

Myriam Jansen-Verbeke
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Editors

Cultural Resources for Tourism

*P*atterns,
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and
*P*olicies



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CULTURAL RESOURCES FOR TOURISM: PATTERNS, PROCESSES AND POLICIES

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**CULTURAL RESOURCES FOR TOURISM:
PATTERNS, PROCESSES AND POLICIES**

**MYRIAM JANSEN-VERBEKE AND
GERDA K. PRIESTLEY
EDITORS**

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FOREWORD

The mobilization of cultural assets and activities for developing tourism has emerged as both evident and controversial. Among the channels through which cultural assets and activities can stimulate economic and social development, cultural tourism has traditionally been recognized as performing the functions of creating jobs and generating incomes. At the same time, some observers consider that, on the long term, controversial effects will also emerge. This book focuses on the conditions in which the interactive process between conservation of cultural heritage and cultural tourism development can be positive and can contribute to sustainable development. By illustrating this with various examples, the book constitutes important progress in the understanding of this new lever for economic growth.

Traditionally it has been said that culture influences local development in three ways: by disseminating benchmarks conducive to synergy among players that, in turn, induces them to implement projects; by creating an attractive environment for residents as well as for visitors and tourists; and by providing leverage for the creation of products that combine aesthetic qualities and utilitarian functionality. In a sense, “culture” acts as an investment in social capital, an intermediate, and a final, consumer good. Recognition of these effects must be tempered by the fact that not all territories benefit equally, for differences in size and characteristics affect the results achieved. For this reason, “art cities” or cultural districts inheriting a high density of cultural resources are viewed as privileged territories, while under-endowed neighborhoods and rural areas would have a harder time reaping the benefits. The three types of influences identified merit further comment.

By disseminating benchmarks conducive to synergy among players that induces them to implement projects, culture can promote local development and at the same time enhance the social capital of the territory in question.

The actual contribution of cultural activities to development depends on their capacity to bring out and disseminate values and benchmarks that encourage individual or community players to plan for the future, formulate new projects and co-ordinate their responses to unforeseen problems. In some cases, this is what does occur, but, in others, inter-cultural conflicts can arise, thus thwarting the emergence of new projects and disrupting the ways in which common risks are assumed, the apportionment of expected benefits from joint ventures is approached, wealth is transferred between generations, and so on.

By creating an environment that is attractive for visitors and tourists, culture fosters exports through an influx of tourists and visitors.

Various conditions should be fulfilled in order to attain such objectives. The relevant area must be populous, integrated and even extensive: only under these conditions is there a chance that all of the activities required to serve tourists and visitors can be supplied locally rather than by importing them from elsewhere, a situation that would generate a loss. Cultural activities must exist on a continuous basis: occasional activities, such as festivals, often have very little impact and, in fact, contribute to their territory's development only if, in the interim, they give rise to more long-lasting activities that have economic as well as social ramifications. Cultural activities must also be mutually supportive and develop in the form of clusters, districts or regions, making it possible not only to cover the cost of investments but also to create new products jointly.

By providing leverage for the creation of products that combine aesthetic qualities and utilitarian functionality, culture stimulates the export of goods and services.

This is very often the result of historical processes, but, here again, contemporary conditions have to be fulfilled. For example, cultural enterprises should not focus solely on aspects of their production, but also on marketing strategies. They should be able to benefit from certain recognition of their originality, if not of protection comparable to that afforded in the case of artistic property rights.

In general, the first group of effects mentioned emerges in the long term, as a result of the intertwining of arts, habits, education, etc. The third group identified is usually marginalized; not all areas benefit from these, as they rely on a set and synergy of very favorable effects. Therefore, for those who are aiming to transform culture into development, attention is focused mainly on the second type of effects and, for this reason, cultural tourism has been identified in many countries as a new, promising activity *par excellence*. The importance of this book lies in the fact that it provides pointers for a better understanding of the conditions in which culture and tourism jointly create development.

A significant contribution of the book is the recognition that synergy between culture and tourism has to be considered differently according to the size and characteristics of the area in question. The idea is not new, for many impact and multiplier analyses have shown that small territories lose a lot of potentially positive effects due to leakages. At the opposite end of the scale, large, well-integrated areas can benefit greatly from the influx of tourist expenditure. But this book is more comprehensive, since it considers the role of the nature of the area — i.e. both its size and its specificity — as a determinant for achieving such positive synergy. The text incorporates various examples to illustrate this approach, ranging from situations where the concentration of tourist areas creates many problems to others in which tourism is voluntarily organized in a disseminated form. Naturally the very clear description of these situations demonstrates that cultural tourism is neither a panacea nor a liability. The outcome depends on the way tourism is organized. In this respect, the book stresses an important point that is increasingly well recognized: the development of tourist routes and itineraries is a process that improves the dissemination of tourists and tourism incomes.

A second important contribution relates to the fact that the synergy between culture and tourism has to be considered differently according to the style of tourism management. Numerous examples are outlined, including situations in which tourists not only visit a place but also recognize the importance of its intangible heritage. More and more, the tourist's interest is mobilized in favor of commercial outlets where the specific know-how of

intangible heritage is materialized in the form of tangible cultural products with aesthetical and functional properties. The contribution of such commerce should not be minimized, for, while expenditure on these specific products probably constitutes only a minor part of a tourist's overall travel budget, the objects do, however, create a long-term link between the area and its visitors.

The last part of the book takes a more normative path and confronts another important debate: the future of cities and their core activities. It is clearly shown that the organization of sustainable cultural tourism should associate both the hard and soft dimensions. The infrastructures in an area matter, but the way the consideration given to tourists and the way they gaze at the area are just as important. If the present challenge is successfully met, another positive effect can then be expected: the effective transformation of many urban areas that have inherited cultural assets into vibrant cities. This challenge is not particularly easy to overcome, and some failures are, in fact, pinpointed. Certainly, the worst attitude would be to consider that the development of tourism is an easy matter. However, by the end of the text, it becomes clear that a positive synergy between tourism and cultural assets will create a receptive atmosphere in which cultural diversity can support creativity.

Xavier Greffe

PREFACE

The cultural heritage of regions and communities is presently being rediscovered and valorized as a driving force in building cultural identity and as a ubiquitous resource for dynamizing cultural activities. This process can lead to the development of cultural capital with clear territorial links and, as such, a favorable incubation condition for creating sustainable and competitive forms of cultural tourism.

Research on cultural resources for tourism implies both a multidisciplinary approach and methodological innovations to deal with such a complex phenomenon. The challenge to identify and map cultural heritage elements – tangible and intangible – in a pan European context has recently been dealt with in the ESPON project 1.3.3 (2004-2006). Lack of adequate definitions, poor databases, and a showcase of national and sector differences in approaching culture as “resource” for development was the final balance of that explorative project. These findings have prompted further case study research into the study of cultural heritage, which is encapsulated in this book.

This new publication differs from others on cultural tourism through its emphasis on spatial dynamics, by analyzing location and behavior patterns in different tourism destinations, by identifying the parameters of change induced by tourism and, not in the least, trial and error examples in policy making. The book includes a rich variety of case studies mainly from all over Europe (but also including cases set in Israel, Cairo and India), representing the views and findings of 21 international researchers and scholars in cultural tourism, scanning unique situations in order to detect the common dynamics and impacts of tourismification. The final objective is to propose consistent directions for policy, based on empirical insights.

This book contributes significantly to the understanding of cultural diversity and territorial identity, on the one hand, and to the dynamics of tourism, on the other, all of which are key issues in local and regional planning and management. As such, they should be a source of inspiration for policy-makers and an eye-opener for students, researchers and consultants in the field of cultural heritage and tourism and, hopefully, an interesting virtual trip – from Savonlinna to Cairo, from Santiago de Compostela to Sibiu – crossing and discovering a kaleidoscope of colorful and unique cultural landscapes and tourismscapes.

Chapter 1 - This chapter includes results of an empirical study in Ghent, a historic city in Flanders, endowed with a rich cultural heritage. The role of the historical buildings, monuments and churches goes far beyond the vocation of being landmarks in the tourist’s mental map. Their location in the urban setting indeed plays a crucial role in shaping the

space use patterns of visitors. Through the analysis of the walking tracks of different types of visitors, the interaction between people and place comes into focus. This implies methodological experimenting in terms of registering and mapping geo-referenced data, starting from a field survey. The main challenge lies in matching the data on space use of visitors with a correct interpretation of their activities, motives and appreciations. The case study in Ghent illustrates how territorial coherence of cultural heritage elements can be a strong asset in structuring the urban touristscape. The use of GIS to analyze and map the dynamics of interaction patterns opens new perspectives for the strategic planning of tourist destinations, and as such a highly recommendable and innovative policy tool.

Chapter 2 - Recent technological developments have produced a range of sophisticated and readily available digital tracking technologies, of which the best known is the Global Positioning System (GPS). Yet, despite this remarkable surge in technology, researchers in the field of tourism studies have failed to take full advantage of what these relatively new systems have to offer. Tracking technologies are able to provide high-resolution spatial and temporal data that could potentially aid, augment, and advance research in various areas within the field of tourism studies. This article discusses the viability of using aggregative data obtained from GPS receivers in order to understand the impact of visitors on cities better and, in addition, to highlight both the possibilities and the difficulties implied in the application of GPS technology in urban tourism research projects. The study presented in this article was carried out during 2004 in the Old City of Akko (Israel), a World Heritage Site since 2002.

Chapter 3 - Tourism in historical cities is characterized by visits to a number of immovable assets monuments, viewpoints, landmarks, squares and streets. As such, it generates specific geographical patterns, which are determined by the relation between a mobile demand with specific time and money endowments and the location and spatial form of such assets. In addition, these patterns influence to a large extent the spatial structure of the tourist supply and the resulting spatial behavior of visitors, which may, or may not, be optimal with regard to the long-term performance of the local tourism economy. This chapter presents an exemplary illustration of this issue: the case of Venice, where the regional development of tourism is largely dictated by the insufficient capacity of the Historical Core to accommodate its visitors, and hence determines a “predatory” relation between the main attraction and its hinterland.

Chapter 4 - This chapter addresses a specific organizational form (*orgware*) of cultural heritage, the creation of an itinerary that connects different locations linked by a heritage-based theme. This specific case focuses on a network of Jewish heritage cities (*Red de Juderías*) in various regions of Spain, organized through a “route” as a powerful tourist product, with potential for developing further at a European scale.

The key aspects of this case lie in the recognition of the intrinsic added value of a spatially articulated heritage complex over its individual components, and in the possibility of taking advantage of such spatiality to multiply valorization opportunities through tourism. Other interesting issues are the unique governance model which sustains the network, and the contribution that it may make to more balanced and sustainable tourism development in areas which are increasingly subject to global pressures on their relatively scarce resources and surfaces, like Spain as in this case. Considering that the overall objective is to understand and illustrate the spatial and functional diversity of cultural heritage and of its tourist use, this case study may well cast new light on a good practice in cultural heritage management.

Chapter 5 - Spatial patterns are a key topic in tourism analysis due to their important implications for improving the management and planning of tourism development. The aim of this chapter is to contribute to the explanation of such patterns by focusing on a case study of Spanish package tourists in India, essentially a cultural tourism market. After depicting the characteristics of Spanish tourism demand in the destination and the resulting highly concentrated flow patterns, the authors identify four categories of tour portfolio determinants: demand and destination characteristics, and inbound and outbound tour operators' strategies, in which the most important are a limited number of characteristic traits of the potential market. At the same time, future tour diversification is greatly constrained by the dearth of tourism facilities and current high returns for local operators. These circumstances have led to a situation of retro-alimentation in the form of a vicious circle, which hampers tourism development in the country. Some keys to breaking this vicious circle in the realms of government policy, product planning and development and promotion are also identified.

Chapter 6 - This chapter focuses on the intersection between urban patrimonialization, cluster dynamics and tourism development, highlighting the ambiguities that such processes entail when they come together into a narrow, congested, highly problematic urban space such as the Khan-al-Khalili area in the historic centre of Cairo. After providing a background on the theories of patrimonialization and development, on the one hand, and the conceptualization of local economic development in Egypt, on the other, the authors introduce some general issues related to jewelry production in Egypt and, in particular, in Cairo. This is followed by an analysis of the patrimonialization of Islamic Cairo, highlighting how local communities have often been depicted as obstacles rather than beneficiaries or potential resources in these processes and the strategies followed. The discourse then focuses on the specific institutions — both economic and social — that hold the key to the configuration of the jewellery cluster in the Khan-al-Khalili area. Finally, policy issues are addressed, stressing the ambiguity of the patrimonialization and cluster policies being adopted, for these, rather than recognizing the importance of territorialized practices, are jeopardizing and have the potential to destroy the urban milieu that has traditionally characterized Khan al Khalili.

Chapter 7 - Among different tourism markets, cultural tourism is of primary importance for many European countries, not only in terms of economic drive but also as a contributing factor in the construction of new identities for certain regions. Romania — a country that possesses a rich tangible and intangible cultural heritage, including numerous fortified and painted churches, castles, conjuncts of medieval architecture, as well as important cultural traditions — constitutes one such example, where the valorization of cultural heritage could lead to territorial development and economic regeneration. The chapter addresses this topic by analyzing the ways in which the religious built heritage of Romania's south-western Regions could provide an opportunity for encouraging tourism-based business development, especially in rural destinations.

Chapter 8 - Cultural landscapes are, by definition, marked by human activities; the changing characteristics of the habitat through history are now being revalorized as territorial expressions of both tangible and intangible heritage. In this chapter, the focus is on the agents of change in cultural landscapes and the role of tourism in particular. Since tourism has so many faces and implications, it can be a driving force in shaping leisure landscapes or reshaping industrial landscapes, but also an incentive for conservation of the agricultural habitat, rural economies or archaeological sites. Given the great variety of natural and man

made landscapes — at least in Europe — this spatial category of cultural landscapes holds a rich and ubiquitous resource to develop tourism into a colorful kaleidoscope of cultural diversity. The current search for the cultural identity of territories, the drive to protect regional brand names — such as those of agricultural products and crafts — can be seen as a dynamic force in the regionalization process taking place throughout Europe and a favorable incubation climate for developing new destination areas for the markets of cultural and creative tourism.

Chapter 9 - This chapter examines the growth and spatial development of religious tourism in Europe, looking both at issues of supply (types of religious sites and routes) and demand (visitor motivation) in the context of the changing religious pattern. Religious tourism has recently seen significant growth in pilgrimage and visits to Marian shrines throughout the European Union. Moreover, large numbers of cultural tourists also visit churches and cathedrals, as well as shrines, and attend festivals and events with a religious theme. As a result, new religious tourist destinations are emerging and demand is no longer exclusively focused on Christian sites. The authors reach the conclusion that religious tourism in Europe is thriving, facilitated by more professional marketing, increasing levels of interest in spiritual matters and easier access to religious destinations. Its growth and diversification is building on the medieval legacy of pilgrimage to develop a diverse portfolio of sites to attract tourists of many different denominations and motivations, including those who have no specifically religious motivation, but may be classified more accurately as cultural or historical tourists. The major paradox is that visitor numbers are increasing at a time when congregation levels at most churches are falling.

Chapter 10 - The cultural heritage of a place or a community offers, in many ways, inspiration for the creation of cultural events, as these can generate important impulses for the conservation of heritage and play a dynamic role in the development of cultural tourism. However, the growing number of events globally, with a wide diversity of themes and concepts, raises the question of extent to which the territorial component — the place's identity and the presence of cultural heritage — still makes a difference by adding value to the tourist opportunity spectrum. The objective of this chapter is to study the ways in which events are inducing changes and to identify the role of local assets in the development of an event (the input for the production process) and the multi dimensional impact (the output) on the place and the local community. The insights discussed result from four case studies, each with a different emphasis. The way an event affects the local economy and thus stimulates tourism is a key issue in most event assessment studies, an approach adopted in the Savonlinna, Finland study. The multidimensional impacts of events are central to the three other case studies: rural revitalization as the result of a bottom-up initiative (Marcillac, France); the strength of intangible heritage in the process of territorial identity (re)building (Salento, Italy); and the development of an event monitor as a policy tool for local authorities (Ghent, Belgium). Together, the four case studies reveal the different dynamics of events in the local and regional cultural economy and, above all, the ways in which a process of cultural identity building is initiated, supported and managed.

Chapter 11 - The selection of Brussels as the location for European institutions in 1958 imposed an international role on the city that had been Belgium's capital since 1830 and which, at that time, had neither the ambition nor pretension to capitalize on this new international status. The transition of Brussels to its present complex role as an international metropolis and European capital has profoundly undermined the balance of the city's identity

and its institutions. In many ways Brussels seems to be going through an identity crisis. This perception can only partly be explained by the fact that the traditional role of Brussels and the narratives about the capital of Belgium are fading away. Due to the lack of coherence and cooperation among all the different European, Belgian and local institutional stakeholders, innovation in urban governance and narration strategies based on shared or traditional identities are hardly applicable to Brussels. Apparently the existing void has not yet been replaced by new hegemonic regionalist or “European” narratives. At first sight, the absence of a “visionary leadership” and the growing number of stakeholders in the urban governance arena could explain the hesitant development of alternative future trajectories for the city. In this chapter, the authors argue that the lack of both a hegemonic narrative about the city and a coherent urban policy creates opportunities for developing more inclusive processes of constructing representations and for valorizing its rich cultural heritage as a driving force in re-creating new identities for the city. The building of a more dynamic future by using cultural resources as an innovative economic driver is gradually being explored.

Chapter 12 - This chapter discusses a key issue in the framework of this volume: the role of cultural tourism in processes of urban transformation. The analysis focuses specifically on how the emphasis on the symbolic in the restructuring of certain areas of the city may function like a spin-wheel for the regeneration of urban economies, and on the stability of this process. The chapter presents the cases of three European cities Barcelona, Manchester and Rotterdam, all of which are believed to be templates in cultural planning, and have been successful, to different extents, as tourism destinations. In the three cities, the peculiar relationship between area renewal through cultural development projects and tourism has unravelled in different ways that are revelatory of structural, as well as contingent, differences in tourism policy organisation and contexts, and that present different challenges for the future.

Chapter 13 - The tourism market for health resorts is changing fast throughout the world. The ageing population, the growing interest for wellness and health, care for body and mind, and the search for new experiences and meanings force traditional health resorts in particular to adjust the products they offer within the triangle of health treatments, recreational activities and cultural entertainment. Traditional spas, above all, possess an extremely rich variety of tangible and intangible cultural heritage elements, as well as valuable natural and cultural resources. The authors propose that these elements need to be identified and valorized in order to develop the spas further. The arguments presented are supported by four case studies Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lázně (Czech Republic), Abano Terme (Italy) and Spa (Belgium) all of which were famous spas frequented by the European elite in the 18th century, but had fallen behind modern developments in spa tourism by the end of the 20th century. The main conclusions are that all four spas are now in the situation of having to design and apply revitalization strategies. In these, not only the development of infrastructure, on which most of the emphasis had been placed in the past, is necessary, but also more attention should be given to the potential contribution of intangible heritage, to which less consideration had previously been given.

Chapter 14 - This chapter informs about tourism revitalization in the eastern European Union countries (EEU), defined as the former Communist countries of central and southeast Europe that became members of the European Union in 2004 and 2007, symbolic dates in a continuous process that had begun much earlier. Although the EEU are far from being a homogeneous group, they dispose of several common assets, including low visiting levels, the

presence of many symbolic places relevant to European history and culture, and built cultural heritage of cities not destroyed by war. The EEU also offer outstanding natural attractions, a tradition of spas, while ethnic and folk culture play again an important role for national identities. EU structural and cohesion funding together with integration into the common agricultural policy will stimulate development, currently hampered by poor rural transportation and health care infrastructure and service facilities. A profound revitalization of EEU tourism started only in the late 1990s, and three segments can be identified as priorities: cultural (including city) tourism; spa and wellness tourism; and rural and agro-tourism. In all three cases, culture is recognized as an important component, but two recurring questions arise in the different countries: which cultures should be offered within the range of tourist products and to what extent are these cultures — or cultural elements — compatible with national identity, on the one hand, and with local reality, on the other.

Chapter 15 - In recent years, governments and international organizations have finally acknowledged that Europe is not only very rich in heritage and that this is a resource for development, but also that heritage constitutes one of the less polarized assets. In fact, material and immaterial heritage can be found almost everywhere, both in central and peripheral areas, in old as well as in new member states. This became particularly clear from the analysis undertaken in the context of the ESPON project 1.3.3 (2006). The mapping of cultural assets (heritage and other forms of cultural capital) and their territorial effects in conjunction with other economic and social variables showed that they have a substantial transnational, cross-border dimension, and possibly more so than any other development asset that was studied within that program. Heritage could thus very well become the strategic production factor in the global, post-fordist economy, taking the place that coal and iron ore once held in the industrial economy and, at the same time, lead to more cohesive, balanced regional development.

This, obviously, represents a new challenge for the European Union (and supposedly for any other world macro-region in the same situation) and calls for focused policy initiatives both at local and international level. A number of crucial issues emerged in the ESPON project 1.3.3, and some of these were further analyzed in a number of carefully targeted case studies, the results of which are presented in this book. On the basis of the ESPON project 1.3.3 in general, and the case studies in particular, certain recommendations for policy can be drawn up. It is noteworthy that the case studies covered a wide spectrum of geographical and socio-economic contexts with distinct cultural endowment and an equally varied range of issues related with the methodology of analysis, governance, and marketing of cultural heritage; in particular, the book focuses on the following issues.

Firstly, the analysis of the territorial distribution of the supply and use of cultural heritage showed that all the European member states, also including the new member states, possess many sometimes hidden treasures. European, national and regional policies ought to actively valorize them and make them the cornerstones of social and economic development. Since cultural resources tend to be concentrated in urban areas, a European heritage policy ought therefore to explicitly recognize the driving force of cities in cultural dynamics. Likewise, some coastal areas are endowed with an above average heritage supply (ESPON 1.3.3, 2006: 100-101), and this fact should be taken into consideration when designing regional cultural policies. Moreover, the scenario of rising sea levels might threaten the conservation of heritage assets and this is an issue that should also be addressed in global and national policies.

The map of Europe presents a limited number of cultural clusters, or creative hotspots, that may well become the continent's post-industrial growth poles. More attention should be devoted to the dynamics of this clustering process, taking into account the role of heritage and, above all, the need to sustain balanced policies of conservation and economic innovation. Lying in the shadow of these hotspots of cultural innovation, there are significant pockets of social and economic marginality, eventually leading to a form of cultural de-pauperization. The impact of social and economic decline inevitably undermines the critical mass and the public support that is necessary to maintain and revalorize heritage resources.

However, there is considerable evidence that cultural excellence and regional competitiveness are structurally interrelated. Policies that enhance cultural excellence might therefore explicitly improve the region's overall competitiveness at the same time. Multicultural and multi-ethnic societies are indeed assets for regions that strive for social and economic development and should therefore be explicitly perceived as such in regional policies. Thus, marginality may be challenged through generation of an awareness of local or regional cultural assets. Conversely, economic policies such as increasing public expenditure and social programs such as social housing may indirectly support the conservation of built heritage and local traditions or bring to the fore whole new cultural identities.

Another fact revealed in the book is that cultural landscapes and territorial systems of cultural heritage assets do not conform to administrative boundaries. This opens new perspectives and real opportunities for cross-border, trans-national and interregional programs and regional cooperation projects. Hence, it is justified to assume that the sustainable use of heritage assets for development requires a sophisticated transport policy that stimulates accessibility when the use of heritage is to be encouraged and limited access when conservation is at stake. Moreover, further investment in the application of ITC in managing access to cultural assets would be particularly welcome.

With regard to the development of cultural tourism, a number of specific, recurring issues have also come into focus in different chapters of the book. It would certainly appear that such development is a convenient way of realizing the social and economic potentials of cultural assets. In fact, cultural tourism is now a booming segment of the growing global tourism market and, as such, much pursued by development agents at all levels of government. However tourism development does not only generate benefits, but also implies costs of both an internal and external nature. A number of the case studies illustrated that more should be done to limit the costs and internalize the benefits where regions are engaged in tourism development policies. They also showed that not only the quantitative dimension of these costs and benefits is of relevance, but also their distribution, and especially the spatial aspects of this.

The following section provides an overview of the current European and national cultural heritage policies, paying particular attention to the role of tourism. The challenge is to understand more about the integration of the issues outlined above in the existing policy frameworks and to assess the need for intensification or restructuring. By including some non-European case studies, the book has sought to extend the scope of these concerns to a more general context, thus enriching the final analysis, the lessons to be learned and possible policy responses.

Introduction

INNOVATIVE RESEARCH ON THE SPATIAL DYNAMICS OF CULTURAL TOURISM

Myriam Jansen-Verbeke and Antonio Paolo Russo

FOCUS OF THE BOOK

This book is the result of a growing need among academics and professionals to understand more about the interaction between heritage and cultural tourism and the dynamics of a new cultural economy. Cultural tourism is progressively shifting in its scope from the traditional focus on the discovery of the past, all too often superficially compressed to its most immediately visible manifestation — the tangible heritage — , to the valorization of cultural capital in its multiple manifestations, as a dynamic factor of regional and local development processes and a standpoint in the construction of territorial identities. In the European context this is increasingly considered to be important for the competitive advantage of regions.

The capacity to devise innovative uses and interpretations of the past and to actually develop new cultural attractions is but one condition for entering successfully in the new and competitive market of the cultural economy, of which tourism is one expression. The very presence of cultural heritage proves to be a catalyst in the process of territorial identity building and, above all, a rich and, in some cases, inexhaustible resource for developing cultural tourism. Indeed, the most widely recognized impact of cultural heritage on territorial identity is its potential to create a favorable incubation condition for the development of tourist experiences and products. This explains the many references in this book to the role of cultural heritage in the tourism development dynamics of places and regions.

Yet the increasing interest in the role of culture in local development follows the acknowledgement that internationalization and globalization might be multiplying pressure factors on heritage sites, as well as provoking homogenization of meaning as a consequence of wide exposure to the public: the cultural identity of territories is today more than ever framed in a global power field. The focus on territorial expressions of cultural heritage, including the capacity to forge regional identities, has been a crucial choice in the selection of

the topics for this book. In various ways and formats, all contributors refer to the actual leverage function of cultural activities for local and regional development. Tourism is presented as the main arena in which the cultural capital of places contributes to the shaping of the local consumption and production dynamics, substantiating the social and economic relationships within destinations. Relevant factors of this dynamism are expected to be found in:

- the spatial concentration of cultural heritage elements and clustering of creative activities;
- the capacity of cultural activities (principally clusters, routes and networks, but also events) to induce processes of both economic and socio-cultural change;
- the association of cultural assets with social capital, and their use as a tool for social integration and an opportunity for business development.

An important goal of this book is the possibility of developing new perspectives on integrated regional planning, understood as planning models that enhance territorial cohesion, based on the identification and valorization of cultural heritage. To move in that direction, it is the editors' ambition to make a solid point about the holistic nature of the process of conservation, production and dissemination of cultural heritage.

The book contains mostly explorative studies that are, in terms of methodology, both analytical and empirical. Focus is not placed on one particular subject or geographical area, but rather on the exploration of different issues in the process of creating or reshaping the cultural identity of territories. This leads to new interpretations of the dynamics of cultural heritage in creating and shaping development opportunities for regions or places. Innovative contributions deal with the analysis of spatial expressions and effects of heritage assets and indications of territorial coherence (existing or potential) at regional or local scale. In fact, as will be argued in the next section, different spatial configurations of cultural heritage elements or endowments of cultural capital may determine uneven development conditions, producing varying flows, generating or modifying place images, and affecting productivity. The capacity of cultural resources to initiate local and regional dynamics of which tourism is one expression will be scanned in different situations. The contributions in this book refer mainly to a European context, although the models of regional dynamics, the discourse on innovative methodology and the inclusion of some non-European settings will widen the perspectives.

The issues raised will hopefully inspire future research and policy-making in the area of cultural tourism. Taking into account the flow of recent publications on various cultural aspects of tourism, the objective of the book is to move away from market studies and general readers, in order to provide a critical analysis of complex interaction patterns, interwoven processes leading to the design of innovative policies.

INSPIRATION FOR THE BOOK

A broader knowledge of the role of cultural heritage resources in regional development dynamics and planning requires tools, data, and further evidence that enable researchers to

substantiate and scrutinize the process of development of cultural capital. In this respect, the volume takes advantage of research conducted by the editors within a wider research community in the development of a pan-European study program. ESPON (European Spatial Planning Observatory Network) ran an extensive research program from 2000 to 2006 and has recently begun its second edition for the 2007-2013 period. The main goal is to build a knowledge base for European spatial planning and development, centered on the regional cohesion and competitiveness objectives set by the Lisbon and Gothenburg agreements. Among other things, ESPON has funded thematic research projects undertaken by transnational research networks.

