, which, according to guidebooks and other touristic materials, had been an unmissable tourist destination as far back as the 18th century (Chen & Wu 2017). These establishments were “culturally democratic public spaces that anyone could enter, acting as a ‘public sphere’ in which people could democratically discuss and debate public issues in civil societies” (*ibid.*:3).

The First World War broke out in 1914 with the assassination of Austrian Duke France Ferdinand (Heyman 1997). With the Austrian empire in open war, tourism grinded to a halt. When Austria emerged as a tiny republic, stripped of much of its land and former glory, it turned to tourism as an antidote.

3.5 Interwar Tourism

By the end of World War I, the Austro-Hungarian Empire had dissolved, leaving several different independent nations, one of which being Austria. This new nation consisted of, essentially, the metropolis capital city of Vienna and the sparsely inhabited Alps with a few industrial enclaves such as Graz to the South and Linz to the North (Peniston-Bird 2005:163). Some said that this area in Central Europe was simply the part of the Empire that no one wanted (Gedye 1928). The First Republic was desperately trying to keep the “two Austrias,” the rural and the urban, the conservative and the red socialist, together in one nation, especially given the fact that the national identity and cultural heritage of this newly formed country was, during the period of the First Republic, still in question (Peniston-Bird 2005.:162).

During the time between 1918 and 1938, what I define here as the interwar period, tourism became essential to the economy of newly downsized Austria (Steward 1999a:92). Indeed, one of the most profitable sectors was tourism in this time period (Iber 2020). Even though it was one of the most profitable, it was not always easy to encourage tourists to visit, what with “fluid borders, boundary disputes, coal and food shortages, and the collapse of the transportation system” (Peniston-Bird 2005:165). Not only was tourism important, albeit difficult, from an economic standpoint, but it was also, Peniston-Bird argues, a driving factor in the very identity construction and unification of the infant nation of Austria (*ibid.*:162).

In order for a place to be commodified for tourists, there must exist an image to be sold; Urry (1995) even goes so far as to say that the very identity of a place is, in part, produced by the images that are created and marketed to tourists (Urry 1995). For a society to realize what is that they *are*, it is helpful or even necessary to compare themselves to an “other”. To put it differently, “tourism drew foreigners into the country who could provide the outgroup to the

nation's ingroup, that is, a contrast against which indigenous national identity could be defined" (Peniston-Bird 2005:172).

Directly after World War I, a particularly difficult time for the new nation of Austria, people turned to tourism and the touristic image of Austria to find the positives in being an Austrian (*ibid.*:163). After all, tourism takes the best, most desirable parts of something and packages them to be sold to visitors. Indeed, a common tool in tourism is that many different identities are distilled and subsumed into one consumable, palatable identity. This helped in creating a cohesive idea about what Austria was during an uncertain time, but by so doing, it omitted minority or, at the very least, non-majority identities and heritages (*ibid.*:175). This singular image of Austria where differences were suppressed or even bypassed completely, was easily seen in places like guidebooks and marketing materials, a part is able to speak for the whole (*ibid.*:167). For example:

Differences could be glossed over in tourist publications, where a component might represent the whole. For example, Austria's different provincial identities were reflected in a broad variety of *Trachten* clothing (regional costume) which also represented a regional and rural identity standing firm against an industrialized urban identity [of Vienna]. However, posters such as *Österreich ladet ein* used an individual in *Trachten*, in this case, a woman in a *Dirndl* standing against a lake framed by mountains, to symbolize the whole country and its inhabitants (*ibid.*).

Interestingly, tourism publications would advertise the image of Austria on the one hand, much like the *Österreich ladet ein* posters, as a "deeply traditional, historical, and eternal" place, but, on the other hand, as "modern and forward-looking," advertising, for example, a very sophisticated and intricate train system (*ibid.*:169). The dissonance in Vienna was also prominent. During the 1930s, reports of postcard and prints sold in Vienna depicted images and scenes from the Imperial period of Franz Josef. Despite the nostalgic representation in prints and postcard, Vienna was also at the same time advertised as a "cosmopolitan forward-looking city with future-oriented trade fairs, exciting, even decadent, night life, and a huge range of cultural opportunities" (*ibid.*:170).

Some more examples of images and concepts that were popular as far as the promotion of tourism in Vienna especially was its association with the arts. One example was the classical musical form of the operetta. This type of music had "no foreign competitors" and was considered an "ambassador for Austria" at the time (*ibid.*:166-167). Something else that

popularized the image of Vienna for visitors was the genre of film called *Wiener Film*. These films used a glorified Vienna as their setting, often taking place in the pre-World War I capital which created a nostalgic and romanticized atmosphere for the monarchy at this time (*ibid.*).

One aspect of tourism that gained more traction during this time that would become important even today is tourism associations. In 1923, the *Bundesregierung das Bundesministerium für Handel und Verkehr* (Federal Ministry for Trade and Transport) created the *Österreichische Verkehrswerbung GmbH*, whose task is to promote tourism throughout Austria (“Geschichte des Tourismus in Österreich”). As was the case during imperial times, domestic tourism was the dominant type of tourism at the time, but there was a push for more international visitors (Peniston-Bird 2005:170-171). Advertising branch offices of the *Österreichische Verkehrswerbung* appeared in cities such as Budapest, Rome, Hilversum, Paris, Stockholm, Cologne, London, and New York (*ibid.*). In 1934, it became part of the federal constitution that tourism promotion and advertising is a matter for the federal government to enforce and create legislation for (*ibid.*). We see here that tourism strategies were always regulated somehow from the monarchy to the First Republic, even tightening its grip with introductions of advertising offices all over the world. The *Österreichische Verkehrswerbung GmbH* was disbanded in 1938 upon the annexation of Austria to Germany (*ibid.*).

3.6 Post-World War II Occupation Tourism

Austria, who was, at the time, a part of Nazi Germany, lost the Second World War. Austria, and Vienna especially, lay largely in ruins. Solely in Vienna, almost three-square kilometers were hit and destroyed by bombings and artillery fire, causing more than 270,000 people to be displaced (Graml 2020:21). Not only that, but immediately after the war until 1955, Each region in Austria was occupied by a different Allied nation (United States, Great Britain, France, USSR), with Vienna being split up and governed by district (“The Allied Forces in Vienna - History of Vienna”). These occupation zones created a great deal of tension, as well as “[underscoring] the impression that only fragments were left of the country formerly known as Austria” (Graml 2020:21). As a result, among other things, the national identity of Austria was, once again, in question. This was due, in part, to the highlighting of close cultural ties between Austria and Germany that were used as a rationale for the annexation of Austria to Germany.

In this section, I will discuss how classic Austrian and Viennese tourism narratives as well as the concept of tourism itself was integral to the reconstruction of Austrian and Viennese

identity and heritage in the immediate aftermath of World War II. In previous sections, the focus was on how Austrian and Viennese heritage and identity was commodified to visitors in the tourism industry. This section is about how the commodified Austria heritage was used to recreate a broken Austria after the Second World War, thus defining what modern Austria sees as their identity and heritage.

As mentioned previously, immediately following the First World War, tourism was employed as an economic stimulant to the war-torn infant nation that was Austria. In the aftermath of the Second World War, this utilization was remembered and recycled (*ibid.*:21). In order to help expedite this process, the *Stelle für den Wiederaufbau der Österreichischen Fremdenverkehrswirtschaft* (Office for the Reconstruction of the Austrian Tourism Industry) was created (“Geschichte des Tourismus in Österreich”). This organization arranged, among other things, multiple *Ausländer-Hotelaktionen* (Foreign Hotel Campaigns) that allowed foreign tourists to pre-pay for lodgings and food so that the Austrian government could afford to purchase food and other amenities for hotels before guests came to stay, encouraging skeptical foreign tourists to, nevertheless, visit a place with “war-damaged tourism infrastructure” (Graml 2020:27). Not only did this organization strive to rebuild Austria through tourism economically, but it, as well as many other organizations and individuals also sought to shape the new Austria through tourism on a “symbolic, political, and cultural level” (*ibid.*:22).

Tourism at this time in Austria was so important, in fact, that the new chancellor made a plea to the world for foreigners to come and visit Austria again (Brusatti 1984). He did this, in part, by referring to well-known tourism discourses to remind people of the qualities that made people visit Austria in the first place (Graml 2020:22). By so doing, he “devised a road map for the performative reconstruction of Austria in the discursive terrain of tourism” during the times of occupation before Austria was able to be its own unified country (*ibid.*).

Another way that past Austrian tourism discourses were used in the reconstruction of Austrian identity was a volume called *The Book of Austria*. This book, a combination of history book and guidebook was given out to foreign visitors upon arrival in Austria. It gave a summary of Austrian history up to 1900, as well as provided a nostalgic view on the Habsburg rule (*ibid.*:23). A main point of this book was the “retroactive construction of a quasi-eternal Austrianness” contrary to Germanness (*ibid.*). In other words, this book was attempting to create the idea of an Austria that had always been there and was always starkly different to Germany. Books like this one as well as touristic guidebooks were, at first, meant for

international tourists, but they were also very important in “reconstructing the notion of a cohesive Austria for domestic audiences” (*ibid.*:29).

There were specific motifs that were used to create and promote a cohesive Austrianness. In a brochure distributed to young Austrians about the importance of tourism, pre-1938 touristic images and narratives were promoted. These included, among other things, the times of the Habsburg monarchy and its aristocratic legacy in general, citing “palaces and castles, old towns and art collections, witness of high culture, and treasure trove for those who know and love art” (*ibid.*:33). Famous people shown in these brochures that were associated with Vienna and Austria included Beethoven, Brahms, and Liszt (*ibid.*). Fascinatingly, many of these images and individuals associated with them that were used to demonstrate the uniqueness of Austria were exactly the images and individuals used to “convince Austria of its Germanness” before the *Anschluss* in 1938 (*ibid.*). Graml puts it well when he says, “The same historical VIPs who only recently stood for the country’s relation to German culture were now called upon to exemplify Austria’s allegedly timeless historical and cultural autonomous existence” (*ibid.*).

This distinction between Germanness and Austrianness was very important to the construction of the Austrian heritage identity at this time. The imagery that was used to convince the Austrians of their Germanness before World War II was “transferred” back to a memory landscape before 1938, thus separating it from German association, making it Austrian again (*ibid.*:40). Additionally, the negative memories from during World War II were framed as something associated with the Germans, while the positive memories of resilience and endurance, as well as the imagery discussed previously, were associated with the Austrians (Beniston 2003). In other words:

The Austrian national body is literally being ‘re-membered,’ with the parts of a once dominant affiliation with the German national body now being stitched together via processes whereby older tourist narratives and images become evidence for an always already existing autonomous Austrian space and identity separate from (Nazi) Germany (Graml 2020:40).

These ideas used to create a distinct Austrianness versus Germanness was not only a production of governmental bodies such as the Office for the Reconstruction of the Austrian Tourism Industry and others but also reinforced by Austrian citizens who “explored what it means to be Austrian via the discourse of tourism” (*ibid.*). This discourse was also heavily

taught it schools during this time period and beyond, emphasizing the importance of tourism for Austria's image on the world stage (*ibid.*:32).

3.7 Post-Occupation 20th Century Vienna & Accelerated Institutionalization

In 1955, the Austrian State Treaty was signed, and Austria became independent from the occupational forces of the United States, Great Britain, France, USSR (Ferring 1968:651). Once Austria had the freedom to govern itself completely, it continued the work of expanding its tourism industry throughout the country, among many other things. One of the first things that was done in Vienna was to create an organization to be in charge of the marketing and promotion of Vienna as destination, *WienTourismus* (Vienna Tourist Board). In addition, throughout the latter half of the 20th century, the new Austrian government as a whole focused on passing laws to regulate many aspects of the tourism industry, standardizing tourism practices Austria-wide.

A law centered around the promotion of tourism in Vienna was passed in 1955, creating the marketing arm of the City of Vienna, the Vienna Tourist Board (Vienna Tourist Board 2005:1).⁶ This organization was hugely important during this time in maintaining the touristic image of Vienna in their promotional and marketing materials and campaigns. Promotional videos from the 1950s and 1960s show Vienna as an architecturally imperial metropolis of endless opportunity for music, culture, shopping, cuisine, etc. ("Fremdenverkehr"). The idea of Vienna being a marriage of old and new, much like how Vienna was promoted in the past, citing the city's ability for "*Tradition und Fortschritt*," tradition and progress, was also at the forefront (*ibid.*).

In 2005, The Vienna Tourist Board published a fifty-year retrospective to highlight their achievements over the first half-century of its inception. Things that pertained to the image of Vienna being a culture capital were the 1955 reopening of the Vienna State Opera, the 1962 reopening of Theater an der Wien, the 1985 Art Nouveau exhibition that put the artistic style on the map, and the first Vienna Film Festival in 1991 (Vienna Tourist Board 2005). In terms of the Habsburgs, a notable promotion was the centennial of Empress Sisi's death and accompanying festival in 1998 (*ibid.*:16). In this retrospective, modern achievements

⁶ This law, *Wiener Tourismusförderungsgesetz* (Vienna Tourism Promotion Act) outlines what the duties and expectations are for the Vienna Tourist Board. The tasks of the organization include intercompany tourist destination marketing, participating in all measures of the municipality that affect tourism, participate in general city marketing as it pertains to the main tourists' countries of origin, promoting relevant social events, promoting understanding of tourism in Vienna and its economic importance, promoting the Viennese congress industry, providing statistic and tourism/marketing research results, and providing information to prospective guests and guests present in Vienna (*Wiener Tourismusförderungsgesetz*: § 3).

were also mentioned such as the founding of Austria Airlines and progress of the Vienna subway system.

Something that was crucial during this time period in Austria in order to further regulate the tourism industry, as well as the narrative that it presents is the *Gewerbeordnung 1973* (The Trade, Commerce, and Industry Regulation Act 1973) (Legner et al. 2015:5). The *Gewerbeordnung 1973* is an Austrian law that regulates independent trades and businesses and what they are and are not allowed to do. Indeed, before the *Gewerbeordnung 1973* was introduced, there were versions of such licensing regulations as far back at the 1800s, but in 1973, the regulations were overhauled and streamlined to be more or less what they are today. In 1994, it was slightly adjusted to fit the European Union directives when Austria joined, changing the name of the act to *Gewerbeordnung 1994*.⁷ It is important to point this out because tourist guides and tour agencies are both protected professions under the *Gewerbeordnung 1994*, control who is and is not allowed to broker culture and heritage to tourists in Austria. These laws will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Another organization that has a hand in shaping or at the very least reinforcing a heritage image that came into prominence in the latter-half of the 20th century is UNESCO. While UNESCO was created in 1946 in order to help fund restorations and repairs of certain site and monuments, the UNESCO World Heritage List came later (Kowalski 2011:76). In 1978, after several emergency restoration and conservation projects around the world that made it apparent that heritage needed preservation and protection before it even needed things such as restoration or repair, the UNESCO World Heritage List was created (“World Heritage Site”). This list encompasses sites that are both “cultural treasures” and “natural areas” (*ibid.*). In other words, the heritages on this list are tangible in nature. It is important to highlight that UNESCO became a major player in heritagization of tangible heritage on the global scale in the 20th century already, but items on these lists that are important to Vienna and this thesis are not actually inscribed until the 21st century. While the Palace and Gardens of Schönbrunn made it onto the list in 1996, the Historic Center of Vienna, the 1st District in other words, was inscribed in 2001. While the UNESCO World Heritage List consists of only tangible sites,

⁷ It is worth noting here that a fundamental component of the European Union (that has legislation and regulation to back it up) is the promotion of free movement, including labor movement between all its member states; heritage, however, is possible ground for exemption (Touloupa 2010:19). After many years and lawsuits, the tourist guide profession is controlled on the national level in several countries in Europe including Austria, Cyprus, Czechia, France, Greece, Italy, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Malta, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Spain, all with varying degrees of regulation (*ibid.*:20).

another list was begun in 2008 by UNESCO to encompass intangible heritage, and Austria has several things on this list that pertain to the image of Vienna that has been discussed in this chapter and will be discussed in future chapters (“Browse the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage”). For example, classical horsemanship and High School of the Spanish Riding School Vienna was considered by UNESCO as intangible heritage in 2015, a hallmark of the Habsburg imperial rule (*ibid.*). Viennese coffee house culture is another piece of intangible heritage that Austria has been heritagized; however, this heritage is recognized on the national level by the Austrian UNESCO Commission, but not yet by UNESCO on a global scale (“Viennese Coffee House Culture”). It is important to point out what is and is not considered heritage on the national and world stage of UNESCO because they have an enormous amount of power when it comes to what the average person, including tourists, does and does not consider heritage.

During this time period, the overnight guest count in Vienna went from 1.98 million in 1956 to 7.7 million in 1998 (Vienna Tourist Board 2005:16). Also, during this time period, there was a significant shift from majority Austrian tourists visiting Vienna to international tourists taking the top spot (“Fremdenverkehr”). It is very clear that this was a very important and prosperous time for growth in tourism in Vienna. As a result, it was crucial for lawmakers to regulate the tourism industry not just from an economic standpoint, but from a cultural one as well. In this period, we observe an intense institutionalization of the tourism system as well as heritage management. UNESCO’s creation of the World Heritage List is also important to mention in creating a heritage image on a global scale.

3.8 21st Century Viennese Tourism

From the beginning of the 21st century and beyond, Vienna saw upward trends in tourism numbers from year to year (“Rooms Revenue 2019”). The Vienna Tourist Board continued to campaign and promote Vienna in similar ways that it had been in the past, selling Vienna as both old and new with simultaneously advertising the Habsburgs and other 18th and 19th century musicians and artists as well as the hip and modern metropolis (Kelley 2009). During this time, the push for Vienna being commodified by individuals of the past rather than history itself is a hallmark of the time (*ibid.*). This means that, while the Habsburg image was wielded for political and symbolic power, “the monarchy now has shifted to the economic and cultural, mostly through representations of individuals’ personal stories” (*ibid.*:62). Kelley argues that the marketing of Vienna has seen a shift from history focused to memory focused, thus the extensive use of individual people and their stories, exemplifying the uniqueness of

Vienna, evoking a sense of “hereness” (*ibid.*). This type of branding began in the late 20th century, but one can see the impacts by the 21st century.

Kelley discusses how buildings in Vienna that are popular tourist attractions are not just known and loved for their beautiful architecture, but more so for the people who lived their lives inside (*ibid.*:64). The Hofburg is, thus, a memory site for people like Maria Theresia and Sisi, a personification of architecture and heritage through these individuals. Other important people in Viennese tourism are Mozart (whose 250th birthday was marked with a yearlong celebration in 2006) as well as a slew of other classical composers, and Klimt along with others in the Vienna Secession, who had several very important and popular exhibitions during the early 21st century, further solidifying the Art Nouveau style as a staple of Viennese art (Kelley 2009:61-62; Usner 2011).