The ESPON project 1.3.3 “The Role and Spatial Effects of Cultural Heritage and Identity” was one of these, and the only one explicitly related to culture. It was carried out by eleven research institutes in an equal number of EU member countries, under the general coordination of the University of Venice Ca’ Foscari, in the years 2004-2006. Although the focus lay on the mapping of cultural assets in the whole European territory, evaluating their impacts or perhaps more precisely, producing a significant classification of spatial effects and recommending strategic policy developments, analytic developments mainly related with tourism inevitably surfaced from the research. Obviously, tourist use of cultural heritage and good management of heritage sites are inextricably linked to their preservation and increasingly to the generation of development opportunities, at least in the perception of the main national stakeholders.

The material presented in this volume reflects the theoretical tenets, and all the strengths (and possibly also some limitations), of that “mother project”. The completion of a first database regarding many different expressions or dimensions of culture in 1,337 regions of Europe¹, as well as the innovative treatment of culture as a “territorial asset”, implied an integration of the geography and economics of culture into more mainstream spatial development research. This innovative and integrative framework has been acknowledged as a strong point of this project. Among the shortcomings, the multiple problems related to the inventorying of cultural resources and the mapping of assets and impacts should be mentioned. From a conceptual point of view, a radical simplification of the analysis was required. In particular, the practical attempt to obtain workable, comparable measures of cultural capital across the whole study area was a mayor challenge. Indeed, the integration of existing national and regional inventories of protected and registered assets, lists, etc. inevitably pinpointed notable discrepancies and idiosyncrasies, only partially “smoothed out” in the project, to the point that one major output from this project has been the quest for a Europe-wide harmonization of cultural concepts and classifications and the creation of a European cultural register or database.

In spite of such weaknesses, the achievements of this European project cannot be overlooked: for the first time, cultural resources and heritage assets were considered as integral planning elements at a transnational level, based on hard facts and data, and with a broad multi-disciplinary approach. The international research network did not just produce “descriptive maps” based on simple indicators of presence and concentration of cultural assets, but also more sophisticated regional classifications based on multiple criteria. In

¹ The territorial unit of analysis used was the NUTS III region, an official spatial classification adopted by EUROSTAT corresponding in most countries to the provincial or country level.

addition, a collection of in-depth case studies corroborated the output from Europe-wide analysis.

The present volume revises and elaborates upon some of the case study material, which the editors believe has sufficient width, scope and depth to make a number of important points regarding the spatial role and effects of cultural tourism. The ESPON 1.3.3 project sets the scenario of this volume from the point of view of the methodology and key results. However, while narrowing down the scope of the themes to tourism-related issues, the intention is to extend it even further from the point of view of geographical coverage and depth of analysis. The assumption is that the topics covered do have a universal value and that the readership of the volume may be interested in identifying a wider range of applications of the concepts developed therein. Thus the list of contributors to this volume is not restricted to the authors of research material and cases developed within ESPON 1.3.3 or derived from further elaboration of the information acquired, but has been “opened up” to a selected number of other contributors who have brought in new evidence and applications from different contexts.

HERITAGE AND CULTURE AS TERRITORIAL MARKERS

So far little attention has been paid to the territorial aspects of cultural heritage, territorial coherence and tourism dynamics, nor to the changes induced by tourism on the physical, economic and social environment; concepts which are crucial in the perspective of regional economic development. Indeed, cultural heritage as a resource for tourism development is considered throughout this book as much more than the mere accumulation of tangible and intangible assets to be conserved. The right combination of cultural heritage and activities can indeed generate a tourism dynamism of which the critical success factors need to be understood. Studying the territorial cohesion of different elements of cultural heritage and the interdependency between tangible and intangible heritage assets strengthens the understanding of the cultural dynamics of a region or a place. The procedure is to identify the different characteristics of the cultural heritage elements and the driving forces in a process of tourismification.

Heritage and the Development of Cultural Tourism

Culture in its material dimension is widely acknowledged as shaping a number of human practices and discourses (from travel to pilgrimage, from education to identity politics, from leisure to environmental protectionism), and eliciting a number of policy responses at various levels. Most importantly, for at least a decade there has been full recognition that culture and heritage may have strong economic implications for the development of territories. This recognition came to orient much policy initiative, at various levels: nationally, trans-nationally (for instance within communities like the European Union), and locally. Cultural policy has somewhat shifted from dusty conservation departments of ministries to the desk of policy officers in charge of economic development strategies and regional planning.

Tourism and cultural tourism in particular is unsurprisingly the main driving force for such initiatives, as it is commonly believed that developing cultural sites as tourism attractions is possibly the most efficient strategy on a short term to make heritage “yield benefits”. International organizations and local governments also attribute tourism an important role in the generation of intangible effects: the dynamization of traditional societies; the upgrading of quality of life; and the establishment of community pride, mutual tolerance and inclusion. Tourism development is seen as a regional booster and a precious support to economies in transition, for it absorbs low-skilled workers expelled from other sectors and does not need strong capital investments to take off. This, again, is particularly the case of cultural tourism, as most cultural assets for development are “inherited from the past”, or freely available as intrinsic qualities of the landscape, rather than produced or built. In rural areas, the valorization of traditional knowledge -involving the rediscovery of handicraft and eno-gastronomy-, the recovery of natural landscapes, and a new awareness of immaterial aspects of the local heritage, is commonly seen as a “last train” for the regeneration of agricultural economies hit by structural crisis. Yet, due to the large concentration of cultural artifacts and historical sites in cities, tourism is especially valued as a contribution to urban economies; its development is today established as an integral component of economic regeneration strategies of inner cities and demised industrial zones.

In the case of both rural and urban areas, developing countries or regions lagging behind have been using this potential to the full in the last decade, imitating though sometimes just mimicking the many success stories of the developed west. Nevertheless, the race to “cash in” the easy gains from cultural tourism often takes its toll, proving that cultural capital resources are particularly sensitive to tourism development. The common thinking is that is the valorization of cultural resources through tourism inevitably ends up eroding their value or disrupting their physical integrity, and ultimately diminishing the place’s original appeal to visitors. This notion is consistent with the most popular models of tourism development, such as Butler’s TALC (1980) and its extensions or revisions (Butler, 2006).

A key point in this argument is that the physical and economic pressure of tourism “mutates” the landscape qualities being valorized for tourism. As a rule, mutations imposed on the system are irreversible (Jansen-Verbeke, 2004a; 2007). Unsustainable tourism generally refers to any trend in the tourist use of local resources that seems to be endogenously affecting the sustained competitiveness of destinations, or at least hindering alternative -and better, from the point of view of value generation and community impacts- development opportunities from being reaped. Adverse impacts may refer to the physical environment, to demographics, to cultural identity, and to visitors’ experiences. Increasing concentration of tourism activity in one place, instead of diffusion and hence involvement of larger sections of the territory, is one such trend, because it is likely to produce relevant externalities.

Thus, not only the integrity, beauty, or significance of cultural experiences is affected by critical levels of visitation, just like the unique characteristics of an ecosystem are modified by human pressure factors. It is believed that a large part of the cultural capital of places is embedded in the knowledge of the local community, so that any economic change which affects their social structure inevitably ends up by changing the “identity” of places, and diminishing their resiliency to change. In the end, tourism may well subtract from rather than enhance a community’s development opportunities. The problems emanating from excessive tourist pressure on sites had indeed become an outright “emergency” in a surprisingly high

number of places by the mid-1990s, causing fundamental revisions in common thinking and policy approaches towards tourism development.

In order to address the dilemmas posed by tourism development in heritage cities and sites systematically and provide comprehensive solutions, a stream of research was carried out during the 1990s (Van der Borg and Gotti, 1995; van der Borg, 1996; Russo, 2000; Russo, 2002a). Widely-used destination management concepts, such as the tourist carrying capacity (Van der Borg, 1993; Canestrelli and Costa, 1991; Lindberg et al., 1997) and the tourism area life-cycle (Martin and Uysal, 1990; Russo, 2006), were extended to confront the most evident conflicts between tourism development and the sustainable use of cultural resources. The endorsement of such concepts within a network of European “heritage cities” made it possible to refine cultural policy and visitor management practices. The “Alternative Tourist Routes in Cities of Art” and “Tourism Management in Heritage Cities” projects carried out under the aegis of the UNESCO Venice Office placed operational focus on the issue of the valorization of heritage as an economic resource for historical cities and small towns that promote tourism as a strategy for local development. This stimulated wide recognition that the key challenge for heritage sites was to turn cultural tourism into an “endogenously sustainable” process, basing it on genuinely local, idiosyncratic assets, and seeking to strike a balance between pressure factors from tourism and the optimal conditions for viable socio-economic development. It became possible to single out a number of best practices as well as worst case scenarios, which are commonly quoted as benchmarks in tourism development initiatives: among these are Venice, Bruges, Salzburg, York, and Granada.

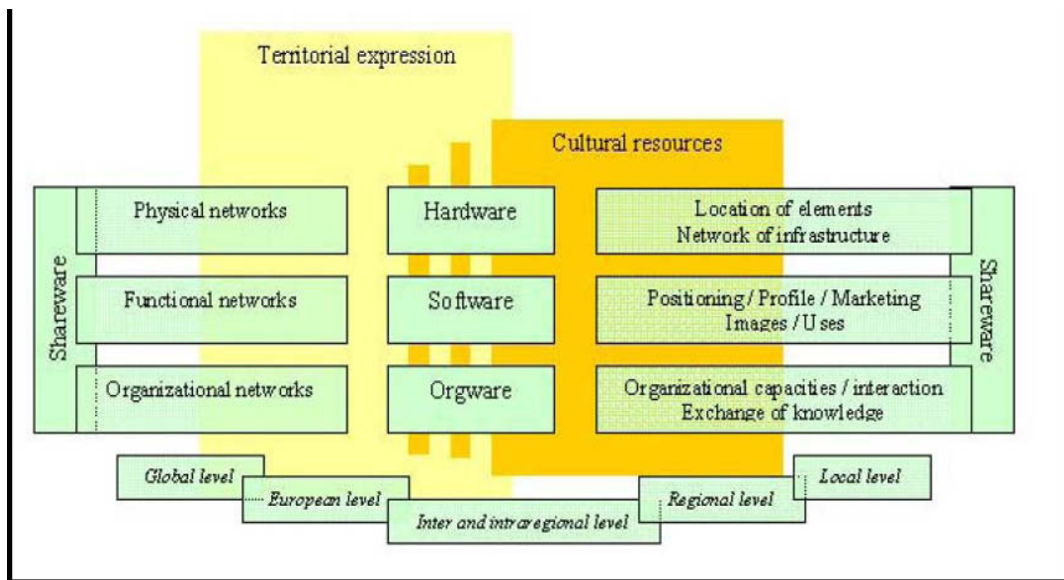
The assumption that the cultural heritage is not just an accumulation of tangible assets to be conserved -and mapped-, but an element of identity building and dynamism of the territory is inspired by the following three paradigms²:

- *The “Attraction paradigm”*: The most visible impact of cultural heritage on territorial identity lies in its potentials as a resource for the development of tourism products, not for export, but for importing tourists. This clearly explains the many references in this book to the role of cultural heritage in the tourism dynamics of places and regions.
- *The “Dissemination paradigm”*: The idea transmitted is that the presence of cultural heritage creates a favorable climate for the creation of new cultural goods and services, and even empowers the forces to explore new cultural goods that can be “sold” outside the territory. This is linked with capacity building in terms of transmitting local know-how and proceeding from production to marketing. In addition, an explanation for the distinct creativity in valorizing unique selling propositions can result from this paradigm.
- *The “Territorial paradigm”*: The most important credo of this project is the actual contribution of cultural activities to local and regional development. Relevant factors are expected to be found in the spatial concentration of cultural heritage elements and the capacity to produce and disseminate values and reference points. Cultural assets are seen as a social capital, incentives for social integration and above all as business opportunities.

² Inspired by X. Greffe’s presentation at the ESPON 1.3.3 workshop in Barcelona, May 2005.

The goal of this book is thus to fully understand the interactive process of conservation, production and dissemination of cultural heritage highlighted through these three perspectives. The capacity to capitalize on cultural resources, to support the process of identity building and eventually the creation of *tourismscapes* varies between types of regions and communities. The way regions -and nations- are valorizing and investing in cultural capital clearly makes the difference. However, the analysis of territorial expressions of both tangible and intangible cultural resources is complex. The book proposes an original conceptualization of both kinds of cultural resources as descriptors of the territory and territorial identities with intrinsic ethical and aesthetic value. Cultural heritage resources are valorized through tourism on condition that they establish “sustainable ties” between them and with the local communities. The networks among cultural resources explain territorial cohesion; physical, functional and organizational networks can be studied at different scales, from European level to the local level of an inner city.

The territorial expression of cultural resources holds different dimensions (Figure 1). The *hardware* refers to the physical elements of the built heritage, the visual connections, the infrastructure, the various tangible aspects of a *tourismscape* (Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois, 2004). The transformation of the hardware into a tourist product or tourist experience requires a flexible and strategic marketing approach in order to become integrated in the mental map of travelers and attract a flow of visitors. Moreover, the use of the facilities can change over time: this is reflected in the concept of *software*. The organizational capacity of local stakeholders and external agents will eventually make the difference, the way they organize tourism in combination with other priorities in the environment is captured in the concept of *orgware*. The management and planning process of creating more territorial cohesion depends on the *shareware*, the capacity to exchange views and become partners in future projects.



Source: ESPON 1.3.3 (2006: 186).

Figure 1. Model for analyzing territorial expressions of cultural resources.

The emerging gap between dynamic and less dynamic cultural regions, between emerging tourism destinations and dormant ones is not only based on the actual presence of monuments, museums or historical landscapes (*the hardware*), but more probably and increasingly on marketing efforts, narratives and the liveliness of the place (*the software*).

In addition, intangible expressions of creativity, such as the traditions underpinning local history and habitats, also contribute to establish an idiosyncrasy of places, and through this, their competitive advantage. Such expressions involve lifestyles, languages, religions, music, folklore, gastronomy, and, last but not least, events and festivities.

Clearly, the capacity to (re)produce a cultural economy not only depends on local expertise to manage and organize (*the orgware*), but also, and increasingly, on the capacity to get involved in various networks (*the shareware*). The current challenge is indeed to catch up with global trends and translate these into local, regional or national opportunities. Conservation policies for cultural resources need to be balanced against creativity in the production of innovative and flexible products for cultural tourism.

The concept of “*tourismscape*” originates from an actor network approach to the study of systems and was first applied in empirical studies by van der Duim (2007). This model refers to multiple interactions between people and place, between geography and history, between culture and consumption, between users and uses of public space. A number of parameters can be identified that allow for further interpretation of the social and spatial constructs. In this way, spatial analysis is integrated in a multi-method research framework. As tourism is embedded in a complex territorial system, all tourist activities will induce some kind of transformation in the morphological and functional patterns. Most chapters of the book indeed analyze cultural tourism as an activity with irreversible spatial implications.

The Spatial Dimensions of Culture and Heritage

Different disciplinary approaches conjure with established notions of landscape to produce an operational concept of culture as a territorial marker, and of tourism as the main source of “spatial effects” generated by culture, as it is implied that the characteristics of the visited site and its surroundings are modified through tourists’ use and valorization. The importance and relevance of a geographical framework for the analysis of place-products, the time-space approach to tourist activity patterns, and the tourist area life cycle are just some expressions of innovative process thinking in tourism studies (Lew et al., 2004). Tourism development is thus seen as a resource-based and territorial process. Differential specialization of territories in the provision of tourism-related services can be explained by accessibility to primary cultural resources, on the one hand, and the capacity to develop strong clusters or routes with tourist attractions, on the other.

Spatial effects are recurrently analyzed in the tourism literature and have become the focus of practice in tourism planning and management. Tourism development bridges different territories, as the activity patterns and itineraries of travelers cross over regional and national boundaries. One important milestone for an innovative inclusion of “spatiality” in the study of cultural tourism and its development of opportunities is the recognition of emerging critical concentrations of cultural capital and the identification of core-periphery patterns in tourism activities. Ever since the French geographer Miossec (1976) developed the concepts of core and periphery within tourism systems, a spatial reflection appears in tourism studies.

He conceived cores as the “centre of attention” for visitor activity, and called them “used” space. On the other hand, peripheries — identified as either the spatial edges of world tourism flows or the territory around a destination — are described as “transversed” spaces. In spite of constituting necessary elements for the movement of people in and around destinations, these never become their “centers of gravity”.

Reverting to postmodernist discourse, Miossec’s juxtaposition could be broadened to identify cores as the spaces holding power over development: for instance, by reaping the benefits from tourism development, or by leading this development. Cores could even be referred to as concentrations of financial capital deployed in tourism development. As such, they can be distinguished from peripheries; these include places that are only affected by tourism development strategies determined elsewhere. In his formulation of the problem, however, Miossec was maintaining a purely spatial and not a political-economic perspective, implying that visited centers were better off as a result of their capacity to catalyze tourist flows, whereas peripheries were somewhat “cut off” from these benefits. They would participate in tourism systems as passive players, as do territories crossed by rail and air lines that bring tourists to a destination, or exotic islands where tourism functions are taken over by foreign capital.

The consideration of spatial externalities breaks down the “centripetal” structure of the tourist region: visited areas may leak out tourist revenues to the benefit of surrounding territories, to the extent that the latter can intercept part of the visitor flow directed to them. The explanation for this rests on a number of factors, ascribable both to the spatial structure of the visitor flows or the physical shape of the region, and to endogenous economic factors, investigated by Caserta and Russo (2002), among others. Hence centers may become unable to control their development, because the gaining actors are not there, and locals do not have full control over investments and planning. This is the case, for instance, of exotic destinations that witness very little filtering down of the tourist revenues they generate. More relevant for this research is the dwindling resistance to development of small historical cores, overwhelmed by pro-development strategies deployed by regional and national governments.

Another intangible dimension may be added to the core-periphery analytic framework, pointing towards two distinct “focalizations” of the tourist product. In this light, the core consists of the driving system of attractions, the image of a place and its hegemonic representations. The peripheries involve elements that, whatever their attractiveness, do not directly relate with the core attributes, or are spatially eccentric to established tourist “centers”; as such, they are not promoted as tourist attractions. There is a thread connecting the geographic to the semantic sense of peripherality: spatially eccentric products tend to be cut off from the imaging of places provided by tourist distributors, who concentrate on easy-to-spot, central locations; at the same time, products that do not “fit” the image of a place tend to find natural locations at the edge of an urban or regional system, where their survival does not interfere with the value generation mechanism of the core tourist economy.

The powers of concentration in opposition to the “centrifugal” forces of tourism development are especially evident in the context of the clustering of tourism activities, which has proved to be a strong factor for the competitiveness of destinations, and especially urban areas, around the world. The spatial clustering of leisure-related activities in numerous cities in Europe, Northern America and Asia, not only provides an evocative, atmospheric setting for visitor consumption, but also generates a leisure-oriented thematization of urban landscapes which suits the regeneration objectives of boosterist city strategies perfectly.

A promising method to operationalize the core-periphery, concentration-dispersion framework, and look for some “balance” in tourism development has been developed within the ESPON project. Territorial units within larger regions can be ranked according to the demand and supply of tangible heritage resources with which they are endowed; simplifying, only immovable heritage assets of the “monumental” type are considered in this framework. Demand, in its simplest form, can be expressed in terms of potential visitation by a floating population of local residents and tourists. This relationship is represented in Figure 2, which depicts on the Cartesian axes normalized values of demand and supply of assets for cultural tourism. The key concept is that exploitation opportunities need to be balanced out with the benefits generated by tourism so that spatial externalities from tourism can be reduced to a minimum.

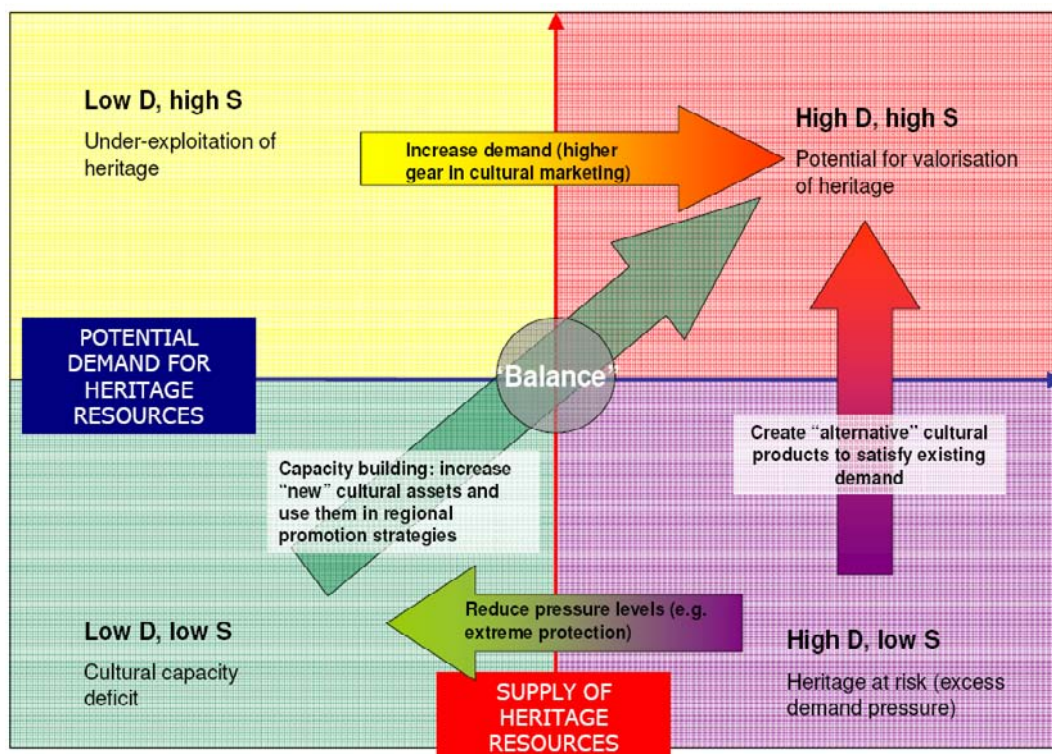
In principle, all regions would want to find themselves in a “safe” situation (central area in Figure 2), in which “normal” endowments of heritage assets are matched by a normal level of potential demand or, alternatively, in a potentially beneficial position (top right quadrant), in which larger-than-average endowments face a localized larger-than-average demand. However, many regions find themselves in “critical” positions (the remaining three quadrants) and each may respond in a different way depending on its initial position.

In the case of areas where a limited number of heritage assets are in danger of over-exploitation from a large potential demand (bottom right quadrant), there are two ways to improve the existing situation: either by keeping effective tourist pressure to a minimum, through “hard” tourist management (restrictions to access, high entrance fees, heritage “museification”); or through policies that match potential demand with a wider palette of culture-related products like events, interpretation centers, performing arts, etc. The latter strategy reputedly more successful than the former in a wide range of cases studied points towards the “dematerialization” of culture.

This is, in fact, one of the recent buzzwords in cultural tourism management, consistent with the creativity argument that favors intangible experience-based access to culture over the ineffable gaze at iconic monuments.

Regions fulfilling the conditions displayed in the top left quadrant -namely, a good endowment of tangible cultural assets but lower-than-average levels of potential demand-need to market and program their cultural supply better in order to attract more visitors and thus profit from their heritage supply. Finally, areas with both low demand and supply (bottom left quadrant) need to act on both sides, investing in cultural capital as a means to define and substantiate a regional identity, in the hope that they will become more attractive for both residents and visitors.

In the last decade, a new turn in the preservation/valorization discourse was taken with the full acknowledgement of the value of intangible aspects of culture, and more in general of cultural capital, as a cornerstone of the knowledge/experience economy. According to this paradigm, culture is produced rather than inherited from the past, and experienced rather than consumed; it is a transversal symbolic component of spurious processes (know-how) and products (design and styling); and it gives meaning to concepts of place and collective identity. Culture was thus converted into a “catalyst” of capital flows to cities: financial, emotional, and also physical.



Source: ESPON 1.3.3 (2006, 141).

Figure 2. A template for tourism policy based on the spatial effects of heritage assets.

Castells (1996) argued that in today's space of flows, the nodes count and thrive to the extent that they project a strong image, making the best of their (cultural, social or plain geographical) idiosyncrasy. Eventually, this process produces important socio-cultural and economic impacts at world level. The increasing attention given by global denizens and policymakers to anything creative inevitably ends up remapping urban tourism. The disarticulation of cultural "sights" as they were commonly known towards a multiplication of cultural expressions creates new opportunities to valorise a wider range of symbolic constructs, such as contemporary art forms and the material culture, knowledge, lifestyles and contradictions of post-industrial societies.

LOCAL LABORATORIES FOR INNOVATIVE RESEARCH

The book includes a substantial number of "unique" case studies, each of which in its own way explores new concepts and methods to identify and understand spatial dynamics. The main challenge of field work in local laboratories is not only to improve analytical tools, which can be applied in different situations and at different times, but most of all to disentangle the notion of the territorial cohesion of cultural heritage and activities. The practice of relying on local and personal observations can be eye-opening indeed and form the basis for comparative studies and a deeper understanding. The actual contribution of case

studies is the building of knowledge concerning the hybrid role of cultural heritage in the local economy and community identities.

Although the European background might mark most of the chapters, there is undeniably a universal component in the analysis of place, people and products. The rich diversity of cultural landscapes in Europe allows for a colorful study of cultural dynamics and cultural tourism. In fact there has been a spontaneous selection in the type of heritage being studied. In terms of tangible heritage most references refer to “historic sites or cities” such as Akko, Venice or Ghent, and seldom to single monuments (Olavinlinna Castle in Savonlinna), museums or other iconic landscapes (Romania). Clearly cultural heritage assets are considered an intrinsic part of the current urban landscape, a fact that is explained in the case of traditional spa towns and in Brussels, Barcelona, Manchester or Rotterdam.

The role of intangible heritage in the creation of urban cultural districts (case study set in Cairo) or in the development of cultural events (Marcillac, Salento) tends mainly to be identified with music and dance. The strongest force shaping cultural tourism in Europe for many centuries has been religion: one chapter addresses this aspect directly, and another (on Jewish heritage in Spain) indirectly. In many cases the diverse roles intangible heritage tends to be underestimated. The lack of valid and comparable data on intangible heritage resources might be one explanation.

Results of case studies at different scale levels are presented: at the local level there are the examples of Ghent in Belgium, Akko in Israel, and four spa towns in Belgium, Italy and the Czech Republic. Case studies in large regional or national capitals such as Barcelona, Manchester, Rotterdam, Brussels and Cairo are also included. Regional and national case studies focus on the Venice region, cultural routes in Spain and in India and, finally, on the eastern European Union countries. The corresponding inclusion of reflections on local dynamics in combination with the regional or even national contexts adds a new dimension to the understanding of cultural dynamics.

A significant effect of the growing interest in cultural tourism studies is the divergence in approaches, the synergies between different disciplines and a booming publication activity. However, the question arises whether or not the quality of theoretical concepts, the vision on emerging systems, the validity of so many surveys and a consensus on meta-data are supporting the quantitative boom. This discourse is beyond the ambitions of this book; only the actual contribution of the chapters included can be reflected upon in terms of methodological innovation.

The use of Geographical Information Systems and experiments with innovative spatial analysis methods and devices is improving the capacity of researchers to identify the driving forces in spatial patterns. The value of an accurate decision supporting system is gradually realized by planners and tourism managers. The expectations regarding geo-referenced data are indeed high. The move from descriptive to management models in shaping the urban tourism landscape will take time and many more experiments. There is a particular mismatch in the knowledge about the spatial pattern of heritage elements and tourist attractions, on the one hand, and the mental map of the visitor, on the other. The way the tourist opportunity spectrum of a place is perceived (and used) by different types of visitors holds a crucial key of information for tourism planners and policy makers.

The case studies carried out in different geographical contexts clearly demonstrate the return of a territorial connotation in defining their heritage. In this search to define local identity and to distinguish it from other communities and places, the past seems to offer an

array of opportunities: history, landscape and customs have marked the original habitat. A back to the roots movement might be one signal, but hardly successful if not supported by new cultural activities, social involvement and vision. The transformation process in time and space is particularly complex, and finding the right parameters to grasp these changes is recognized as a main challenge in several chapters.

The results of this kind of scientific research are essential for understanding the dynamics involved in the territorial cohesion of grass rooted assets, on the one hand, and their response to global impulses, on the other. Culture certainly does play a major role in the processes of change. This can be indented as “heritage and identity” of a community or nation, or these changes need to be understood as idiosyncratic knowledge, a “way of doing” and “of being”, which is the peculiar product of place attributes, like the size and structure of the skilled labor market, the quality of human resources and of education and research facilities, the international connectedness of the place, and the cohesion and appeasement between communities. All these factors are ultimately believed to stimulate innovativeness, resiliency, and economic excellence.

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

From the very initial stage of planning the book, a trichotomous model seemed most appropriate. Research on patterns, processes and policies, albeit strongly interlinked, implied a different approach, different methods. As a result, this volume is subdivided in three sections.

Part I. Spatial patterns: Factors and consequences. The discussion on “patterns” includes models for analyzing the distribution of cultural resources in a territory and addresses methodological issues of mapping and evaluating tourism potential. Hence, the first two chapters deal with the description and identification of singularities in the spatial distribution of cultural heritage assets or their effects and methods to represent spatial structures, both on the supply side of tourist opportunities and on the users’ side; the next three, in addition, pinpoint problems and bottlenecks resulting from such patterns, outlining the causes.