It is worth noting here that Kelley also argues that the Vienna Tourism Board is using a new form of advertisement in Vienna. She says that old, historical Vienna is not the only thing that Vienna wants to promote. She says:

In 2004, the Viennese tourist association enticed the readers of the British newspaper The Mail on Sunday to visit the Austrian capital by advertising that Vienna is the place ‘Where Hip meets Habsburg.’ Vienna as a melting pot of the traditional and the modern, the old and the hip is the message to the potential tourist, who, nevertheless, seems to prefer the experience of Habsburg over modern Vienna (Kelley 2009:64).

As discussed in nearly every above section of this chapter, however, the idea of Austria and Vienna having a dichotomy of old and new to offer to tourists is not a new concept. As will be discussed in Chapter 4 and 5, my informants also agree that that the modern tourist does not seem to be as taken with the modern and hip Vienna image. According to them, they prefer the image of the old imperial Vienna.

In 2019, tourism in Vienna was at an all-time high, with nearly eight million overnight guests and one billion euros in revenue (“Rooms Revenue 2019”). From 2000 to 2019, there was a huge increase of foreign guests in comparison to Austrian guests, with close to two million from Austria and nearly six million from other countries in 2019 (“Gästekünfte in Wien Nach Herkunftsländern 2013 Bis 2022”). This is a stark difference to previous decades when Austrian and empire/former empire citizens were flocking to Vienna in their leisure time. With the advent of the Corona Virus, thousands of jobs and millions of euros were lost in Austria. Vienna, considered one of the most successful city tourism destinations in Europe,

was not immune to this trend, recording a drop from 7.6% GDP in 2019 to 4.5% in 2020 (“National Data”). While 21st century tourism cannot be discussed without mentioning COVID-19, this thesis does not go into detail about its impacts in Vienna.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter began by exploring tourism in Vienna in its infancy starting in the Middle Ages with merchant travelers and religious pilgrims, highlighting that pilgrimage is, indeed, a form on tourism. This is especially worth noting because Catholicism is an important aspect of the dominant heritage tourism narrative today in Vienna and Austria, with many themes and touristic locations were Catholic holy sites, Catholic traditions, Catholic churches, Catholic people, etc.

The next section was a discussion on the Grand Tour in the 17th, 18th, and early 19th centuries, the most advantageous route being going through Vienna as practice to hone their skills before going through the culturally and socially challenging areas of Italy and Paris respectively. Certain images and themes, helping to create the tourism imaginary of the day, of the grandeur of Vienna, were reflected in travel writing of the time.

Then, a detailed discussion of the beginnings of mass tourism in Vienna in the latter half of the 19th century was had. Here, details pertaining to the dominant narrative utilized by the tourism structure was discussed. Certain images and motifs in travel writing and guidebooks gave a certain expectation to tourists before they even arrived in Vienna that the tourism structure had to fulfill upon arrival. Images and motifs of Vienna as a modern imperial metropolis full of beautiful art, music, architecture, and culture, utilized up until tourism numbers dropped with the outbreak of World War I. Many of these aspects considered important to tourism during this time period is highlighted as the dominant heritage narrative of today, playing on idea of nostalgia and romanticism for a time of Habsburg opulence and when prominent musical and artistic figures strolled the boulevards of the Ring Road.

After that, the aftermath of World War I and World War II with an underscoring of the importance of tourism economically but also socially and culturally for the construction of a cohesive Austria was examined. The birth of the First Republic of Austria marked an important time in the relationship between tourism and Austrian heritage and identity was highlight. A narrative of Austrianness tied with imperial times and individuals such as famous artist and musicians that exemplified the best of Austria was called upon when they were unsure of their place in the world after World War I and World War II and needed reassurance of a kind of timeless, nostalgic, and romanticized heritage and history that was theirs and theirs alone.

The next section centered around the idea that regulation marked the latter-half of the 20th century for tourism in Austria with the creation of Vienna Tourist Board and other laws to dictate best practices in the tourism industry in Vienna. Vienna Tourist Board and UNESCO were at this time imbued with power and authority when it comes to shaping the heritage image of Vienna for tourists. Finally, the 21st century was highlighted by a focus on individual stories of Habsburgs and famous cultural figures while also attempting to bring out a modern flair that, having been successfully utilized in the past, seems to have been forgotten after the fall of the monarchy.

It is of the utmost importance to understand the history of tourism in Austria and Vienna with regard to Austrian and Viennese heritage, as well as how institutional actors played a role, especially more recently, in shaping the tourism imaginary and directing the tourist gaze to one dominant heritage narrative of Vienna today. Furthermore, one must grasp the dominant themes, images, and narratives that Vienna has relied on in the past to best market itself to see how it relates to the present situation. The next chapters will focus on an actor that was not touched upon in this chapter who has power within the tourism system when it comes to reproducing and challenging dominant narratives pertaining to tourism and heritage. Salazar (2018:115) argues that tourist guiding is such a powerful element within the tourism system because “they provide the system...with not only a local(ized) but also a human face”. Touloupa (2010:5) also notes that tourist guiding has “multiple consequences on a local and global level for the visitor, the host as well as heritage” that “have a potential to transform culture”.

4. The Formation of the Tourist Guide

4.1 Introduction

In Austria, there are very strict regulations on who is and is not allowed to talk about Austrian heritage within a tourism context. The occupation of a tourist guide is a strictly regulated and protected profession under Austrian law. There were many justifications for why tourist guides must go through a course and subsequent exam. One tourist guide told me that “[The licensing process] is a rite of passage” (Joel 18 March 2022). Other interlocutors shared with me other reason why they felt that the strict regulation of tourist guides in Austria is a good idea:

I think the reason [for strict regulations] is to, first of all, to make sure that those guides are well educated and so Vienna will be presented in the right light and not in the wrong one. So, this is one reason for sure. And the other reason is because they want to, you know, get enough money for us. If you don’t put so many guides on the market, then you can have more money and each guide has more tourists (Karoline 6 February 2022).

Well, I think that [the licensing process] is very, very important, because the more knowledge you have as a guide, the more you can give people and offer people, and, as a guide, you are one of these people that really represent your city or your country, and to do that, you should know about it. And you have to prove that you know it, and that’s it (Richard 22 May 2022).

In other words, justification for the necessity of this regulation and licensing process of the tourist guide profession by my interlocutors were twofold. Firstly, they believed that the market would be flooded with too many tour guides, thus, driving down the prices and damaging their livelihood. Secondly, they posited that the quality of tours and tourist guides in general on the market in Austria in comparison to other countries was much higher as a result of their licensing process. Another tourist guide told me that because of the sensitive past of Austria, it makes sense to regulate who is allowed to talk about it and how:

I don’t think [that the licensing process is] too bad, because we have a lot of sensitive history, and I think it’s okay that the state kind of looks at the people

that get to tell foreigners about those parts of our history (Adele 17 February 2022).

The Vienna Chamber of Commerce even released an information paper to justify why tourist guiding should be a regulated profession which is, in part, “because tourist guides hold a central position and responsibility in explaining our country’s cultural heritage” (Legner et al. 2015:5).

This strict regulation of tourist guides can be seen in laws that have been passed regulating the profession. What falls under the jurisdiction of a tourist guide, in other words, what only a tourist guide is allowed to talk to tourists about within a tourism context, is defined within the law, as well as how one goes about becoming a tourist guide and what must be taught and examined upon before the licensing process is complete. What exact verbiage that is chosen to be included in these laws is important, because I argue that these laws are one of the constitutive elements of the Austrian tourism heritage regime. In this context, I refer to a heritage regime, as coined by Bendix et al. (2012), as the complex system of laws, policies, and practices that govern the management and use of heritage resources.

One of the practices that govern and manage the use of heritage resources in this tourism context is the act of what was chosen to be or not to be included in these laws. This is an act of heritagization, which Bendix (2009) says is a very selective process through which cultural practices and objects are turned into something called heritage through official bureaucratic means (*ibid.*:254). Another practice within this tourism heritage regime is that the heritage is being made official and, at the same time, created through being solidified in the law. This heritagization process favors a specific dominant narrative reinforced by powerful actors, such as, in this case, Austrian politicians, experts, institutions, etc. However, these laws pertaining to what a tourist guide is allowed to discuss with tourists, as well as how tourist guides should be taught and examined in order to become licensed are vague, open to interpretation. This grey zone allows for power games between powerful actors within the tourism heritage regime. The licensing process for tourist guides serves as a salient arena in which power dynamics become strikingly apparent.

The tourist guide licensing process in Austria has several powerful actors: instructors, heads of course and curriculum, and examiners, all who have a hand in shaping the dominant heritage narrative in Vienna and Austria as a whole. Within the confines of the law, they have a huge amount of agency to create and change the heritage that is being taught to future tourist guides through what curriculum is being presented as well as how the examinations are carried out. I argue that every piece of information that is chosen to be taught and then reproduced in

the classroom and examination, respectively, for future tourist guides is an act of heritagization constantly creating and reinforcing it as Austrian or Viennese heritage. The information that makes its way into the curriculum and is then asked about in the examination is created through as well as reinforced by this process as the dominant narrative within the tourism heritage regime in Vienna. These actors often have conflicting views of what the dominant narrative should be; curriculum builders want to bring a modern flair to the classroom, while the examination board clutches on to the nostalgic imperial narrative surrounding Vienna. Whatever conflicting views the actors are pushing, this act of heritagization creates a dominant narrative within the licensing process that tourist guides come to internalize and utilize in honing their craft.

During the tourist guide course and examination, there are two major processes at play. First, there exists careful identification, selection, and valorization of certain information (objects, practices, ideas, periods, histories, narratives, and people) by powerful actors during the tourist guide course and examination. Additionally, these powerful actors also create gatekeeping and control mechanisms through the laws and interpretation of the laws that limit who is eligible to convey this information as a licensed tourist guide. These two major processes shape the dominant heritage narrative as well as Viennese heritage in general within a tourism context.

In this chapter, I will go into detail about how tourist guides become tourist guides. I will break down the laws surrounding the licensing process for tourist guides, what is explicitly included in the laws, what is excluded, and what is left up to the actors to decide. Then, I will go into detail about the course that all tourist guides must take. I will talk about the instructors, how they are chosen, how it is decided what exactly will be taught in the classroom, and what is ultimately lectured on regarding heritage in the classroom. Finally, I will lay out how the examination is conducted, who is allowed to conduct the examination, and what sorts of questions are asked. In both the course and examination sections, I will also point out various gatekeeping measures and control mechanisms that I observed.

4.2 Laws

In Austria, there are certain professions and trades that are considered protected. These professions are strictly regulated in terms of their exact definition and scope as well as who is and is not allowed to practice them and how. Individuals who wish to take part in these professions must go through specific training and, in some cases, a subsequent examination, called a *Meisterprüfung/Befähigungsprüfung* (master examination/qualification examination).

A current list of which trades are considered regulated and protected, exact details regarding what falls under the umbrella of a certain profession, as well as what training and examinations must be completed can all be found in what is called the *Gewerbeordnung 1994* (Trade, Commerce, and Industry Regulation Act 1994). The current version of the *Gewerbeordnung 1994* was overhauled in 1994 to accommodate European Union standards with the entrance of Austria to the European Union (Legner et al. 2015:5). Before Austria entered the European Union, the *Gewerbeordnung 1973* was in effect (*ibid.*). Prior to that, laws regulating specific trades and professions existed as far back at the 1800s (*ibid.*).

There are currently 75 trades (or linked trades which have been classified together) in Austria that are defined within the *Gewerbeordnung 1994*. These trades mostly include professions that deal with hands-on work such as builders, massage therapists, and carpenters, as well as professions that handle finances like real estate agents, accountants, and financial advisors (*Gewerbeordnung 1994*: § 94). However, two professions fall under this category that are pertinent to this thesis and, I would argue, are somewhat out of place on this list; those are that of the tourist guide and the tour agency (*ibid.*).⁸

⁸ The following is the complete alphabetical (in German) list of protected professions that can be found in the *Gewerbeordnung 1994*: optometry; baker; bandagist, orthopaedic technician, corsetry production; master-builder, master-well builder; mortician; floor layer; bookbinder, production of cases and caskets, production of cardboard goods; chemistry laboratories; roofer; maker of women's clothes, maker of men's clothes, laundry and linen production, furrier and other trades linked to the production of leatherwear; cleaning of memorials, facades, and buildings; druggist; pressman and production of printing molds; electrical engineering; production of pyrotechnics and trade with pyrotechnics (pyrotechnic company); butcher; tourist guide; hairdresser and wig maker (stylist); chiropody; landscaper, florist; gas and sanitary engineering; hospitality industry; grain milling; glass maker, glass coating, and refiner of flat glass and refiner of container glass and refiner of container glass, glassblower and production of crystallophones; gold- and silversmith, gold-, silver- and metal-beater; stove setter; heating engineering; ventilation engineering; production of pharmaceuticals and poisons and wholesale trade with pharmaceuticals and poisons; production and processing as well as rental of medical devices, to the extent to which these activities do not fall under a different regulated trades, and trade with as well as rental of medical devices; hearing-aid acoustics; real estate fiduciary (realtor, real estate management, real estate developers); dept collection agencies; refrigeration and air-conditioning engineering; ceramist, paver and tiler; communication electronics; confectioners (sugar baker) including gingerbread baker and the production of candied fruit, ice cream, and chocolates; contact lens optometry; cosmetics; vehicle body construction technician, car varnisher, automotive engineering; polymer processing; life and social counselling; house painter and decorator, varnisher, gilder, adorer, production of signs; massage; mechatronic technician for mechanical and manufacturing engineering, mechatronic technician for electronic systems, office technology and EDP system technology, mechatronic technician for electromechanical engineering and automation, mechatronic technician for medical device technology; milk technology; surface technology, metal design; organ builder, accordion manufacturer, luthier, woodwind maker, brass instrument maker; orthopedic shoemaker, shoemaker, saddler including vehicle saddler and producer of straps, belts, etc., leather fashion accessories production and bag maker; cobble paver; chimney sweep; tour agency; pest control; metal technology for metal and machinery construction, metal technology for smithery and vehicle construction, metal technology for agricultural and construction machinery; safety expert, safety-related center; security sector (private detective, surveillance); carrier including transportation agency; tinsmith, coppersmith; demolition companies; master stonemason including production of artificial stone and terrazzo maker; plasterer and drywall construction; paperhanger and decorator; engineering office (consulting engineers); dry-cleaner (chemical cleaning, launderer, and ironing); carpenter, modeler, boatbuilder, cooper, turner, sculptor; temp agency; watch maker; business consultancy including company

Legislative authorities as far back as 1973 were justifying tourist guides being a regulated trade because “tourist guides hold a central position and responsibility in explaining our country's cultural heritage” (Legner et al. 2015:5). This shows that, even fifty years ago, legislators were aware of the importance of strictly regulating the people who disseminate and reproduce the heritage narrative of Austria.⁹ According to the *Gewerbeordnung 1994*, a tourist guide license is required in order to carry out the following actions:

1. Guiding people in order to show them the historical riches and the artistic and cultural heritage of Austria (public places and buildings, collections, exhibitions, museums, monuments and memorials, churches, monasteries, theaters and places of entertainment, industrial and economic facilities, customs, and features of the landscape, flora and fauna) (*Gewerbeordnung 1994*: § 108).
2. Guiding people in order to show them the social, societal, and political situation in the national and international cohesion (*ibid.*).
3. Guiding people in order to show and explain sporting and social events (*ibid.*).

This specific law is a crucial legislative element of the Austrian heritage regime as it pertains to tourism. The remainder of the laws that I will discuss in this section build off of this law.

There is another law that is based off of the *Gewerbeordnung 1994* called the *Fremdenführer-Verordnung* (Tourist Guide Ordinance) which outlines what is required of a course in order to adequately instruct individuals to become satisfactory tourist guides in Austria. There is a requirement of certain subjects along with a corresponding minimum amount of teaching hours and excursion hours for each subject (see *Figure 1*). It is worth noting here that a completely separate and specific category mentioning imperial history is laid out in

organization; commercial financial consulting; insurance broking (insurance agent, insurance broker, and consulting in matters of insurance); commercial paper brokering; vulcanizer; insulation, soundproofing, fire proofing; arms trade (gunsmith); dentist; wood construction master.

⁹ Other countries also have such regulations. In Spain, regulation of tourist guiding depends on each specific region, spanning from absolutely no regulation to a mandatory two-year training and subsequent examination (“10 Things to Know About the Spanish Confederation of Associations of Tourist Guides”). In France, a university degree that complies with the European Standard on tourist guiding is required unless and candidate can prove other relevant education or work experience (“10 Things to Know about Fédération Nationale des Guides Interprètes et Conférenciers”). In Serbia, there is no required tourist guide course, but an aspiring tourist guide must pass a psychological evaluation, language test, and guiding examination before being recognized as a qualified tourist guide (“10 Things To Know About Tourist Guides Association of Serbia”). In Turkey, only citizens of Turkey are allowed to be tourist guides (Çokişler 2022: 82).

the law. The law makers find this particular aspect of Austrian heritage so important that it needed to have a separate mention apart from general history. This shows that the basis of the heritage regime, imperial times of the monarchy are placed in the forefront, given significance.

Another law that is important to mention in the discussion of the tourist guide licensing process is called the *Allgemeine Prüfungsordnung* (General Examination Regulations). This is, again, a law that is based off the *Gewerbeordnung 1994* that goes into detail about the general examination process for all regulated and protected trades. This law is more or less all the practical information needed to successfully run a *Meisterprüfung/Befähigungsprüfung*. It talks about how there should be an exam date at least once a year, how registration for the exam should function, examination fees, that the cost of exam materials will fall on the examinee, monetary compensation for the examiners, and that examinees will receive a signed certificate if they pass (*Allgemeine Prüfungsordnung*). There are a few aspects of this law that I find worth going into further discussion on.

First, is the fact that there is a fee to take the examination. According to the law, the examination fee is a certain percentage of the salary of a civil servant in the general administrative service in a certain group, which can be found in the *Gehaltsgesetz 1956* (Salaries Act 1956) (*ibid.*: § 5). Each regulated trade has a different percentage that it must pay ranging from 4% to 61%(*ibid.*). The examination fee for a tourist guide is 14% of this civil servant salary, which, as of the publishing of this thesis, amounts to examination fees of 540€ (*Gehaltsgesetz 1956*: § 28). However, if it can be proven that an examinee cannot afford this for whatever reason, it may be reduced by up to 40% (*Allgemeine Prüfungsordnung*: § 5).

Another aspect of this law I would like to point out is that the examinees must pay for the cost of materials. As tourist guiding is a fairly abstract process, one might think that there are not material costs such as with a carpenter exam, for instance. However, as we will discuss later on, there are, in fact, significant potential material costs for tour guides.

In another law, the *Fremdenführer-Befähigungsprüfungsordnung* (Tourist Guide Qualification Examination Regulations), which specifically talks about what the tourist guide examination should look like, it lays out exactly how the examination should be carried out. I will talk more in depth about this in a later section, but I would like to point out that it has three parts, a practical, a theoretical, and a written. Furthermore, in the section of the law where the theoretical portion is laid out, it outlines categories of questions that may be asked:

- a. History, in particular of the Austrian region in its historical dimension and of neighboring countries, Imperial history and Austrian history, social and economic history (*Fremdenführer-Befähigungsprüfungsordnung*: § 4).
- b. Cultural and art history (*ibid.*).
- c. Austrian local history and folklore (*ibid.*).
- d. Political education, in particular constitutional principles of Austria, Austria in the context of the European Union and the community of international law, international organizations (*ibid.*).
- e. Tourism geography (*ibid.*).
- f. Tourism studies with a focus on the economic significance of tourism and the leisure industry for Austria, the position of time economy for Austria, the position of tourist guides within this framework (*ibid.*).

Subject	Minimum Number of Teaching Hours
History and Politics (Especially Prehistory, Imperial History, and Austrian History)	35
Cultural and Art History	35
Local History and Folklore	20
Basic Principals of Economic and Social Studies Including Accounting and Business Administration	20
Geography of Tourism Including Economic Geography	15
Tourism Theory	15
Conducting Guided Tours Including Practical Exercises in Foreign Languages and in Rhetoric and Behavioral Strategy	25
Legal Studies	20
First Aid	15
Practical Excursions	50

Figure 1: Minimum Number of Teaching Hours Required by Subject for Tourist Guide Course (*Fremdenführer-Verordnung*: § 1).

I argue that all of these laws are a major element of the Austrian tourism heritage regime. They define what a tourist guide is and generally what they are authorized to talk about with tourists as well as information about what is allowed to be taught to tourist guides and how and what they will be examined upon. These laws do give specific instructions about certain aspect, but, overall, I argue that the laws are vague and open to interpretation from actors within the licensing process. In terms of the *Gewerbeordnung 1994*, what falls under the category of tourist guide's professional jurisdiction is very general, open for endless translation and interpretation. It is clear, nonetheless, that heritage fits within the scope of tourist guide regulation. In the *Fremdenführer-Verordnung* there are many different required subjects of study for tourist guides that are outlined in the law, but I would argue that, just like the *Gewerbeordnung 1994*, the language is again fairly vague and open to interpretation. This will be discussed in a later section. The *Fremdenführer-Befähigungsprüfungsordnung* also exhibits vagueness; we see that the content of these categories of questions to be very general and open-ended. Because of the vagueness of these laws, what is and is not heritage is open to interpretation by the practitioners and actors within the Austrian tourism heritage regime. The laws create a legal base for the production of heritage, not quite explicit heritagization but the potential for it. This is where powerful actors within the tourist guide licensing process come in; they must operate within the confines of the law, but after that, they may shape, create, and redefine Viennese heritage.

4.3 Course

4.3.1 Logistics

In Austria, only certain certified institutions are allowed to teach courses for tourist guides. The two main institutions that offer this course is the *Wirtschaftsförderungsinstitut* (WIFI), an educational organization run by the Austrian Chamber of in each Austrian region, and the *Berufsförderungsinstitut* (BFI), an educational organization run by the *Arbeiterkammer* (Austrian Chamber of Labor) in each Austrian region (Karoline 6 February 2022). All 9 Austrian regional capital cities provide the opportunity to take a tourist guide course through WIFI and BFI (Antonia 8 March 2022). Vienna has one additional educational institution that offers a tourist guide course, *Rampitsch* (Adele 17 February 2022). Each course offers various timeframes for courses, whether that be weekend, evening, or intensive courses, as well as offering these services at various price points. Karoline opened up to me about her general impressions of the different institutions:

The difference between those [courses] is the price and how long the classes take you, so how long the course is, how many semesters you have to do that, and the quality. So, they say WIFI is the best one, the longest one, and the most expensive one. So, it must be the best one, right? BFI is a little bit cheaper and was, in my time, shorter, so WIFI took you four semesters, BFI just three. Today BFI shortened that to two semesters because there is Rampitsch, who is really cheap and just had two semesters. So, BFI...[wants] to get students, so they made it shorter to have more students. To be more [interesting] (Karoline 6 February 2022).

Each course in each capital city in each region teaches the course a bit differently, focusing on information about the region that the course is taught in while also giving a broad overview of the whole of Austria, giving them the ability to theoretically guide in any region (Joel 18 March 2022). Several interlocutors I spoke to shared with me that many tourist guides commute from Vienna to other region capital cities because they believe those courses to be easier than the ones offered in Vienna:

...they say [the course is] easier if you do it not in Vienna. The easiest place to do it is, I think, Burgenland (Antonia 8 March 2022).

...the joke is that many people actually go to Eisenstadt...[because] it's not so far, and you don't have to learn as much bullshit (Adele 17 February 2022).

I know many people [commute for the course] because they believe it's easier in other regions (Simon 16 May 2022).

In other words, the standard required of tourist guides in Vienna are perceived to be so much higher than that of other regions that aspiring tourist guides living in Vienna are willing to commute for a year or more in order to avoid the difficulty of the course in Vienna. That brings us to what specific material is actually covered in the course in Vienna.

4.3.2 Content

As mentioned previously, the law states that specific subjects are required to be taught for a certain number of contact hours (*see Figure 1*). As far as the layout of most of the courses, there are lectures during the week and excursions with guided tours from the instructors to historical sites, museums, etc. all over Austria on the weekends (Richard 22 May 2022). I asked several interlocutors about what kinds of general things they that learned about in the course:

You have different lectures like art history, history, economy, geography, and so on...And then religion, so Vienna and stuff with religion. Then architecture. Modern art. Then a little bit of medicine and Nobel Prize winners of Vienna (Karoline 6 February 2022).

Art history, geography, like, an overview of all the states, which state is known for what, how do the Alps work, what are Vienna's main economic bases...Which state has the steel industry, which has more industrial, which focuses more on textiles, where can you go skiing, lake resorts, family regions, stuff like that (Adele 17 February 2022).

Art history was big, we had that each semester starting from Romans until now. But, she, like, the teacher, she was great, but she focused a lot on the big names...I mean, if you count Art Niveau as heritage, we did a lot about Wagner, Klimt, Schiele...We also had history modules. They were split up in, like, Antiquity, Medieval Times, Modern Times (Adele 17 February 2022).

We learned Viennese traditions, and we learned about Viennese city history, and buildings, and architecture, and everything. Plenty of content (Johann 24 February 2022).

According to what my interlocutors have to say about what they experienced in terms of was taught in the course, it seems to fall under the categories that are required for tourist guides to learn as laid out in the law.

Near the beginning of my research, I was able to get my hands on all of the handouts and notes that an interlocutor of mine received for the *Volkskunde* (folklore, or the study of the life, culture, traditions, art forms foodways, etc. of a certain group of people) unit of one of the courses. This unit had five different subjects that it touched upon:

1. Customs Through the Seasons (Jäggle 2021:105)
2. Church (Building) History and Basic Liturgical Terms (*ibid.*)
3. The "Divine" in Art (*ibid.*)
4. Pilgrimages, Places of Pilgrimage, and Religious Communities (*ibid.*)
5. UNESCO World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage in Austria (*ibid.*)

Originally, I was most interested in this particular unit of the course because it is the section of the course that most obviously tackles the subject of heritage. Karoline explained to me about what this particular section was about:

I think it took us four times, each three hours, where we spoke about...the heritage like: what's about the Wiener Waltz, what's about Semmel, what's about [types of Viennese coffee] in the coffee houses and so on, and Lipizzaner, and [coffee houses], etc. Stuff like that. And the different celebrations, what do the Viennese celebrate about (Karoline 6 February 2022).

Some of my interlocutors, like Karoline, specifically brought up this unit when I asked them about what heritage was talked about in the course. However, most of them brought up not just subjects found in this unit but material from all different units of the course. For example, Antonia pointed out that everything in the course is:

all part of Viennese heritage. The whole course, actually, is also to do with- because it was all around Vienna, all to do with Vienna (Antonia 8 March 2022).

For this reason, I define heritage talked about in the course as not simply this one unit of *Volkskunde*, which would maybe be what one would think about upon first glance, the commonsense understanding of heritage, if you will, but rather everything that is chosen to be talked about in the course can be understood as heritage. Simon said it the most plainly out of all of my interlocutors when I asked him what kind of heritage was brought up in the course:

The simple fact that [something] is mentioned in the course and that it is presented in the course makes it a kind of a heritage because, when you do this in this setting, when you present a certain, let's say, building in the setting of such a course for tourist guides, then you can pre-assume that, by the organizers of the course, this is defined as a heritage (Simon 16 May 2022).

Instead of listing out certain units of the course, he simply said that everything that was taught in the course was heritage. In other words, the act of picking and choosing what is and is not mentioned in the course is actually heritagization by the curriculum builders and course instructors. This heritagization shapes the dominant narrative that is considered appropriate for tourist guides to be taught and, eventually, go on to tell their clients about.

Through the coding and analysis of these curriculum notes, as well as the portions of my interviews that pertain to the course, there were three major codes regarding what is talked

about in the course that I feel are put in particular focus and importance. These three themes are Catholicism, the Habsburgs and their legacy, and Vienna's importance as a cultural capital, highlighting prominent musical and artistic figures and their work. All of this is centered around a focus of places, events, art, music, and architecture pertaining specifically to the 18th and 19th centuries but a particular emphasis on the turn of the 20th century.

4.3.3 Themes of Prominence

The first major theme during the course that I will discuss is religion. As mentioned previously, subjects such as history, art history, architecture, and folklore are taught in the tourist guide course. With Austria being a predominantly Catholic country both from a religious perspective and a cultural one, Catholicism permeates all subjects. Especially when it comes to sections that talk about Austrian customs and traditions, the vast majority are Catholic related (Jäggle 2021). Joel, a tourist guide originally from Norway was able to critically discuss this part of the course due to the fact that he has no strong cultural ties to these traditions. Here, he discusses his thoughts on how the course highlights the link between Austrian customs and Catholicism:

[Holidays], I remember is a very important part [of the course] because it goes with the religious part of the country. It's very strong, Catholicism. This is an aspect of the people that is very much embedded in the way of life here. Out of the 13, I think, 13 red days in the calendar, meaning holidays, 12 of them are religious. The only one [that isn't] is the constitution day on the 26th [of October]. Maybe, okay, there's one more, the 1st of May, which is Labor Day. Otherwise, all the other ones are the Ascension of Mary, or the Ascension of Christ, or it's- Easter, of course, it's the most important one. So, with this comes a lot of traditions in terms of cuisine and food and pastries, the fasting, the Ash Wednesday, and, like, religious things. They take it very seriously here. And not necessarily because people go to church, but it's associated with family activities. Traditional activities with the family. It goes hand in hand (Joel 18 March 2022).

Not only when it comes to Viennese traditions and customs is Catholic influence highlighted in the course, but in art and architecture, as well. A large amount of the architecture and art that is touched upon pertains to Catholic churches, cathedrals, and monasteries. Ralph, told me that the course focused a great deal on old examples of art, specifically religious art, and actually

seemed to find this focus a bit annoying. He said they “looked at every freaking fresco in a monastery in Lower Austria” (Ralph 12 March 2022). Not only that, but when talking about the history of Austria, Catholicism remains in the forefront because the Habsburgs were not only ruling the Austrian Empire, but they were also the Holy Roman Emperors (Johann 24 February 2022).

This brings me to the next theme that is very much in the forefront of the course which are the Habsburgs and the Austrian Empire’s legacy. As mentioned previously, imperial history must be a specific focus in the course according to the law (*Fremdenführer-Verordnung*: § 1). For example, in the course, one must learn all of the Habsburgs and what they were known for (Adele 17 February 2022). Not only that, but the themes of Catholicism and Habsburgs also go hand in hand. Indeed, many churches and cathedrals were owned by Habsburgs, Habsburgs did something significant in them (were married, christened, had their funerals, etc.) or both at the same time (Johann 24 February 2022). Furthermore, many art pieces that are still on display today with Catholic influences were owned by Habsburgs. Richard, an instructor, told me about it is important to emphasize this:

I try to do that they get conscious of a kind of background in culture, and this is- that really traces back to a few centuries that we had a dynasty that was very active in focusing on culture. The Habsburgs were famous collectors, and this is still around (Richard 22 May 2022).

It also here where the focus of Vienna being a cultural city, culture in this case meaning art, music, etc. is also part of the course. Richard said that the idea of Vienna having cultural offerings is an important aspect for tourist guides to know. Adele told me about an experience she had in her course with a more interactive instructor in her *Volkskunde* class, which has elements of this kind of culture:

Each one of us had to draw topics from a hat and elaborate on that. I got Waltz. Yeah, so. I think the focus was on that because, yeah, music is big when people come to Vienna (Adele 17 February 2022).

The idea of music being a big topic when people come to Vienna is an important one that will be discussed further in the next section and also in Chapter 5. It is important to note here that there is a particular focus on the arts only from the 18th and 19th century and even goes so far as to stop the education more or less completely at the end of World War II. Several interlocutors opened up to me about this:

The classes are just never- I think- they were good sometimes, but they are also very... they miss out a lot of stuff. Art history, for example...[We] did not really talk about contemporary Austrian art, which is a big thing...It kind of stops at the end of World War II (Ralph 12 March 2022).

[The course went to] the Leopold Museum and there were a few classes of contemporary art, especially 1960s, 1970s, but not with that focus, like art history, old art history (Karoline 6 February 2022).

This focus in the course on nostalgic elements of Vienna long past is very reminiscent of the tourism strategies that have been employed in Vienna for many decades, as discussed at length in Chapter 3. Focusing on a Vienna long past as the dominant tourism narrative for the area leaves many other aspects of Vienna and Austria to fall through the cracks, perpetuating a narrative and image that is long gone. There is a push from course curriculum builders and instructors to break away from this strategy, but there is a certain amount of pushback, particularly from the examination committee. This will be discussed at length later on. This brings me to the individuals who actually create the materials, who teach these courses, and why they matter: curriculum builders and instructors.

4.3.4 How is the Course Content Determined?

The first actor that must be discussed in terms of creation of the curriculum and course in general is the course head, sometimes known as the curriculum builder. Course heads have a significant amount of power to shape the course how they see fit in several ways. The heads of the tourist guide courses have a huge amount of power (within the parameters of the law) to shape the curriculum the way that they want it to look and, thus, shape future tourist guides and how they present Austrian and Viennese heritage to the world. They do this through two main ways: through the ability to change the curriculum and the ability to choose instructors that they prefer to teach their courses. In terms of changing the curriculum, I was able to speak to the course head for WIFI and she explained to me some of what her job consists of:

It is mostly organizing the timetable for the students and the trips and getting in contact with the instructors. I have an influence on the curriculum for example which topics are taught...this is quite a bit in the hands of the person who organizes the course (Gisela 20 June 2022).

This authorization to change the curriculum is very important. As I mentioned previously, several of my interlocutors expressed that they felt that the emphasis, ended with World War

II, with a specific emphasis on events, people, art, music, architecture, etc. surrounding the turn of the 20th century particularly, but also from the 18th and 19th centuries as a whole (Karoline 6 February 2022, Ralph 12 March 2022). The head of the WIFI course shared with me that there have actually been efforts by her and other higher-ups to revamp the course to include more modern information and discard information that is, according to her, no longer relevant (Gisela 20 June 2022). For example, when I asked her curriculum ever changed, she said:

Yes, it does change. Some aspects are not that important anymore while other aspects are extremely important today, also in guiding...some content was taking too much time. For example, the aspect of music history. It is important as Vienna is also known as the city of music but an overview on this topic should be enough. There simply were too many details. At the moment, we have to create space for modern content, such modern architecture or which topics could be interesting for minorities. Only with a focus also on these topics has the course arrived in the present...And, so, these aspects are now part of the course - for example, tours on the topic of LGBTQ. Our world changes, our guests have changed, so also the course needs to change. And so bit by bit this is getting adapted. (Gisela 20 June 2022)

From this information, it appears that the course head takes a very modern approach to what tourists want and need in modern tourism. She finds modern and minority topics to be of such importance that detailed information about Vienna as the city of music should be cut down significantly. She has a certain view on what the today's client is demanding of tourist guides and feels that the course should follow suit. However, this client-based approach is already refuted by the examination committee as well as tourist guides who tell me that imperial history is actually the genre of tours that sells the best.

In addition to having the ability to change the curriculum, the course head is also able to choose who works for them as instructors. I asked her how she chooses the instructors that teach her course:

You're either a tourist guide or you are an expert on a certain topic. Basically, I'm the one who decides who presents a certain topic to the class. And, so, I'm trying to find the best instructors I can get on various topics" (*ibid.*).

Instructors for these courses manifest themselves in several different ways. One way is professors who are experts in their field, such as history professors, art history professors,

archaeology professors, etc. will give lectures on their respective field (Richard 22 May 2022). It can also be that these professors are not just instructors but also tourist guides themselves and give practical tours to the students at historical sites, in museums, etc. pertaining to their field (*ibid.*). Alternatively, tourist guides who are not professors but know a great deal about a certain field can also teach in the course, primarily in the form of giving practical tours to the students about various subjects in various locations but also in the form of classroom instruction (*ibid.*). In total, there are roughly 10 instructors that give lectures and guided tours during a course (*ibid.*). At this point, the question must be asked how one is able to secure a position as an instructor for tourist guide courses. Richard shared with me about how he personally became a tourist guide instructor in Vienna:

[Becoming an instructor] was perchance, I would say, because [the BFI course] was taken over in the 1990s by a colleague of mine that made with me the course. So, we both were students in the same course, and then she asked me, ‘do you want to be part of my team?’ And I said, ‘yeah, of course’ (Richard 22 May 2022).

This situation happened to Richard a second time, not only at BFI, but at WIFI, as well. Richard knew the person who was taking over the curriculum and planning for the course, and they asked him if he would be a part of their team. In other words, he had multiple connections that helped him in securing these jobs as an instructor. As a tourist guide in general, connections within the network of tourist guides, knowing the right people, is very important in furthering their careers. The ability to be able to take advantage of personal and/or professional relationships in order to advance one’s career is what the Austrians call *Vitamin B*.¹⁰ *Vitamin B* can be interpreted as employment of social capital. Another way that this can be understood is in terms of Bordieu’s social capital.¹¹ This idea of *Vitamin B* itself in the life of a tourist guide in a myriad of ways that will be discussed in detail later in this chapter, as well as in future chapters. It was relatively easy for Richard to obtain such an exclusive job, a job that only ten individuals

¹⁰ *Vitamin B* is a widely used phrase in colloquial language in Austria that refers to taking advantage of personal and/or professional relationships in order to advance one’s career. The *b* stands for *Beziehung*, the German word for relationship. Austrians often joke that, in Austria, it is extremely difficult to get a job or be successful at all without some kind of previous relationship (personal or professional) with someone in the company or organization that you are applying to or work at without a healthy dose of *Vitamin B*.

¹¹ Social capital refers to “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or in other words, to membership in a group which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively own capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word” (Bordieu 1986:247).

in three organizations in Vienna have because he had connections with the head of the tourist guide course at both BFI and WIFI. If one does not have a personal connection to the head of a tourist guide course like Richard did, they must contact the head of the course and, if there is an opening, must prove that they are qualified to teach these courses (*ibid.*).