Part II. Processes: Cultural resources and tourism dynamics. The focus of the chapters in Part II is on the process of change induced by tourism. This includes analytical approaches to the transformation of cultural resources into tourism products, and its effect on the structure and performance of the local and regional economies. Questions about the impact of tourism on cultural landscapes, on the one hand, and the role of cultural assets in the shaping of tourism landscapes, on the other, are also briefly addressed.

Part III. Policy issues in cultural tourism planning and management. Several examples of best practices are introduced here together with some cases of failures in the ways in which policy, at different levels, may address and steer the relations identified with respect to general sustainable development goals, and the enunciation of some recommendations. The topics examined include missed opportunities as well as trial and error cases in revalorizing cultural heritage. Some cases address the cross border dynamics in cultural tourism and a normative analysis of territorial objectives, such as cultural regeneration and tourism development. The active role of different governance fields colors this European overview.

Each of the three sections is introduced with a short commentary by the section editor, outlining the main conceptual elements that connect the various contributions and briefly presenting the context and setting of each of them. A final, concluding chapter summarizes the main lessons derived from the contents of the volume, and formulates a roadmap for more knowledge on the dynamics of the tourism system. The ultimate challenge is the full integration of cultural tourism as an axis of spatial policy at local, regional and trans-national level. The book therefore opens up new perspectives and brings together tangible and intangible heritage in a discussion on territorial cohesion and cultural identity. Knowledge about these processes is believed to constitute a lifeline for the future development of cultural tourism.

Part I. Introduction

SPATIAL PATTERNS: FACTORS AND CONSEQUENCES

Gerda K. Priestley

As an initial step within the overall objectives of the book to examine the processes involving cultural heritage, the first part focuses on the analysis and interpretation of spatial patterns of culture motivated tourism at different scales, ranging from the historical centre of a city to regional, national and sub-continental dimensions. Certainly, without reliable and detailed data on the spatial use patterns of cultural attractions and on tourists' behavior in destinations, it is difficult to pinpoint imbalances, which may eventually lead to points of tension and conflict that contribute to the degradation of the heritage element in question, to a reduction of the quality of the tourism product and the visitor's experience, and also to missed opportunities on the supply side. As a corollary, a lack of knowledge of the spatial patterns makes it difficult to understand the processes involved and hence also to establish both suitable and strategic policies and plans.

The first two chapters focus on methodological advances in data collection and the analysis of visitors' spatial use patterns in two cities: in the historical center of Ghent, Belgium (Chapter 1) and in the Old City of Akko, Israel (Chapter 2). Likewise, both contributions make detailed reference to specific applications of **Geographical Information Systems** (GIS), which have been used in tourism studies since the early 1990s and are now universally recognized as a powerful tool for the creation, management, analysis, and representation of spatial data (Farsari and Prastacos, 2004; Coccossis and Constanoglou, 2005). Both of the studies presented make reference to the application of this technology at a local scale, although an important difference exists between the two. In the case of Ghent, more traditional survey methods were used for data collection, while GIS technology was applied in the posterior analysis of the results. In contrast, in Akko, the tool was used for data collection, through the tracking of visitors' movements via satellite transmitted geo-referenced data. In both cases the authors consider that empirical and explorative study of this nature can contribute to a fuller understanding of the role of cultural resources in shaping local identities and tourism dynamics by providing geo-referenced data and an in-depth analysis of the interaction between visitors and the environment.

A new dimension is introduced in Chapter 3, through the analysis of infrastructure provision and use patterns in the region of Venice. The major cultural attractions are concentrated on the microscopic lagoon islands that compose the city of Venice, undoubtedly a benchmark in historical city centers, due to the wealth of its heritage and its unique site and situation. As a result, the city suffers from “over-success”, and, in these circumstances, Venice’s functional tourist region has expanded to absorb the ever increasing demand for accommodation that the city centre has been unable to satisfy. The author examines not only the pattern of development, but also pinpoints some of the ensuing problems, for, in many cases, the surrounding municipalities simply act as tourist “dormitory towns” for Venice, in spite of the undoubted attractiveness of their own hinterlands. The resulting positive and negative impacts of the process of commodification of culture for tourism on the Venice region is discussed and the key issues raised is the extent to which this can be considered desirable and/or sustainable.

Chapter 4 focuses on the network of Jewish cultural heritage in Spain, in which the key to its development is the recognition of the intrinsic value of a spatially articulated heritage complex over its component parts. Hence, the circumstances depicted essentially constitute the antithesis of the preceding chapters. Here, the concentration of a rich cultural heritage in a reduced area, characteristic of the first three examples, is replaced by a diffuse heritage, largely devoid of icons capable of acting as magnets and concentrating demand. The case study examines the network of Jewish cultural heritage in Spain, in which the key to its development is the recognition of the intrinsic value of a spatially articulated heritage complex over its component parts. The challenges are obviously totally different: the problem of excess visitation does not exist; on the contrary, considerable efforts must be made to develop and promote the product. Certainly, tourist demand is much lower, but such a network leads to a much more sustainable visitation pattern, contributes to the conservation and valorization of many heritage elements and to economic development and cross-cultural cohesion and awareness.

In Chapter 5, the scale of analysis is sub-continental, as focus is placed on the spatial patterns of Spanish package tourism in India. The main objective is to identify the factors that condition these patterns, highly concentrated on a limited number of routes in which icon monuments and sites are fundamental determinants, not only of the routes followed but of the location of accommodation and other infrastructures. Constraints emanating from certain characteristics of potential demand, effective supply and government policy have led to a situation of retro-alimentation in the form of a vicious circle, which together hamper tourism development in the country. Thus, in spite of the wealth and diversity of Indian culture, many potential resources remain untapped. Finally, the authors identify some keys to breaking this vicious circle, in the realms of government policy and product planning and development.

Gerda K. Priestley

Chapter 1

VISITING PATTERNS IN HISTORIC CITYSCAPES: A CASE STUDY IN GHENT, BELGIUM

Myriam Jansen-Verbeke and Els Lievois

ABSTRACT

This chapter includes results of an empirical study in Ghent, a historic city in Flanders, endowed with a rich cultural heritage. The role of the historical buildings, monuments and churches goes far beyond the vocation of being landmarks in the tourist's mental map. Their location in the urban setting indeed plays a crucial role in shaping the space use patterns of visitors. Through the analysis of the walking tracks of different types of visitors, the interaction between people and place comes into focus. This implies methodological experimenting in terms of registering and mapping geo-referenced data, starting from a field survey. The main challenge lies in matching the data on space use of visitors with a correct interpretation of their activities, motives and appreciations. The case study in Ghent illustrates how territorial coherence of cultural heritage elements can be a strong asset in structuring the urban touristscape. The use of GIS to analyze and map the dynamics of interaction patterns opens new perspectives for the strategic planning of tourist destinations, and as such a highly recommendable and innovative policy tool.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to contribute to a better understanding of the role of heritage elements in the process of place identity building and in the planning and management of a coherent historic cityscape. Beyond the description of urban spatial patterns of cultural assets and tourist attractions, the question to be addressed now is the hybrid impact of heritage landmarks, cultural icons and urban facilities on visitors' use of space. In fact, the role of historic elements in the genesis of urban touristscapes has been widely acknowledged, albeit rarely studied empirically (Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois, 2004; Van der Duim, 2005).

Heritage, whether tangible or intangible, is not simply an added value or asset to the overall visit experience, but rather plays a crucial and complex role in the dynamics of urban tourism.

The step from the usual descriptive or inventory studies on cultural tourism in the city to an analytical approach focusing on the interaction between place, people and product implies a redefinition of the concept of “territorial cohesion”. The study of the historic city as a tourism subsystem that forms part of, and is integrated in, the urban system, requires an analysis at the micro level that includes both the characteristics of the built environment (the hardware) and the way it is being used, perceived and appreciated by the various groups of urban visitors (Ashworth, 2006).

The attraction of the past in the visitor’s gaze can ideally be attested within a time and space framework. The time and space paths that visitors trace and their appreciation differ according to their vision of the city: the city seen as the scene for daily life, the city as a leisure environment and the city as a stage for public events. The impact of these different contexts was demonstrated through a comparative study of the results of two surveys carried out in the inner city of Ghent, the first of which focused on the “Ghent festivities” a traditional, annual ten day event that takes place in summer, and the second on the “day visitor” to the inner city (Jansen-Verbeke, 2004b).

The innovative methodology of this case study lies in the matching and mapping of two distinct geo-referenced data sets: the indicators of tangible cultural heritage and the indicators of space use (activities and paths) by different groups of visitors.

CULTURAL RESOURCES FOR TOURISM

Many attempts have been made to sharpen the definitions of cultural tourism (Mc Kercher and du Cros, 2002; Richards, 2001). This has led to a consensus about the multidimensionality of the phenomenon, as a result of which the traditional view of the supply/demand dichotomy no longer seems adequate. Clearly this axis is too simplistic to involve and explain the different dimensions of cultural tourism. The analysis of the tourism system requires stepping beyond a production/consumption dichotomy (Ateljevic, 2000). Motivation, expectations and knowledge about the destination prior to the visit, are characteristics of the demand side. In addition, the “experience” factor plays an important role albeit still poorly defined in the appreciation of a cultural setting or even a staged scene (as in the case of events and festivities). Experiences are, by definition, linked with places and patterns of activities (Ashworth *et al.*, 2007). The latter can be measured in terms of time and space use.

The study of territorial aspects of cultural assets and their impact at a regional and local scale (e.g. within an inner city) is based on common concepts and faces similar challenges (ESPON, 2006), namely:

- Defining and mapping cultural indicators
- Tracing the specific interaction and interdependency of cultural assets that constitute the identity of a region or a place
- Searching for and managing the dynamics of cultural potentials, which in many cases is geared towards the creation of a tourism image and vocation

- Understanding how past and present conservation policies of national and local authorities are shaping the present urban morphology and touristscape.

The analysis of the territorial cohesion of cultural resources can start with the mapping of the spatial patterns of tangible elements, such as monuments, landscapes and museums, and the physical networks or tourist supply oriented routes connecting them. So far, most studies of the geography of urban tourism have focused on the spatial pattern of the supply side of tourist attractions and facilities. Empirical studies analyzing the link between urban morphology — cultural assets in particular — and the space use pattern of visitors tend to be rare and, as a general rule, they emphasize the uniqueness of the local context (Lew and McKercher, 2006). The studies carried out in Israeli cities by Noam Shoval and his colleagues are good examples (Shoval and Raheh, 2004; Shoval and Isaacson, 2007b). The most frequent finding is that historical cities include concentration areas of tangible heritage elements and typical cityscapes, which are considered to be the main magnets in the *Tourism Opportunity Spectrum* (TOS) (Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois, 2004; Butler and Woldbrootz, 1991).

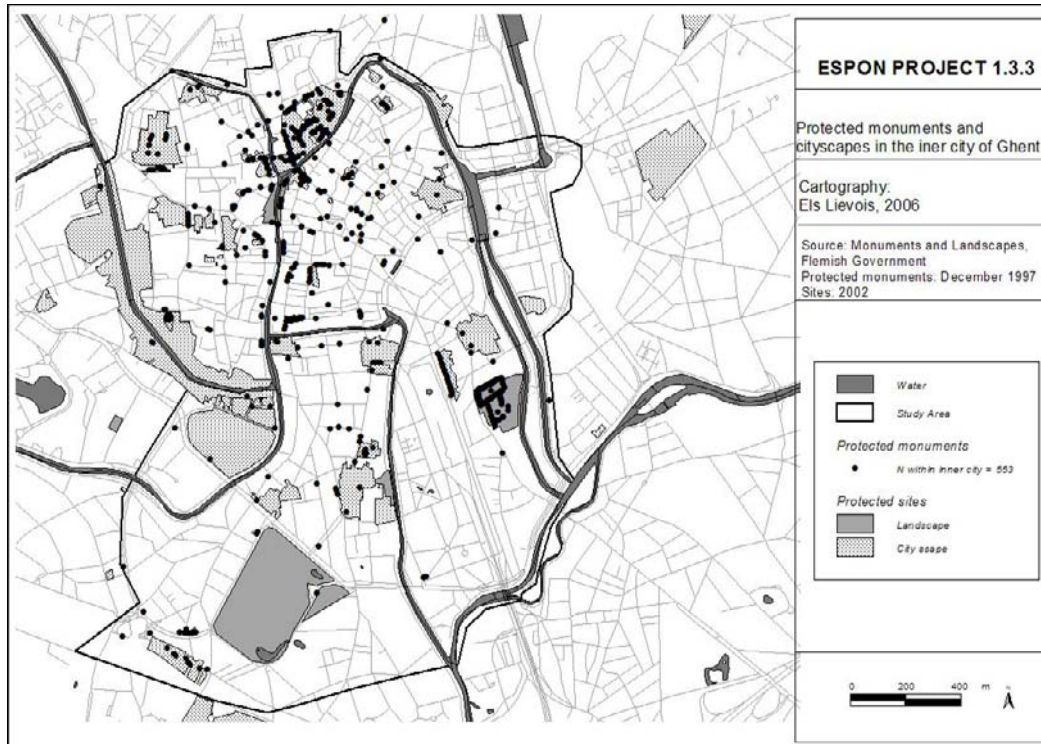
Moreover, in the process of city marketing and imaging of places, spatial constructs and icons are used as a key input (e.g. websites, tourist brochures). The way tourism is spatially organized strongly depends partly on the location and current function of historical landmarks and partly on the morphological and functional characteristics of the immediate surroundings. In addition, the imprint on the mental map of visitors is assumed to be an important factor explaining their spatial behavior pattern. This can vary from one or more single icons in the tourist's mental map to images of a historic cityscape including various elements (monuments, squares, canals and artifacts).

Historical buildings, monuments and sites offer a highly appreciated setting for a range of activities such as sightseeing, visiting a museum or monument, enjoying the scene, shopping and strolling around street markets, sensing the vitality of public spaces and events — in fact, the setting and the activity merge into a complex pattern of individual experiences. Hence, it can be hypothesized that the actual tourism function of specific urban clusters is not related to the presence or the density of heritage elements only, but also to the nature and the mix of activities in the environment and along the access routes.

ANALYSIS

The Historic City of Ghent

A high density of historical buildings marks the image of the inner city of Ghent and its outstanding attraction for tourists (Figures 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3). In comparison with other art cities in Flanders, Ghent has a rich built heritage (581 classified buildings and sites in 2000), including almost 500 monuments. The historic city has become an important destination for cultural tourists, including both day-trippers and overnight visitors. In 2001 about 603,000 overnight stays were registered, mainly for leisure motives (65% of all motives). No official statistics on the volume of day visits are available; there are only some indicative data, such as the number of visitors to historical places and museums, or enquiries at the tourist information office.



Source: Lievois, 2006 based on the list of protected monuments in December 1997, Department of Monuments and Landscapes, 2002 (last accessed: 11/11/2007).

Figure 1.1. Protected monuments and cityscapes in the inner city of Ghent.



Source: authors.

Figure 1.2. The core area of the historic city of Ghent: St Baafs Cathedral, the Belfry and St Nicolas Church.



Source: authors.

Figure 1.3. Gravensteen Castle, the main landmark in the historic city of Ghent.

In this study, the entry point to the study of urban tourism is the analysis of walking patterns (routes and activities), assuming that the appreciation of visitors does indeed affect their actual space use. Because mental mapping is known to be a dynamic learning process, the number of markers and the strength of images of the place tend to increase during the visit. Obviously the number of markers in the mental map also reflects the degree of familiarity with the place. Differences in visitors' space use patterns can be explained in terms of motives, familiarity with the place, time spending and possibly also demographic factors (Lew and McKercher, 2006).

However, in this case study, the focus lies on ways to link two datasets: the registered walking routes and activity patterns of visitors (Figure 1.6) and the projection of this geo-referenced information onto the map of the morphological and functional structure of the city (Figures 1.4 and 1.5). The experiment of combining the spatial analysis of environmental characteristics with visitors' space use patterns opens new perspectives on the role of cultural elements in the shaping of urban tourism but also on the behavioral constructs (combinations of activities). Clearly, the structural territorial coherence of cultural heritage elements in the city can be a strong asset for the development of the urban tourism landscape, especially when the clustering process is supported by the location of secondary elements, such as shops, restaurants and cafes.

The results of previous empirical studies carried out in the inner city of Ghent (Survey reports Ghent, 2003 and 2004) allow for a new interpretation of the concept of territorial coherence. In the design of the survey in Ghent (2004), a distinction was made between three groups of visitors in the inner city: the urban resident coming to the inner city, the recreational or leisure visitor coming from the urban hinterland and the tourist, staying longer and having different motives and expectations in traveling to this destination. The interaction between the environmental setting and the activities of visitors was also studied in the context of the "Ghent festivities", a yearly recurring cultural event in Ghent. In fact, other traditional

events in the city have their roots in this typical historical setting and are appreciated as an expression of “local” intangible heritage. It would therefore appear that the creative use of monuments and historical cityscapes for successful public events proves that intelligent conservation policies can indeed contribute to or even create the ideal incubation ground for cultural productivity and cultural tourism (Richards and Wilson, 2006). The issue of creating new cultural dynamics by using heritage as a product or a setting for events is now on the political agenda of many local governments not only in urban but also in rural areas (Jansen-Verbeke, 2004a).

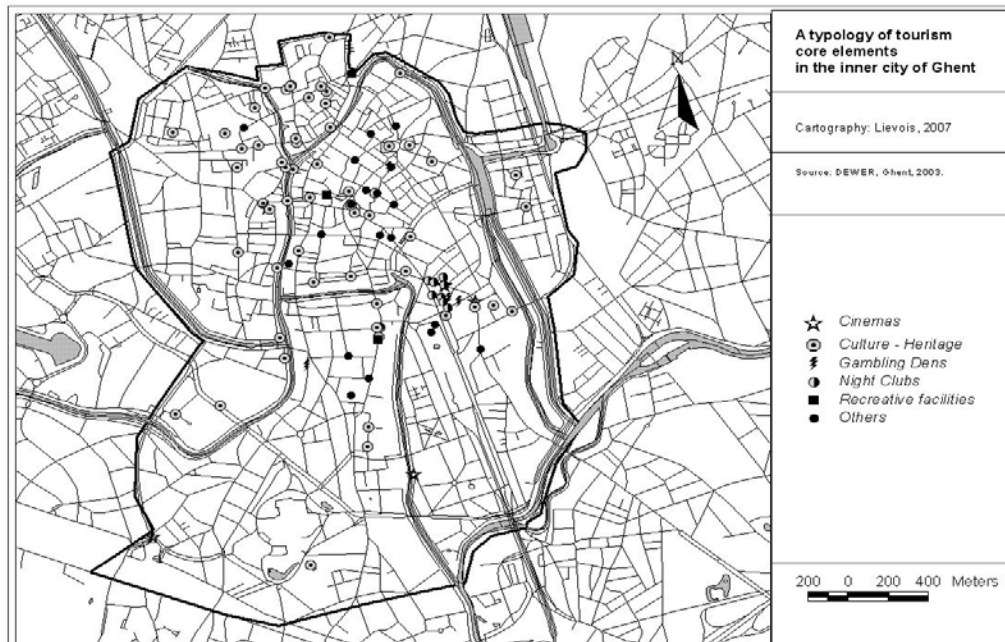
Mapping the Inner City: Research Design and Methodology

In order to scan visitors’ behavior and attitude, the survey included a dual set of variables, one referring to socio-demographics, visitation motives, expenditure, activity patterns — including activities at stopping places en route — and the other referring to spatial aspects such as walking routes, the location of activities and mental maps. Given that this chapter focuses on the results rather than the methodology, only brief reference will be made to the way the spatial data were imported into GIS and translated into indicators of space use. An important decision that had to be taken at the outset was the choice of the most appropriate scale level for data collection on cultural indicators, taking into consideration the study’s objectives. In this case, geo-referenced data of all the spatial variables were required, both for the location of historical buildings and cityscapes, on the one hand, and the space use patterns of visitors, on the other. As is usually the case, two conditions had to be met when introducing the geo-referenced data into GIS:

- For each monument, museum, facility, shop, etc., the geo-referenced database required one or more location element (NUTS code, postal code, place name, street name, house number)
- Consequently, it was essential to have access to a reference database with sufficient spatial precision and location information (e.g. a polygon database of European regions and corresponding NUTS codes, a street file with address ranges, US Streets style)

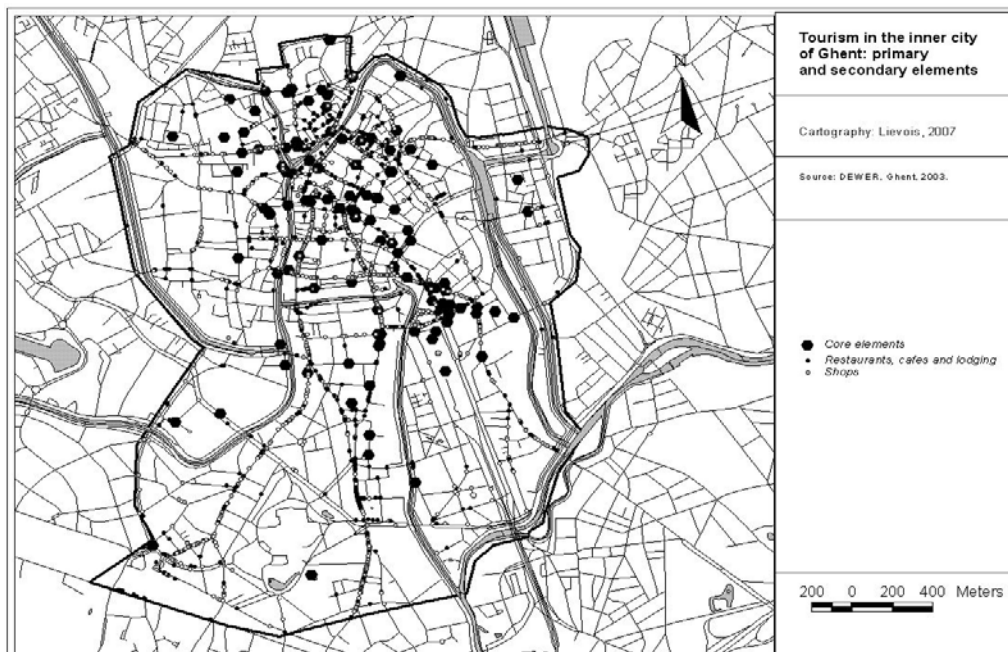
The inventory of monuments, museums and places to visit was based on a tourist map, tourist information brochures and the official website of the City. The core elements of the urban tourism product were located by means of a geo-referenced data file, with address ranges. The mapping of the historical buildings (churches, castles, abbeys, beguinages, etc.), sightseeing objects and cultural facilities — often devoid of a postal address — required a manual data import, using different cartographic references. A similar method was applied to import the address file of restaurants, cafes and shops. The resulting maps clearly underline the fact that the inner city of Ghent is indeed the main concentration area for both tourism core elements (Figures 1.1 and 1.4) and secondary elements (Figures 1.4 and 1.5) in the TOS.

As already noted, Figure 1.1 depicts the location of protected monuments and cityscapes in the city of Ghent. In the light of culture and heritage tourism, this is an indicator of the morphological strength of the inner city for tourism.



Source: elaboration of Lievois, 2007, of data from DEWER (Department of Economy and Employment – City of Ghent).

Figure 1.4. Tourism core elements in the inner city of Ghent.



Source: elaboration of Lievois, 2007, of data from DEWER (Department of Economy and Employment – City of Ghent).

Figure 1.5. Tourism in the inner city of Ghent: primary and secondary elements.

While most protected buildings and cityscapes are located in the northern part of the inner city, it is noteworthy that Ghent's two beguinages are situated on the periphery of the inner city, the smaller one in the southeast and the larger one (St. Elisabeth's) in the northeast. In fact, beguinages and belfries in Flanders have been on the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites since 1998 and are gradually becoming icons for cultural tourism. Likewise, several districts in the inner city are now classified as protected cityscapes. Buildings that house a primary visitor activity constitute core elements for tourism (Figure 1.4) and they are classified according to the typology of an inner city as a leisure product (Jansen-Verbeke, 1986). They can be culture related, such as museums or heritage sites organized for tourist use, or related to the entertainment sector such as gambling halls, cinemas, night clubs, etc. As in the case of the protected monuments, such culture and heritage related attractions tend to be situated in the northern part of the inner city. Obviously this can partly be explained by the location of the historical buildings and sites, but it also demonstrates that this morphological aspect of urban space that makes it prone to tourism, is strengthened by this functional aspect of the urban fabric. The northern region could therefore be expected to attract a considerable proportion of all tourist flows and must eventually be pinpointed as a key factor in explaining the pattern of these flows.

In addition to the core elements, Figure 1.5 shows some supporting facilities for tourism, such as shops, restaurants and cafes. The historical attraction cluster in the northern part of the inner city therefore resembles a spider's web made up of auxiliary facilities, capable of catching the tourist prey. In fact, the location pattern of restaurants and cafes in and around the historic cityscape and the core attractions for tourists, on the one hand, and along the main access roads to the heart of the city, on the other, is not a unique characteristic. It is a recurring pattern that would apply to most historical cities with a tourism vocation.

Mapping Urban Visitors' Space Use

The visitor survey was carried out in the inner city in the period from April to June 2003 (N=1133). Commuters to the inner city for the purposes of work or daily shopping were excluded from the sample. The target group was the "daytime visitor" only, thus also excluding the specific clientele of the inner city during evening time. Three subgroups were distinguished in the sample: residents of Ghent visiting their inner city (but not for work or daily shopping); recreationists and tourists. The survey was designed to identify the socio-demographics of the respondents in relation to their space use of the inner city. The hypothesis was that each of the three groups would have different motives, expectations and anticipated activities, which would eventually affect their space use patterns (walking routes and activities at stopping points).

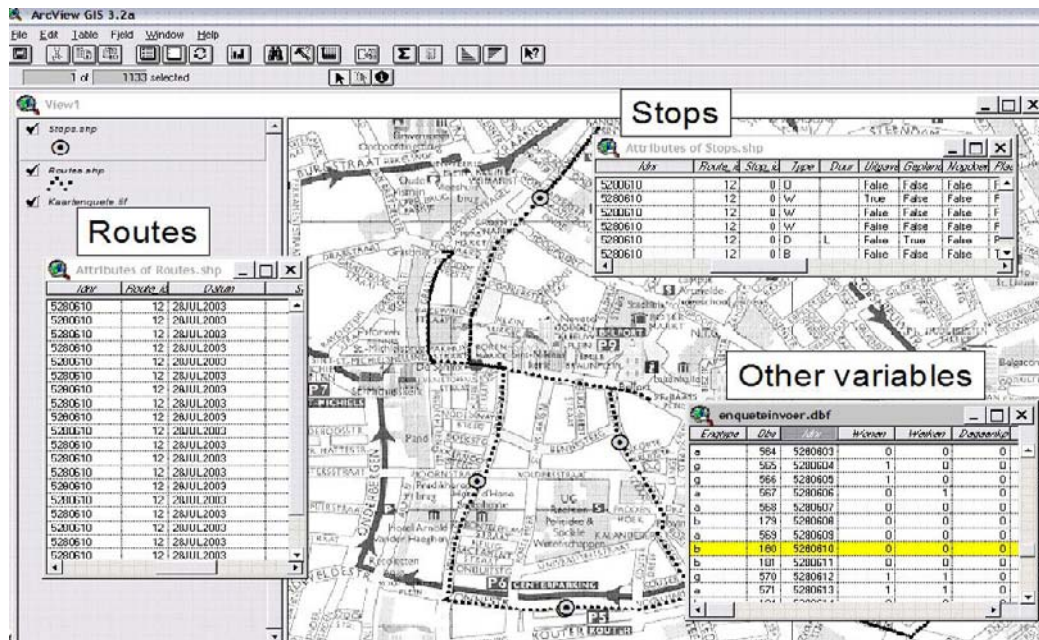
The first objective of the survey was to map, for each respondent, the walking route followed and the location of the various activities undertaken. The survey also included a number of open questions referring to the appreciation of specific sites. Table 1.1 includes a list of the activities and a resume of the results.

Non-spatial data were imported onto a spreadsheet. The walking route of each respondent was registered (in ArcView 3.2) as a sequence of linear segments, and the stopping places were likewise registered as a point pattern.

Table 1.1. Urban visitors' activities

Activity	% of the Residents	% of the Recreationists	% of the Tourists
Non-daily shopping / services	60.32	65.93	45.45
Sightseeing / walking	52.70	46.04	58.55
Enjoying the "atmosphere"	42.22	33.33	34.55
Visiting a pub/ pavement café	33.65	32.96	39.63
Eating out / restaurant	12.06	15.10	41.09
Visiting a museum, monument, places of interest	3.49	3.86	29.18
Visiting friends and relatives	9.52	7.73	5.45
Meeting new people	4.13	4.60	2.55
Visiting street market(s)	1.27	2.58	1.45
Attending performances: theatre, music, cinema	0.63	1.29	1.45
Attending a conference	0.32	0.92	1.09
Events	-	0.02	1.45
N= 1133	315	543	275

Source: authors, survey conducted in Ghent, April-June 2003.