Regardless of how an instructor is selected, I argue that, to a certain extent, that because the heads of the course have a certain vision for the way they want Austrian heritage to be presented in the course, who they choose as instructors and what those people believe important in such a course matters a great deal. Within the confines of the law, albeit vague, the instructors and curriculum builders have a huge say in not only reinforcing but also building the dominant narrative that that is taught to future tourist guides that will be shared with tourists on the ground day after day. This is one of many forms of heritagization that occurs within the licensing process.

As far as specific methods of teaching the course, apart from what exactly is taught, it was mentioned to me again and again the importance of teaching the future tourist guides the art of knowing their client. The curriculum is built in such a way, according to the head of the WIFI course, so that it encompasses information that they know that the tourists will want to hear about. Gisela told me that it is important to take into account:

What are the guests interested in, what do they want to see, and which aspect are they wanting to hear about. To make a long story short: know your customer! (Gisela 20 June 2022)

I also asked her what aspects of heritage that she feels are most important to get across to students and, instead of giving me an answer containing heritage she wants to get across, instead, she emphasized the importance of knowing the client once again:

I think that the most important thing is that the students need to understand that they must never take any knowledge of our customers for granted. First you must understand your customer and decide on that knowledge, what aspects of the Austrian heritage you want to get across (*ibid.*).

Richard also shared with me that he, too, emphasizes this aspect very heavily. His philosophy is to figure out where your client is from and then draw parallels between their country's history and culture and that of Austria. Richard gave me an example in his own guiding career to help me understand:

Most of my clients are Americans, and, of course, they do not know that much about European history. So, you have to try to show them some kind of parallels in the history, and that works very well, because when people get associations, also with their own history, it's easier to understand things (Richard 22 May 2022).

The concept of knowing the client and where to direct their gaze is something that came up again and again throughout my research. It is a foundational idea within the licensing process that tourist guides bring into their lives as entrepreneurs. This will be touched upon again in Chapter 5.

Richard also talked, for example, extensively about how difficult it was to find parallels between Austria and places like China, which is unfortunate, as China was number four in most arrivals to Vienna by country in 2019, the most profitable year for tourism (*ibid.*; “Gästekünfte in Wien Nach Herkunftsländern 2013 Bis 2022”). Indeed, Richard also mentioned the fact that there is a low number of certified tourist guides that are actually able to guide Chinese tourists in Mandarin. This and other consequences are, in part, due to various gatekeeping measures put in place for the course that I observed during my research, limiting fair access to the course for all.

4.3.5 Gatekeeping and Control Mechanisms in the Course

The first gatekeeping measure is related to the financial aspect of the course. Depending on which course a person chooses, it can cost up to 5000€ in total (Frano 27 January 2022; Johann 24 February 2022). Not only that, but it is also a huge time commitment that can last for several years, making it more difficult to work at the same time. There are courses that take place only in the evenings, but it is, nevertheless, a burden to work full time in order to pay for and go to what is essentially university in the evenings. Several interlocutors opened up to me about what this was like for them to make the huge decision, invest their time and money in themselves, to take part in something that is a strain on these two resources:

In Austria, there was always this stigma of you have to do the course and the exam, it costs money. But then I saw how much I liked it, and I decided I'm gonna do that in Vienna, as well. So, I enrolled when I came back, did two semesters, went back to Norway, then I finished the course here just during COVID (Adele 17 February 2022).

As Adele was a tourist guide during several summer in Norway, she had already gotten a taste of what it would be like for her to have that as a career. For her, it seemed like an easy choice despite the time and money because she had the opportunity to do a trial run first in a country where tourist guide regulations are not as strict and then make the decision to invest her time and money to do it in her home country. Johann, who had worked already for decades as a journalist and wanted a career switch had a different experience:

I don't want to work in an office, and I want to have work that is good pay, and I don't want to sit my time just forty hours... I had an old friend of mine who has been working as tourist guide for the last 25 years, and she told me about it, and then I decided to do it. Cost me about 5000€. I invested (Johann 24 February 2022).

With the push and encouragement of a friend coupled with his desire to work outside of an office, Johann also made the choice to invest in himself. Ralph, having always wanted to become a tourist guide, had yet another experience:

It was always in my mind to do [the tourist guide course], but then I discovered that, in Austria, there are a lot of obstacles, like the course, and the exams, so I thought eh. Yeah. I needed a couple of years to develop the idea. At some point, I said, okay I'm gonna invest my time, my money, and do it (Ralph 12 March 2022).

In the end, despite the time, money, and effort, the decision was still made to invest in themselves and their careers to become tourist guides.

The next and biggest gatekeeping measure that I came across was major hurdles that specifically foreign students needed to overcome. Several interlocutors shared with me how a great deal of their classmates were not native Austrian, even up to 50% of participants (Karoline 6 February 2022, Adele 17 February 2022, Ralph 12 March 2022). It is worth noting that it is unclear how many of these students actually went on to pass their examinations and become certified tourist guides. As the course is taught entirely in German, I was told that this was a major issue for some people. As tourism, by nature, is quite an international affair, I found it odd that there were no options to take the course in any other language than German. This has been a real issue for individuals coming from countries that do not have a history of or need to learn German. For Joel, for example, having come from Norway, found that the course being in German was a huge challenge and stress for him:

It was one of the bigger challenges, for sure, considering that I learned my German through the course, so I started off with elementary German. I had it in school in Norway, but I hadn't really practiced it. So, I was learning German as I was going through (Joel 18 March 2022).

Other students try their hand at simply signing up for the course with absolutely no German skills, hoping to learn them along the way (*ibid.*). Joel shared with me that there were so many students from Asia in his class that came to Austria with the intention of completing the course and exam with absolutely no German skills that BFI decided that students must have a German B2 certificate before being allowed to take the course (*ibid.*).

You do get people sent here from China, Japan, Korea, who are just gonna be working here for those [big tour] groups, and the company is gonna send them. Many, many in Linz, especially the years before I did it, we heard stories of half the class filled with Asians. Many of them failed. Many of them not knowing German. They would come in and they tried the course, I don't know how they tried but they try. Many fail, but- and there was a need to now, starting with my class, they had a requirement that you needed to speak a B2 German to take this class, because they had so many that didn't speak German at all. Very weird (*ibid.*).

These bureaucratic hurdles further restrict who is able to take part in the course and who is not. The fact that this course is only taught in German keeps the interest and successful certification to only a certain kind of actor who has to power to wield the heritage narrative in their career. This is a way to regulate entry into the job market and attempt to keep what is viewed to be the best representatives of Austrian heritage in the market.

As far as the actual information that was covered in the class, Austrians confronted the material differently than foreigners, according to course participants and instructors alike. Austrian students told me that it was terribly boring, with information that they grew up learning or experiencing in their daily life. Karoline said that the parts of the course talking about customs, traditions, holidays, etc. were "awful" (Karoline 6 February 2022). One interlocutor even told me that he used his limited number of absences to skip courses related to heritage that he knew very well:

[The *Volkskunde* unit] was a lot of religion. A LOT of religion. Every saint, how are saints depicted...I skipped that most of the time. It was just very detailed, especially because we never use it (Ralph 12 March 2022).

Simon also talked about what it was like learning about Austrian heritage as a native Austrian himself:

The course confirms, strengthens, certain tendencies, maybe changes some of them, but mostly confirms them, let's put it that way, if you are Austrian and if you know Austria and Vienna quite well already (Simon 16 May 2022).

Essentially what this means is that a lot of the information that is covered in the course is actually information that Austrians learn in school or from simply growing up and living in Austria. In this way, the information that is taught in the course is confirming and even strengthening this narrative that was already taught to them. This can be understood to mean that the heritage narrative that is pushed in the course is similar to the heritage narrative that is taught in schools and also just by being an Austria person in daily life. In other words, the tourism heritage regime promotes similar narratives to the general heritage regime of Austria.

Foreigners, on the other hand, were hearing this information, Austrian art, music, architecture, history, famous figures, heritage, etc.) largely for the first time, not having it drilled into them from an early age. Ralph tells me about his experience learning this information versus his foreign peers:

A lot of information [was] new, because they only knew Vienna, and not, maybe, the whole traditions behind it. Especially they knew nothing about what was going in the countryside, yeah? Stuff like, I don't know, Krampus, and Fasching, and I don't know what else. For them, I think it was hard to learn, for us it was...yeah (Ralph 12 March 2022).

Not only that, but to go back to the issue of language being a gatekeeping measure, there are many instances of special vocabulary that only apply to certain traditions and customs in Austria that non-native German speakers are not aware of at first, making it even more difficult for them. Adele told me how foreigners in her class dealt with this:

The thing with the course is that many of the people in [the course] are not Austrian and did not have a good grasp on the German language. They were struggling with certain German idioms (Adele 17 February 2022).

According to one instructor, different foreigners are able to handle the material of the course more easily than others due to imagined boundaries of shared culture and heritage. These imagined boundaries of a shared cultural geography reflects who is the idealized tourist guide that can best embody Austria's culture heritage. Richard talked about who "the average student" is in a course like this one:

[The average student] is Austrian or from the surrounding. Let's say from Central Europe. So there- very often there are students that are from Yugoslavia, Serbia, Croatia, especially, Slovenia, sometimes Italians, there are some Germans, as well. Then, yeah, Czech Republic, Russia, that's it. But, they all have a kind of, a kind of similar background, they are not Viennese but they are- it's a kind of same, uh, base, in a way (Richard 22 May 2022).

In other words, while Austrian people are the easiest group of people to teach what needs to be taught in terms of heritage, Europeans from outside Austria are also not so difficult to teach Austrian heritage to because they are considered similar. Richard mentioned here, too, about how it was important to draw connections between their home country and Austria, and, because they are Europeans, there are many connections that can be drawn from and implemented (*ibid.*).

An example of efforts to make teaching non-Europeans easier, BFI implemented what amounts to what I would consider segregation and isolation. Richard explained to me that, leading up to 2020, the market for Chinese tourists in Austria was booming (*ibid.*). As a result, Asian tour groups would come to Austria, bringing their own Chinese guide. These Chinese guides were usually not certified Austria Guide which is, of course, illegal.

According to Richard, a huge reason why this problem exists is twofold. First, because would-be Chinese tourist guides do not have the German language skills to successfully take part in the course. Second, because he says there are few parallels between Austria and China, making it difficult to teach Chinese students Austrian heritage in an effective way (*ibid.*). Richard puts it this way:

There are some Chinese in such a course who speak broken German, they came here five years ago. Of course, that person has no backpack [that you carry around on your shoulders with traditions, history, behaviors that is typical for a place and part of your identity] like I have...And that is, of course, difficult what to teach, how to, so to say, to just try to tell them or to instruct them. This is difficult (*ibid.*).

As a result of this, the BFI began offering courses that only contained Chinese students so that they could more easily teach them as one monolith (*ibid.*). The class was still taught in German, of course, but in order to try to teach them parallels of Chinese and Austrian heritage (of which there are apparently few) to relay to their future clients, they separated them from Austrian and other European students (*ibid.*). The segregation of potential tourist guides by ethnicity and entrenched perceptions of their cultural backgrounds is just one example of how, as mentioned previously, the heads of the course and instructors have a huge amount of agency and autonomy to shape the course however they want it to look. In this situation, the course instructors are specially teaching Chinese students Austrian heritage the way that they think is best for Chinese students to retain and then disseminate it.

While these actors within the course do have a huge amount of autonomy and agency to shape the course and future tourist guides how they see fit, each organization must still keep in mind that everyone must pass the same formatted exam given by the same examination committee at the end of their studies. The course head at WIFI told me:

[An] aspect that needs to be taken in account is the committee that conducts the exams. Even though the common tourist might not be that much interested in the National Library of Austria but that has to be part of the course as it could be a topic during the exam. So, it must be a good mixture between topics for special interest groups but also a good overview of everything you need to know about Vienna (Gisela 20 June 2022).

As mentioned previously, Gisela shared with me that she really wants to push for more modern and “relevant” topics in the course that she believes that tourists today are interested in hearing about. However, she always tells the students to keep in mind that that is probably not what the examination committee is going to ask during their exam. The examination portion of the licensing process put their focus on the traditional representation and dominant narrative of Vienna, with an emphasis on the Habsburgs and historical music and art figure, what they created and where they spent their time, all within the timeframe of the 18th and 19th centuries. There is, in other words, a dichotomy or a clash of the course trying to, as much as it can, “bring Vienna into the present,” but is unable to do that because of the outdated expectations of what heritage is of the examination committee. This brings me to another group of people shaping the dominant narrative of the heritagization process: the examination committee.

4.4 Examination

4.4.1 Logistics

The examination that every would-be tourist guide must take consists of three parts. The first part's purpose is to be able to demonstrate the requirements that must be met for entrepreneurs in Austria which include commercial and business knowledge as well as legal knowledge that pertains to a tourist guide as an entrepreneur (*Fremdenführer-Befähigungsprüfungsordnung*: § 5). This is a written exam that is created and implemented by the Chamber of Commerce in whatever region that the examination is being administered in (*ibid.*). The region that the student did their course in is the region that the examination must be administered in (Karoline 6 February).

The second part is the theoretical portion of the exam (*Fremdenführer-Befähigungsprüfungsordnung*: § 4). This consists of a panel of examiners, two experienced certified tourist guides appointed by the regional Chamber of Commerce and one employee from the capital city the examination is taken in, usually someone who has studied law (Renata 5 April 2022). This third person is considered to be an impartial third party, having nothing to do with tourism or tourist guides in their normal career (*ibid.*). In this part of the exam, the tourist guide candidate must stand in front of this panel and answer any questions that the panel of examiners throws at them (Adele 17 February 2022).

The third portion of the exam is the practical (*ibid.*). Here, whichever constellation of examiners that a candidate had in their theoretical panel are the same examiners that conduct the practical segment (Joel 18 March 2022). This portion begins in a bus; the examiners randomly decide a museum or location of historical/cultural significance that the candidate must conduct a tour in (Adele 17 February 2022). The examiners share that information with the candidate and the candidate must direct the driver on how to get to said museum or locations, all while giving interesting facts and information about what they pass along the way (*ibid.*). Once at the location, everyone disembarks the bus, and the candidate gives a walking tour around the area followed by a tour inside the museum or at the location (*ibid.*). During this portion, the examiners take on the role of tourist, asking questions or making comments throughout the bus ride, walking, and indoor tour (*ibid.*).

4.4.2 How to Become an Examiner

Each region's Chamber of Commerce has an examination committee consisting of around 12 experienced, licensed tourist guides (Renata 5 April 2022; Richard 22 May 2022).

According to my interlocutors, these individuals are chosen using a kind of vetting process where, when a spot on the committee opens up, people together on the committee think about tourist guides in the community that they feel would be a strong candidate for the committee. While did they share with me the mechanics about how someone can sit on the examination board, they did not say what constituted a strong candidate for this job. In other words, the process is quite untransparent. Renata, who is the head of the examination committee, explained to me how someone can come to be on the examination committee:

[Being a tourist guide examiner] is something you cannot choose yourself. Somebody who recommends you. If there is one of the positions vacant, we are always looking around. First of all, the organizers of the WKO, not mainly, other colleagues, they are part of the testers team, and they just think about who would fit as a tester (Renata 5 April 2022).

After having contacted this individual asking if they would be interested in the position, the person that is in charge of the logistics of the tourist guide testing (who is not necessarily a tourist guide themselves) at the Chamber of Commerce interviews them and signs off yes or no on them. Richard, another examiner, talked to me about this:

You just come [on the committee] when one of the committee, so to say, invites you. And then, there is, from the [Chamber of Commerce]...there is a lady there, and you have to talk to her, and if she says, 'yeah, I like the way that you speak, the way you are,' then you are invited into [the committee]." (Richard 22 May 2022)

Richard also talked to me about his personal experience in how he became an examiner:

As far I know, it was one person from the committee that wanted me to be in the committee. I just- because I met her very often- there's is also, for the guides, we have very often some kind of special tours to enlarge our knowledge, where you meet other guides and you are guided by someone...And I did that very often in those days and that one lady [from the special tours] just said, 'do you want to do that, are you interested, do you think that you can do that?' Well, why not? Okay, then, she arranged the meeting with that lady in the [Chamber of Commerce] office and say said, 'yeah, that's okay, we try it' (Richard 22 May 2022).

From these two interlocutors, it is clear that the candidate must be chosen by someone on the committee that they think would be a good fit and a strong candidate. According to them, there is no open call or advertisement for a spot on this committee, the current members simply choose someone (Renata 5 April 2022; Richard 22 May 2022). Unfortunately, it is not transparent what it means exactly for someone to be a good fit or what qualities they look for in a future examiner. It is here we see again the issue of favoritism or tourist guides benefitting off of their social capital within the tourist guide licensing process.

One could argue that, by choosing potential new examiners based on who the examination committee already know, like, and respect as tourist guides in the community, they are, whether subconsciously or not, leaning toward people who have similar world views as well as tourist guiding styles and philosophies. I would argue that this practice of favoritism and utilizing social capital has the potential to perpetuate a certain dominant heritage narrative amongst not only the experienced tourist guides that preside on the committee, but the tourist guides that are subsequently passed by said committee. At least in Vienna, according to one informant on the committee, all of the exam committee members are Austrian (Renata 5 April 2022). This goes back to what was discussed in the previous section about how certain tendencies if someone grows up as an Austrian person in Austria are confirmed/strengthened by the course. One could stand to reason, therefore, that one dominant idea of what Austrian or Viennese heritage is considered heritage by this committee and other narratives are left behind. This can especially be seen when it comes to their autonomy within the examination process and how they use it.

4.4.3 Questions Being Asked

The examination committee has quite a lot of agency and power throughout the entire process of the examination of deciding who will and will not become a tourist guide, as well as what constitutes a worthy tourist guide to share the heritage of Austria and Vienna. First, we will look at their agency in what questions they ask. While there are extremely general guidelines written in the law, there is no book of approved questions that the exam committee can or should pull from and that the candidates can study from (*Fremdenführer-Befähigungsprüfungsordnung*: § 4) Instead, examiners can ask absolutely anything that they want. According to tourist guide interlocutors as well as exam committee interlocutors, the kinds of questions that are asked by the committee, to a certain extent, depends on the second language a person has chosen. Richard told me how he normally goes about asking questions like this:

For the oral examinations, I normally take the historian part...Then I have certain questions that are prepared. For instance...what about Spain and Austria? Why comes Spanish War of the Spanish succession, whatever...For the oral examination is always in German, but nevertheless, I know what language the person has chosen...so then, very often, I ask, again, relations between that language and Austrian or Viennese history (Richard 22 May 2022).

This means that if someone chose Spanish as their second language for the practical part, the examiners might ask more questions about the Spanish line of the Habsburgs during the oral/theoretical part. Again, they do this because they feel it is so important to know your client and form parallels between their country/culture and the Austrian country/culture.