Source: authors' field-work conducted in Ghent, 2004 (Sample N = 248).

Figure 1.6. Input of walking routes and activities at stopping points in GIS file.

This resulted in the construction of three different data files that could be joined by means of a unique ID for each respondent. An example of the input for one respondent is depicted in Figure 1.6.

Impact of Cultural Heritage and Facilities on Motives and Activity Patterns

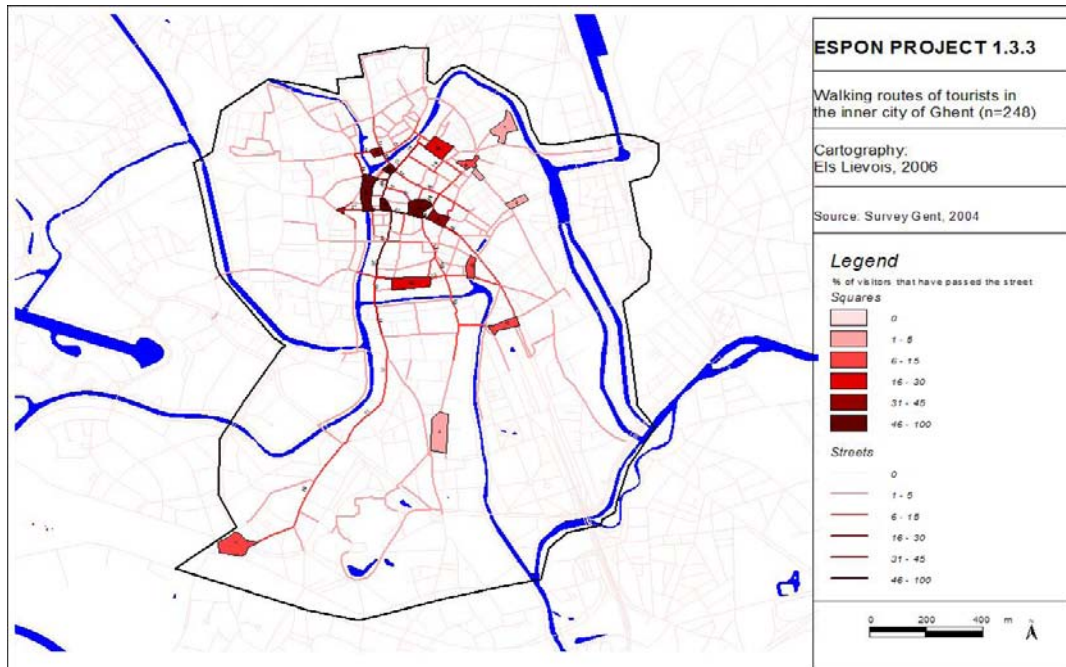
Taking into account the design of the survey, the motives of the three subgroups of respondents needed to be distinguished: about 28% of the tourists intended to visit historical places or museums, whereas this hardly played a role for recreationists (3%) and residents (2%). This is directly reflected in the activity patterns. Shopping is the recreationist's main motive for going to the city centre, in combination with an occasional visit to a pub. Visits to historical places are rarely on the agenda of this type of visitor. From the survey it could also be concluded that visiting a museum or a historical site is an activity that is typically planned in advance, whereas shopping and pub visits tended to constitute an impulsive reaction to intervening opportunities — "decided on the spot". It should be remembered that, since the survey was targeted at the daytime visitor, no information about evening activities and attendance at cultural performances was registered.

As could be expected, sightseeing is the most frequently mentioned activity of tourists (60%). This confirms the interpretation that the historical scene is far more important as an attraction factor than the actual range of activities that can take place in this setting. As a consequence, the conservation of historical buildings and sites and the quality of public space, in particular, play a crucial role in the appreciation of tourists.

Impact of Cultural Heritage and Facilities on Space Use Patterns

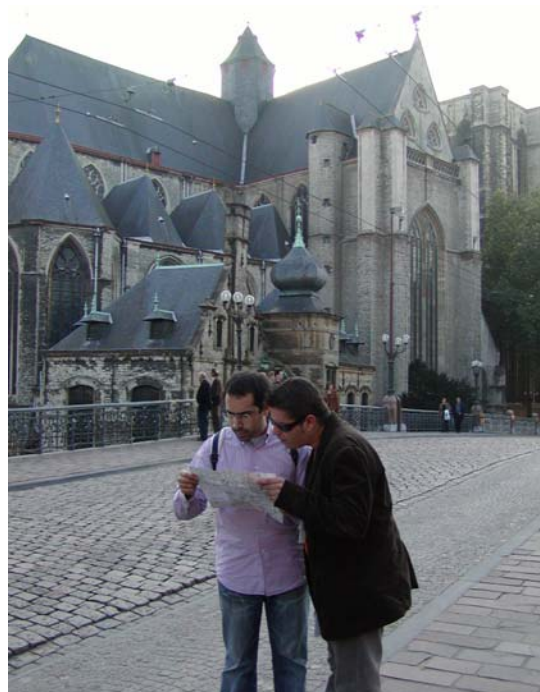
The initial assumption is that visitors' walking routes in the city are an indication of their motives, expectations and familiarity with the place (their mental map), although sensitiveness to environmental impulses also exerts some influence. However, as the focus of this analysis is the observation of spatial patterns, a more in-depth analysis of a possible causality between perception and behaviour is not included here.

The tourist space appears to be highly concentrated, as can be seen on the corresponding map (Figure 1.7.) The historical core area is "the place to be" for tourists, while other interesting, but slightly more peripheral, clusters of historical buildings and sites (e.g. the two Beguinages) seem to exert a much lower power of attraction on tourists. The main stopping places along the walking routes of tourists are the Belfry and the three churches in the historical core area (St Michael, St Nicholas and St Baafs Cathedrals) (Figure 1.8). According to the time-space paths of tourists, other points of interest are the area around the Gravensteen Castle, Alijn Folklore Museum and St Jacob's church.



Source: authors' field work conducted in Ghent, 2004 (Sample N = 248).

Figure 1.7. Tourists' walking routes in the inner city of Ghent.



Source: authors.

Figure 1.8. St Michaels bridge, a historic cityscape in the inner city of Ghent.

Impact of Cultural Heritage and Facilities on the Appreciation of the Inner City

The differences in the mental map of the three subgroups of visitors are a logical outcome of their degree of familiarity with the place, measured in terms of the frequency of previous visits to the inner city. In addition, the respondents' images and appreciation were strongly related to the activities undertaken. Tourists demonstrated a great affinity with the cultural icons of the city. For recreationists in the city, the main shopping district and the new shopping centre to the south of the inner city constituted important elements structuring their spatial behavior. It is no surprise that the images of the inner city held by the Ghent residents were more diversified, as was their appreciation for different districts within the inner city.

However, the ranking of the five most important landmarks was similar among the respondents in all three subgroups. This suggests a firm consensus in terms of appreciation of the historical buildings and the picturesque cityscapes. The favorite spots for residents and recreationists alike are marked by the liveliness and diversity of shops, pubs and restaurants, all adding to the power of attraction of the historic cityscape.

The results of the survey have also made it possible to identify problem areas in the city, areas that are less attractive to all types of visitors and virtually excluded from the tourist-walking zone. Some downgraded streets in the surroundings of a railway station (Dampoort) emerge as a zone that is badly in need of a strategic revitalization scheme, which would serve to connect the historical area of the inner city with a new urban prestige project, known as "Portus Ganda".

CONCLUSION

The wealth of heritage resources in the city of Ghent explains to a large extent its power of attraction on visitors. The tourist opportunity spectrum includes a range of activities and experiences based on the combination of heritage buildings, historical cityscapes, museums, cultural facilities, events and public festivities. In addition, the attraction of shopping opportunities in a historical setting or near a historical site adds strong dynamism to urban tourism.

Not only are the conservation policies of the past paying off, but also the productivity of using heritage assets in an economic and strategic way (Russo, 2002b). Yet the structural gap between cultural conservation policies and incentives for cultural dynamics needs to be bridged. This cross sectional task implies that models for a creative use of cultural resources need to be unique and innovative in order to be competitive in the cultural tourism market (Richards and Wilson, 2006).

The specific context of the multifunctional inner city must be taken into account in every study of urban tourism dynamics. Identification of the role of cultural heritage in the development of the urban tourism landscape needs to go far beyond the spatial analysis of urban morphology and visitors' walking routes. Mapping both data sets is only a first step in the study of territorial coherence. The results derived from empirical studies can reveal the real dynamics of a place endowed with heritage assets. Surely the cultural policies of a place cannot rely only on the presence of a high density of historical buildings (characteristics of the hardware), but need to be pro-active in making decisions about new uses for historic

buildings for public or commercial purposes? In most places there is a lack of valid data and updated information on the uses of cultural heritage and, above all, about the incentives emanating from the intangible elements of heritage. The creation of synergies between different cultural resources is at the exploration stage and very much depends on local leadership. The building of a sustainable cultural economy is experimental and in many cities not yet imbedded in the local governance structures and policies.

More creativity is also expected in the process of image building, referring to the selection of cultural icons with the capacity to actually penetrate in the mental map of tourism marketers and tourists. The importance of these landmarks and icons on the eventual time and space use in the destination has been demonstrated; surely there are many reasons to invest in the software and inspired narratives to support destination marketing strategies.

In terms of research perspectives, the conclusion of this empirical and explorative study is that a full understanding of the process of cultural resources shaping local identities and tourism dynamics requires the availability of and access to geo-referenced data and an in-depth analysis of the interaction between visitors and the environment. Both the surveys in Ghent (2003, 2004) were labor-intensive and innovative experiments in mapping geo-referenced data sets. The usefulness of the surveys' results is an incentive to continue this line of spatial research into the dynamic role of cultural heritage in the building of urban tourism-scapes.

The test-case in Ghent proved to be most inspiring for local policymakers. However the principles and procedures for a research-based monitoring system require further elaboration and, above all, need to be tested in terms of feasibility. For short-term policies such as the implementing of a visitor management plan, signposting for a visitor-friendly pedestrian route or the drawing up of upgrading plans for "weak" links in the historic cityscape this type of micro-scale empirical research holds valuable clues. However, most case studies, including this one, have a limited potential for drawing general conclusions. In terms of destination management, some practical recommendations can be made to the local authorities about urban zoning and planning of routes, about traffic management and pedestrianization, licenses for pubs and shops, etc. Structural collaboration across the sectors between different local organizations and departments such as culture, events, tourism, economy and retail commerce in order to outline a common viewpoint or consensus on the future of the historic cityscape, would appear to be further away. The winds are blowing from different directions, which makes navigation (often without a compass) difficult.

Understanding the way people, place and product interact is a prime condition for a strategic and sustainable decision-making process on the part of public authorities with respect to their actions as heritage stewards. The dynamic interaction between the historic setting and its multiple meanings in the economic and social context remains a field that is wide open for much more multidisciplinary and empirical research.

Chapter 2

**THE ROLE OF LOCAL ICONS IN TOURISTS' SPATIAL
BEHAVIOR: A CASE STUDY OF THE OLD CITY OF
AKKO, ISRAEL**

Noam Shoval

ABSTRACT

Recent technological developments have produced a range of sophisticated and readily available digital tracking technologies, of which the best known is the Global Positioning System (GPS). Yet, despite this remarkable surge in technology, researchers in the field of tourism studies have failed to take full advantage of what these relatively new systems have to offer. Tracking technologies are able to provide high-resolution spatial and temporal data that could potentially aid, augment, and advance research in various areas within the field of tourism studies. This article discusses the viability of using aggregative data obtained from GPS receivers in order to understand the impact of visitors on cities better and, in addition, to highlight both the possibilities and the difficulties implied in the application of GPS technology in urban tourism research projects. The study presented in this article was carried out during 2004 in the Old City of Akko (Israel), a World Heritage Site since 2002.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter develops a methodological tool for the infra-local analysis of visitors' use of heritage resources. The methodology, embedded in space-time geography and the use of mapping for the multidimensional analysis of visitor behavior, relies on the possibility of collecting a large amount of data on visitor flows in a delimited study area, on the one hand, and of reconstructing sequences of location data relative to each visitor. The first issue is solved with satellite-tracking technologies and especially GPS generated tracks, the value of which has been illustrated in previous works of this author, such as Shoval and Isaacson

(2006). The second is solved through a procedure of sequence alignment, treated in Shoval and Isaacson (2007a).

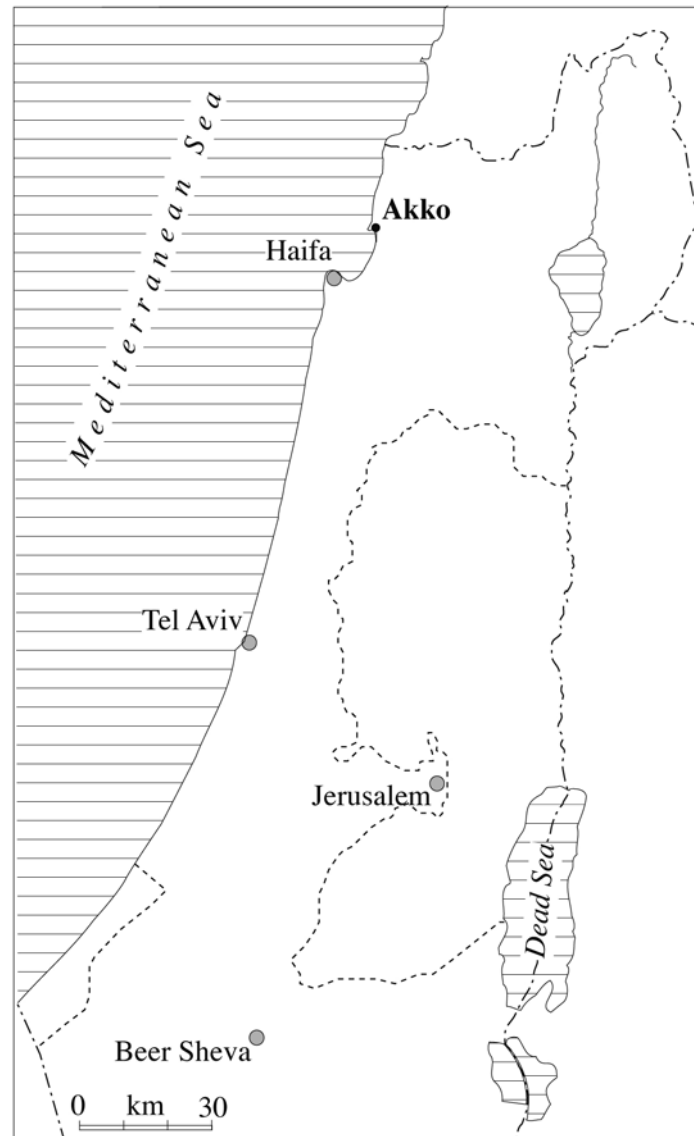
Through these methods, which are being applied with increasing frequency in geographical studies, it is possible to address with a great accuracy some topical issues in the context of this book. The results of this case study can be generalized to cast new light on the constraints to heritage valorization by visitors; on the geography of consumption and congestion in a heritage-based attraction area; and on the potential impact of planning tools (gateways, transit, markers, signaling systems, fencing, etc.) which could enhance the “use patterns” of a territory to achieve greater sustainability and higher levels of visitor satisfaction. The integration of this level of analysis in the general framework of the volume largely based on results of the ESPON project 1.3.3, which uses mostly regional data contributes towards a better comprehension of “invisible” elements of territorial differentiation on the role and effects of cultural resources.

THE STUDY AREA AND RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Nestled on Israel’s Mediterranean shore (Figure 2.1), Akko (Acre) has been continuously inhabited for the last four millennia and is, therefore, today one of the oldest urban centres in the world. Currently 25 percent of the city’s 45,000 residents are of Arab origin and most of them are still concentrated in the Old City that is inhabited by about 8,000 residents. For many years, the Old City has been considered to be one of the densest and poorest boroughs in Israel (State of Israel, 2007). Besides its social and economic problems, Akko’s Old City is best known today for its extraordinarily well-preserved underground Crusader city. It also boasts other numerous and interesting archaeological sites, plus a working fishermen’s wharf and a typical Middle Eastern market (suq). Akko is an uncharged place in terms of religious conflicts among the three monotheistic religions in the Holy Land, since the city is neither a sacred area nor a focus of pilgrimage for any of these religions. However as a ‘compensation’ for this ‘deficit’, it is the holiest place upon earth for the Baha’i religion¹, since the founder of the faith, the Baha’ullah, was imprisoned in the fortress of Akko in 1868 by the Ottomans and was later confined by them to the city and its environs. Baha’ullah died in 1892 and was buried in the grounds of his mansion house (Bahji Palace) in the vicinity of Akko, which is the holiest spot in the world for Baha’i believers (Cohen, 1972).

In 2001, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) added Akko’s Old City to its list of World Heritage sites. Due to its tourist potential, the State of Israel has been trying for decades to develop the city as a destination for cultural tourism. However, the fact that the inhabitants of the Old City are mainly Arabs of Muslim faith has meant that the development of tourism has become a complex and politically charged process, since a dominantly Jewish state is developing an Arab-Muslim locality with abundant Crusader-Christian heritage, in order to market it for visitors that are usually from either Christian or Jewish backgrounds.

¹ The Baha’i Faith is the youngest of the world’s independent religions. It has about five million followers around the world. Its founder, Baha’ullah (1817-1892), is regarded by Baha’i believers as the most recent in the line of Messengers of God that stretches back beyond recorded time and includes Abraham, Moses, Buddha, Krishna, Zoroaster, Jesus and Muhammad.



Source: author.

Figure 2.1. The location of Akko within Israel.

The issue of street name indication exemplifies the contested tourism development process in the Old City. In 2002, the Akko Development Company (ADC), a governmental company with a mandate to develop the Old City as a tourist destination, began to mark the streets and alleys of the Old City with name plaques inspired by the ‘history’ of the city (Figure 2.2). The decisions on the specific names had already been made in the 1950s and 1960s by the municipality’s street naming committee. No part of this process was undertaken in consultation with the residents of the Old City who had constituted an ethnic and religious minority within the municipality of Akko since 1948.

As a result, the Old City residents do not use the city’s official names; in fact, they have termed these names “the streets’ foreign names”. Instead they use the original names which

were passed down from one generation to another as a form of “oral law”. Most residents are not familiar with the new names given to the streets; for them, locations are identified by the names of the Arab neighbourhoods utilized in the past, central locations within the neighbourhoods such as important buildings, prominent families or stores that are known to everyone. Hence, the ignoring of local Arab heritage, as reflected in the failure to retain Arab names, has created a sense of alienation among local residents.

Development by the ADC in the Old City has been concentrated almost exclusively on the tourist sites, so the city’s poor socio-economic situation, including problems of crime, drugs and violence, has not been addressed adequately and continues to exist. The comment that “the ADC invests in stones rather than people” was a recurring quote heard during field work.

This chapter will present the current tourist consumption pattern in the Old City of Akko obtained by using advanced tracking technologies. This pattern can be expected to be highly uneven due to the development patterns implemented by the ADC in the Old City in recent decades. The chapter will also attempt to demonstrate the potential capacity of one particular tracking technology to undertake aggregative analysis, focusing on the case of tourism management policies in cities, and using the Old City of Akko as an example. By using GPS devices, which provide both high resolution and extremely accurate data, to track pedestrian visitors, it was possible to pinpoint two key research objectives: the extent to which new insights on visitor activities in a city can be obtained through this type of analysis; and detailed information on how the city as a whole is consumed by its visitors.



Source: author.

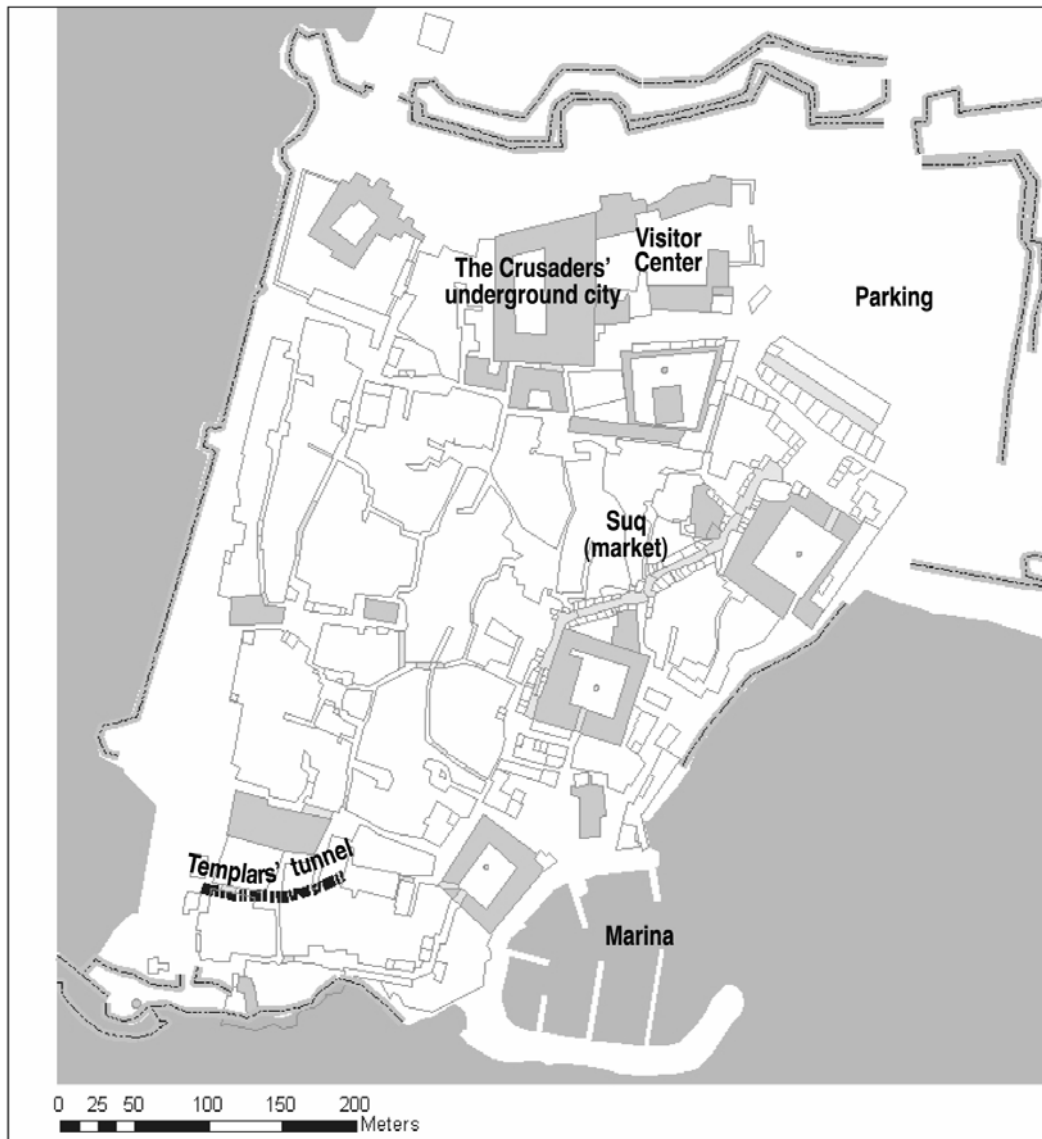
Figure 2.2. A new street sign placed by the Akko Development Company.

DATA COLLECTION METHODOLOGY

The Old City of Akko served as an ideal laboratory for testing the implementation of high resolution spatial data collection tools for urban tourism analysis, since, with the exception of one youth hostel, Akko's Old City provides no tourist accommodation. As a result, visitors to the town rarely stay overnight, preferring only to spend a couple of hours visiting the local sites. This is obviously not very beneficial for the city's economy, but it proved to be of great advantage as far as data collection was concerned, as it made it possible to log the location of those visitors who had agreed to take part in the study at a very high frequency throughout their entire brief tour of the town. Akko offers a further advantage in terms of collecting data, as its Old City has a clearly marked main entrance (Figure 2.3) a circumstance that made the process of distributing and collecting the GPS location kits much easier.

In order to compile a sample group a stand was erected alongside the Old City's Visitor Center information booth. The center itself, flanking the entrance to the town's famed underground Crusaders' Halls, is usually the first stop on the itinerary for most visitors, not least because most of Akko's more celebrated sites cannot be visited without the purchase of a ticket at the Visitor Center. Indeed, only those visitors who had purchased tickets to the archeological sites run by the ADC were approached and asked to participate in the study. Of these, the few who had already spent some time in the Old City were rejected as viable subjects, since their tracks would obviously not mirror their entire visit. Participants were asked to do two things: (a) carry a location kit throughout their entire walk through the town and (b) fill in a questionnaire at the end of their tour. Hence each individual who agreed to take part in the experiment (and it should be noted that only one in ten refused) was furnished with a specially designed harness, containing both an Emtac CruxII Bluetooth GPS receiver and a pocket P.C. The receiver was secured by a strap in such a way that, without any adjustments or annoyance to the holder, it was perpetually exposed to the sky. This "passive" receiver recorded the subject's position once per second, by registering the precise altitude and exact time each location was logged, information that it transferred instantly, by means of wireless Bluetooth technology, to the pocket p.c., which, in turn, logged the data. The high frequency of registration meant that if, for some reason or other, the GPS satellite signal was blocked, as is often the case in dense urban environments, it was possible to re-establish a connection quickly, and thus obtain a new reading the moment the device acquired a direct line of sight to the satellite system; this in turn meant that any breaks in the track sequences were reduced to an absolute minimum.

The data was collected on 19 non-consecutive days between June and August 2004. During this time a total of 246 visitor tracks were obtained using 9 GPS devices. Of these 112 (45.5%) tracks were discarded: (a) on technical grounds, for example, when the location kit failed to log the subject's entire track ($n=48$), owing to Akko's dense urban environment; (b) as a result of the subjects failing to complete the questionnaire ($n=20$); or (c) because the subjects decided to return the location device before completing their tour of the Old City ($n=44$). Hence a total of 134 (54.5%) tracks were deemed fit for analysis. However it is important to note that on technical grounds only about 19% of the tracks were discarded, thus demonstrating that this technology could be viable for similar investigations in the future.



Source: author.

Figure 2.3. The Old City of Akko.

VISITOR IMPACT AND MANAGEMENT IMPLICATIONS

The data obtained was used to analyze the spatial and temporal behavior of the entire body of subjects in aggregate. This analytical approach looks at the subjects' effect on the city or how the city is "consumed" by tourists as a whole. Its aim is to reveal how the urban environment is shaped by the subjects' time-space activities, but it can also be interpreted from the opposite perspective: how activities are shaped by the morphology of the place and the location of sites. Based upon aggregate, rather than single or clusters of observations, such

a spatially focused analysis can be used to identify the most popular sites and neighborhoods in town, and those ignored by visitors; or, alternatively, the routes that are well tramped and those that remain virtually unused.

In this case the high-resolution data provided by GPS was used to create a “pixilated” map of Akko, which highlighted exactly how the urban space was consumed, measuring spatial consumption by the percentage of time spent in the different locales plus the intensity of activity per cell (10m x 10m). The results obtained form the basis of posterior analysis.