As far as the actual kinds of questions that are being asked in the theoretical portion, I asked interlocutors what they were asked about during the theoretical parts of the examination. Joel explained to me how the test was set up and what themes he was questioned on, receiving the period of time around the end of the 19th century through to the beginning of the 20th century:

So, the format is, they are sitting three or four of them behind a table sitting there, and they all have their own fields that they test you in. Somebody takes care of history, other person takes care of, I don't know, music or culture or local stuff and so on, and they kind of start one and then move on to the other...I saw a kind of pattern where they kind of stick to periods...The second time, I got a good period, which was a more modern period at the end of the monarchy and Franz Josef and Sisi and all that stuff (Joel 18 March 2022).

Karoline had one more modern question but then rest were about the last generation of the Habsburg and their legacy:

I can remember my- I had the theory exam- I was asked about Kreisky and what reforms he made, and what he founded, and what's about ladies and Kreisky and so on, so political history of the 1960s and 1970s...And so that was one question, but the rest of the questions was all about the time of the monarchy, the late monarchy especially. They were not so interested about the beginning of the family of Habsburg, but the end of the family of Habsburg (Karoline 6 February 2022).

Adele explained how she was asked to explain a piece of art in a Catholic church, while others needed to place famous painting from the Art History Museum in the right order:

They sometimes show you a random art piece. I got an alter that was in Klosterneuburg. It's a fairly famous piece of Medieval art. Other people that I know got post card of five art pieces from the [Art History Museum], and they had to put them in chronological order and explain (Adele 17 February 2022).

She also told me about how she was questioned about Christmas traditions that took place in Austria:

What [one instructor] did go in detail about, because it was around Christmas time, was Christmas holiday traditions, because that's pretty important for us to know, and also for the exam, because they quiz you about the holidays that are around it. So, we were prospected to do it around Easter, so there was also a bigger focus on Catholic holidays, how they celebrate in Austria, first of all (Adele 17 February 2022).

In summary, my interlocutors told me that history, individuals, art, and architecture from the turn of the 20th century with a particular focus on the Habsburgs, especially the last few generations, as well as Catholicism and the cultures and customs surrounding it are something that is in focus during this examination. From what my interlocutors told me, it seems that there is more or less a parallel of information of what is asked in the theoretical portion of the examination and what is highlighted in the laws, the course, and what has been deemed important building blocks of Austrian heritage tourism that was outlined in Chapter 3. So, too, do we see that in the practical portion where they are required to do a walking tour and subsequent guided tour within a museum or other well-known establishment frequented by tourists. Simon explained to me his experience during his practical portion:

I went by bus to the Belvedere, so typical tourism places that are definitely...The place that we were for the tests were clearly places with standardized, commonly known Viennese heritage. They were in the city center. We started at Albertina, went to Heumarkt, went into the Imperial Crypt, we went on St. Stephen's Square, Stephansplatz. I went by bus to the Belvedere, so typical tourism places that are definitely...typical narrative for heritages in Vienna. And, of course, they also asked me about those things. the Imperial Crypts, the Habsburgs. So, that was, I would say, very standardized. That was

things, content, that is, today, considered very standardized Viennese heritage (Simon 16 May 2022).

As mentioned previously, the head of the WIFI course expressed to me that she always told her students that they needed to keep in mind that what their guests may expect from them (modern information, information about minorities, for example) may not always be the same as what the examiners expect from them (Gisela 20 June 2022). Instead, the examiners would likely stick to the more old-fashioned, nostalgic approach of what a tourist guide is expected to know and reproduce about Vienna in a tourism context rather than focus on what the modern tourist might be interested in. If this is the case, would it not stand to reason that the exam committee is, to a certain extent, out of touch when it comes to what tourists want today? If she is expressing the need for the course to incorporate more modern aspects of Viennese culture and history, why does the exam committee not follow suite? Here, again, we see that the dominant heritage narrative perpetuated by the examination committee is not necessarily aligned with modern or minority narratives. While the course head pushes for a modernization of the curriculum for the sake of tourist interests and expectation, is that really what they want? This will be discussed more in Chapter 5.

Something else that the examination committee has complete autonomy over is who passes and fails. Richard explained to me how the examination committee determine whether a would-be tourist guide passes or fails:

I always note the things when the examinee is talking, acting, moving, holding the microphone, and also the two other examiners do the same. And then, at the end [of the examinations], when we did everything, we just make a break, gather in a coffee house, last time we were over there, and discuss each and every single examinee. And, normally, we all, three, agree with the same. So, we give notes from 1-5 and 5 is you failed (Richard 22 May 2022).

In other words, the examiners take notes during the examination about what the future tourist guide does and says well or not so well and decide as a group if they pass or fail. There is not a set of rules or a rubric for how to grade the examinees, rather the decision to pass or fail is, to a certain extent, a subjective one. The manner in which the examinations are administered, and candidates' performance is assessed appears to be biased in favor of tourist guides with extensive familiarity with traditional and dominant narratives, while potentially marginalizing those equipped with knowledge that encompasses diverse aspects of Vienna's history, such as the LGBTQIA+ movement. As a result, this phenomenon has significant implications for the

composition of licensed tour guides and their engagement with Austrian heritage in the context of tourism. This leads me to the discussion of gatekeeping measures for the examination that are in place.

4.4.4 Gatekeeping and Control Mechanisms in the Examination

The way that my interlocutors explained it to me is that there is quite a high volume of people that fail and need to retake it. Some of my interlocutors opened up to me about their experiences of failure:

First, I did it in Dutch, and there was a very, very strict professor there, and I was pregnant. And she said ‘Naja, that was not enough. First have your baby, and...’ I failed. And the second was just a few months later where my daughter was only five months old, and I did it in Spanish. And there was another person who did the exam. And it was very easy for me (Antonia 8 March 2022).

So, I failed the theory once, managed it the second time, but there was a higher, high fail rate with my class (Joel 18 March 2022).

This connects to the theme that I have observed throughout my research which is the financial burden of the licensing process, as well as time invested. Every time someone needs to retake, or indeed take the examination for the first time, they must pay upwards of 500€ depending on which section needs to be taken or retaken (*Gehaltsgesetz 1956*: § 28).

On the same vein of gatekeeping, essentially controlling who is and is not allowed to speaking about heritage to tourists, for the exam, the theoretical part is conducted entirely in German while the practical part of the exam must be conducted in two languages, German and another language of the candidate’s choice (Ralph 12 March 2022). You are assigned specific examiners depending on which second language is chosen (*ibid.*). However, if a candidate has a language that no examiner knows or speaks, the candidate must hire an interpreter to bring with them at their own expense. Pavlos told me about his experience:

I took the exam in German and Greek. For this I had to hire a translator because there is no examiner Greek language speaker (Pavlos 26 March 2023).

Interestingly, according to Renata, there are 35 different languages represented by tourist guides in the whole of Austria (Renata 5 April 2022). However, as mentioned, Renata shared with me that all the people on the Viennese examination committee are Austrian and largely only know European languages. Of course, this gatekeeping measure can affect people who are from Austria if they know a language that the examination committee does not know, but

I would argue that it more so appears to affect foreigners that are not from major European countries or that are not from Europe at all. It is more complicated and costly for people who are testing in a language the examiners do not know, thus, reducing the likelihood that a person would choose to test in that language if they had the opportunity to test in another one like English, for example. This, in turn, can change not only who relays Viennese heritage to tourists but which tourists, depending on their language, actually receives the information.

Furthermore, my foreign interlocutors have told me that the examination itself was very difficult for them. Much like in the course, Austrians' approach to the examination is quite different than their foreign counterparts. Some Austrian interlocutors explained their approach to the exams:

I did history study [in Vienna]. I was always interested in history, so I have a really large basic knowledge. Really large, you know, I don't have to be shy about it, really. So, it wasn't so difficult for me, but the other people who came in from different branches and different businesses, well, it was awful for them. And the examination are quite strict, yeah? So, there were already people who failed (Johann 24 February 2022).

I knew exactly what was coming up...I was pretty confident. Some of my colleagues, they started to study, three, four, five months before. I did it two weeks before, just read through stuff again, and I knew exactly that sort of subject is very unlikely to occur...[I had an advantage] because the exam is in German. Especially when it comes to the heritage thing...I didn't study it at all (Ralph 12 March 2022).

Austrian students, for the most part, were quite confident and found large portions of the examination to be easy. Some foreign tourist guides that I spoke to did not have this experience, however:

The exams at the end were demanding. I had never studied so intense before (Pavlos 26 March 2023).

[I was very] nervous for every examination (Joel 18 March 2022).

Like the course, because the examination is primarily conducted in German, it presents more of an issue for foreign students. Not only that, but similar to the course, what is being asked of them is not second nature or common knowledge; they have to work harder to achieve the same goal as someone from Austria has to. Furthermore, while some interlocutors told me that their

courses consisted sometime of upwards of 50% foreigners, it is unclear how many actually go on to make it as licensed tourist guides.

It is worth noting here that it was also expressed to me by several interlocutors that they found it strange and, to a certain extent, inappropriate that candidates were being judged by, essentially, their future competition, as the examination committee is comprised of experienced, working tourist guides. Some even went so far as to say that they felt it was a conflict of interest. Ralph and Joel both spoke about this unfairness in the system in their interviews:

The system is fucked up. I mean, the whole thing with having a course, the test, I think it's okay, but it starts with, I mean, who is [teaching] those courses, you know? My future colleagues. Most of them are guides themselves. Also, the [committee] at the tests, I mean, they are your future colleagues, your competition that is testing you. That's a little bit weird, I think (Ralph 12 March 2022).

You are being [examined] by your peers, and this is one of the things that I find very, very weird. Very frustrating...that you're being [examined] by your future competition. (*leans closer to mic*) You heard me, FUTURE COMPETITION, that is what is a bit fucked up with this system...[The licensing process is] information control in every aspect, not just historically (Joel 18 March 2022).

Interestingly, they both pointed out that they felt that the licensing process system is “fucked up,” pointing out that they are being tested and passed by their future competition. Joel even went so far as to point out that the licensing process is information control. Furthermore, not only are future tourist guides being judged by their future peers, but as some instructors are also examiners, they are potentially judging students they have had in classes with them and, subsequently, have opinions on students that they like or dislike. Ralph, realizing this possible advantage, chose a language based on committee members that he thought would give him an edge:

I did a test strategically; I did French as my language at the test. I knew [an instructor of mine that is also an examiner] was doing French tests, the practical ones. I liked her, she liked me, and I thought, so much that I'd do French (Ralph 12 March 2022).

Of course, this example does not necessarily mean that Ralph's test was actually easier because he chose an examiner that he liked and that liked him, but the fact that he was aware of this relationship and hoping that it benefited him is worth pointing out. This example is yet again utilization of social capital even before the tourist guide's career begins. Again, this affects which people are and are not allowed to be tourist guides, what they speak about heritage within a tourism context is the same or similar dominant narrative as the examiner or instructor that assisted them.

Tourist guides take a strategic approach to selection of the second language, primarily as a means of successfully and more easily navigating the examination process. Due to the inherently subjective nature of the examination process, the composition of the examination committee is of paramount importance. Therefore, tourist guides have developed a deliberate strategy centered around their choice of a second language as a means of countering potential bias and the possible challenge of facing more demanding examiners and examination conditions.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the detailed process through which individuals become tourist guides. I have examined the relevant laws, part of the heritage regime, that govern the licensing procedure for tourist guides, including the specific aspects that are included, excluded, and subject to individual discretion on the part of powerful actors within the licensing process. Additionally, I have provided a comprehensive analysis of the mandatory licensing process that aspiring tourist guides must complete. This included discussing the selection criteria for course heads and instructors, the determination of the course curriculum, and the content covered in the classroom. Furthermore, I have outlined the examination process, including who are allowed to become examiners, how they become examiners, and the types of questions posed. Throughout the chapter, I have also highlighted various gatekeeping measures and control mechanisms that were observed in both the course and examination, especially affecting foreign candidates, and ways that participants that I spoke to navigated them.

The strict regulations and protected profession of tourist guides in Austria form a pivotal element of the Austrian tourism heritage regime. The laws surrounding it define the jurisdiction of a tourist guide and establish the requirements for becoming licensed. These laws, along with the selective process of heritagization within the licensing process by powerful actors, shape the dominant narratives within the tourism heritage regime in Vienna and Austria.

The powerful actors involved in the licensing process, such as instructors, course heads, and examiners, have significant agency and autonomy in determining the content taught and examined, thus influencing the creation and reinforcement of Austrian and Viennese heritage.

The course and examination process for tourist guides operate as acts of heritagization, constantly shaping and reinforcing the dominant heritage narrative through, in part, its protected professional group and its informal, closed circuit, networking relations. Conflicting views among these actors result in varied interpretations of what should be included in the discourse, with curriculum builders seeking a modern approach and examination boards favoring the imperial narrative surrounding individuals, places, art, music, architecture, etc. of the 18th and 19th centuries but more specifically the turn of the 20th century associated with Vienna. Nevertheless, the information chosen and reproduced within the course and examination becomes the dominant heritage narrative that tourist guides internalize and utilize in their profession later on.

By understanding the intricacies of Vienna's tourism heritage regime through the lens of the licensing process, we gain valuable insight into the strict local and national controls over the mediation and dissemination of the dominant heritage narratives within it. This knowledge is essential for understanding the complex interplay between regulations, practices, and actors that shape tourist' experiences and the representations of Austrian heritage they receive. This will be explored in the next chapter.

5. Reproductions of Heritage at the Local

5.1 Introduction

Once an individual has successfully completed the course and passed the examination, they become an official, licensed Austria Guide. After that, they begin their career as a freelance tourist guide. As licensed tourist guides, these individuals have a hand in not only shaping tourists' experience while in Vienna, but they are also hugely influential in creating and disseminating the heritage narrative that tourists hear, see, and live while they are in Vienna, a kind of heritagization process that has recourse to the tourist gaze and tourism imaginary. They do this through the tours that they give, where they choose to take them, and what they choose to talk about.

According to my participant observation on numerous walking tours through the 1st District, the dominant heritage narrative that was being reproduced for tourists was romanticized, nostalgic, and imperial in nature both visually and auditorily, in line with the heritage regime. There was a particular focus on the life and legacy, both tangibly and intangibly, of the Habsburgs and other prominent artistic and musical individuals who lived during the 18th and 19th centuries, specially touching upon the turn of the 20th century in Vienna. Not only does this dominant narrative reflect the tourist guide licensing process, but it also relates to the decades, even centuries, of themes that make up the tourism heritage narrative of Vienna, as was discussed in Chapter 3.

The licensing process and historical tourism context are not the only reasons that this type of so-called traditional heritage narrative is being showcased by tourists. The tourists themselves actually have quite a bit of influence in what tourist guides choose to reproduce to them due to their tourist gaze. What tourists are expecting to see and hear on such a tour are very important in terms of what tourist guides choose to showcase. Ultimately, the job of a tourist guide is just that a job; the tourist guide's goal is to have a monetarily successful career by satisfying their clients so that they have the opportunity to receive repeat business and referrals. Some interlocutors shared with me that wanted to satisfy the tourist by telling them what they want to hear is actually causing them to reproduce a Vienna that is no longer there, a façade of former imperial times.

In this chapter, I will begin by walking through my experiences during my participant observation on a tour through the 1st District of Vienna, as well as highlight what I experienced in terms of themes and variations of heritage. Next, I will explain what the experiences of a

licensed tourist guide as a freelance business person in Austria looks like. After that, I will have a discussion on the expectations of tourists and their influence on what is said by tourist guides. Finally, I will highlight contestations of the dominant heritage narrative carried out by other actors within the Viennese heritage regime.

5.2 Heritage on Tour: Through the 1st District

5.2.1 Tour Walkthrough

To reiterate what was discussed in Chapter 2, I took part in eight walking tours conducted by six different tourist guides who all freelanced at the same local tour company, Composite Tours. The majority of these walking tours took place within the confines of the 1st District in Vienna, designed to give tourists an introduction as well as an overview of Vienna. This is the area that Steward (1999b) calls the “natural and self-contained arena for touristic activities” in Vienna, conducted by six different tourist guides who freelanced at the same local tour company, Composite Tours (*ibid.*:126). In order to have a detailed and analytical discussion about what kinds of Viennese heritage were highlighted in the walking tours that I took part in, I will first give an impression of the major highlights and route that occurred on a typical 1st District tour.

I want to stress here that every single tour was a unique experience with slightly different stories, anecdote, and routes. Some guides made more stops or fewer stops than others, stayed in certain spots longer or shorter than other, or went into detail about certain topics that other guide simply skipped over or omitted all together. While these variations will be talked about in the next section, what I want to do here is paint a picture of a 1st District walking tour from the client’s perspective, what heritage elements were shown to the client in a literal, physical sense, as well as what it felt like to be there. Afterwards, there will be a discussion and analysis of the specific heritage that was talked about by the tourist guide as well as the highlighting of areas of variation that occurred on the tours.

1st District Composite Tours always began in the same spot, which was at Helmut-Zilk-Platz. This is a square (although actually shaped more like a triangle) with a section with grass, trees, and benches, but the main part is a set of three statues known as *Mahnmal gegen Krieg und Faschismus* (Monument Against War and Fascism) to represent the atrocities of World War II and Austria and Vienna’s association with it. While standing in this square, some of Vienna’s most well-known attractions can be seen. One is the Albertina Museum, a museum connected to the massive Hofburg complex once inhabited by the Habsburgs that now houses some of Austria’s most beloved pieces of artwork. Another is the *Wiener Staatsopern* (Vienna

State Opera) where world-class classical opera productions can be seen. Still others are *Hotel Sacher*, home of the famous Sachertorte, and Café Tirolerhof, both prime examples of a traditional Viennese Coffee House, an Austrian UNESCO Intangible Heritage. Additionally, the Vienna Tourist Board's tourist information center, Tourist-Info Wien, can be seen from Helmut-Zilk-Platz. In my opinion, this is a calculated start to a 1st District walking tour. In a literal sense, one gets a taste of many of the buildings and historical themes that Vienna, in a tourism context, is known for, as well as what will be discussed during the tour. Not only that but beginning in this spot represents as well as showcases the feel that Vienna strives to maintain in a tourism sense: opulence, regality, elegance, lavishness, etc. all within the confines of an imperial legacy.

Before the tours began, the tourist guide would stand in this square and wait for their clients that signed up for the tour online, making it known to the tourists taking part that they were a part of Composite Tours by holding a sign or umbrella. Once the client has checked in with the tourist guide and before the tour has begun, the tourist guide would make small talk with the client, always asking where they are from, if they have been to Vienna before, how long they are here for, what they have already seen, etc. Sometimes the tourist guide would even begin the tour like this. In any case, the tourist guide always spoke to the clients about themselves in this way. During the first few tours that I took part in, I did not think much of this exchange, I was waiting for the actual tour to start, what happened before did not matter. However, in interviews with tourist guides, instructors, and examiners, they all told me the same thing: the background of the client matters immensely. What is said and shown is hugely dependent upon the client and their expectations. This will be discussed in more detail later.

Once the tour began, the guide usually gave a brief introduction of themselves, some mentioning explicitly that they were a licensed Austria Guide. Some tourist guides began with a crash course, so to speak, in Austria and Viennese history, focusing on the Habsburgs as their main characters. While standing at Helmut-Zilk-Platz, several of the buildings and monuments surrounding, Albertina Museum, Vienna State Opera, Sacher Hotel, and Monument Against War and Fascism, were explained, giving stories and anecdotes pertaining to them and the people that built, lived in, or did notable things in them.

Once these explanations were complete, the tour took part in the first transitional period of the tour. These transitional periods are when the guide moves the clients from one location to another. In some types of tours, the clients will have headsets so that the guide can give explanations and speak throughout the duration of the entire tour. In these free walking tours provided by Composite Tours, however, this was not a possibility. This meant that, while the

guide was moving the clients from one location to another, the client had time to speak with other clients, jog up to the front of the group to ask the guide a question, take in the buildings and atmosphere, snap pictures, etc. It was only when the group was stationary at certain points that explanation, stories, and anecdotes were possible. This is why, I argue, that pointing out the specific stops is extremely relevant separate from what was said there.

The next stop appeared to have one goal in mind, which was to introduce the Habsburg dynasty by showing the palace, the Hofburg, that they and their relatives occupied for near a millennium. They would do this by leading the clients around the many winding squares surrounded by multiple centuries of architecture of the Hofburg complex, making stops, always varied in order, to point out sites and give information as they went. Of these was Josefsplatz, “where the palace [looks] a bit more imperial” (Adele 13 February 2022). It is one of the largest squares in the Hofburg complex housing a statue of Habsburg Emperor Josef II who brought the age of knowledge to the Austrian Empire, the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* (Austrian National Library), and *Katholische Kirche St. Augustin* (St. Augustine Catholic Church) where Napoleon and Marie Louis Habsburg were married. Other highlights within the Hofburg include the Sisi Museum, a museum where one can get an inside look of who Sisi was and how she lived, *Lipizzaner Reiterhof* (Lipizzaner Horse Stables), the *Spanische Hofreitschule* (Spanish Riding School), where one can see performances of the Lipizzaner horses and the “art of riding as it was done in the renaissance,” as well as the *Kaiserliche Schatzkammer* (Imperial Treasury), with “all you need to be a holy roman emperor,” where the treasures of the Habsburgs throughout the centuries are housed (Simon 10 April 2022; Adele 13 February 2022). The biggest square in the complex, which boasts “500 years of art history in one square,” contains, among other thing, a huge statue of Emperor Franz, a Habsburg emperor from the early 19th century, and the Swiss Gate, the original medieval castle’s entrance, all surrounded by buildings in all kinds of different architectural styles from multiple different centuries (Ralph 12 March 2022). It is important to point out that, while there is a diverse set of potential stops with the Hofburg, not all guides stopped at all stops.

After following the guide through the winding inside squares of the Hofburg, the clients would emerge suddenly out into, arguably, the most impressive stop within the Hofburg: Heldenplatz. In the center of this massive square are two statues of war heroes, one of Archduke Charles, a general during the French Revolutionary Wars, and the other of Prince Eugene of France, a commander during the Austro-Turkish War. Heroes Square is surrounded by the section of the Hofburg called Neue Burg, built in baroque style, the Weltmuseum, Vienna’s anthropology museum, a monument built atop the original city gate that was destroyed by

Napoleon, and the famous Volksgarten. In the distance, the two famous so called twin museums, the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* (Art History Museum) and the *Naturhistorisches Museum* (Natural History Museum) surrounding a statue of Maria Theresia, one of the most famous Habsburgs, can be seen. Here, this sensory overload is enhanced by explanations of the individuals depicted in the statues as well as a discussion of the *Ringstraße* (Ring Road), the road containing an array of impressive monuments and buildings created by the Habsburgs in the 19th century that completely surrounds the 1st District.

After Heldenplatz, guides would walk the clients towards Volksgarten and around the Hofburg complex to end up at Michaelerplatz, another impressive square with a sunken pit in the middle showcasing ancient Roman ruins surrounded by the main entrance to the Hofburg, the Baroque style winter palace of the Habsburg on one side, and Kohlmarkt on the other, a bustling high street with some of the highest rent and most expensive luxury brands in Austria. After Michaelerplatz, the guide would take the clients on a stroll down *Kohlmarkt*, pointing out several noteworthy spots along the way, such as Demmel Café and *Manz Verlag und Buchhandlung* (Manz Publisher and Bookshop), two locations that the Habsburgs frequented.

After walking down Kohlmarkt, the guide would make their way with the clients to an area called Graben, which was originally a trench on the outside of the original Roman city walls, later filled in and used as one of the main streets of Vienna, which it still is today. At the center of this street is a towering, high baroque monument made out of stone and gold called the *Wiener Pestsäule* (Viennese Plague Column). This monument was built by a Habsburg, Leopold I, with “a face only a mother could love if she was also his wife” (Adele 13 February 2022). The purpose of this column’s construction was, after an outbreak of the bubonic plague in the late 17th century, he had it built as both a reminder of Leopold I’s role as an intercessor between the people and God and of God’s eventual mercy in eradicating the epidemic. Most guides would stop here and share this information before moving onto the other side of Graben to the final site, Stephansplatz where “the most important church in Vienna” is located (Johann 24 February 2022).

In order to get from the Viennese Plague Column to Stephanplatz, the guide must lead the clients down Graben and around a short bend to the left where Stephansdom (St. Stephen’s Cathedral), a magnificent gothic cathedral that is “near and dear to the hearts of the Viennese,” comes suddenly into the view of the clients (Adele 13 February 2022). At this point, stories and anecdotes regarding the construction of the cathedral throughout the centuries were told. Some guides even walked the clients all the way around the front of the cathedral in order to explain the façade and construction in a more detailed way.

At this point, most guides ended the tour, reminding the clients that the tour is tip-based and to tip the guide however much they felt the tour was worth. During this time, too, the clients would hang back and ask the guide follow up questions as well as for the guide's recommendations regarding subjects such as which restaurant to have the best Schnitzel, the most authentic Viennese coffee house, which museums are worth visiting, etc. Now that an idea of the route of a typical 1st District "free" walking tour with Composite Tours consists of is in the reader's head, I will now discuss specific heritage motif and themes that came up on tours as well as variations of this path that were noteworthy.

5.2.2 Themes and Variations on Display

Something that was heavily emphasized throughout as well as clearly permeates nearly every aspect of the tours both visually and audibly is the imperial times of the Habsburgs. First of all, the entire tour is set within the backdrop of the 1st District, which is full of and surrounded by on the Ring Road, imperial architecture that were either commissioned by, created for, and/or frequented by the Habsburgs throughout the centuries but particularly the 19th century and turn of the 20th. Not only that, but the individual stories of these Habsburgs were also emphasized throughout the entirety of the tour using stories and anecdotes sparked by a certain building or monument. These Habsburgs included Franz Josef, Sisi, and Maria Theresia in particular, who all lived during the 18th, 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.

Simon, for example, after the stop at Helmut-Zilk-Platz, had a notable variation to incorporate a Habsburg in a more tangible way. Instead of immediately going through the *Hofburg* like every other guide did, he took a detour to the left of Albertina Museum into Burggarten, the once private garden of the Hofburg for the Habsburgs, now one of the most popular public parks, to make several very interesting stops within it. One of these was at a life-sized statue of Franz Josef, made to look as if he was meandering through the park, pondering. Here, he talked extensively about Franz Josef and his famous wife, Sisi. Maria Theresia was discussed, namely, having many children, including Josef II and Marie Antoinette, and the fact that she is the reason that it is mandatory for all Austrian children to go to school.

Johann went on to talk, in part, about how throughout the centuries, Austria and Germany had a complicated relationship, with Austria in the interwar years looking to Germany for its identity after the Austro-Hungarian Empire fell, eventually joining them in fighting World War II. Indeed, Joel pointed out that if you want to understand Austria and its legacy, in other words, who Austria identified with for 600 years, it was the Habsburgs; when

that disappeared, they asked themselves “who are we if not Habsburgs” (Joel 15 March 2022). For a time after that, they decided to identify as Germans until creating their own Austrianness after 1945.

One theme of Viennese heritage that came up time and again during the tour was that of the arts. This was also pointed out in the course as well as in Chapter 3 as being a way that Vienna was unique in comparison to other European countries. In other words, culture or the arts and the individuals that personify this prominence is something that is very important when it comes to the heritage of Vienna. Here, I will go into more detail regarding two specific themes that fall under the umbrella of the arts, the first being music.

The theme of music in Vienna is placed very high in importance during the course and the examination and, as a reflection of that, also during guided tours of the 1st District. Indeed, nearly every guide mentioned classical music in some capacity. Ralph mentioned in his tour that “classical music has a very important role in the city” when discussing Beethoven’s *Fidelio* being the inaugural performance in the Vienna State Opera following its reconstruction after World War II (Ralph 12 March 2022). Simon mentioned classical music the most out of all of the tours that I participated in. Not only that, but he actually employed musical recordings to enhance the client’s experience and hold their attention while on the tour. During his initial introduction at and explanation of Helmut-Zilk-Platz, he played a recording of Beethoven’s 9th Symphony, which was debuted in a concert hall on the square that was eventually demolished. Another one of the stops that Simon made within Burggarten that no one else did was in front of the iconic monument to Mozart, a large statue of the composer and musician holding a violin with a bed of flowers in the shape of a treble clef in front of it. Here, he also played a piece of music by Mozart and talked about him, his legacy, and why he and it are important to Vienna. The importance of Mozart and classical music in Vienna was also mentioned by Ralph, who took the clients by the apartment that he lived in in the 1st District, *Mozarthaus*. Strauß is also someone who was mentioned by Karoline and Adele in relation to the Viennese Waltz. Karoline pointed out the *Wiener Sängerknaben* (Vienna Boys’ Choir) where Haydn sang as a boy. Here again, there was an emphasis on the individual stories and anecdotes about these composers/musicians.

As far as the theme of the arts are concerned with relation to reproduction on a 1st District tour, art in terms of painting, sculpting, etc. was also emphasized. As mentioned previously, during the initial introduction phase of the tours at Helmut-Zilk-Platz, the Albertina Museum, which is part of the Hofburg complex, was mentioned. Simon also mentioned the Kunsthistorisches Museum, which is considered a world class museum full of artwork, in part,

once owned by Habsburgs. Not only that, but the Belvedere Museum which houses the world-famous Klimt painting, *The Kiss*, was mentioned by Karoline and Ralph. The work of the artists of the Vienna Secession movement and the Art Nouveau style, which took place around the turn of the 20th century was also discussed and showcased by Karoline.

Another theme that came up very often in the tours, as well as throughout decades of heritage tourism in Vienna is Catholicism. Similar to the Habsburgs and their influence on the landscape of the 1st District, so, too, did the Catholic Church have a significant amount of authority when it comes to the appearance of the 1st District, even today. It is clear from the previous section that many Catholic building and monuments were not only present during the tour but specifically pointed out and discussed due to their artistic beauty as well as when various anecdotes or stories of Habsburgs took place within or around them. The most mentioned of these buildings with anecdotes attached to it was St. Stephen's Cathedral, which is considered to be "the most iconic building in all of Austria" (Joel 15 March 2022). The theme of Catholicism is also closely related to the actual Viennese themselves.

It was mentioned by nearly all of the tourist guides on their tours that Austria is a majority Catholic country, even positing that "Catholicism was the glue that kept the empire together" during Habsburg Imperial times (Joel 15 March 2022). In talking about the aftermath of World War II, Adele, Joel, and Ralph talked about how the literal reconstruction of parts of St. Stephen's Cathedral was integral for to the metaphorical reconstruction of Austria as a singular society, able to find similarities in an otherwise jumble of diverse regions of a failed empire.

Something that some tourist guides explicitly pointed out and others did not was things on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Although, of course, all tourist guides talked about the 1st District, Joel was actually the only guide to explicitly state that the 1st District is on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Karoline, Johann, and Joel were the only guides to explicitly talk about Viennese coffee house culture, a UNESCO Heritage. Johann, Joel, Karoline, and Stephan all pointed out the Lipizzaner horses and their form of dressage at the Spanish Riding School. Karoline was the only one, however, who actually said that it was on the UNESCO World Heritage List. It is important to point out that the majority of the tours that I attended has some mention of globally bureaucratically recognized heritage so as to showcase the value that these sites and elements have.

There are other notable variations in terms of route, apart from Simon going through Burggarten to highlight statues of Franz Josef and Mozart. First was the fact that Joel took the shortest route of any tour that I attended. He went from Helmut-Zilk-Platz, stopped in front of

the Austrian National Library and the Lipizzaner horse stables, but did not go inside any other area of the Hofburg. Instead, he went straight to Michaelerplatz, down Kohlmarkt, Graben, and ended at St. Stephen's Cathedral, skipping almost all of the squares within the Hofburg including Heroes Square. Interestingly, one would think that meant that he did not showcase as much as other tours. On the contrary, because there was not as many transitions from one site to another, it actually allowed for more time for Joel to actually speak about Austrian heritage and not just show it. Another notable variation is that Johann was the only guide to not stop at the Viennese Plague Column on Graben. Instead, he turned left just before the Viennese Plague Column and turned right again so that the group would come upon St. Stephen's Cathedral from the front instead of from the side. While the views of the church are impressive from both directions, I found it interesting he made a conscious choice to leave something out that no one else did. One final major variation that took place was by Adele. Adele was the only guide that did not end the tour at St. Stephen's Cathedral. Instead, she did, indeed, make a stop at St. Stephen's Cathedral but instead went on to Hohermarkt, a street where an old clock depicting a new famous Viennese person at the top of every hour can be seen, ending at *Ruprechtskirche* (St. Rupert's Church), the oldest church in Vienna. These topical variations show that tourist guides do indeed have the power to be, as Salazar (2018:113) points out, spontaneous and creative in their guiding, lacking the ability for the profession to be completely controlled by legislation and regulatory control.

In this section, I went into detail about all the major themes and variations that I experienced while on walking tours of the 1st District. These themes can be linked to the dominant heritage narrative that has been pushed since the birth of tourism in Vienna, as well as directly connected to the one that is being pushed in the licensing process, particularly what the examination board expects tourist guides to know. The major heritage narrative that was shown on these tours is, similar to the narratives discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, focused on art, architecture, events, and individuals that took place during the 18th and 19th centuries with a particular focus on the turn of the 20th century, leaving behind modern and minority histories and heritages.

Heritagization in this context is occurring through the act of a tourist guide giving a tour to tourists, carefully selecting what will and not be presented to tourists. This act shapes and reshapes the dominant heritage narrative of Vienna to every group of tourists on the ground. Simon pointed out in Chapter 4 that everything that is selected for use in the course is automatically heritage; when I asked him why that is, he said:

when you [guide] for tourism, for tourists that come to explore the city, and you present something to them as a tourist guide in this very specific setting, it makes it kind of a heritage, at least to the people that are listening to you, because they believe, ‘okay, the tour guide is presenting this to us, we are tourists, and so this must be something important for the city, for the country, for the culture.’ It is, obviously, that important, that we would present it to foreigners and to tourists, because what you usually present to tourists is, like, ‘the best of’ in the city, like you only show nice things and interesting things, important things. You don’t show a garbage bin, usually, but if you do so, obviously, the garbage bin has, kind of, a meaning to the city, and then it automatically becomes a heritage (Simon 16 May 2022).

In other words, tourist guides see themselves as influential actors in what is, in the moment, heritagized to tourists as the dominant heritage narrative. A major role of a tourist guide is in identifying and delineating the boundaries of cultural heritage, a kind of heritagization. However, this authority is limited by the expectations of the tourists, bound by their position as freelance, self-promoting entrepreneurs in the tourism market.

5.3 Tourist Guiding as Business: Survival in the Tourism Industry

In the last chapter, there was an in-depth explanation about how a tourist guide actually becomes a licensed tourist guide through participating in a course and subsequent test. Here, we will start with an overview of what the life of a licensed tourist guide looks like. Once they become licensed guides, they are legally allowed to call themselves an Austria Guide. There is a badge that Austria Guides wear at all times while guiding in order to show that they are legally allowed to do what they are doing, which I saw during my participant observation. The reasoning behind this is threefold. First, it is, in part to show to the tourists that they are trained and qualified to be giving a tour to them. In fact, at least one tourist guide, Adele, explicitly told the group that she was a licensed Austria Guide. Another reason they wear the badges at all times while guiding is to show fellow licensed guides that they are also licensed and not illegally showing clients around, thus, potentially taking clients from the licensed guides. This is also closely related to the third reason these badges are worn which is that government officials are allowed to police public places around Vienna to make sure that no one is guiding illegally. This can result in a more than 1000€ fine (Adele 17 February 2022). In other words, having and presenting this Austria Guides badge to tourists, other tourist guides, and state

authorities, tourist guides are performing under the gaze of tourists, other tourist guides, and state authorities.

It is also worth noting here that, after tourist guides become licensed, they never need to take another licensing test with the Chamber of Commerce again; they are licensed tourist guides forever, regardless of if they keep up with the information that they learned in their course and were tested on in their examination. This means that they are, technically, free to talk about whatever they want to during tours. In other words, there is no script or guidelines they must follow; a licensed guide has full autonomy and agency in what they are saying. This also means that, after their licensing is complete, they are free to conduct additional research of histories, anecdotes, stories, etc. in order to enhance the entertainment and information aspects of their tours. With all of this in mind, regardless of this autonomy that they have, similar themes, individuals, landmarks, etc. that they were taught in the licensing process seem to reappear in their tours. In this subsection, I will argue that this phenomenon can be attributed to their partially disempowered position in the local tourism market. As self-employed individuals, they are highly dependent on their networks and social capital, which operates within a closed and protected circle.

Something that is vital in understanding the life of a tourist guide is the fact that they are self-employed individuals that work, essentially, off of freelance work. In other words, they need to promote themselves in whatever way they choose to do business in order to make a living. During their licensing process, they learned from a financial, accounting, and tax perspective how to set themselves up as a small business as well as how to work with tourist agencies and other guides. There are, therefore, several ways a tourist guide can find work. The most independent way is when tourists come directly to tourist guides, often because of their website or social media presence. In this case, the guide can charge the client whatever they see fit, but usually a universally agreed upon price for two hours of work amongst tourist guides. Ralph told me more about this:

Every year, at the [Vienna Chamber of Commerce], they publish a new wage, more or less just inflation adding to it. This year, it's at 137€ (Ralph 12 March 2022).

Similar to this but with, perhaps, less background and promotional work, is tourist guides will team up with tourism platforms to be featured on their websites. Here, a commission or fee from the tourist guide in order to use this service is required. Renata talks about how her

younger colleagues utilizing this partnership as well as the aforementioned individual, private tours:

But, the private tours, for instance, that's a couple of guides really specialized on that. They also cooperate with tourist platforms. Get Your Guide, for instance. Or with Trip Advisor, and like that, they can generate their own business, which is a brilliant idea, because like that, you can work. But...it's difficult, because you always be on the different social media channels, you have to keep up your website, it's much more work behind the scenes (Renata 5 April 2022).