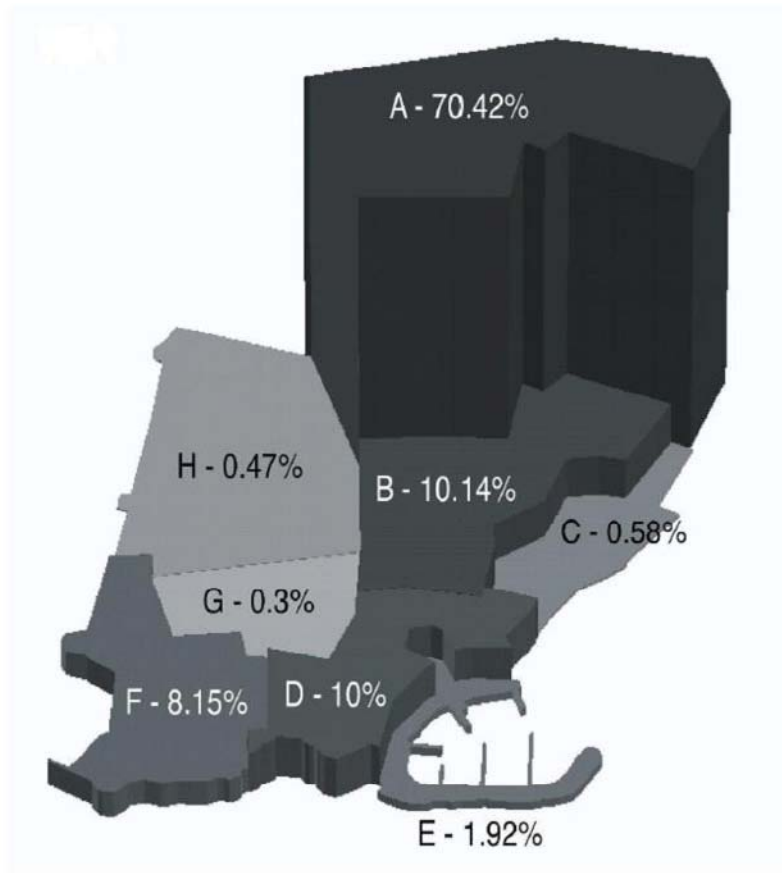
Time Distribution

The amount of time the subjects, as a whole, spent in various locations throughout out Akko's Old City is depicted in Figure 2.4. The most outstanding characteristic is the striking imbalance in the amount of time spent in each zone. The subjects spent a disproportionate amount of time (70.42%) exploring the area marked A, which includes the Visitor Center, the underground Crusaders' Halls and the contiguous Turkish Bath House. The “mobility” corridor (B, D) linking the above complex of sites to the Templars' Tunnel (F), was, in terms of aggregate time spent (10.14%) second in line; with the Templars' Tunnel a close third (10%). It should be noted that all four sites are run by the ADC and can only be entered after the purchase of a ticket at the Visitor Center. By stark contrast, there are several areas, including zones C, E, G, and H, that proved largely bereft of tourists, probably because the ADC — which, it must be remembered, is the agency that runs the town's tourist industry — has, by and large, failed to target the sites located in these neighborhoods, a curious oversight on its part, given that several of these sites are of notable interest. Consequently, only very few of the participating subjects visited the Fisherman's Wharf, located close to the Marina in zone E, while, for the vast majority, the town's western neighborhoods (G and H) remained totally unexplored. This is unfortunate and an untapped opportunity, as the latter area boasts quite a few churches and mosques of considerable charm and quality, as well as harboring a sizeable part of the town's famous seawall. It was also here that the 19th century founder of the Bahai faith spent the latter decades of his life, after being exiled to Akko by the Ottoman authorities.

The results obtained by analyzing the way in which space is consumed could help the town's tourist authorities formulate a more reasoned tourist planning policy, aimed at managing tourist flows in a more rational manner. Such a policy could be deliberately designed to relieve the burden from the town's more congested areas, not only at key times but also in general, by, among other things, encouraging tourists to explore less crowded sites. The overall result would be a more diffuse pattern of tourist temporal and spatial activity, which would benefit both tourists and the town as a whole.

Pixelating the Town

Another means of examining temporal and spatial behavior in aggregate, one which similarly exploits the advantages of the GPS system in terms of providing accurate and high resolution data, consists of dividing the town's urban space into squares and counting the total number of signals picked up by the GPS receivers per square.

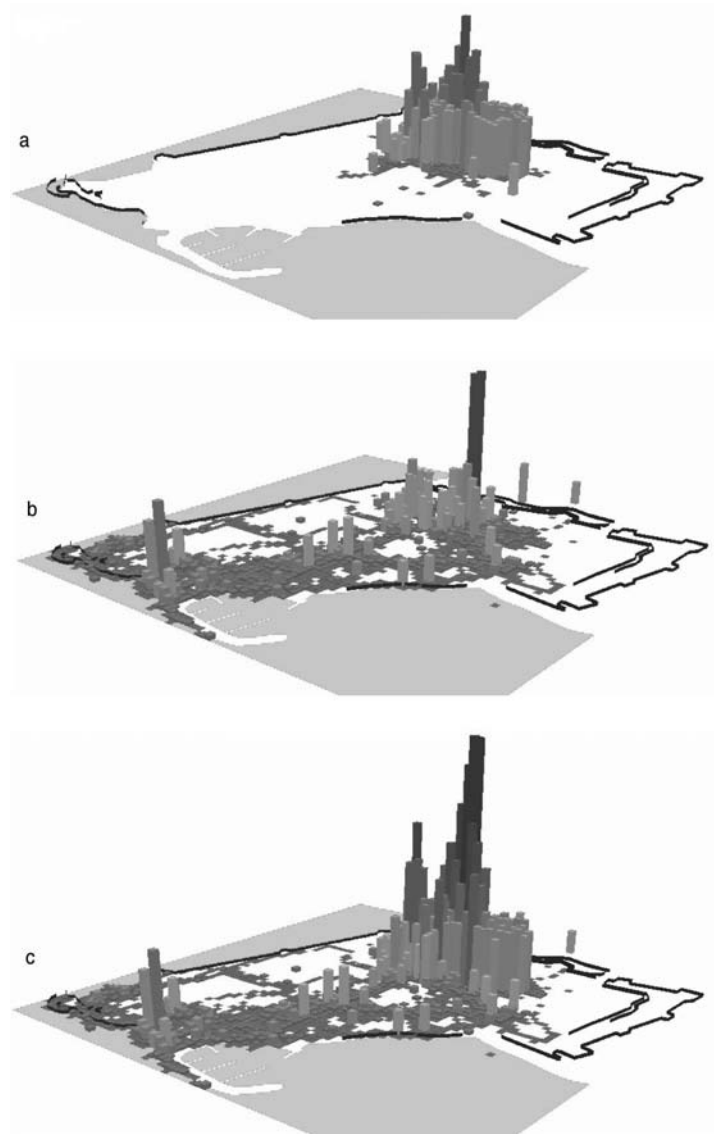


Source: author.

Figure 2.4. Time spent by visitors in the various quarters of Akko's Old City.

In the case of Akko, the Old City was divided into squares measuring 10 by 10 meters. Obviously the size of the grid's squares will always depend on the size of the urban space studied, so that the larger the scale of the study, the larger the squares required.

The results of this "pixelated" analysis are mapped in Figure 2.5. Figure 2.5c depicts the aggregate data for all visitors, clearly identifying the areas that boast high levels of concentrated tourist activity in contrast to those that plainly suffer from a dearth of tourists. Indeed, looked at as a whole, the map exposes a marked spatial imbalance between the town's different sites, an imbalance rooted in the way Akko's tourist industry has developed over the years. Of all the columns in Figure 2.5c the most prominent columns are located in the area containing the Visitor Center, the underground Crusaders' Halls and the Turkish Bath House. The figure also reveals which of the various options are the most commonly used routes linking Akko's different centers of activity. It would therefore appear that most visitors to Akko tend to set off from the Visitor Center, move in a southerly direction via the local market, and end up at the Templars' Tunnel and the restaurants alongside the marina. When the subjects who only visited the Visitor Center, Crusaders' Halls and Turkish Bath House complex are separated from those who explored the town's other sites as well, the topography of the resultant diagrams not surprisingly changes.



Key:

- a) subjects who limited their visit to a tour of the Visitor Center, Crusaders' Hall and Turkish Bath House complex
- b) all other subjects
- c) aggregate of all visitors

Note: Data is mapped in 10 x 10m. cells

Source: author.

Figure 2.5. Intensity of visitors' activity in Akko's Old City.

Thus, Figure 2.5a, based solely on the sequences of those subjects who took this more restricted tour, contains a single concentration of reasonably tall columns; while the topography of Figure 2.5b, based on the remaining sequences, is, predictably, much more diffuse.

In as much as tourist flows in Akko's Old City are dispersed unevenly throughout the town's various locales, with a great many visitors venturing no further than the Visitor Center, the Crusaders' Halls, the Turkish Bath House complex and the Templar Tunnel that are all sites run by the ADC. These findings, it should be noted, match those obtained by other similar studies that also analyzed the spatial activity of tourists in small historical areas. For example, according to Keul and Küheberger (1997) personal preferences, goals and plans, all of which play an important part in fixing most tourists' itineraries, are of little relevance when it comes to determining their activities on site (p. 1011). Indeed, tourists visiting Old Salzburg behave, as Keul and Küheberger have shown, in a manner remarkably similar to visitors exploring macro-scale, open air museums or shoppers perusing the aisles of a supermarket, which both constitute highly regulated environments. The routes in such regimented environments are often tightly — if albeit discreetly — controlled, so that people are all too frequently subtly maneuvered into making particular time-space choices: when and from where to set off, and in what direction; when, where, and for how long to stop at specified locations; when to move on and to where. In small historic cities, which, as Keul and Küheberger observed, embody an essentially similar environment, the result is an "ants-trail" structure of tourist pathways (Keul and Küheberger, *op cit.*: 1011). Not surprisingly, on the whole it is much easier to predict the flow patterns of tourists visiting small, compact tourist destinations that feature only a few attractions and possess a limited transport system, than it is to predict those of tourists wandering around vast and complex urban destinations, which boast a great many attractions and a variety of tourist accommodation options (Pearce, 1998).

Akko, as a heritage tourist town, is strongly reminiscent of Edensor's (1998) Enclave Tourist Space, which he defined as virtually self contained spaces that, in as much as they are effectively cut off from the town's local population, "shield" tourists from such local "irritants" as noxious smells, unpleasant noises, unsightly slums, and bothersome beggars. The infrastructure of these spaces is, as a rule, especially tailored to meet tourists' expectations, as is the whole tourism experience offered. This is, however, certainly not recommendable in terms of the municipality's overall social, economic, and material well-being, which would clearly benefit if tourists were encouraged to spend both time and money in other parts of the town as well. It is worth noting that virtually no visitors ventured into Akko's northeastern area in spite of the fact that it boasts a notable array of 18th century fortifications, the very fortifications that put paid to Napoleon's plan to conquer the town; and — perhaps even more surprising — despite the ADC's aggressive marketing of the area through the promotion of the so-called "Napoleonic Route". The campaign's indubitable failure, as revealed by the above data analysis, points to the way in which such digitally based tracking analyses can be used to assess the effectiveness of tourist marketing strategies.

CONCLUSION

This study has provided additional knowledge of the spatial and temporal behavior of visitors to the historic town of Akko. Such knowledge can — and should — be exploited to regulate tourist flows throughout the town more adequately. Thanks to this new GPS derived information, visitors to Akko can now be encouraged to visit previously unexplored parts of town, by, among other things, affording these sorely neglected sites greater publicity. As for

the town's more popular attractions, visitors can now be prompted to visit them at specific times. Such information will also facilitate decisions on the location of new attractions and on where to encourage the installation of private sector tourist services. In all cases, the result will be a reduction of congestion at hitherto over-crowded and over-exploited sites and an overall increase in the town's physical and social carrying capacity. Moreover, what is true for Akko holds true for other similar small-scale historic towns, all of which would benefit from similar studies with a view to revamping and rationalizing their heritage management performance. Lew and McKercher (2004) have suggested that urban tourist flows clearly have a tendency to spread themselves unevenly, both spatially and temporally. As a consequence, while the more popular sites and access routes in town often suffer from over-crowding and severe congestion, others are largely ignored and severely under-exploited. This state of affairs points to a grossly inefficient use of economic and social resources; and one which is ultimately also unsustainable. There is clearly an urgent need for tourist management schemes designed to maneuver visitors around the city in a more rational way. Such schemes would doubtlessly benefit from GPS based studies, in that, as the Akko case study has shown, GPS devices are a remarkably efficient means of collecting a mass of accurate, high-resolution data on the spatial and temporal behavior of visitors.

The lessons learnt and conclusions drawn from the Akko experiment clearly reach beyond the town of Akko itself and can be applied in other historical towns as well larger urban environments. However, this study also has several implications in relation to tourism studies as a whole. As is apparent from the results obtained in Akko, advanced tracking technologies could do much to facilitate and indeed upgrade empirical research in the field of tourism studies. In the first place, these technologies can track subjects in time and space over long periods of time, and do so reflexively, thus reducing the burden placed on the subjects to a minimum. In the second place, they provide researchers with an extremely accurate database, and, what is more, one distinguished by an extraordinarily high degree of temporal and spatial resolution.

While the enormous value albeit potential as yet of these technologies as tools for gathering data on spatial temporal behavior is more than apparent, there are nevertheless several issues that have to be dealt with before they can be fully and effectively exploited by researchers in the field of tourism studies. Firstly, there are logistic problems involved in distributing and collecting the tracking devices during the carrying out of the experiment. This often complicates research design, but it is nonetheless a problem that can be solved with a little imagination. The second issue is mainly a moral and ethical one, specifically the way in which these devices may impinge upon individuals' right to privacy. As Levy (2004: 81) puts it: "In the future our cell phones will tag and track us like FedEx packages, sometimes when we are not aware". Indeed, tracking technologies raise serious concerns with regard to infringements on privacy and add a geographical dimension to the "surveillance society" (Lyon, 2001) and the abilities to track the "digital individual" better (Curry, 1997). This is not a new issue, as even today commercial mobile phone companies can identify the location of their cell phone users (Foroohar, 2003), and may — and in many do — use this knowledge in order to bombard the latter with unsolicited and even unwelcome information about nearby functions and events (Curry, 2000; Fisher and Dobson, 2003). The question of mobile phone users' privacy is one that the legal systems in most countries have failed to tackle fully and as such is a question of considerable global importance (Renenger, 2002). However, in the case of research into the spatial temporal activities of tourists, for example, privacy abuse is less of

a problem, not only because the people tracked are monitored for a limited and well-defined time period, but also because the decision to accept such control is a voluntary one. This, however, raises a new issue: do visitors, once they know their movements are being monitored, change their behavior and, if so, in what way and to what extent? This question remains for further investigation in additional empirical studies in the future.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Chapter 3

**CULTURAL ATTRACTIONS AND DESTINATION
STRUCTURE: A CASE STUDY OF THE VENICE
REGION, ITALY**

Antonio Paolo Russo

ABSTRACT

Tourism in historical cities is characterized by visits to a number of immovable assets monuments, viewpoints, landmarks, squares and streets. As such, it generates specific geographical patterns, which are determined by the relation between a mobile demand with specific time and money endowments and the location and spatial form of such assets. In addition, these patterns influence to a large extent the spatial structure of the tourist supply and the resulting spatial behavior of visitors, which may, or may not, be optimal with regard to the long-term performance of the local tourism economy. This chapter presents an exemplary illustration of this issue: the case of Venice, where the regional development of tourism is largely dictated by the insufficient capacity of the Historical Core to accommodate its visitors, and hence determines a “predatory” relation between the main attraction and its hinterland.

INTRODUCTION

An important issue addressed in the introductory chapter is that the spatial effects of cultural tourism constitute a dynamic element of a tourism system which may eventually feed back on the attractiveness of a destination. In fact, they may affect it to the point of “no return” when they imply a risk for the preservation of the original assets tangible and intangible on which development was initially based. The type and extent of such spatial effects are determined by the “degree of freedom” enjoyed by the local tourism industry, constituted by a constellation of footloose and loosely integrated operators, who organize their operations around immobile landscape and man-made assets in the most profitable way. As a result, they indirectly affect the spatial structure of the visits to such destinations and the

economic circuit generated by them. This is a central issue in this volume and it was a key issue in the ESPON project 1.3.3, as they both deal with the spatial patterns and processes related with the *mise en valeur* of the cultural resources in a territory.

The endogenous generation of an economic or “functional” region extending far beyond the boundaries administrative or geographic of the destination area is a process by which cultural assets with a large attraction capacity (which cannot be satisfied locally) acquire a regional or even trans-regional economic dimension. This process implies the generation of flows of people and finance, thus producing externalities which to some extent affect the “sustainable exploitation” of these regions. In order to reduce such externalities and achieve sustainable development in and around heritage centers, tourism policy has to address the spatial dimension of tourism development at the correct scale and with the appropriate tools.

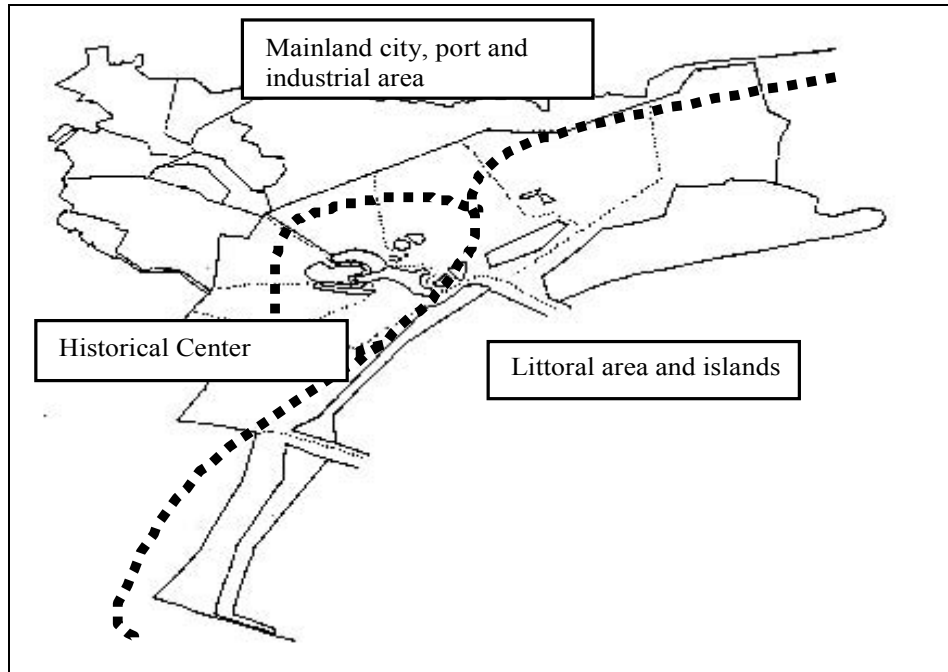
The case of Venice makes it possible to identify the problem clearly and assess the effects, as the functional tourist region of Venice has expanded territorially in accordance with the insufficient capacity of the city centre to accommodate a large share of its visitors and with the geographical configuration of the surrounding territory. The main argument is that the structure of the visitor market in the region is organized by proximity to the powerful “pivot” represented by Venice, rather than by specific landscape qualities. The chapter also pinpoints possible measures to revert this situation, such as a change of scale in regional tourism governance and marketing, and an improvement in regional mobility. Venice offers not only a powerful illustration of a famous tourism destination where the effects of tourism are generating unsustainable pressures and essentially that’s because of their “spatial” characteristics—, but also of a widely studied “laboratory” of tourism policy, an exemplary case of a relatively small yet very attractive place facing potentially destructive global trends.

TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN THE VENICE REGION

Background

Tourism in Venice is not a new topic for research. The tradition of tourism studies related to the city dates from the end of the 1970s (COSES, 1979) and was particularly active at the end of the 1980s, when it had to be decided whether or not Venice could stand the organization of a mega-event like Expo 2000. It also experienced a new impetus in the 1990s, when a new growth model, compatible with the geo-physical characteristics of the city, was sought. The present study examines this problem with a closer focus on its spatial features and their implications. Currently, the scale and regional structure of tourism governance is being questioned in Italy, as well as in many other European countries; it is therefore appropriate to provide more accurate insight on the spatial interrelations between tourism, culture, and general economic development.

Venice is the capital city and administrative centre of the Veneto Region, in the heart of the Italian North-East, a strong regional economic system based on flexible networks of small and medium size manufacturing firms. The Municipality of Venice extends over 189.4 km², with the historical centre occupying a cluster of lagoon islands (7.6 km²).



Source: author.

Figure 3.1. Principal administrative subdivisions in the municipality of Venice.

The rest of the municipal territory comprehends a section facing the sea (48 km²), and an inland section of 134 km², which includes a middle-sized city in its own rights, Mestre (150,000 inhabitants) and Marghera, a smaller town but a major industrial and port area. The administrative articulation of the Municipality of Venice is depicted in Figure 3.1.

Venice is a well-known international attraction, possibly the most famous tourist city in the world. Yet few people know that the historical centre (henceforth referred to as Venice Historical Centre or HC) in the lagoon is a “problem area”, in sharp contrast to its inland settlements that are well integrated in the booming regional economy. With young households pushed out of the centre by inaccessible property prices and a lack of specialized jobs, the population in the HC declined from 170,000 to 70,000 in half a century, an average annual negative growth rate of 2%, steering towards 1% in the last decade. The inland areas exhibit the same trend, stabilizing around 170,000 inhabitants in the last two decades; the littoral keeps its size almost constant at around 50,000. The loss of population in Venice feeds growth in the rest of the province, both to neighboring and non-neighboring municipalities. The entire province is, in fact, growing slowly in comparison with adjacent areas, such as the wealthy provinces of Treviso and Vicenza.

In this context, the HC is encountering problems in defining its role. Environmental problems undermine the very durability of the city, scaring off investors, and pushing away inhabitants and firms. The “*acqua alta*” (floods), which are increasing in frequency and impact owing to the on-going erosion of the lagoon bottom, may provide an unexpected thrill to curious tourists, but is a real drama for households and economic activities, as is thoroughly documented by Davis and Marvin (2006). Tourism cannot be blamed as the sole agent responsible for the deterioration of the delicate lagoon environment, which is rather the

result of global warming and inappropriate development decisions of the past. Yet, it certainly tends to worsen existing trends. The limited number of “entry points” to the old city causes structural congestion on the only road link to the mainland and from the entry terminal to the tourist centre. The disturbance from crowding can be unnerving to citizens, not to mention the physical damages to historical buildings provoked by heavy water traffic and air pollution. The concentration of a huge tourist population in a limited space increases the social and environmental pressure on the city’s resources and affects the “normal” functions that the city is supposed to deliver to its citizens. As a result, many of them prefer to relocate in cleaner and quieter residential suburbs on the mainland, further aggravating the socio-economic trends of the city.

Without considering indirect multipliers, tourism accounts for 30% of jobs and 24% of economic units in the HC. However, it is scarcely an engine of urban development. Excluded from the global network of international trade, and progressively disconnected from the booming backyard economy which is obnoxious to its ancient splendor, Venice experienced a meager growth in service economy around 1% in the decade 1981-1991, as compared to increases of 20 to 40% in the surrounding cities (Rullani and Micelli, 2000). The trend is persistent, and, today, one of the problems faced by the local government is how to convince the community at large and in particular the population that earns its living from tourism that Venice should have something else to offer. Tourism could indeed become a lever for the economic regeneration of the city, but to do so, it needs thorough restructuring. This cannot be achieved only through regulation, but involves a more integral change in the economic orientation of the city.

Key Information on Tourism and Heritage in Venice

It can be stated that a complete sample of the best that European art and architecture has had to offer in the last ten centuries may be found in the HC of Venice. Sights, monuments, attractions and events are too many to be counted, and indeed, most of the tourists that go to Venice are drawn not so much by the individual attractions as by the city as a whole, and by the atmosphere that characterizes it. The majority of tourists visit the monuments clustered around St. Mark’s square, such as the Cathedral, the Doge’s Palace and the tower. It is not surprising, therefore, that the routes linking the entry terminals with St. Mark’s are always congested. Moreover, there are numerous museums of great importance: the Accademia galleries, the Peggy Guggenheim Museum, the Querini Stampalia Foundation, Ca’ Rezzonico and the School of San Rocco, plus a plethora of minor institutions managed by public and private parties. Palazzo Grassi, run by a giant private corporation, hosts a couple of blockbuster exhibitions every year, and a new museum of contemporary art is planned for installation in the Salute barracks. Events such as the Carnival, the Biennales of Art and Architecture, the Historical Boat Races and the Film Festival, which are all held at set times of the year, attract a multitude of visitors to the historical centre. Boat trips to the smaller islands are often sold as a fixed part of a packaged tour in Venice.

Only a minority of visitors look for cultural attractions in the province, which presents the image of a highly urbanized and relatively unattractive area. However, it is, in fact, littered with a valuable “diffused heritage” associated with the historic role of Venice Villas of the ancient Venetian aristocracy, hunting mansions, monasteries and fortresses, not to

mention Roman remains pre-dating the Venetian civilization which are hardly valorized for tourism (Scaramuzzi, 2000). Moreover, the neighboring art cities of Padua and Treviso host important religious and artistic assets. Despite the Province's efforts, organising itineraries and activities in the territory, the impression remains confirmed by available data that hurried visitors just pass through this cultural landscape on their way to Venice without really *looking* at it.

The challenge for the city is how to fully valorize its enormous cultural capital. Cultural tourism has the potential to generate the value that is needed both to preserve the heritage and to foster a new cycle of development, based on culture-intensive and "intangible" knowledge. However, that does not apply to this case. To say the least, the potential offered by culture is not properly exploited by mass tourism; in fact, the current development pattern is jeopardizing the very integrity and durability of such heritage.

At the end of the 1970s, changes in the structure of the Italian economy and a renewed interest in urban planning brought about wide-ranging reflection on the options for the development of Venice. One key issue identified was the need to quantify the tolerance of the city with regard to tourism, as it seemed clear that this activity was starting to affect the city's economic and social fabric negatively. Canestrelli and Costa (1991) estimated the optimum level and composition of the visitors' flow compatible with the full functionality of the different sub-systems used by citizens and tourists alike (transport, waste collection, access to cultural institutions, etc.), thus determining the *socio-economic carrying capacity*.

To do so, they maximized a tourist-revenue function built up as the sum of the financial contributions of each type of visitor, under a set of "fuzzy" constraints representing the various sub-systems connected with the tourist function (e.g. parking places, hotel rooms, waste collection capacity, etc.). The outcome was a set of optimum values for the flow composition, and a measure of the "tightness" of the constraints under different hypotheses. The exercise reached the conclusion that Venice could absorb a total number of about 22,500 visitors daily, of whom only a maximum of 10,700 should be day-trippers. This exercise provided for the first time a clear benchmark for visitor management. Moreover, it made it clear that the whole tourist system, and not just the hotel sector, is *not indifferent* to the distinction between day-trippers and tourists, given their different profiles in terms of externalities. Finally, it was shown to be immediately relevant for policy: by identifying the sub-systems that are under pressure at different visiting levels, the exercise selected the short-term priorities. For instance, calibration on 1989 data yielded a clear indication: enlarging accommodation capacity in the city centre would increase the profits in the industry without affecting other sub-systems, while increasing the capacity of public transport would have no positive influence on the system at all.

The accommodation capacity of the HC is virtually always full. As a consequence, the functional tourist region has surpassed by far the provincial scale, generating a volume of day-trippers exceeding what is compatible with socio-economic sustainability. Indeed, the thresholds determined by Canestrelli and Costa were surpassed on 156 days in 1987. The number of yearly violations of this threshold has been increasing constantly since then, despite attempts to level the peaks through regulation and planning.

Table 3.1. Visitor types and origins in Venice, 1996

Number of visitors (in 1,000s)	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Tourists	634.3	2,653.8	3,288.1
<i>Real exc.</i>	2,589.1	119.1	2,708.2
<i>Indirect exc.</i>	266.8	921.4	1,188.2
<i>False + passing exc.</i>	1,404.1	2,097.5	3,501.5
Total excursionists	4,259.9	3,138.0	7,397.9
TOTAL VISITORS	4,894.2	5,791.8	10,686.0
Relative importance (%)	Domestic	Foreign	Total
Tourists	13.0	45.8	30.8
<i>Real exc.</i>	60.8	3.8	36.6
<i>Indirect exc.</i>	6.3	29.4	16.1
<i>False + passing exc.</i>	33.0	66.8	47.3
Total excursionists	87.0	54.2	69.2
TOTAL VISITORS	100.0	100.0	100.0

Key:

Real excursionists: visit the destination within a single day by commuting from their hometowns.

False excursionists: visiting the destination is their main motivation for travelling, but they spend the night somewhere else and visit the main destination during the day as trippers.

Indirect excursionists: visiting the destination is not their main reason for travelling, but they commute there within a single day from their main overnight location during their stay.

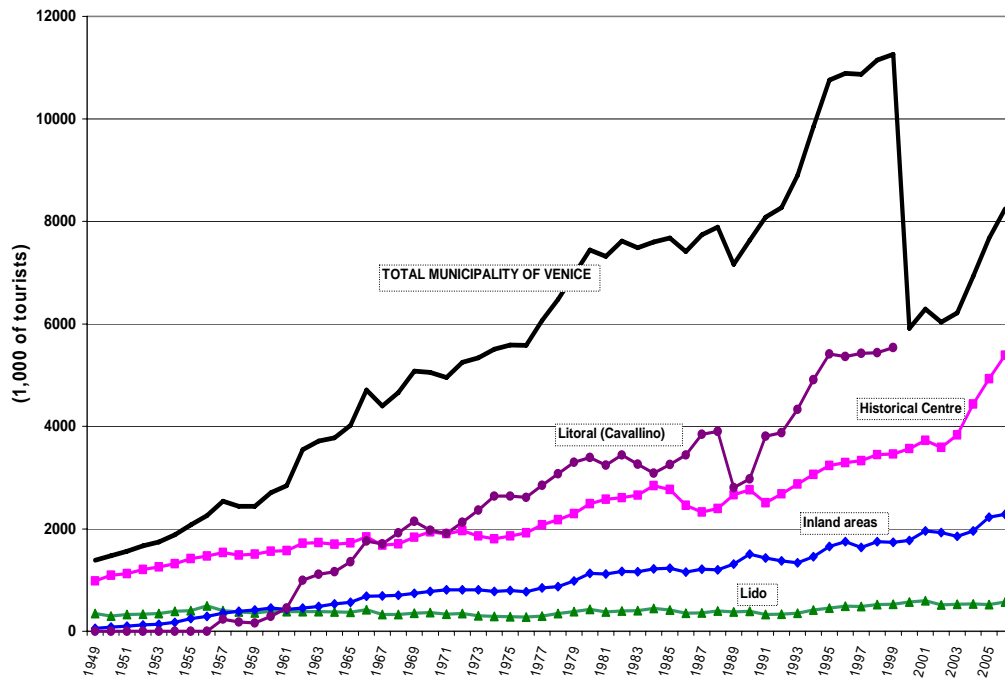
Passing excursionists: spend the nights before and after the day-visit in different locations.