Another way is working directly with a tour agency that individuals pay for a tour or organizations such as cruise ships, schools, etc. In this case, the tour agency, often times taking a commission from the tourist guide or charging the tourists more than the 137€ in order to turn a profit, deals with all logistics, the bookings, the tourists, the timing, etc., and the tourist guide simply comes to the designated spot and give the clients a tour. Richard, for example, does these kinds of tours frequently:

I would say 90% of my guests are from the United States. I have lots of ship cruises, that's a booming thing, ship cruises on the river Danube. So, I pick them up at the ship and then I bring them to city center with bus and then walking tour (Richard 22 May 2022).

The final and, perhaps, newest and most unconventional way that tourist guides can find work is through free, tip-based tours. These are tours that are organized by tour company but not run in the same way that was previously described; clients sign up online through the agency, show up to the meeting point, and are given a tour by a licensed tourist guide. At the end of the tour, the client "tips" the tourist guide whatever they felt the tour was worth. This could range between a 100€ bill for a family or four, to a few cents from a student, or even foreign currency. Like in many of the other tour agency-tourist guide cooperation, the tourist guide must pay some type of commission or fee per person to the tour company as payment for the logistical aspects of the tour. These were the types of tours that I took part in during my research with Composite Tours.

Several interlocutors told me that, when first starting out as a tourist guide, giving free tours was the easiest way to get their foot in the door. Once other areas of their work take off,

such as online marketing paid work with tour companies, many tourist guides participate in fewer free tours. Simon spoke about this relationship:

I really like doing [free tours], but, you know, priority has business that is actually paid. So, the more you get paid tours, the less you do free tours. That's for most of the guides, not everyone, but for most of them. There are also guides that have been doing [free tours] for years now, but in my experience it's more for- it's a good start, let's put it that way. It's a good start for someone who has just done the exam and wants to get used to the work. Get used to guiding (Simon 16 May 2022).

Social capital plays a big role for tourist guides when it comes to actually obtaining these jobs. Karoline opened up to me about how difficult it was for her to know where to start in terms of finding jobs in the beginning:

Yeah, so in the beginning it was quite hard to find those agencies. So, I knew I needed to have more than one agency to work for because I have to live by that and so I knew I wanted to do several agencies. And I want to do several different tours. And it's hard to find in the internet the different agencies because you don't know for what you are searching...I think it depends what you push in. I was, first of all, more searching for those big companies for the ships, for examples, or for buses. Bus tours. And I didn't know how to find them, and then I just asked my colleagues. And my colleagues say, 'yeah, do this one, and this is a nice one, and that's with bicycles', and so on. And the same with free walking tours. I asked my colleagues, 'what free walking companies is there,' and, 'what do you recommend', and so they recommended me the Composite Tours (Karoline 6 February 2022).

Karoline was not the only one of my interlocutors that used relationships in order to find jobs:

[I started at Composite Tours] because of a colleague of mine. He started to work at Composite Tours, and he told me about it (Adele 17 February 2022).

A friend and colleague brought me in contact with Composite Tours and I started offering free tours in Spanish (Pavlos 26 March 2023).

Another case of tourist guides wielding the social capital that they possess within their institutionalized network of relationships is when Karoline's instructor/examiner helped her to find a job after the licensing process had ended:

So, a guide of one group was my teacher at BFI and he, um, yeah and I took an exam with him as well, so he was my [examiner]. And he was so fascinated and that and so delighted by me that he said I have to go to [a cruise company he works at] and he will write to them and so on. So, he recommended me to them (Karoline 6 February 2022).

Instructors and examiners assured me that they were impartial, giving no special treatment to pupil or examinees, but in this case, that appears to not be true. Of course, recommending a good student is something that happens in every profession, but I feel that it is still important to point it out. Karoline put it well when she told me that “it’s all about connections” when it comes to getting jobs as a tourist guide (Karoline 6 February 2022). In all of these instances of the utilization and importance of social capital in the life of a tourist guide, I argue here again that, because current tourist guides are recommending people that they know, or even people that they have taught or examined, the current tourist guides, subconsciously, perhaps, have the potential to support and lift up other tourist guides who have similar guiding styles, guiding philosophies, and general worldviews. Although, helpful for the individual tourist guides, this can affect, shape, and perpetuate a certain dominant heritage narrative amongst working licensed tourist guides and, ultimately, the heritage narrative relayed to their clients.

5.4 The Gaze of the Tourist: The Customer is Kaiser

While the status and circumstances of tourist guiding within the tourism industry are significant in shaping narrative construction and the framing of cultural heritage during guided tours, it is imperative to emphasize the influential role of the tourist gaze as an additional determinant in shaping these narratives. As mentioned previously in Chapter 4, there was a huge emphasis both in the course and the examination on knowing the client. In speaking to my interlocutors about why they showed what they showed and said what they said during their 1st District walking tours, they revealed to me that what they show and say is hugely influenced by what the client wants to see and hear. Antonia told me about how the clients’ wants is key:

Antonia: Yeah, I mean, I do have so many different groups, so it always depends on where they want to start, what they want to see. So, I really adapt to their, yeah, to what they want.

Shelby: ...So, you tell people, to a certain extent, what they want to hear, I guess?

Antonia: More or less, yes (Antonia 8 March 2022).

Renata also told me the clients' expectations are important:

As a tourist guide, you, of course, want to meet the expectations of your clients
(Renata 5 April 2022).

In other words, the expectations of the client shape the image of Vienna that the tourist guides reproduce to the tourists because they are reproducing what the tourists want. These expectations have been shaped by decades of a tourism imaginary based on marketing, guidebooks, tourist guides, the UNESCO World Heritage List, various forms of media, and simply tourist word of mouth perpetuating the idea of what Vienna is and has to offer from a tourism perspective. As a result, there are various aspect of Vienna that tourist expect to see when they go on a tour of the 1st District of Vienna.

One important aspect as far as expectations for tourists in Vienna was music and the famous names (musicians and composers) that come along with it:

I'm not the biggest music expert, but I think there is also an expectation (Ralph
12 March 2022).

What I heard from many of my interlocutors, though, was that the primary expectation of the client was to see monuments and buildings, as well as hear histories, stories, and anecdotes related to imperial times and the individuals that lived in those places during that time:

The whole thing about Imperial Vienna is a big expectation of the people, so I
think I have to fulfil this expectation somehow (Ralph 12 March 2022).

In addition to imperial Vienna as an expectation, there was also an expectation to see St. Stephen's Cathedral, widely regarded as one of Vienna's most popular icons. Simon talks about how there are a kind of predefined set of sites that must be shown and mentioned because of tourism tradition and the expectations of the tourists:

Well, many things are, of course, defined by, like, let's say, standard knowledge of sites, of sightseeing in Vienna. So, you have to include, when you are doing a free tour like this, it depends on the tour, of course, that you do, but when you do, like, the one that we did together, or the one you did with me, which is, like, an overall tour, of course, which give you the first sites of Vienna, you have to include the Cathedral, for example. You cannot do such a general tour in the city center without the Cathedral. You have to include the Imperial Palace, for example. So, there are some things which are kind of given by tradition, by

nature, if you like, that are just given because they are important. People are expecting, also, them to be included (Simon 16 May 2022).

Adele describes how she decided on the points, places, and topics that she chose to show and discuss on her tours and why:

It kind of evolves. When you first do a walking tour, you pick out- or at least that's how I work- you pick out different spots that should be on it...I knew that people want to see St. Stephens. So, I have to pass St. Stephens. And there should be the Hofburg (Adele 13 February 2022).

Johann also believes that the expectation of tourists lies very heavily in imperial times, indicating that there is evidence all around them in the 1st District, so it would, therefore, be foolish of a tourist guide not to point it out and explain it to them:

Generally, I have the impression that for most of the tourists, they want to have a nice, beautiful, European 1800s city with the buildings and little bit of Habsburg...You can't do a tour here in Vienna without mentioning the Habsburgs and the old empire. It's imposs- And I also have to explain why is everything is here and how came it that it is here now. So, therefore, there's a lot of Schwarz-Gelb, black-yellow, on my tour because otherwise the people would ask me, so it's better I tell them before...So, for me, the past and the Habsburgs and the Austrian Empire is such a major part of the city of Vienna and the Austrian history, that you can't walk by. You have to tell it, because the people want to know (Johann 24 February 2022).

At this point, it is very clear that interlocutors find the tourists as actors with large amounts of power when it comes to heritagization within the Viennese heritage tourism industry. They believe that what clients want to hear matters to the overall outcome of what is presented as the end product of the tour. They may even have the potential to reinforce or even reshape the dominant heritage narrative of Vienna with their expectations they bring with them to Vienna.

As mentioned previously in Chapter 4 and earlier in this chapter, it is important to know, according to the instructors, examiners, and subsequent licensed guides, the background of the client in order to cater to their specific expectations, whether conscious or not, of what Vienna has to offer. Knowing the client's background is not only helpful to specifically cater towards their expectations but also to make these connections between the client's home country and

Vienna, as instructors and examiners told me were vital to make as licensed tourist guides. For example, during his 1st District tour, Joel asked, as most tourist guides did, where his clients were from and found out that a group from Hungary was taking part on the tour. Because of that, I noticed that he acknowledged during the tour that Hungarians love Sisi and spoke directly to this group while speaking about her. Not only that, but it also appeared to me that he gave more details and talked a bit more about Sisi than other guides had done. Richard also gave me an example about something that he only points out when he knows that he has US American clients on his tours because it is something that they can relate to in Vienna that other nationality groups may not be able to:

There is a route at Hohermarkt where they build the subterranean garage. Well, hidden next to a door of a hotel, a little memorial plaque to Mark Twain. Mark Twain lived there...and...when I have American guests, I stop there. I never do it with Germans (Richard 22 May 2022).

Gisela also told me about how German clients' understanding of the last and most famous emperor and empress, Franz Josef and Sisi, and the Vienna that they lived in is heavily informed by Austrian *Heimatfilme* from the 1950s that portray the pair in a very romanticized and nostalgic way. Interestingly, Gisela says:

You even get the feeling our guests are disappointed when they find out it wasn't the way it was portrayed in the films. I do tell the true stories to give the guests an understanding of how it really was (Gisela 20 June 2022).

It is important to remember that, ultimately, the business of a tourist guide is just that—a business. Not only fulfilling the expectations of the client but making sure they are satisfied with the overall product that is being sold. This is extremely important for the tourist guides who rely very heavily on positive online reviews in order to be booked by future clients. It is also worth noting that is important for a tourist guide to leave the client with a positive impression of Vienna that will cause them to come back and/or recommend to their friends and family that they should visit Vienna, thus, benefitting not only the specific tourist guide but Viennese tourism in general. It is crucial that they not only do what the *Gewerbeordnung 1994* states a tourist guide should do, which is, as laid out in Chapter 4. They must also go above and beyond this law in shaping the tourist experience into one that they both expect and cherish. Once again, the loosely defined law is interpreted a step further by the tourist guides to entertain and satisfy the client, not only for the tourists but also for themselves, as it is their livelihood.

With all of this in mind, it makes sense from this perspective why tourist guides seem to push the imperial Vienna narrative and all the other narratives of old Vienna. Joel points out that Vienna's rich culture and heritage come from back in the empire and that "heritage that the city has and is very proud to show you is the imperial legacy" (Joel 11 March 2023; Joel 15 March 2023). Indeed, in a conversation about why she says what she says to tourists on her tour, Karoline shared with me that it would be great to do more modern tours and aspects of Vienna that she identifies with more, but something, the tourist gaze, perhaps, is holding her back:

I mean, it would be great to do tours for- bar tours, for example, or there are other tours like the eating stuff, like food tours, where you experience the different restaurants and so on, where you can go in and eat there something. Yeah, but of course, sadly, the time of the 1900 makes the most money of it, I think that's the reason, and you see that time, that period in every corner of Vienna, of the inner district. It's so interesting because of course, I feed them with Sissy and, of course, they will go back to their hometown and tell everybody 'oh my gosh, I was in Vienna, and what I was told about was Sisi, oh my gosh, she was such a strange lady,' and so that makes- this shapes the interest from the beginning, and that's bad, actually (Karoline 6 February 2022).

Here we see the force of the market as well as the client.

Not only that, but another important tool that is being used during these tours is nostalgia for the long dead past and long dead people that belonged in it, as well as a romanticization that paints the imperial times in a way that is perhaps better than they really were in reality. The way that Vienna is talked about in these tours show that a sort of magic in the past of Vienna is being sprinkled onto the narrative of Viennese heritage:

Vienna is a city where history put a spell on (Johann 24 February 2022) .

It seems that the soul of the city can only be found in the past (Ralph 12 March 2022).

[In touring the 1st District, we will be] leaving behind the modern and going back in time (Joel 15 March 2022).

This nostalgia and romanticization of the people, place, and lifestyle of the Habsburg imperial time is another example of the fact that tourism is a business and what the tourist guides engage in is to fulfil the expectations of the clients as well as satisfy and entertain them. Not only that,

but it exemplifies the fact that this past Vienna that is being sold to tourists is an idea that does not exist in the lives of the living Viennese any longer. I asked Johann about this, having lived in Vienna his whole life, and he agreed that:

We are reproducing a way of seeing Vienna that is not real anymore. It is a total facade. The Viennese don't believe it anymore (Johann 24 February 2022).

It is clear, however, that this façade sells. There is, of course, more to show in Vienna than simply what remains of the imperial legacy, and, according to Gisela, the curriculum builder, there are absolutely clients that want to see that, which was discussed at length in Chapter 4. In the next section, we will discuss other important actors within the heritage regime of Vienna that contest the dominant heritage narrative that the licensing process as well as tourist guides are pushing as being the most profitable and perhaps see a glimpse into the future of Vienna's Heritage Narrative.

5.5 Cracks in the Façade: The Future of Vienna's Dominant Heritage Narrative?

Tourist guides are not the only actors in Viennese tourism that produce a certain heritage narrative of Vienna. While some of these narratives have similarities, there are also stark differences. Different actors have different motives and agendas in why they push a certain narrative. In this section, I will discuss some of these other actors, their narratives, and motivations. It is worth noting that there are a huge number of actors involved in the tourism heritage regime in Vienna. Due to the size and scope of this thesis, I am unable to touch on all of them here.

As mentioned previously, the Vienna Tourist Board is the tourism marketing arm of the City of Vienna. This organization is a very important component of tourism in Vienna. In my first interview with Frano, he explained to me what the Vienna Tourist Board does for the tourism industry in Vienna:

[Vienna Tourist Board is] connected with everybody, I think. If you want to connect, and when you contact them and you are working in tourism, you will have contact with them. They will pay attention to you. They try to unite all tourism in Vienna together. But yeah. You can say everybody- not following them, but listening to what they have to say because a lot of state money for tourism comes through [Vienna Tourist Board] (Frano 27 January 2022).

In Chapter 2, I discussed how, after multiple attempts to gain an interview, or information at the very least, from the Vienna Tourist Board regarding Viennese heritage and why they chose

to promote what they promoted, I received an email saying that they were unable to answer questions about heritage or any other questions that I had. As a result, the analysis of the dominant heritage narrative reproduced by the Vienna Tourist Board is derived from ethnographic content analysis of their website, official documents, advertisements, impressions my tourist guide interlocutors had of the Vienna Tourist Board, as well as from Ralph who works as a tourist guide for the organization.

Interestingly, if one enters Vienna Tourist Board into an internet search, the first result that appears is the Vienna Tourist Board website with the title, “Official Vienna travel guide - City of Imperial Heritage” (“Official Vienna Travel Guide”). With this being the very first impression of what the Vienna Tourist Board is, it is clear the age-old strategy of selling Vienna through the Habsburgs and their imperial legacy is being utilized in the forefront. At the Tourist-Info Wien in the 1st District, a similar offering can be seen. In opposition to what tourist guides seem to be pushing on their tours of the 1st District that the Vienna Tourist Board has in focus, though, is a narrative of Vienna being a perfect mix of old and new, traditional and modern. This idea has been employed in the past, as can be seen in Chapter 3 that was utilized in the past as a part of the image of Viennese heritage that has been depicted in a tourism context.

Vienna Tourist Board actually hires licensed tourist guides to take journalists, bloggers, etc. on guided tours around Vienna, and Ralph is one of them. Ralph talked to me about how Vienna Tourist Board wants him to specially curate the experience for these clients, telling him what key points have to be in tour. Something that I found very interesting was the mix of old and new, traditional and modern, that Vienna Tourist Board always want to be on his tours that he does for them:

For them it's, for example, important that I have a little coffee break with them, but they don't want to me to go to just any coffee house most of the time. They kind of wanna show that coffee house culture in Vienna is much more than just Cafe Schwarzenberg and Cafe Landtmann. They always wanna- what was that place, we went two or three times- at the, what's it called again on Praterstraße...It's like a more modern coffee house in a beautiful old building, but also inside you can buy vinyls and stuff, like LPs, and- so it's like, you know, this Bobo thing going on...[They] try to, like, I think, advertise Vienna's heritage with a current touch, a current spin (Ralph 12 March 2022).

The utilization of the traditional Vienna juxtaposed by a modern version with the incorporation of the traditional idea of a Viennese coffee house but with a modern flair is an interesting one. It seems that from, the Vienna Tourist Board's online and in person offerings, they expand the heritage narrative to also incorporate the idea of modernity more into the forefront, similar to the way it was utilized during the beginnings of mass tourism in Vienna. Vienna Tourist Board pushes this idea and even ask that Ralph take their clients to districts other than the 1st District that are all very trendy districts to live and spend time in for local people currently:

I had this Swiss golf blogger, and they specifically told me they wanted to know about culinaric, so- and outside the 1st District, and- yeah, I tried to show them some stuff in the 4th, 5th, 6th. So, exactly those Bobo districts, 2nd, 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, [Vienna Tourist Board] loves it (*ibid.*).

I would argue that the emphasis on the traditional lies not just in the expectations on tourists but also in the licensing process itself, namely, the examination committee. As mentioned in Chapter 4, some of the curriculum builders of the tourist guide course have been trying to push a modern flair to Vienna that the examiners seem to think is irrelevant in the examination process, which appears to translate in the 1st District tours that I attended. Renata, an examiner, talked to me about her views on the difference between what tourist guides show to tourists and what Vienna Tourist Board shows to tourists:

I am pretty sure that [Vienna Tourist Board] wants to show Vienna in a different way than tourist guides would do it, because, as a tourist guide, you, of course, want to meet the expectations of your clients. When I- well, lots of people know very well Sisi, and [tourists] want us to talk about that, and that's- because Sisi is one of these things, I think, [Vienna Tourist Board] would like to not talk too often about. That means they have different ideas than the normal tourists expect (Renata 5 April 2022).

It appears that tourist guides and Vienna Tourist Board have not only different ideas about what the narrative of Vienna should look like, but also different motives in highlighting what they are saying. Simon told me about how he sees the work sharing balance between tourist guides and Vienna Tourist Board:

I see their role mainly in marketing. It's their job to get the people here, and it's our job to let them stay here, and let them come back, so to say, and let them just have a good memory about their stay in Vienna (Simon 16 May 2022).