Source: author, based on Manente and Andreatta (1998).

While information on overnight stays is publicly available, data on day-trippers is collected in a non-systematic way, and by different methods. For the sake of comparability, information from the most recent wide-range survey that estimated the number of day-trippers, that of 1996-1997 (Manente and Andreatta, 1998), has been used in this case. Table 3.1 illustrates the absolute and relative dimension of each visitor category. Excursions account for more than two thirds of all visits, and for more than four fifths of domestic visits. Among foreign excursionists, most are *false* and *passing* excursionists, while *indirect* excursionists count for almost a million visitors. *Real* excursionists are most numerous among domestic visitors. All in all, these figures indicate that a substantial proportion of the visitors whose main motivation is to spend some time in the city, do not actually sleep in Venice.

Development Trends

Overnight stays in the Municipality and in the HC grew almost constantly from 1949 to 1998 (when the secession of the Cavallino seaside district meant that the city lost almost the half of its tourist stays), and increased again after 2002.



Source: author, based on data from Statistical office, Municipality of Venice.

Figure 3.2. Overnight stays in different zones of Venice, 1949-2006.

The HC intercepted an almost constant share of one third of this flow, while the rest was accommodated in the other areas of the municipality (Figure 3.2). Stays still increase at a yearly rate of 3%, saturating the accommodation supply in the HC for long periods of the year. However, the growth of day trips has taken place at an even higher rate.

In the decade 1989-1999 visits to Venice are estimated to have increased by 25%, whereas the total accommodation capacity of the city only increased by 1%. Rispoli and Van der Borg (1988) link the sustained growth of the day-tripper segment to the price structure. A certain number of visitors find it more convenient to stay in the periphery of the tourist region, where they enjoy more reasonable prices and better accessibility by car. Excursions are free to increase without the supply-side constraint that characterizes overnight stays. An interesting experiment is to relate such flows to the territorial variables involved. “Pressure” and “Stress” indicators can be obtained from such data if divided, respectively, for the territorial extension of areas of concern and for the resident population. The pressure indicator shows that tourists weigh on the historical city’s resources (public spaces, roads, facilities, etc.) at a factor almost eight times higher than the municipal average. There are signs that the industry is reacting to the strong concentration of tourist flows in the centre — and to the impossibility to expand the tourist function further — by spreading activity over the region, and especially to seaside resorts where there is an ample supply of under-used capacity in the off-season months. The stress indicator demonstrates that residents of the HC are confronted with a density of tourists per sq. km. that is 33 times the municipal average (and more than 100 times when excursionists are included). The value for the seaside area is around 13, but high tourist stress is natural in seaside destinations, where the population is scarce and the economic structure is

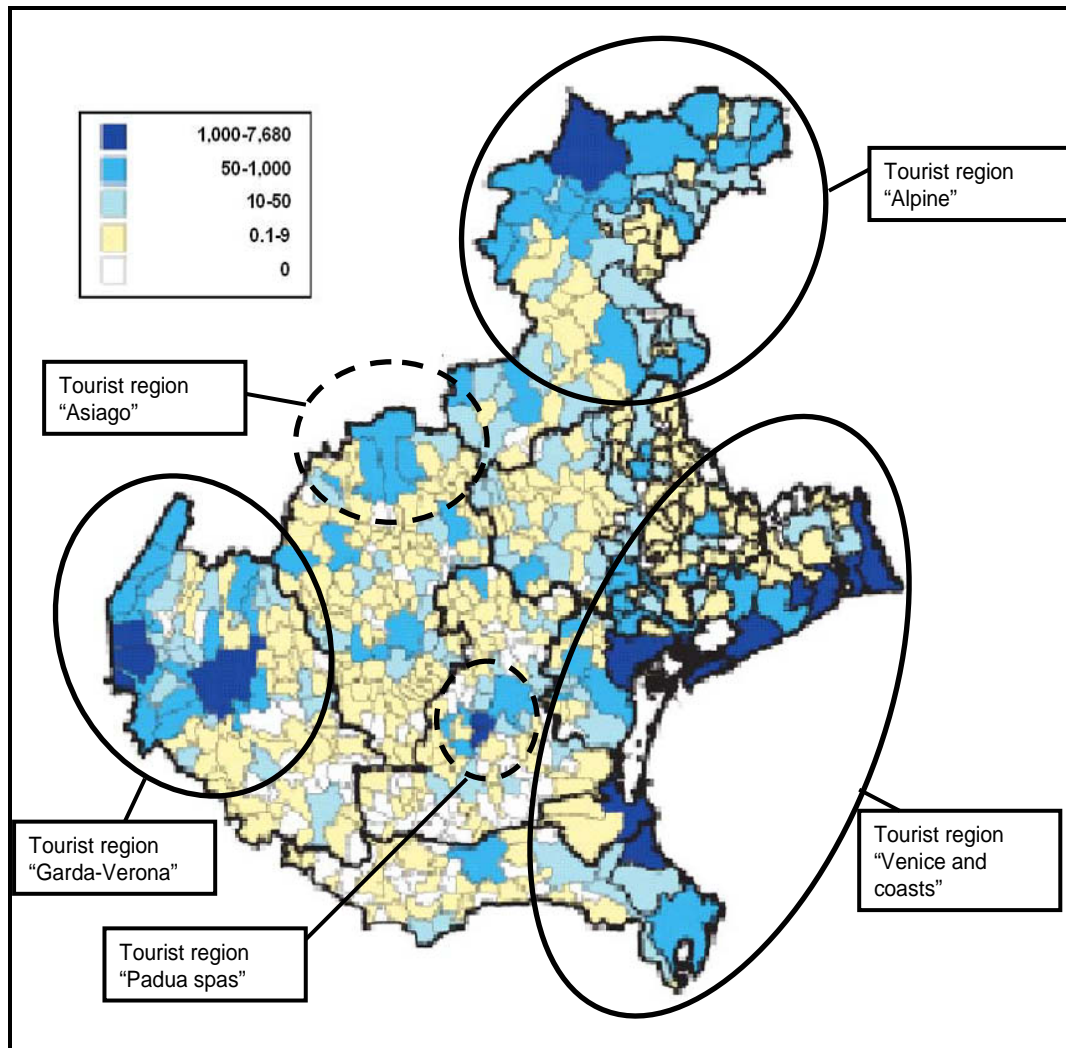
almost entirely specialized in tourism. Instead, such heavy stress on a socially weak area creates huge problems. On average, the city receives daily a number of visitors almost equal to half the resident population (to which 7,500 students and almost 10,000 daily commuters must be added). At first glance, this means that the “management costs” of the city borne by the city residents and taxpayers are almost twice those in a situation without tourism.

It has been calculated (Russo, 2002b) that among all cities in Europe with over 100,000 inhabitants, Venice has the highest visitor/resident ratio; it was approximately 340:1 in 2001, and it is likely to be much higher now. The ESPON project 1.3.3 mapped regions “at risk” in respect to the use of their cultural heritage for tourism, by cross-analyzing potential visitor pressure on protected monuments and sites with an indicator of relative supply. Veneto, with a relatively low number of protected sites, and very high visitor pressure, emerged clearly as a risk area, the more so if it is considered how the protected sites are all concentrated in the city centre of Venice (ESPON 1.3.3, 2006: 132-ff.).

Structure and Functional Variations in the “Tourist Region” of Venice

The enlargement of the functional tourist region of Venice driven by the growth of day-trips as the main visit mode to Venice determines a compression of time-budgets and information sets available to visitors in the HC, and this constitutes a key to understanding the sub-optimal use and the poor performance of Venice’s cultural system. The phenomenon is associated with a specialization of the territory’s tourist function in relation to the different categories of visitors. The role of cultural assets in attracting tourist flows and activity is also examined.

As an attraction pole, Venice “competes” with other areas that are specialized in different products. Figure 3.3 describes the pattern of tourist flows in the entire Veneto Region. At least three main tourist destination areas can be identified. The first, centered on Venice, is certainly the most complex: it includes a highly attractive art city with limited capacity and a seaside resort area with a large accommodation capacity spread across a wide territory. The second is the alpine destination area focused on the popular resort of Cortina, and the third is the lake holiday district of Garda, again associated with an art city, Verona. Secondary destination areas are the spa region south of Padua, that increasingly intercepts the regional business and congress tourism in off-season months, and the alpine district of Asiago to the North West. Obviously, these attraction poles are, to a large extent, complementary in attracting visitor flows. For the purposes of this chapter, the Functional Tourist Region (FTR) of Venice is delimited as the area that generates a substantial share of the day-trips to the main destination. One way to achieve this delimitation is to examine the price structure. The assumption is that in an FTR, accommodation prices would decline with the distance from the centre: the main reason for staying in the region is accessibility to Venice, which is less and less easy as distance increases, and hence leads to decreasing accommodation prices.



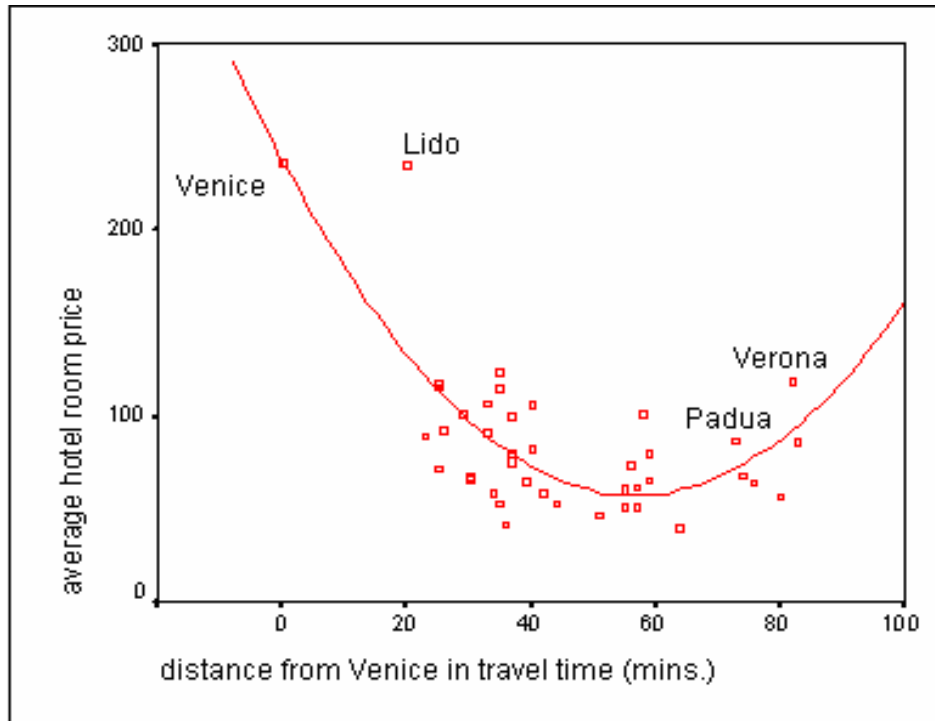
Source: Region Veneto Statistical Office (2005).

Figure 3.3. Overnight stays in Veneto region and main tourism areas, 2005.

The scatter-plot depicted in Figure 3.4 illustrates the price structure of accommodation. The U-shaped form of the relation between prices and distances from Venice indicates that the “proximity effect” with the centre of the FTR decays until another FTR is met, centered on the Verona-Garda Lake region. The association between prices and distances from Venice is strong (and significant), despite the presence of important destinations within the FTR, such as the beach resorts of Jesolo and Caorle, which account for more than half of the accommodation capacity of the Province. Thus, it can be said that the weight of Venice as a tourist attraction is such that it imposes a price pattern on the whole FTR.

The relevant region for day-trips, as discussed earlier, is “naturally bounded” by travel time. However, other types of excursionists escape this constraint by spending the night “close enough” to the destination. It is interesting to note how the territory has become specialized in these different visitor typologies. *Indirect* excursionists appear to be hosted in

areas that include amenities for kinds of tourism other than culture, and *false* excursionists in areas with no specific points of attraction except proximity to the main destination and a favorable distance/price ratio. In Figure 3.5, data from the 1997 survey is organized in such a way as to bring the weight of the proximity to Venice to the fore: the darker the shading, the greater proportion of tourists in that area taking excursions to the main or secondary destination of their journey, that is, the HC of Venice. As expected, such shares decline with distance. This confirms the existence of an FTR for the main destination Venice, with complex characteristics.

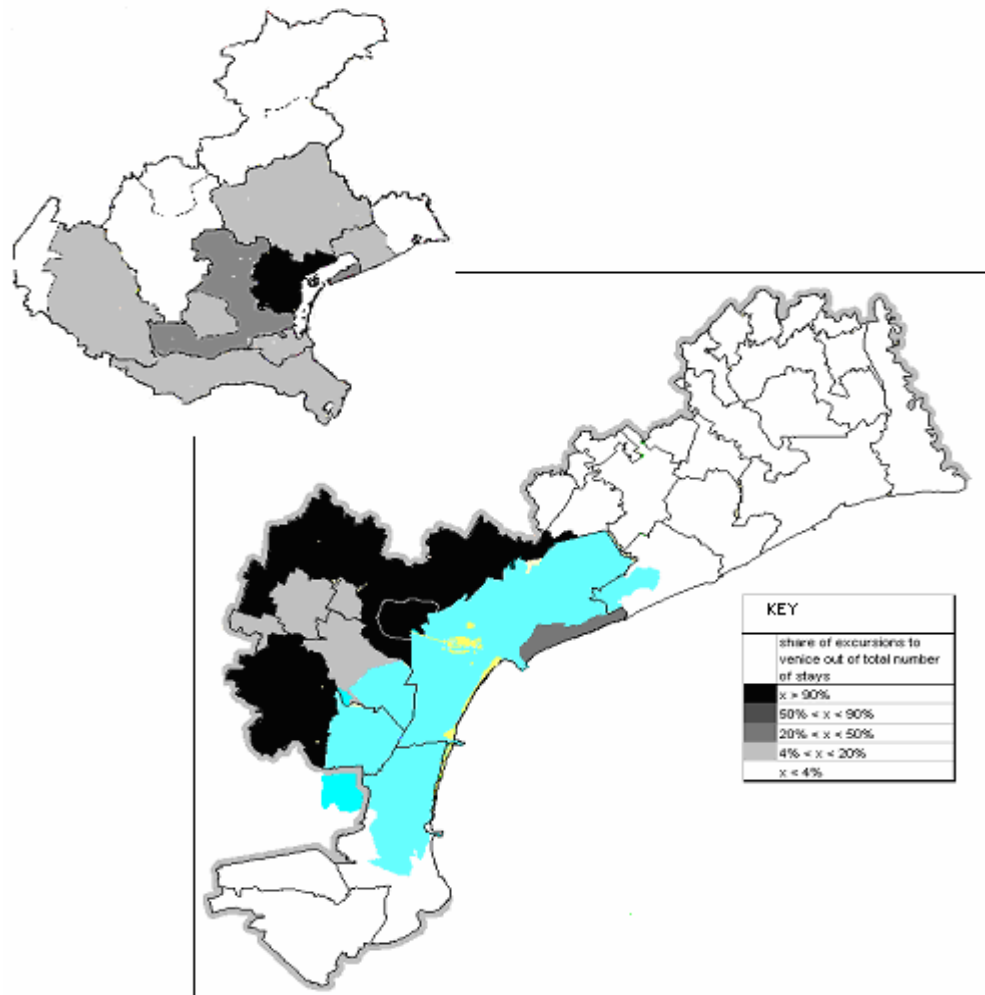


Note: Prices are weighted average across accommodation categories; the unit measure is thousands of Italian Liras (1,000 ITL= 0.5€).

Source: author.

Figure 3.4. Hotel price structure within the Tourist Region of Venice, 2001.

Price differentials between clusters of attraction within a tourist region are found to be influenced by the intensity of tourism competition, and tourist rents do not only depend on location, but also on other market distortions, such as information asymmetries and quality strategies. This conclusion is confirmed by the high correlation between price and capacity indexes, which suggest that, whereas there is no significant relation between price levels and the quantity of tourist beds present in the area, the relation is remarkably strong when the *density* of tourist beds in the area is taken into account.



Source: author, based on 1997 survey data.

Figure 3.5. Day-trips to Venice expressed as share of total tourist stays.

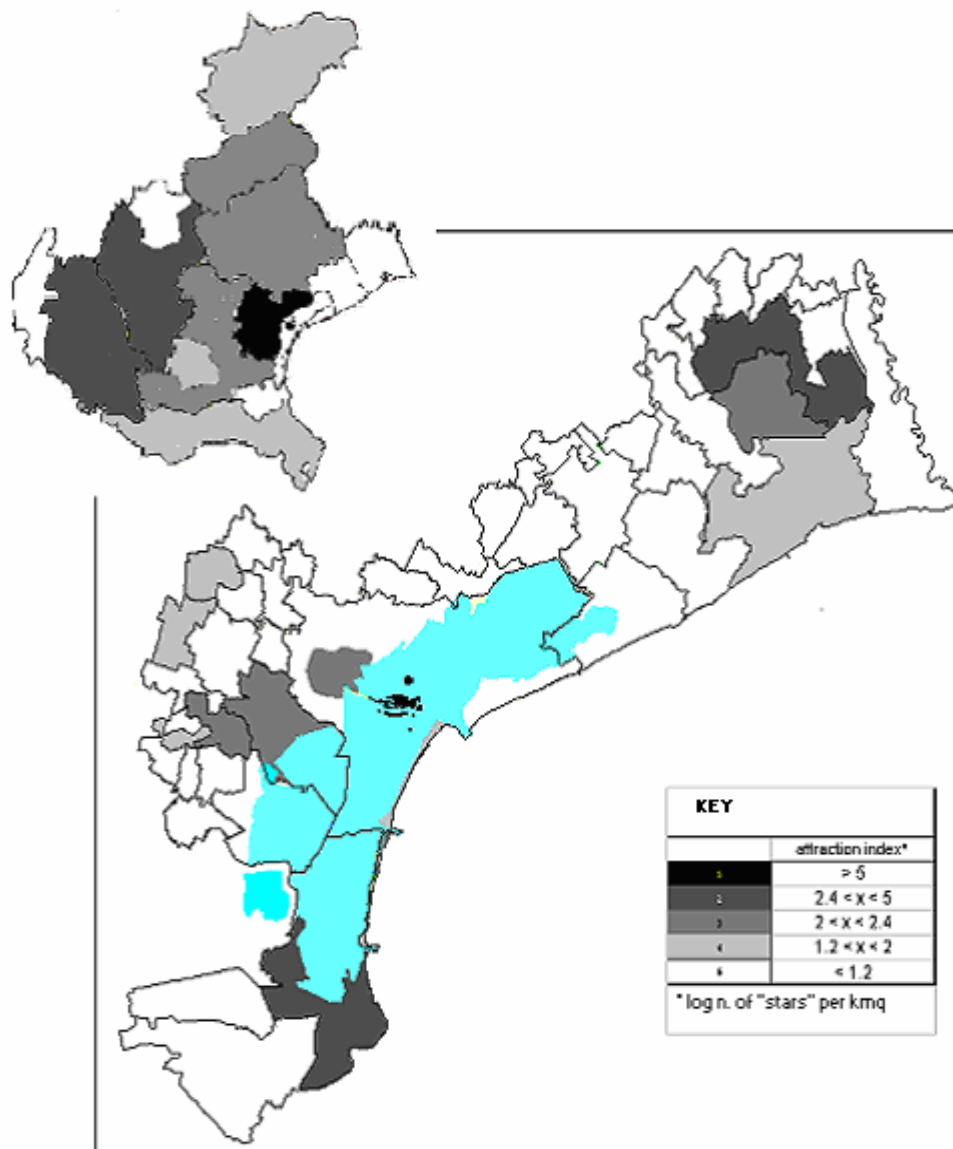
Another result extracted from this analysis is that the higher the tourist specialization of an area, the higher the tourist prices expected: much-visited places tend to be more expensive, because it proves easier for suppliers to capture proximity and information rents, as is foreseen in the model designed by Caserta and Russo (2002).

The Role of Cultural Heritage Assets as Generators of Value

The last part of the paper addresses the issue of the role of cultural assets and other tourist attractions in determining the structure of the tourist region and the price differentials within it. This question is crucial in the scope of this analysis because it enables:

- assessment of the weight of historical and cultural assets as a location factor for tourist activity, and

- identification of the areas with excessive pressure on heritage and those that have a potential to attract more cultural tourists.



Source: author, based on Touring Club Italiano (2005).

Figure 3.6. Cultural attractiveness of Tourist Promotion Districts (APTs) in the Regional and Provincial territory of Venice .

Figure 3.6 depicts the density of historical and cultural assets in the municipalities of the Province of Venice (larger map) and the various Tourism Promotion Offices or APTs of the Region Veneto (smaller map).

Table 3.2. Correlation structure between cultural attractiveness and tourism variables

	Municipalities within Province of Venice		APTs in Veneto Region	
	Cultural attractive-ness	Cultural intensity	Cultural attractive-ness	Cultural intensity
	(N°. of stars)	(Stars per sq. km.)	(N°. of stars)	(Stars per sq. km.)
Distance from Venice HC in km.	0	—	0	—
Distance from Venice HC in min.	0	—	—	—
Surface in sq. km.	0	0	0	0
Population 1998	(+)	(+)	(+)	0
Accommodation capacity (beds)	0	0	0	0
Tourist intensity (beds per sq. km.)	++	(++)	0	0
“Touristicy” (beds per sq. km. per resident)	++	(++)	0	0
Average hotel category (1-5 stars)	0	0	0	+
Average weighted price per double room	++	++	N.A.	N.A.
Overnight stays 1998	0	0	0	++
Tourist pressure (overnight stays per sq. km.)	0	0	0	0
Tourist stress (overnight stays per sq. km. per resident)	0	0	0	0
Population density 1998	++	(++)	++	(+)

Key:

+ / - : positive / negative correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

++ / -- : positive / negative correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

(+ / -): positive / negative correlation is significant but trivial

0: no significant correlation

Source: author.

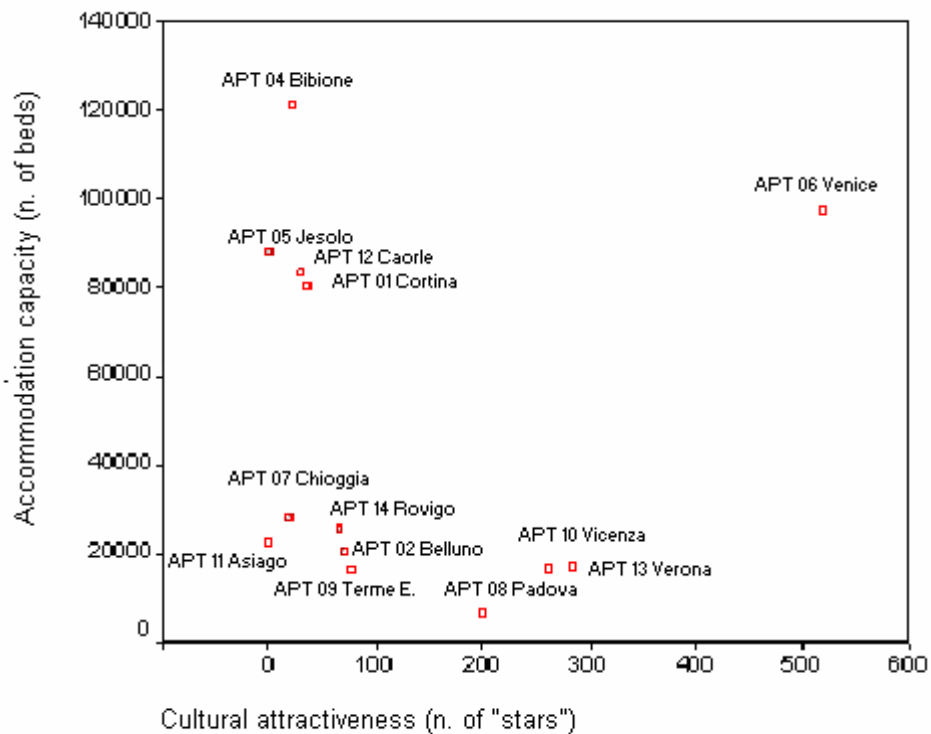
The maps highlight the primacy of the HC of Venice in attracting tourist flows. The municipality ranking second — the historical port of Chioggia — has a cultural attraction index (registered assets per sq. km.) that is almost 20 times inferior to Venice’s HC. At regional scale, the Venice APT — which includes areas such as Mestre and Marghera — results at least twice as attractive as any of the others.

The cultural attractiveness of the APTs is positively correlated with specific attributes of the tourist market, namely the number of “stars” that the most competent tourist guide of the area assigns to attractions in a given area (Table 3.2, second and third columns). Cultural assets appear concentrated in densely populated areas, hinting at the “urban” nature of this heritage. Within the Province, tourist supply is concentrated in the most densely populated municipalities, where tourist activity captures the rents from the proximity to primary tourist

products. This concentration also exerts pressure on the market structure, a fact that is reflected in higher accommodation prices. Taking cultural intensity into account hardly changes the picture. It is worth noting that cultural assets become more dispersed at increasing distances from Venice, which confirms the historical link between heritage and power in a markedly “urban” civilization like the Venetian.

When the spatial scale of this analysis is extended (Table 3.2, fourth and fifth columns), the relation between the location of cultural assets and variables of tourism development loses significance, but this is probably due to the gross scale of the spatial units considered. Venice again emerges as the focal point of a wide cultural region. Likewise, cultural assets become increasingly dispersed with distance from the regional capital, despite the presence of art cities such as Verona and Vicenza in the periphery of the region. The trend towards the concentration of cultural assets in urban areas is again confirmed. A new relationship emerges between cultural endowment and the quality of accommodation: “cultural regions” offer, on average, higher quality standards than other recreation districts.

The relation between cultural wealth and overnight stays in APTs is better analyzed through a scatter-plot (Figure 3.7). Three groups of destination areas emerge.



Source: author.

Figure 3.7. Cultural clusters and recreation districts (APTs) in the Veneto Region.

The first is a group of “recreational” APTs which have built a substantial tourist activity on the basis of their natural assets and man-made infrastructure. These include coastal resorts like Jesolo, Caorle and the ski resort of Cortina. Basically these locations do not need cultural

attractions to develop as tourist destinations, though they certainly benefit from the presence of important cultural destinations in close proximity. A second group of locations displays a reasonable level of cultural attractiveness, but these are clearly underdeveloped from the tourist point of view. Among these are important art cities such as Padua and Verona. Venice stands alone as the only destination that is really able to put to value the complementary nature of its cultural attractiveness and its proximity to other significant recreational areas.

CONCLUSION

In the context of the present text, this case study addresses one key issue: the effects of the process of commodification of culture for tourism on the surrounding areas, their desirableness and their sustainability. While it is argued extensively in this volume — and elsewhere — that tourism is a powerful carrier of individual and collective gains for the communities that can valorize their cultural assets, the question of scale emerges as a “warning sign” which should always be taken in consideration in destination planning and management. Which territory is being promoted for tourism and who is reaping the gains? How are constantly wider portions of the territory surrounding cultural attractions being organized as a result of the powerful rationality of the tourism economy and is this always the best or more sustainable way to develop them?

This chapter has presented an icon site where numerous mistakes have been made over several decades as a result of a short-sighted approach to destination planning and marketing, and develops an argument for that based on a detailed analysis of the structure of the tourist region which has emerged. Hence, the case of Venice exemplifies a situation in which the accommodation capacity of the city is insufficient to host the mass of visitors who wish to see the city, in almost every season of the year. Many visitors have to resort to accommodation in the periphery of the region, not only in close proximity to the city but also at farther distances. This mode of visiting the city — being a visitor but not staying in the city overnight — is also popular among other categories of visitors, including backpackers and low-budget travelers; those planning a multi-destination visit (e.g. Venice plus another art city in the North-East of Italy); those with specific requirements regarding accessibility, landscape amenities or quality; and finally, the typical case of seaside vacationers who take advantage of the proximity of an important city to spend a day there.

The heterogeneity of visitors’ experiences and their logistics is reflected in the multi-faceted specialization of the regional territory. Some areas of the hinterland, whose function is that of “buffer areas” with respect to the main destination area, have a price/quality structure that replicates that of the historical centre, where the most appreciated element is proximity to the city’s attractions. Other areas have intrinsic factors of attractiveness (e.g. the sea, cultural assets or amenities), and therefore display an “autonomous” market structure within the system pivoted on Venice. Among these, some areas possess a mature industry where competition is based on prices and accessibility (e.g. the seaside areas). Others (including the Brenta Riviera, Portogruaro Municipality, the south bank of the lagoon) depend almost entirely on Venice, although they do, in fact, have attractive elements that are not exploited by the development of a local tourist industry.

In this context, such heterogeneity is “compressed” when it comes to visiting the city. Because of the time and information limitations that are inherent in the “day-tripper” mode of visiting the city, the itineraries of the visitors are scarcely diversified, and episodes of simultaneous overcrowding of the central attractions and under-utilization of the “peripheral” heritage are observed. The proximity to the central attractions (that is generally matched by good quality standards) supports rent extraction from the tourist operators, but because of the excessive crowding of central areas, other location factors become attractive (especially for hotels and restaurants), such as external accessibility and “isolation”.

The overall consequences of these dynamics are:

- a leakage of tourist expenditure from the centre of the tourist region to the periphery, accompanied by a concentration of costs;
- a decline in the quality of the tourist system (as cutting back on quality pays);
- a loss of relevance of the system of cultural attractions as “revenue generators”;
- the polarization of the city and the regional territory in accordance with the main factors affecting the tourist market, such as accessibility and quality.

In the long term, these elements may lead to a reduction in the attraction capacity of the destination area, to the extent that tourists would react negatively to elements such as the physical degradation of monuments, aesthetic decline in open urban and commercial spaces, loss of diversity in the cultural supply, and increased “suburbanization” of tourist services and facilities. In particular, these factors are likely to affect those visitor segments that have a higher propensity to pay for a cultural experience but are more sensitive to cultural and environmental quality.

In Venice, signs that this is happening already appear constantly in the news: peak days on which the city suffers from an almost intolerable pressure from visitors are increasing in frequency; the overall quality of tourist products in Venice is declining, as is average expenditure and the duration of visits; and the image presented by mass tourism in the city is steadily becoming more negative both in the eyes of the locals and of the multitudes of tourists. At the same time — and this is the main focus of the analysis presented in this chapter — the hinterland of Venice (stretching well over provincial and regional or even national boundaries), which is indirectly involved in the tourist function, as it constitutes the “functional region” for accommodation, has a role to play in the reconfiguration of the tourist market and structure, provided it participates actively in the design and marketing of a wider range of tourist products, instead of passively following the impulses from a sclerotic, “monocentric” tourism development model. This demands a giant leap on the part of local and regional policymakers, who should cease to promote Venice as a destination for (excessively) short visits and, on the contrary, reframe tourism in the area as a more integral set of experiences involving a large territory, where polycentric development would be greatly enhanced through strategic interventions in cultural policy and mobility infrastructure.

Chapter 4

THE ADVANTAGES OF SHARING: A CASE STUDY OF THE JEWISH HERITAGE NETWORK IN SPAIN

Francesc Romagosa and Antonio Paolo Russo

ABSTRACT

This chapter addresses a specific organizational form (*orgware*) of cultural heritage, the creation of an itinerary that connects different locations linked by a heritage-based theme. This specific case focuses on a network of Jewish heritage cities (*Red de Juderías*) in various regions of Spain, organized through a “route” as a powerful tourist product, with potential for developing further at a European scale.

The key aspects of this case lie in the recognition of the intrinsic added value of a spatially articulated heritage complex over its individual components, and in the possibility of taking advantage of such spatiality to multiply valorization opportunities through tourism. Other interesting issues are the unique governance model which sustains the network, and the contribution that it may make to more balanced and sustainable tourism development in areas which are increasingly subject to global pressures on their relatively scarce resources and surfaces, like Spain as in this case. Considering that the overall objective is to understand and illustrate the spatial and functional diversity of cultural heritage and of its tourist use, this case study may well cast new light on a good practice in cultural heritage management.

INTRODUCTION

Definition and Characteristics of Heritage Networks

Tangible, immovable (or *monumental*) cultural heritage may take on different spatial forms, which can be reduced to three stylized situations:

- A punctual location in space in the case of an individual asset or building with monumental value;

- A more undefined association to a location in the case of a heritage complex (e.g. a cultural landscape, an art city, a historical quarter, etc.);
- A collection of heritage assets (for instance watchtowers, castles, caves) or conjuncts, like walled towns, entire heritage cities or cultural landscapes, scattered over a given territory.

Each form gives rise to specific issues as far as heritage management and conservation are concerned. In the first case, the main management challenge is the (potential) divergence between the limited capacity of the resource and pressure from the visitors' flow. In the second, the most important issue is probably the exact delimitation of the area earmarked for conservation and branding, together with the identification of a management model that strikes a balance between visitor impacts and the costs produced by visitation to the sites.

In the third case, emphasis is placed on the disarticulation of the "mono-nuclear" character of the visit, associated with the multiplicity of heritage locations, and on the possibility of retracing, in different places, recurring themes, such as the functional shape, artistic style or socio-cultural background of heritage elements. There are, indeed, functional aspects that mark a real difference between "stand alone" heritage assets and those which are part of a network. The complexity and the "serial nature" of the heritage network represent added value, and sometimes a prevailing attribute, over individual assets: the cultural wealth of the territory its idiosyncrasy lies not so much in the presence of one asset but of a large number of them.

On that account, networks call for specific, more complex heritage management techniques in relation with tourism, as a result of the fact that the full appreciation and comprehension of the value of the network implies a movement of visitors around various locations. Given that this "route" is a tourist product, it also generates a demand for an exact "identification" of the network and pressure for the coordinated provision of complementary visitor services, which may become a complex issue as the extension of the network or route stretches beyond regional or national borders.

In short, a heritage network becomes a tourist product only if it is recognized and branded as such, and if there is the practical possibility of following a thematic *itinerary* that provides homogeneous access to its constituting elements. Itineraries are defined by Wang (2006) as 'a system of links between the temporal and spatial arrangements of tourist activity ...' (p. 66). Indeed, Wang adds an important functional dimension to the concept of itinerary, defining it as the medium through which tourist resources are commodified, 'bridging experiences and goods, services and products, hospitality and attractions, movement and rest, time and space' (p. 67).

Research on routes has been focusing on issues of structure and classification (Lew and McKerchner, 2002; Opperman, 1995), product design and enhancement (Capellà-Cervera, 2007), time-budget and destination management (Shoval and Isaacson, 2006), but regrettably little interest has been given to the role of heritage elements and cultural landscapes as constituting elements of tour itineraries and routes.

Types of Networks and Management Strategies

The spatial articulation of a heritage network produces a demarcation of the territory according to consistent cultural attributes, or a cultural landscape, which may have different spatial and hierarchal configurations. A *hub-and-spike structure* involves the existence of a “centre” together with a number of peripheral “extensions” of the heritage theme over a territory. This structure is recurrent in the case of the artistic and monumental legacy of ancient civilizations over a given territory, as in the case of the Venetian domination over the Mediterranean Sea. A different structure is presented by a heritage network with no clear-cut “core” that functions as a physical and semiotic gateway of a tourist itinerary, but rather a collection or *cloud* of different elements over a territory, hinting at an historical poly-nuclear settlement characterized by peer power and knowledge. In this case there is no hierarchical structure among the itinerary nodes but one determined by their size and their individual relevance in relation to the heritage theme. The Jewish heritage network may well be one such example.

Thematic networks, such as pilgrimage routes, are a hybrid of the two models presented above, as normally there is a clear endpoint (the pilgrimage destination, like Rome or Santiago de Compostela), and a linear collection of places which are thematically connected by the historical legacy of travel, but no necessary dominance of the start — or end — point in the thematic representation of the route, as what is important is the “journey” itself. Similar types of routes, connecting one or more starting points and one or more end points in an approximately linear alignment, are linked to commercial travel and discovery, as is the case of Brazil’s Gold Trail or the Silk Road connecting Europe with Asia. Tourism-wise, such different structures hint at different product design and brand strategies — through the construction of tourist itineraries — and also at different governance structures.

When referring to spatial form, Lew and McKercher (2002) classify the models of visitor flows in four “itinerary types”: (1) a single destination with or without side-trips; (2) a transit leg and circle tour at a destination; (3) a circle tour with or without multiple accesses; and (4) a hub-and-spike itinerary. The selection of any such itinerary as a template for product design is likely to be influenced by the functional relations between elements composing the network of heritage attractions, and by demand and supply factors (as elaborated by Capellà-Cervera, 2007). Thus, the hub and spike structure is an ideal spatial extension for trips generating from the “motherland” or for overseas visitors wanting to have a more complete overview of the cultural history of a place. A hierarchical relation can be established not only between the start-point (or end-point) of the route, but also between places at the *periphery* of the network that depend on the degree of identification with the original heritage style, to the point that, in principle, the route can be reduced to a visit to the “motherland” and a limited selection of outstanding peripheral sites.

In the case of loose networks without a hierarchical structure, the key concepts behind the creation of a connecting “route” as a tourist product are generally “critical mass” and diversification, *within* and *around* the route. For instance, the establishment of the *Camino de Santiago* (Santiago de Compostela Pilgrim Routes) makes it possible to promote not only heritage tourism *in* Santiago de Compostela, but also a much wider cultural landscape defined by the route, which would not have the same level of attractiveness if promoted autonomously and without recurring to the Santiago brand. Furthermore, routes help to substantially diversify the tourist product, from mere sightseeing and shopping in the main

nodes and gateways, to a wider palette of non-urban products including rural tourism, active tourism (cycling and trekking), wine and food tasting, attending events, etc. In the example quoted above, the Santiago Route stands out as a product which, contrary to many other key brands of tourism in Spain, is unrelated to 3S-based products that are already suffering from congestion and pronounced seasonality. It is, in fact, based on the original attributes of the territory, thus preventing the creation of artificial landscapes; and generates a high-quality supply and diffused community gains, rather than massive development and the crowding-out of original functions.

Cross-Border Heritage Routes and Regional Development

The development of networks and routes also abides to a higher aspiration in national or European territorial development, insofar as it bridges communities, engendering cohesion from the recognition of a common past, pride for minorities and, ultimately, opens channels for cooperation and economic development in fields other than culture and tourism. These concerns have led a number of transnational organizations to include the identification and practical implementation of heritage-based networks and routes in their agenda.

In 1987, the Council of Europe launched a Cultural Routes Program, identifying a network of European cultural routes organized around a particular theme (Table 4.1). The initial concept was to demonstrate in a visible way, by means of a journey through space and time, how the heritage of the different countries of Europe represented a shared cultural heritage. The main focus was on the definition of European identity and citizenship through the recognition of linear continuities in culture over national borders and, at the same time, to provide illustrations of cultural diversity, human rights, cultural democracy, inter-religious dialogue and mutual exchange as key features of our continent. Other expected effects of the designation of Cultural Routes were the safeguarding and enhancement of cultural and natural heritage as a means of improving quality of life and as a source for social, economic and cultural development. It also aimed to give pride of place to cultural tourism, with a view to encouraging sustainable development. In 1997, the Council of Europe established a Luxembourg-based organization, the *European Institute of Cultural Routes*, with the task of ensuring the continuity and development of its Cultural Routes Program.

The concept of “route” was elaborated further following the inscription of the Santiago de Compostela Pilgrim Routes on the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage List (1993), the Meeting of Experts in Madrid (1994), as well as the experience acquired by UNESCO on Routes of Dialogue during the World Decade for Cultural Development (1988-1997). ICOMOS and its International Committee on Cultural Routes made remarkable efforts to define the term of Cultural Route as a “communication route, physically delimited, historic path; it deliberately served a concrete and specific purpose”. Its existence and significance as a Cultural Route can only be explained by its use for this specific purpose — hence its historic functionality. A Cultural Route includes the tangible heritage assets related to its functionality as a historic route as well as the intangible heritage elements related to the historic function of the route itself. In addition, the Cultural Route has a dynamic character reflecting movements of people and reciprocal exchanges.

Table 4.1. Council of Europe Cultural Routes, 2007

Major Council of Europe Cultural Routes	Other Council of Europe Cultural Routes
The Santiago de Compostela Pilgrim Routes (<i>Pilgrim Routes</i>) The Mozart Route (<i>Historical and Legendary Figures of Europe</i>) The Legacy of Al-Andalus The Route of the Castilian Language and its Expansion in the Mediterranean: The Sephardic Routes The Hansa Parks and Gardens (<i>Landscape</i>) The Viking Routes (<i>Vikings and Normans</i>) Via Francigena (<i>Pilgrim Routes</i>) Saint Martin de Tours, a great European figure, a Symbol of sharing The Jewish Heritage Routes The Clunisian Sites in Europe The Routes of the Olive Tree Via Regia The Transromanica (<i>Routes of Romanesque art in Europe</i>)	Architecture without Frontiers (<i>Rural Habitat</i>) The Schickhardt Route (<i>Historical and Legendary Figures of Europe</i>) The Wenzel and Vauban Routes (<i>Military Architecture in Europe</i>) The Iron Route in the Pyrenees (<i>Industrial Heritage in Europe</i>) The European Iron Trail in Central Europe (<i>Industrial Heritage in Europe</i>) The Route of Don Quixote de la Mancha Saint Michael's Ways The Phoenicians' routes The European Route of Migration Heritage Via Carolingia

Source: Website of the Council of Europe Cultural Routes (www.coe.int/T/E/Cultural_Cooperation/Heritage/European_Cultural_Routes/, last consulted January 2008).

UNESCO, in turn, has included in the latest version of its Operational Guidelines the Heritage Route as a specific, dynamic type of cultural landscape. All those definitions are based on common features: the patrimonial character of cultural routes, their tangible and intangible aspects related to a specific communication route, natural context, purpose, function and theme. At the same time, every actor emphasizes different aspects in the content of the basic term. Within the European Spatial Development Perspective and the associated ESPON research program, the issue of interregional cooperation and harmonization in spatial development policy is paramount and, thus, so is the attention to be dedicated to heritage networks within “trans-border corridors”.

Spatial Impacts of Heritage Attractions and Routes

In the introductory chapter of this volume, a theoretical framework of spatial impacts of culture and heritage was introduced, including two possible models of spatial externalities depending on the relative role of cores and peripheries within destination regions. It was claimed that a reorganization of the tourist product at regional scale is likely to provide a solution for spatial externalities, which may ultimately affect the destination's competitive

position. Peripheries, which are only “passively” involved in tourism development, as the tourist product is basically limited to central images and attractions, have to be actively involved in the production of elements of a cultural supply stretching out from the core. The initiative may be their own: centers so far free riding with respect to the tourist attractiveness of main centers, may see it as an opportunity for an investment in quality of life for the local community. However, they may alternatively associate with a strategy of “regionalization” of tourism promoted by the stakeholders of congested metropolitan cores.

The organization of routes and itineraries connecting — physically and semiotically — centers and peripheries does contribute towards overcoming the “mononuclear” structure of tourist supply and leveling the playing field of tourism development at the regional level. The common elements of such a strategy are the following:

- Building on thematic continuities between centers and peripheries, thus developing “corridors” that take tourists — who would normally cluster in heritage centers — to also visit the hinterlands or alternatively undertake a complete journey within a potentially large territory;
- Developing networks and clusters of peripheral nodes focusing on products that are complementary to the one located in the centre, eventually acquiring sufficient “critical mass” to develop an autonomous supply and different brand from the centre, while, at the same time, offering opportunities for diversification in regional marketing and exploiting the advantages of connectivity and proximity.

Yet, the practical implications for the development of routes may diverge. Building linear itineraries that take tourists out of historical centers may be impossible; faced with a rich historical centre and a second-order collection of sparse heritage assets, hurried visitors would always prefer to stick to central visits. The challenge then is *integration*, to be achieved through the supply of tourist products of a different nature, but which represent an attractive “complement” for the elements that can be visited in the core. Thus, excursions to — or even stays in — green and rural landscapes may be a perfect complement for a visit to urban heritage, and existing continuities may be exalted, but this requires the peripheral stakeholder to take the initiative (and assume the financial burden) to enhance landscape qualities, in coordination with the central cultural providers, in order to make it appealing for visitors. For example, a riverboat “villas route” on the Brenta river outside Venice gives tourist a different and spatially disarticulated perspective on Venice’s heritage, and at the same time spurs peripheral municipalities to strengthen and raise the quality of their tourist sector. As a result, many such villas host quality hotels, restaurants and important exhibitions and events. At the same time, they have developed landscape quality and better connections to the regional capital, a win-win situation for all stakeholders in the region.

In the case of metropolitan centers which absorb all the tourism development potential from culturally-rich but peripheral areas, the challenge (taking into due account conditions such as time distances, landscape qualities, planning interventions, etc.) is to develop linear itineraries that connect thematically urban centers and peripheries, or rather, that highlight the “peripheral rooting” of the heritage that can be visited centrally. A good example is given by the Province of Barcelona, a case of a clearly polarized tourist region, with the core consisting of an international gateway and world-class urban destination, and the periphery being a sparsely populated rural region rich in cultural heritage resources, a playground for local

excursionists but barely visited by international tourists or even included in tour operators' brochures. The Provincial Government has developed a series of routes which connect some of the highlights of Barcelona's heritage (Modernism, Romanic Art, Industrial Heritage, Folklore and Tradition, Gastronomy) with their large thematic extension in the hinterland. At the same time, they have fostered the creation of micro-regional clusters focusing on products which are not available in the city (Golf Tourism, Congresses and Meetings, Maritime and Yachting Tourism, Active Tourism and Cycling, etc.). In this way they succeeded in using Barcelona's strengths to promote less known sections of the region, playing on the double tier cooperation-coordination with the core, and using the enhanced connections (physical and mental) to build a complementary advantage for a more diverse regional tourist product.

The territorialization of culture-based products through the development of heritage-based routes is bound to produce remarkably different impacts from those generated by individual assets found at specific locations. Table 4.2 summarizes the most relevant assumptions which encapsulate this distinction.

The mass-commodification of cultural heritage tourism has produced a world of "visitor icons", which can be defined as immediately recognizable and simplified images that: stick in the memory of the hurried traveler; are easy to trace in the sometimes complicated fabric of heritage centers (Palou Rubio, 2006); and are visually appealing enough to drive a production chain based on the serial reproduction of that image on souvenirs, feature movies, and all kinds of commercial products with local connections (or occasionally without them, as in the notorious case of the use of world attraction images to build the tourist landscape of Las Vegas). This development, which may be criticized for its impacts on the very symbolic and economic value of the commodified resources, is primarily based on *tangible* heritage, for, in fact, it is very difficult to "iconize" intangible heritage, history and traditions, with only very few exceptions, such as Carnivals (which, nevertheless, can count on very specific images).

Table 4.2. Main differences between individual heritage assets and networks

	Individual heritage-based products	Heritage networks and routes
Nature of Heritage	Tangible	Intangible
Attitude of Visitor	Gazer	Seeker
Spatial Effects	Negative externalities: outleakage of tourism receipts, free-riding	Positive externalities: Regional integration, polinuclear character
Regional Tourism Sector	Competitive	Cooperative
Product Branding	Differentiation	Diversity / complementariness

Source: authors.

Contrasting with this limitation, networks of hard assets inevitably also bring to the fore certain *software* elements, as they emphasize the (sometimes invisible) “connecting tissue” between network components. This can be as simple as an artistic style, but more often reveals a rich background: dramatic historical events, like diasporas and conquests, or breakthrough technical and social advances. In short, routes generate narratives, which are not so overtly commodified; and favor the active engagement of visitors on account of their curiosity and the mental connections that they make. Visitors are hence led to experience culture from different perspectives, breaking down the approach to heritage that is implied by the monotonous and limited perspective of mass-tourism. Thus, in the previously mentioned Santiago Route, while the connecting theme is the religious legacy of St. James, and the end-point of the route is likely to be a visit to St. James’s Cathedral, the real highlights and branded as such of the traveler’s experience are the journey as such, including the effort required, the hospitality of the people met along the route, the landscape and scenery, and the awareness of the historical importance of the events in St. James’s travels.

This change of perspective also implies a *change of role* of the visitor, from “gazer” of a heritage that he cannot possibly understand leading him to be content with simplified snapshot reductions of reality to a seeker of meaning, engaging in a “discovery journey” in which he or she has the opportunity to learn by comparison, appreciate differences and similarities, identify connecting threads, and share to a certain extent the physical and affective trajectory of those who “own” this cultural identity.

In the next section, a case study of a heritage route based on a network of cities and towns in Spain sharing a Jewish legacy is presented. The study is based on interviews and printed material made available by the Secretariat of the network, and from information from relevant websites (see virtual sources used for the design of the figures and tables). To some extent, this case supports some of the theoretical arguments advanced above, making a strong case for the extension of this and similar routes to a transnational setting.

THE NETWORK OF SPANISH JEWISH SITES

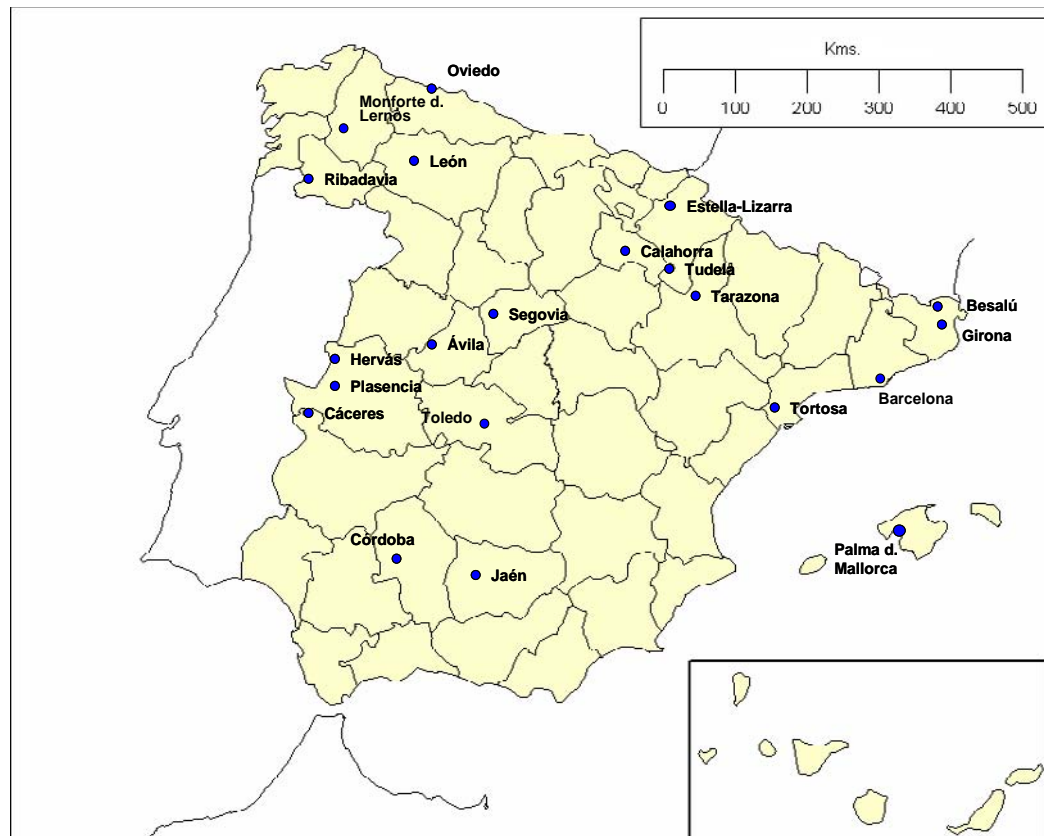
History and Management of the Spanish Jewish Heritage Network

The presence of Jews in Spain was very important until the late medieval period, when they were expelled from the country. In many cities, they did, however, leave a significant legacy, which is currently being rediscovered and valorized through conservation projects and various heritage tourism development initiatives. In this sense, the *Red de Juderías de España Caminos de Sefarad* (Network of Spanish Jewish sites — Sephardic route, henceforth referred to as *Red*) is a no-profit association of municipalities, whose goal is to preserve the urban, architectural, historic-artistic and cultural heritage of the Sephardic legacy in Spain. The municipalities constituting the *Red*, apart from their commitment to preserving the heritage, are responsible for carrying out cultural, economic and tourism development policies centered on the Sephardic heritage, and promoting the necessary infrastructure and dynamization projects. Since its creation in 1995, the *Red* has been growing constantly to reach the current number of fifteen *main cities* (Figure 4.1), eleven of which are provincial capitals: Avila, Barcelona, Cáceres, Córdoba, Girona, Hervás, Jaén, León, Oviedo, Palma de Mallorca,

Ribadavia, Segovia, Toledo, Tortosa and Tudela. Moreover, the *Red* also includes six *associated cities* (Besalú, Calahorra, Estella, Monforte de Lemos, Plasencia and Tarazona), smaller centers that have historical ties to one of the “first league” centers. Although these cities are an active part of the network, in practice they take on only the 30% of the rights and obligations.

The *Red* has legal status as an association of municipalities; it is not, therefore a public institution, in spite of the nature of its members. The organizational principles, according to its statute, are established by the sovereign organ, a General Assembly constituted by the mayors of each municipality, that meets twice a year in a “presidential host city”, each member city taking its turn in rotation and in alphabetical order. The periodicity of the meetings can be extended if so agreed by the assembly (Red de Juderías de España, 2005).

The sovereign executive organ is the Presidency, held by the mayor of the host city of any particular year and assisted by a Vice-President, a post held by the Mayor of the previous presiding city.



Source: authors, based on the Website of the Red de Juderías de España (www.redjuderias.org, last consulted 20 May 2007).

Figure 4.1. Location of the cities composing the Jewish Heritage Network.

The *Red* includes a permanent Secretary General located in the city of Girona, a venue chosen due to its status as “initiating” member. Each city delegates a local expert — normally from the technical staff of the local administration — as its representative at a “technical

assembly” held every two months. They then voluntarily divide themselves into *commissions* on a project basis, a structure that enables each municipality to manage those projects that suit their possibilities or needs best. Every commission is headed by a president and includes two or three representatives. In some projects (strategic plan, inventory of cultural heritage) external consultants are used. The *Red* Secretariat coordinates the commissions and provides support when needed. Economic resources mainly come from membership fees, supplemented with extraordinary contributions such as European subsidies and national funding.

The management approach to local Jewish heritage is not identical in all member city: some emphasize a more scientific focus on the study and preservation of the cultural heritage, while others take a more tourist-oriented approach aimed at the interpretation and public use of the heritage. Nevertheless, all the cities share a common element: membership of the *Red*, thus facilitating the exchange of experiences, the development of a common product, and the coordination and optimization of resources.

Programs and Projects

The activity of the *Red* can be grouped in three main sections (Table 4.3). The section denominated strategic programs includes those projects that have a direct effect on the management of resources and form part of the Presidency and Vice-Presidency’s responsibility. Secondly, the training and research section involves projects which provide adequate scientific, academic and intellectual support for the network’s activity, and indirectly enhance the activities included in the third section, that is, the cultural, leisure and tourism documentary projects.

Eight commissions are currently active. The New Members’ Commission is in charge of monitoring the incorporation of new cities to the *Red*, providing information to the municipalities interested in joining and to the General Assembly that decides on their admission. The Strategic Plan Commission is undertaking the creation of a plan for developing, improving and marketing the *Red*. The European Projects commission is currently involved in two different but complementary projects: on one hand, the organization of the Jewish Day of Cultural Heritage and, on the other, the creation of a cultural-tourist itinerary covering all European Jewries. The *Red*’s web-site is considered a valuable tool for the visibility of the network and its integration in tourist and cultural portals of national and international scope. Moreover, the creation of an intranet system has improved communication and management among the member cities.

The Cultural Heritage Commission is working to build a database on Spanish Jewries, thus contributing to the diffusion of knowledge and the fostering of research on Jewish heritage. A commission devoted to Sephardic Gastronomy and Culinary Culture is in charge of organizing gastronomic days and courses in Sephardic cuisine, and of the publishing of books and reviews on this topic. Another commission was created to coordinate and manage Temporary Exhibitions, with the aim of promoting the Jewish quarters of the cities in the *Red*.

Several traveling exhibitions are organized every year in the various member cities. Finally, the Technical Assembly coordinates the *Red*’s documentary publications, the preparation of an annual calendar of events, participation at fairs and tourist or cultural events, etc.

Table 4.3. “Red de Juderías”: Programs and projects, 2005

Projects	Members Responsible
<i>Strategic programs</i>	
Strategic plan	Cáceres, Tudela + external consultancy
New members	Presidency, Vice-presidency, Secretary
Trademark and patent registration	Presidency, Vice-presidency, Secretary
<i>Training and research programs</i>	
Cultural heritage	Segovia, León
Publications	Toledo, Ribadavia
Training	All the cities
<i>Cultural and documentary programs</i>	
Web and virtual reality	Tortosa, Girona
Temporary exhibitions	Barcelona, León, Ribadavia
Gastronomy	Segovia, Tudela, Córdoba, Ribadavia
Tourism	Cáceres, Córdoba, Jaén, Oviedo, Palma de Mallorca, Segovia, Toledo, Tudela, Secretary
European Project	Girona, Tudela, Córdoba

Source: Red de Juderías de España (2005).