In other words, before and during their stay, tourists are being bombarded from different actors and stakeholder within the tourism industry with different depictions of Vienna. However, while Vienna Tourist Board works hard to get the tourist to Vienna, tourist guides actually see themselves as having the most power in what the tourist actually retains as the narrative that they bring back home with them at the end of the day. While Vienna Tourist Board is hugely influential in getting tourists to come to the destination, the tourist guides believe that they have the power in physically showing the tourist sites, telling them anecdotes and stories, and leaving them with “a good memory about their stay in Vienna.” Nevertheless, the traditional Viennese heritage but with a modern spin that they are pushing is still an important point of view as an important actor within the heritage regime. And again, as some curriculum builders are pushing for these modern topics in the classroom, perhaps the examination committee and, in turn, the licensed tourist guides will follow suit. However, the entrenched narratives and dominant imaginaries of Vienna within the global tourism industry continue to exert considerable influence.

There is one type of actor that is totally revolutionizing Viennese heritage that is being shown to tourists and that is companies and even individual guides who specialize in giving so called “alternative tours” or “unconventional tours.” These are tours that focus on a theme or themes that do not fall under the categories of what has been discussed above, something off the beaten path of a conventional tour, something local, something pertaining to minorities, something modern. An example of this would be a graffiti tour or pub crawl. It is interesting these tours are called alternative and unconventional because in the language it clearly shows that the dominant narrative of traditional Vienna is considered to be the official, conventional one. Adele explained to me the difference between classic tours and alternative tours:

They show Vienna as it is now, like, they dust off the cliches a bit and show Vienna how it looks like now (Adele 17 February 2022).

In Vienna, a great deal of this type of tourism operates within a loophole in the law, as a licensed tourist guide is not required as long as what is being talked about does not clearly fall under the jurisdiction spelled out in the law. Frano explained this to me in my very first interview:

As I know it in Vienna, you cannot talk about things protected by the World Heritage and history as a guide if you don't have a license. A street art is a pretty vibrant thing that is not yet protected by law or- it's not a historical thing and not heritage at the moment, but it will be. And it is changing a lot, so it is

not so easy to define and to see what is protected and what isn't (Frano 27 January 2022).

Within this loophole is where companies and individuals like Composite Tours shine. Composite Tours is very passionate about these kinds of tours. In my interview with Christoph, the founder of Composite Tours, he told me about why he does what he does:

He was very into this idea that his tour company should break down the stereotypes of Vienna, showing people what it is 'really' like, not so much the imperial side. This is why he offers and pushes many different 'alternative' tours. He said that new generations of tour companies like his are really into this and not so much older generations (Shelby West Fieldnotes 1st June 2022).

Because Christoph has these licensed tourist guides that do the classic tours that I took part in on his payroll, these guides sometimes also do the alternative tours for him. Interestingly, he told me that someone that had only done alternative tours for him in the past as a non-licensed guide left for a few years to become a licensed Austria Guide so they could officially guide as a freelance tourist guide on their own about all topics. When they came back, he told me they were not good at the alternative tours any longer:

He talked about how [they had] been with the company since, more or less, the beginning, and how, after [they] did [their] guiding course, [they were] somehow not as good at the 'alternative' tours as [they] used to be, because [they] wanted to use what [they] learned in the course. In other words, [they were] indoctrinated by the course to talk and think a certain way about how tourist guiding is supposed to be. He also said that, because of COVID-19, there are now only licensed guides in his employ (so no more [unlicensed loophole people]), and he and Frano must 'teach' them how to be 'local' and how to lead these alternative tours because otherwise they just regurgitate what they learned at the course (*ibid.*).

According to Christoph, this licensing process had such a strong impact on his employee that they could not successfully guide "alternative tours" anymore because the content that was required for each was so vastly different. I think this perfectly highlights how traditional the Viennese heritage that is taught in the course actually is. Indeed, Christoph even told me the steps he and Frano must take with licensed tourist guides in his employ:

[We have to] teach the licensed guides about the local stuff and the local topics they should talk [on the alternative tours] about and the insights we should give them. We have, like, guidelines for that. So, now it's like, 'guys you need to be more alternative!' (Christoph 1 June 2022)

This new aspect of tourism in Vienna is important to mention because it is a growing industry here that has the potential to change the landscape of Vienna's tourism narrative:

Thankfully, more and more [tourist guides and tour companies] are starting to do it. That's why we can cooperate with more and more tour companies, and we also have now some tours in our portfolio from other tour companies, to resell it. Like, five years ago, I didn't know which other companies we would have included in our portfolio. So, yeah. Things are getting better, in my opinion. I like it...but the majority is still the old-fashioned standard (Christoph 1 June 2022).

At this point, these kinds of tours are not in the forefront in comparison to the traditional, imperial-based heritage narrative of Vienna. However, with initiatives from multiple actors pushing this new agenda of showing Vienna how it "really" is with a more modern take, perhaps it has the capability of actually changing the dominant heritage narrative in Vienna.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I began with a thick description of what it was like to experience a typical walking tour of the 1st District of Vienna as I did during my participant observation. Then, I went into more details about what themes came up often as well as notable variations that I observed. After that, after learning what the tour of a licensed tourist guide consists of, I detailed what the life of a licensed tourist guide looks like and how they can be successful in their careers. In the next section, as being a tourist guide is a business, where satisfying the client is key, and meeting the expectations of the client is very important, a discussion of what tourists' expectations actually are and how that influences the dominant heritage narrative was explored. Finally, actors within the heritage regime that are pushing to showcase a more modern side of Vienna than the traditional imperial image were explored.

While the licensing processes provides a strong base in terms of what dominant heritage narrative tourist guides reproduce on tours, there are other factors that influence this end product. As being a tourist guide is a business, being able to wield social capital to their advantage as well as taking into account what the client wants is of the utmost importance.

According to my interview partners, their clients are most interested in seeing the traditional narrative of Vienna. It can be understood that it is for these reasons that the themes that were discussed and the locations that were shown were the classic, traditional, romanticized image of Vienna that encompassed its imperial past in all of its facets.

From conversations with tourist guides about why they show what they show and how they feel about it, they shared with me that this image of Vienna that is being pushed from many sides is not something that they necessarily identify with in this day and age. However, my interview partners told me that the traditional image of Vienna is the one that sells, so, as entrepreneurs bound to the demands of the market, that is the image they push. While tourists as well as tourist guides themselves have significant weight and influence in creating the heritage narrative tourists go home with, they are not the sole actors in this complex network.

Some of these other actors are actually pushing to bring a fresh angle to Vienna's tourism heritage narrative. Vienna Tourist Board strives to combine the traditional Viennese image with modernity through their advertisements and publicity tours, a marketing strategy that was utilized in the late days of the Empire. Additionally, the rise of alternative tours focusing on the modern Vienna and local Viennese activities give tourists a new perspective on Vienna. This marks a potential shift in the established discourse. Is it possible that these new perspectives allow a possible glimpse into the future of Vienna's dominant heritage narrative? By showcasing Vienna's contemporary offerings and local realities, the traditional heritage regime and dominant heritage narrative within it are challenged, offering tourists a different and new picture of Vienna's heritage.

Conclusion

This thesis has aimed to give insights into the tourism heritage regime employed in Vienna by focusing on one local actor that has quite a bit of agency in terms of heritagization and beyond within the heritage regime: tourist guides. Through my research, I found that specific dominant heritage narrative of Vienna is reinforced through the licensing and practice of tourist guiding, a kind of heritagization that takes place within this process. The mode of tourist guiding that is promoted in the licensing process as well as occurs in Vienna's 1st District once the licensing process is complete reinforces Vienna's tourism heritage regime, upheld by laws, policies, and practices. The prevailing narrative of Vienna within a tourism context is defined most dominantly in relation to Austria and Vienna's imperialist nationalist history, relying on nostalgic, romanticized elements, highlighting the Habsburgs, particularly the last few generations up to the early 20th century, architecture they constructed and lived in, art they collected, music they enjoyed, and history they influenced.

I began with a comprehensive overview of my methodological process that I employed throughout the research process. Next, in order to better understand the current heritage regime in terms of tourism in Vienna, I gave historical context to Viennese tourism strategies throughout the years, decades, and centuries past, highlight specific motifs, themes, and narratives that were utilized. After that, I analyzed the laws in Austria that are put in place in order to allow for licensed tourist guides as a regulated profession, how the licensing process works, control mechanism that exist for narrative control, and the experiences of people who are a part of this process as well as went through it. Finally, I focused on what a typical tour in Vienna's 1st District is like, highlighting major themes and motifs and prominent variations, detailed the importance of understanding that a tourist guide is a business where the tourist's expectations impact the overall end-product that is the tour, and explored other actors within Vienna tourism structure that are actively challenging the dominant heritage narrative.

Austrian laws and regulations play a central role in the heritage regime within tourism. Tourist guides, what they are and are not allowed to discuss and steps to become licensed are all laid out in these laws and regulations. However, due to the vagueness of the law, open to interpretation by heritage regime actors at the regional and local level, these actors have a significant amount of agency with varying amounts of power when it comes to what specific heritage will be heritagized through the tourist guide licensing process, as well as the power to

enact control mechanisms to control who is allowed to speak about heritage to tourists as a licensed tourist guide.

Curriculum builders/course heads have quite a bit of power in terms of what will be taught during the tourist guide course, as well as who is chosen to be an instructor for future tourist guides. In turn, the instructors have agency in what themes or skills they emphasize in their classes or not. These actors must, however, remember that examiners have significant power when it comes to who can even be on the examination committee, what questions they ask future tourist guides, as well as deciding who passes or fails. The course heads and instructors must shape their curriculum around both the examination but also what tourists are interested in hearing about. Within this power struggle, there is a clash between some course heads wanting to modernize the heritage highlighted in the course, positing that that is the future of touristic interest, while the examiners believe tourists are still only interested in seeing and hearing about the traditional, nostalgic, romanticized, imperial image of Vienna.

While tourist guides, once licensed, also have autonomy and agency over what it is they choose to feature in their tours and, they must still keep in mind the expectations of the tourists, fueled by the tourist gaze and the tourism imaginary, while also juggling tourist guiding as a free-lance career that requires the utilization of their social capital. Within these power structures lies the agency to reproduce and re-heritagize the traditional narratives historically and from the licensing process, staying within the confines of the dominant heritage narrative dictated by Vienna's tourism heritage regime. Actors also, however, have the power and ability to challenge the current dominant heritage narrative found within the heritage regime, actively trying to contest the narrative laid out within Vienna's tourism heritage regime.

Although an extremely important actor that has sway on an individual level in influencing the heritage narrative that tourists go home with, tourist guides are not the only actors with influence. There are actors within the heritage regime that are pushing for a more modern and fresh spin on the heritage of Vienna, not simply the imperial narrative. Vienna Tourist Board has a hand in influencing potential tourists through advertisements before they arrive as well as tourists on the ground. Their push to present Viennese heritage as a seamless mix of modern and traditional is an interesting angle that seems to be gaining momentum not just within their organization. Up-and-coming actor such as individual tourist guides and tour companies offering "alternative" tours, tours that do not adhere to the traditional heritage narrative reproduced by tourist guides, are also trying to bring modernity and diversity to the image of Vienna. These tours attempt to show Vienna in a modern way, for what it "really" is,

how a local would experience it. With the rising popularity of tours like these, could this be a window into the future of what Vienna's authorized heritage discourse could look like?

Regardless of tourist expectations, there do exist, certain control mechanism throughout the licensing process and beyond that shape and limit who is and is not allowed to speak about heritage to tourist and which heritage is considered the right kind of heritage to discuss to tourists. Financial aspects during the licensing process such as course and examination costs, often being higher for foreign students. Also, the fact that the licensing process is conducted completely in German has the power to limit access to the licensing process in an attempt to control and favor tourist guides with extensive familiarity with traditional dominant narratives. This is an odd choice in a globalized industry such as tourism, affecting the makeup of the ultimate pool of licensed tourist guides. Within the powers structures of the licensing process and being a working tourist guide, all of these actors wield social capital in order to further their heritage agenda, appoint and receive jobs, and generally succeed as tourist guides in whatever capacity they have found themselves, another control mechanism or gatekeeping measure of sorts. These gatekeeping measure selectively reinforce the dominant heritage narrative even more.

While tourist guides are not in the forefront of heritage regime and heritagization research, I hope that this thesis can begin a fruitful conversation about the importance of local actors such as tourist guides within these subjects. In terms of potential future research in this field, a particularly interesting expansion upon this work would be focusing only on non-Austrian tourist guides and their perceptions and feelings towards the licensing process, a set of actors that could have received more attention in this work. Also, an aspect that is completely missing is individuals who found the gatekeeping and control mechanism of becoming a tourist guide so constraining that they were unable to become a tourist guide at all. While these control mechanisms were thoroughly discussed, it would be helpful to hear from individuals so strongly affected by these mechanisms that their career desires never came to fruition. Furthermore, it would be interesting to conduct similar research with the focus on the tourists instead of tourist guides, hearing about what narratives and themes they find important in such tours and probing for potential future heritagization based on their expectations.

I will end the discussion with an answer to my question, who defines heritage, from Simon, one my most enthusiastic interlocutor in terms of philosophizing and analyzing the heritage regime, heritagization, and his role in it:

Over time, over the decades, those things just... became... yeah, part of the major heritage so to say, and it's a hard question to say who defined that. Because I think it's a mix of tourism, of course, the tourism industry that starts to sell different pictures and different stories and different names to the world. It's defined partly by, I would say, also, politics. By not one single government, but by a series of governments and political- responsible people in politics that just say, 'this is part of our heritage. This is important now'. It's also defined by the people, by society in general... So, it's really hard to say who defines it, because there's not one single person, of course, no single group that does it, but it's a mix of politics, of tourism industry, and also of society, of people..." (Simon 16 May 2022)

This is why, I feel, it is so important to emphasize not just the temporality of heritage as a process, but the temporality of this thesis. I was able to simply take a snapshot in time of one particular set of tourist guide interlocutors within one particular timeframe and their impressions of how they have navigated through the heritage regime on the local level. This same research can be done in 20, 50, or even 100 years and yield different results because of temporal differences on the one hand and a potential change in actor power relations or new actors all together. Tourist guides and tour agencies focusing on "alternative" tours have the potential to be a significant mover and shaker in the tourism industry in the future, capable of contesting the heritage regime and heritagizing new areas to tourists in a major way.

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Appendix

Abstract

Vienna as a destination is known for its imperial heritage, the Habsburg dynastic rule, its classical music legacy, array of cultural offerings, and much more. This image has been shaped over centuries by a myriad of actors within its heritage regime from politicians to tour agencies. Tourist guides, who interact directly with visitors, are often overlooked in academic discussions on heritage regimes. This thesis examines the under-studied role of tourist guides in shaping Vienna's heritage narrative, focusing on their mandatory licensing process and tourist guiding practices. Between January 2022 and August 2022, I conducted participant observation during guided tours of the 1st District to shed light on what heritage is directly being heritagized for tourists on the ground. I also conducted semi-structured interviews of tourist guides, tour agencies, course curriculum builders, course instructors, and examiners to understand why and how a certain dominant heritage narrative is reproduced in this way during the licensing process and beyond.

This thesis demonstrates that understanding heritagization processes requires considering the local functioning of heritage regimes, particularly the power dynamics embedded within them. Using primary source analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation, my research shows how certain powerful actors, curriculum builders, instructors, and examiners, utilize legal ambiguities to enforce a mechanism of control that perpetuates a certain dominant heritage narrative – a romanticized nostalgia for imperial Vienna that has been reproduced throughout the centuries. Furthermore, although tourist guides have some autonomy in the field, they continue to perpetuate the dominant heritage narrative in their interactions with clients. An important factor influencing this heritagization process is the efforts of these expert actors to adapt to the expectations of tourists.

I conclude the thesis by highlighting actors who challenge this traditional view by underscoring Vienna's modern and diverse identity, thereby suggesting a potential shift in the city's heritage narrative.

Keywords: Heritage tourism, heritage regime, heritagization, nostalgia, tourist guide, Vienna

Zusammenfassung

Die Stadt Wien als Reiseziel ist bekannt für ihr kaiserliches Erbe der Habsburger, ihre Tradition klassischer Musik, ihr kulturelles Angebot und vieles mehr. Dieses Image wurde im Laufe der Jahrhunderte von einer Vielzahl von Akteur*innen im Rahmen des (Kultur-)Erbes geprägt, von Politiker*innen bis hin zu Reisebüros. Fremdenführer*innen, die direkt mit den Besuchenden interagieren, werden in wissenschaftlichen Diskussionen über Heritage, das (kulturelle) Erbe, oft übersehen. Diese Masterarbeit untersucht die wenig beachtete Rolle von Fremdenführer*innen bei der Gestaltung des Wiener Heritage und konzentriert sich dabei auf das verpflichtende Lizenzierungsverfahren und die Praxis der Fremdenführer*innen. Zwischen Jänner 2022 und August 2022 führte ich teilnehmende Beobachtungen bei Führungen im 1. Bezirk durch, um zu ergründen, welches Heritage für Tourist*innen vor Ort direkt „vererbt“ wird. Außerdem führte ich halbstrukturierte Interviews mit Fremdenführer*innen, Reiseveranstalter*innen, Lehrplanerstellenden, Kursleitenden und Prüfenden durch, um zu verstehen, warum und wie eine bestimmte dominante Heritage-Narrative im Lizenzierungsverfahrens und darüber hinaus auf diese Weise reproduziert wird.

Diese Arbeit zeigt, dass das Verständnis von Heritagisierungsprozessen, der „Vererbung“ von Heritage, eine Betrachtung der lokalen Funktionsweise von Heritageregimen und insbesondere der darin eingebetteten Machtdynamik erfordert. Aufbauend auf Primärquellenanalyse, teilnehmende Beobachtung und halbstrukturierte Interviews wird gezeigt, wie bestimmte mächtige Akteur*innen im Genehmigungsprozesses in der Lage sind, durch die Mehrdeutigkeit des Gesetzes Macht auszuüben, indem sie Kontrollmechanismen einsetzen, um ein bestimmtes dominantes Heritage-Narrativ aufrechtzuerhalten – eine romantisierte Nostalgie für das kaiserliche Wien, die über Jahrhunderte hinweg reproduziert wurde. Obwohl Fremdenführer*innen eine gewisse Autonomie in diesem Bereich haben, halten sie in ihrer Interaktion mit den Reisenden das dominante Heritage-Narrativ aufrecht. Ein wichtiger Faktor, der diesen Heritagisierungsprozess beeinflusst, sind die Bemühungen dieser fachkundigen Akteur*innen, sich an die Erwartungen der Tourist*innen anzupassen.

Als Abschluss hebe ich Akteur*innen hervor, die diese traditionelle Sichtweise in Frage stellen, indem sie den modernen und vielfältigen Charakter Wiens in den Fokus rücken und so auf eine mögliche zukünftige Veränderung des Heritage-Narrativs der Stadt hinweisen.

Stichworte: kulturelles Erbe, Heritage-Tourismus, Heritage-Regime, Heritagisierung, Nostalgie, Fremdenführer, Wien