Table 4.4. Annual Jewish heritage events in Spain

Event	Organizer
Sephardic Music Festival	Córdoba
Cultural Tourism and Jewish heritage course	Girona
Universidad Complutense de Madrid Summer courses	Toledo
Judaic Seminar-meetings	Tudela
“Da Historia” Festival	Ribadavia
Theater play “Los Conversos”	Hervás

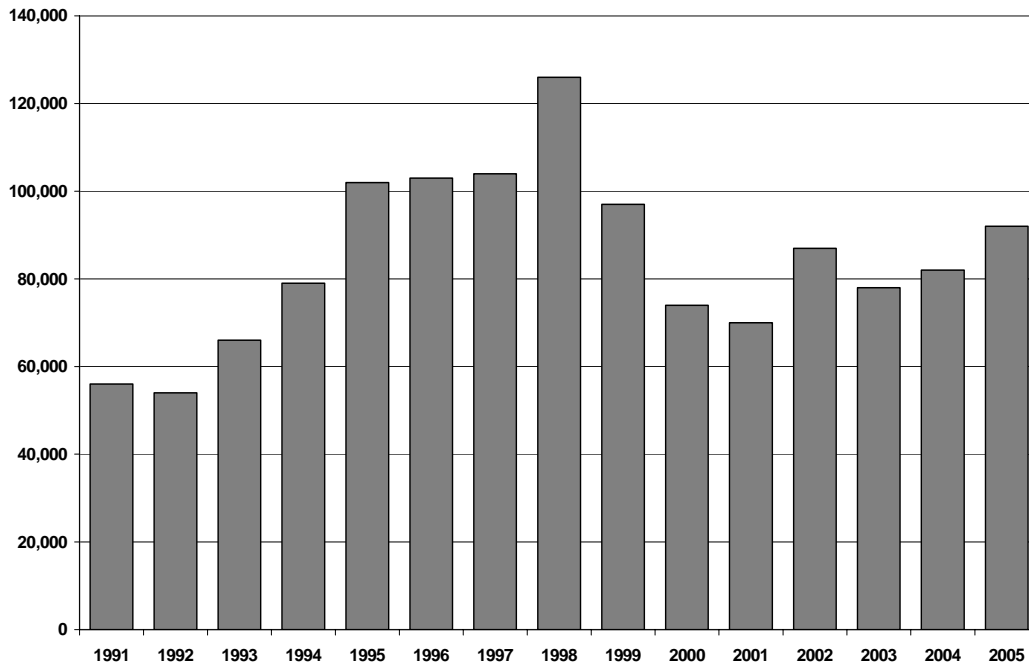
Source: authors, based on personal communication with the coordinator of the Red de Juderías de España, February 2006.

In addition to the projects described above, the *Red* organizes a series of events with the aim of promoting further knowledge of Jewish heritage among all levels of society, in some cases contributing to the development of complementary tourist facilities in the cities hosting those events (Table 4.4).

Visitor Flows and Performance of the Red

One of the key weaknesses of the *Red* is the lack of information accumulated about the visitors directly and indirectly mobilized through its activities and, in general, the lack of quantitative indicators to enable an historical assessment of the evolution of the *Red* both as a product and as a management structure.

In some cases, data on visitors are not collected and, in others, they are inconsistent. One of the few cities collecting data regarding the *Red* is Girona, so this city can serve as an illustration of the effects of the network structure. The visitor count at the Centre Bonastruc Ça Porta, headquarters of the Girona Jewry, shows an almost constant increase between 1991 and 1999, when the Jewish Museum was opened and an entrance fee started to be charged. Even so, since the year 2000 the general trend has also been upwards (Figure 4.2). Regarding the origin of the visitants to Girona Jewry, most of them are Spanish (67.6%), mainly from the surrounding region (Catalonia). Lagging far behind are citizens of Israel (13.5%), United States (5.5%), France (4.5%) and United Kingdom (2.3%).



Source: authors, based on personal communication with the coordinator of the Red de Juderías de España, February 2006.

Figure 4.2. Evolution of the number of visitors to the Centre Bonastruc Ça Porta (Girona).

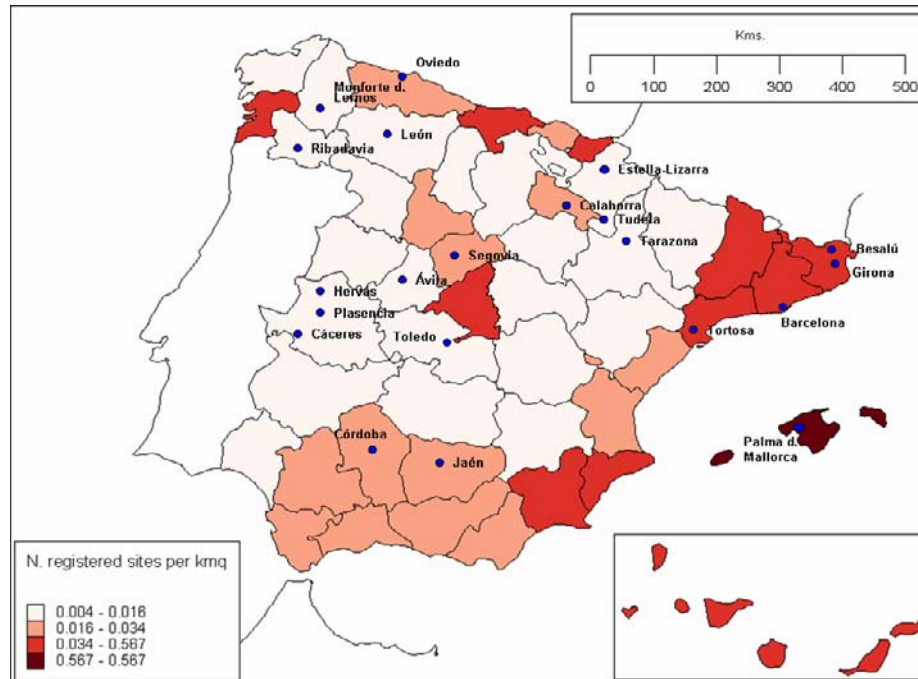
Spatial Configuration of the Network and Territorial Impacts

The spatial configuration of the *Red* reveals a rather dispersed structure throughout Spain, yet closer examination makes it possible to find five main clusters which underpin the development of sub-itineraries, as in Figure 4.3. It is interesting to compare the members' location with data derived from the application of spatial indicators in the ESPON 1.3.3 project. Some cities are in territorial units (provinces) with a high concentration of registered patrimonial assets (as is the case of Barcelona, Girona, Besalú, Tortosa and Palma de Mallorca), while others the majority, in fact are in provinces where the density of assets is rather low (Figure 4.4).



Source: authors, based on the Website of the Red de Juderías de España (www.redjuderias.org, last consulted 20 May 2007).

Figure 4.3. Itineraries across the Red.



Source: authors, based on ESPON 1.3.3 (2006).

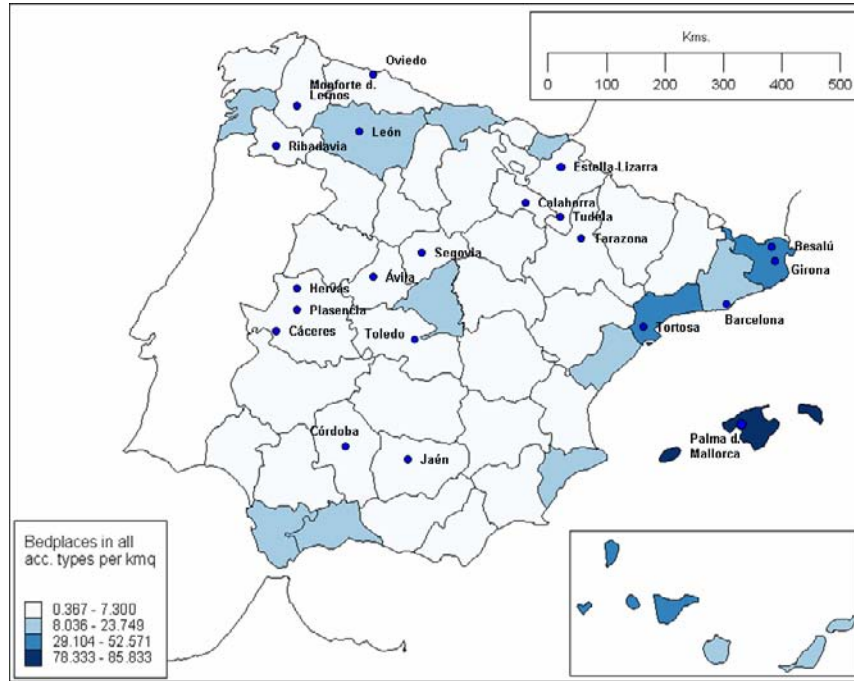
Figure 4.4. Jewish heritage cities and density of registered heritage assets in Spain, 2003.

The indicators of tourism development depict a similar pattern. In Figure 4.5 it can be observed that most cities in the network (except those in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands) are in areas characterized by low levels of tourism development in their economic fabric.

This observation is interesting, because it supports the argument that the *Red* can be understood as a strategy for cultural development (by dynamizing and facilitating the interpretation of existing heritage assets in each center) as well as economic development, in so much as it constitutes a boost for cultural tourism in regions which currently do not enjoy a good position in this respect.

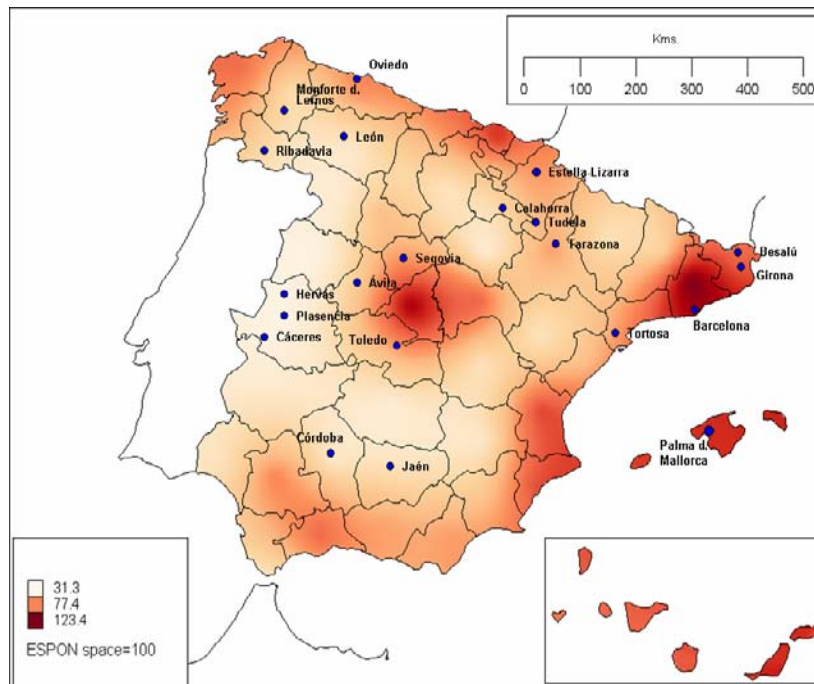
These effects can be evaluated better at both national and regional level. On the one hand, in some regions with lower visitor pressure, including Castile, Asturias and Extremadura, the presence of Jewish network centers is noteworthy, and they can expect to draw some visitors from nearby congested areas, such as the Cantabrian coast, Madrid and Andalusia. Likewise, at sub-regional level this polarity can be observed, with lower-pressure centers in Southern Catalonia, Western Andalusia and Galicia enjoying a unique product to recoup the distance from the star tourism attractions in those regions and support a regional strategy of product diversification.

A final element of interest is accessibility. Figure 4.6 depicts Spain in terms of multimodal accessibility gradients (based on the 'development' indicator in the ESPON project). *Red* member cities appear clustered around main national gateways, notably Barcelona, Madrid, Bilbao and Santiago, thus contributing to spread the territorial impacts of such gateways to more peripheral areas than those that they mainly serve and, hence, prompting the development of itineraries like those depicted in Figure 4.3.



Source: authors, based on EUROSTAT data (Regional tourism statistics, <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>, last consulted May 2007).

Figure 4.5. Jewish heritage cities and tourism specialization index, 2003.



Source: authors, based on ESPON 1.3.3 (2006) and ESPON 1.2.1 (2004).

Figure 4.6. Jewish heritage cities and potential multimodal accessibility, 2006.

Product Diagnosis and Future Development of the Network

The Strategic Plan recently carried out by Tea-Cegos Consultur (2005) included a product diagnosis of all the cities in the *Red*, that highlighted significant strengths and weaknesses, as can be seen in Table 4.5. Among the strengths identified by Consultur are key aspects that eventually determine the success of the product: aspects related to the management of the product; its national and international diffusion; the quality image; the *Red*'s contribution to preserving and interpreting heritage; and the effects in terms of dynamization of the territory. Regarding this last aspect, it can be stated that the *Red* certainly does play an important role in the dynamization of the territory. Thanks to the *Red de Juderías* brand and activities, many member cities have been able to develop a wide-reaching urban and cultural tourism product, thus boosting their commerce, catering and accommodation sectors, generating new specialized employment (tourist guides and staff in the tourist and service sectors), mobilizing local resources in popular and traditional craftwork, gastronomy, etc. In this way they have multiplied the resources available to preserve heritage and enhance public space in a virtuous cycle of culture-based development. As a result, all the cities in the *Red* view their membership as a truly positive move towards economic development.

Table 4.5. Strengths and weaknesses of the Red

Strengths	Weaknesses
<i>Planning</i>	
Association with other cultural networks Existence of Tourist Excellence Plans integrated in the Jewries High motivation of the managing team Institutional credibility Consolidation of the brand "Network of Jewish sites"	Lack of human and economic resources Lack of awareness and understanding of tourism Insufficient cooperation with the private sector Lack of planning strategy
<i>Market Research</i>	
Inventory of patrimonial resources Increase in the demand for cultural products Possibility of creating employment in the private sector	Lack of research on the profile of the Jewry visitants Lack of knowledge of current and potential demand
<i>Product Design and Creation</i>	
Singularity and interest in the historical heritage of the Jewries (great value and antiquity) Potential of intangible assets Historical characteristics of great relevance Specialized equipment and high quality tourist services Attractiveness and diversity of complementary supply	Singularity and interest in the historical heritage of the Jewries (great value and antiquity) Potential of intangible assets Historical characteristics of great relevance Specialized equipment and high quality tourist services Attractiveness and diversity of complementary supply

Source: Tea-Cegos Consultur (2005).

The weaknesses identified reflect some aspects and issues that should be addressed in order to improve management of the product, although in many cases the deficiencies were only detected in some of the cities constituting the *Red*.

As a result of the Strategic Plan and the determination expressed by the entire network, these deficiencies can be expected to be overcome. The ultimate objective is to create a product of high added value and excellent quality.

The Strategic Plan recommends how to fine-tune each member's strategy to preserve its cultural heritage; promote tourism and academically relevant cultural projects; and facilitate the sharing of knowledge and best practices at national and international scale. The main objectives of the Plan can be summarized as follows:

- Promote and stabilize the brand, and increase its use among the members.
- Create a basic, market-oriented cultural product, promoting the cities as centers of dialogue, tolerance and confluence.
- Develop new management and communication strategies for the network.
- Improve the financing and cooperation formula of the network.

During the first ten years of existence of the *Red* (1995-2005), energies were concentrated on the consolidation of the network itself from the perspective of the constituent cities, sharing a common element (the Jewries), rather than on the development of a cultural itinerary or route. However, once consolidated, the network is now focusing on the creation and strengthening of cultural itineraries and routes connecting the different cities.

The other big challenge for the *Red* is the "leap towards Europe": its successful experience in Spain could serve as a model for operation and product development in other countries. Although there is no established roadmap for this expansion, two recent initiatives are definitely pointing in that direction: the European Day of Jewish Culture and the European Cultural Itinerary of Jewish Heritage. The former event is into its eighth edition, co-organized by the *Red*, B'nai B'rith Europe and the European Council of Jewish Communities. It consists of the simultaneous celebration of events related to Jewish culture all around Europe (B'nai B'rith Europe, 2004). In Spain, thanks to the active role of the *Red*, it has been increasingly successful, starting with about 4,000 participants in 14 cities in 1999, and reaching more than 40,000 participants in 23 cities in 2005, out of a total of 135,000 participants in 23 European countries. As a result of this success, the European Route of Jewish Heritage was created, under the auspices of the European Institute of Cultural Routes (as stated above). In order to receive the support of the European Council as a new cultural route on its list of official itineraries, it was necessary to meet some basic requirements in the design and management of the route, namely:

- The theme had to be representative of European values common to several countries.
- The itinerary had to be developed along a historical route or physical itinerary.
- Complementary projects of multilateral cooperation had to be set up on a long-term basis for purposes of research, evaluation and conservation of the heritage, as well as educational exchanges for the European youth.
- The practice of contemporary art and culture was also to be facilitated.
- Sustainable cultural tourism development was to be sought.

construction of routes. These include regional — and even cross-border — benefits, the diffusion of development potential, product diversification, lengthening of stays, support to infrastructure and cultural development in peripheral areas, reduction of congestion in city centers, etc. A necessary condition for — and in some cases, a consequence of — the establishment of routes is arguably a change in the attitude of regional players from a situation in which free-ride one against the other tactics, leading to a “zero sum game” where everybody losses in the long-term, are replaced by a climate of *cooperation*, where the players recognize the advantages of working together and sharing the “costs” — but ultimately also the gains —, thus developing more sustainable regional tourism. The case of Girona’s leadership in the creation and management of the *Red* shows the role that a secondary city within an established tourist territory can play in generating benefits to itself and for the whole region.

Finally, the case highlighted the benefits of branding a heritage network in a context of vertical and horizontal coordination, rather than individual assets in an atomized way. The pursuit of differentiation can lead local stakeholders to construct artificial differences through obtrusive extensions of culture and heritage themes, and to multiply local efforts in an inefficient way (for instance, though the proliferation of festivals and events), leading to the development of what Richards and Wilson (2006) called “serial reproduction” of culture. Instead, the presentation and branding of a heritage network like the *Red* purports *integrality* a complete narration of a cultural tradition or of an artistic style is experienced in the territory or route proposed. At the same time, it purports *inner diversity* and a plurality of contexts and landscapes that support the experience, by offering simultaneously, for instance, an urban and a rural experience, or a maritime and an inland landscape, within the various sub-itineraries identified in Figure 3.3. The *Red* is a practical illustration of Richards and Wilson’s (2006) argument that the cultural landscapes resulting from the juxtaposition of different elements past and future, tradition and innovation, “pacified” culture and conflict, scenario and content is surprising, and hence remembered and sought for by repeat visitors.

The constitution and development of the *Red de Juderías* is also a perfect illustration of the advantages that may be expected from *sharing* heritage and local experience across a wide network of peer centers through a common identity, inducing at the same time specific gains for regional or national tourism, such as the diversification of the product in thematic and spatial terms, through an improvement in the distribution of flows and opportunities throughout the territory, and the valorization of less accessible and less known centers within established destination regions.

In more general terms, the *Red* contributes to different territorial functions attributed to cultural tourism:

- *Conservation*. This innovative type of cultural management has substantial impacts, not only on the achievement of objectives related to social and economic development, but also on the capacity to boost the very resources needed for conservation, and should be extended to other cultural heritage planning and management strategies.
- *Valorization*. The network fosters the diffusion of knowledge of Jewish culture and history, strengthening the profile of cultural heritage assets like Jewish sites and quarters, through the redefinition of the interconnections between them, and the development of new narratives through events and exhibitions.

- *Economic development.* Tourism emerges as one of the most important ways of using cultural heritage. Indeed, the *Red* is an important product for the member cities and, at the same time, it becomes a staple of a cultural tourism product, enhancing business opportunities for associated economic sectors, like gastronomy, popular and traditional craftwork, etc.
- *Cross-cultural cohesion and awareness.* The effect of cross-border cooperation on the good management and valorization of cultural resources is substantial; the expansion of the network throughout Europe is now a priority, and could become a template for other cultural themes and type of assets in the very near future.

Chapter 5

**DETERMINANTS OF THE SPATIAL PATTERN OF
CULTURAL TOURS: A CASE STUDY OF SPANISH
PACKAGE TOURISTS IN INDIA**

Joan-Enric Capellà-Cervera and Gerda K. Priestley

ABSTRACT

Spatial patterns are a key topic in tourism analysis due to their important implications for improving the management and planning of tourism development. The aim of this chapter is to contribute to the explanation of such patterns by focusing on a case study of Spanish package tourists in India, essentially a cultural tourism market. After depicting the characteristics of Spanish tourism demand in the destination and the resulting highly concentrated flow patterns, the authors identify four categories of tour portfolio determinants: demand and destination characteristics, and inbound and outbound tour operators' strategies, in which the most important are a limited number of characteristic traits of the potential market. At the same time, future tour diversification is greatly constrained by the dearth of tourism facilities and current high returns for local operators. These circumstances have led to a situation of retro-alimentation in the form of a vicious circle, which hampers tourism development in the country. Some keys to breaking this vicious circle in the realms of government policy, product planning and development and promotion are also identified.

INTRODUCTION

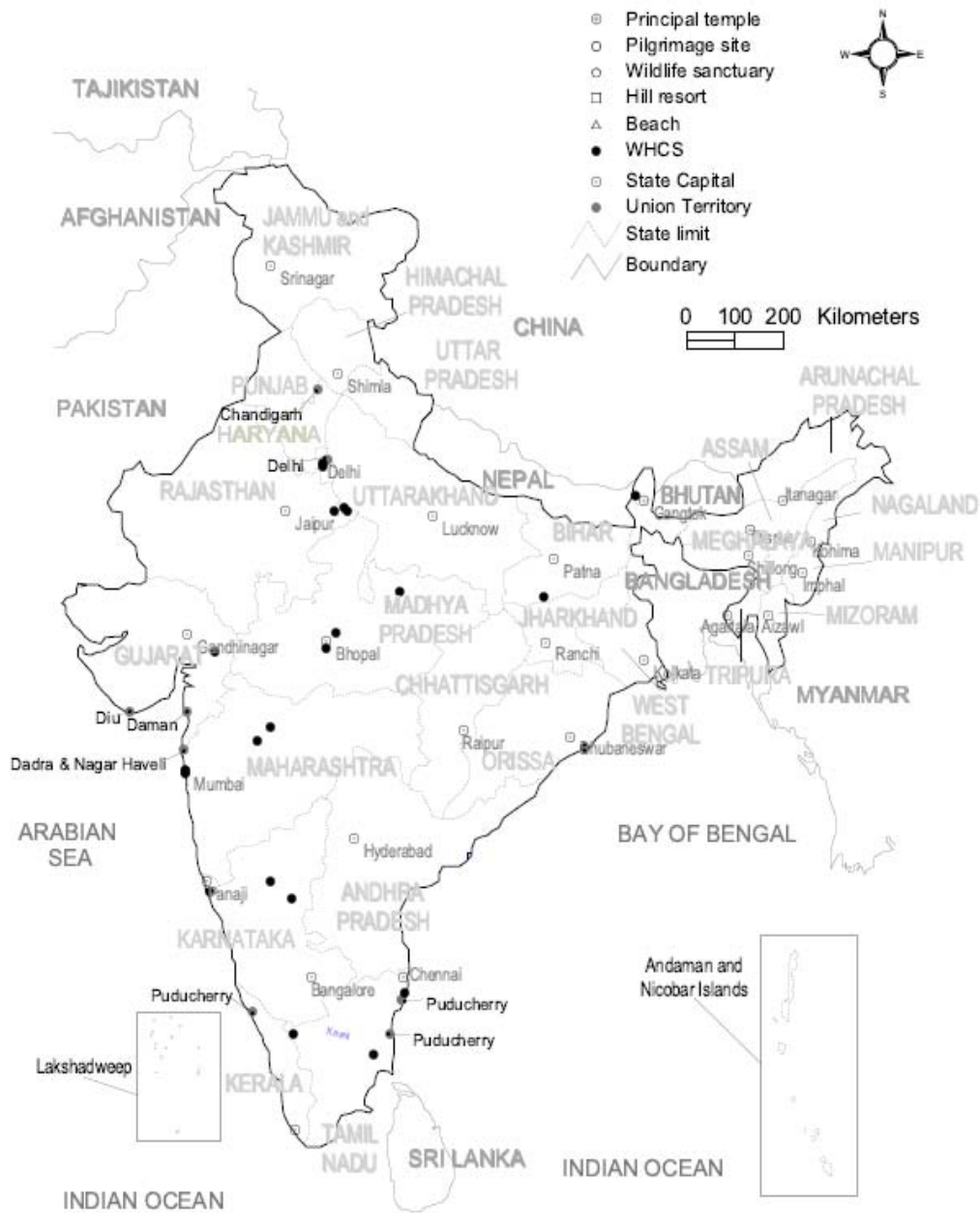
Many researchers agree that spatial patterns are a key topic in tourism analysis due to their important implications for improving the management and planning of tourism development. However, a review of the literature shows that most studies on this topic are fragmented and descriptive, while only a few attempts to understand and explain the spatial patterns of tourism. The aim of this chapter is to contribute to the explanation of spatial patterns by focusing on a case study of Spanish package tourists in India.

Among the variety of patterns that have been analysed by different authors, there are only a few studies dealing with patterns at the intra-national scale, i.e. the movement of travellers within one only country. According to Pearce (1995), this is due to the lack of recognition — by tourist organisations and other public institutions — of the need to gather spatial data. However, some studies at the intra-national scale do exist and have paid primary attention to flows and places visited, including: Forer and Pearce (1984); Pearce (1984); Pearce and Johnston (1986); Oppermann (1992, 1994); Bowden (2003); Seguí and Capellà-Cervera (2006). In addition, this chapter also contributes to another area that has appealed little attention: the spatial pattern of package tourism, since most of the studies are based on fully independent travelers (FIT) (Hall and Page, 2002; Pearce, 1995).

This chapter presents a case study of tourists in India. The authentic attraction of India lies in its heritage: a remarkable cultural heritage, classic monuments and an uninterrupted historical development stretching back for hundreds of years (Shelley, 1991; Chaudhary, 1996). India possesses numerous cultural sites spread throughout the country to such an extent that it is now one of the richest countries in the world in terms of UNESCO World Heritage Cultural Sites (WHCS). Its main attractions, however, are not only pilgrimage centers and monuments, but also include wildlife sanctuaries and national parks, hill resorts and beaches (Figure 5.1). Nevertheless, the major tourist circuits in the country follow the same distribution pattern as the array of heritage sites (Gupta *et al.*, 2002). As a result, the spatial pattern of visits of most of the inbound tourism markets to India is currently based on the distribution of its cultural assets, a fact that identifies India as an important cultural tourism destination. However, in spite of its widespread heritage, tourism demand in India is highly concentrated in certain regions (Yahya, 2003). Hence, in terms of inbound intra-national patterns, New Delhi is the major port of entry and the circuit encompassing the cities of Delhi, Jaipur and Agra (commercially denominated “The Golden Triangle”) is the most popular tourist area, followed by the northern states of Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, and the southern states of Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh (Singh, 2001). This chapter not only describes this pattern, by identifying the array of places visited and the corresponding flows, but also aims to explain the distribution, by pinpointing the factors involved.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research method applied in this case study combined both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Having identified the research problem as the explanation of the spatial pattern of the array of package tours commercialized from Spain to India, it then appeared that the package tour decision-makers held the main keys to understanding this pattern. The relevance of approaching decision-makers obviously lies in their capability to provide the reasons underlying the various decisions taken. A multi-method approach was used to identify the sample of package tour suppliers operating in Spain, and this finally consisted of one Indian inbound operator in addition to a number of tour-wholesalers and travel agents.



Sources: Capellà-Cervera, based on Gupta *et al.* (2002), and www.unesco.org (last consulted: 20/11/2007).

Figure 5.1. Distribution of the main tourist attractions in India.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen as the most suitable research tool, since it led to more profound probing to seek clarification and allowed for greater flexibility than tightly structured interviews (Finn *et al.*, 2000). Responses were analyzed by grouping answers, which is the most common method applied in the analysis of interviews (Veal, 1997).

Complementary analysis was also carried out through the examination of the content of package tour brochures, which could be defined as a quantitative means of analyzing qualitative data. Given that tour brochures contain the routes to be taken and the places scheduled for visiting, they constitute an easily accessible instrument for identifying travel itineraries. The spatial data obtained was further analyzed through digital cartography, to portray spatial patterns, in the first place, and subsequently, to create synthetic data that identified the key itineraries.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SPANISH TOURISM DEMAND IN INDIA

The first underlying factor and certainly one of the most important — revealed through the interviews — is the relative “immaturity” (as travelers) of potential Spanish tourists to India. This assertion is based on two observations: most Spanish tourists still have a single image of the country; and they express a desire to “collect” destinations, by visiting countries in the world that they have never visited before. Respondents identified the Spanish market to be some steps behind the maturity stage of other European markets in this respect. The market’s maturity stage affects the design of package tours at different levels. The unified, simplistic image of the destination conditions some of the most significant characteristics of demand and, as a result, cultural tours, shopping and bargaining figure high among the most preferred activities, and it is only recently that the demand for nature and adventure tourism is increasing. Moreover, owing to the fact that, for most, it is a question of “ticking India off” on the list of countries to be visited, and that includes its icons, demand is concentrated in the places that “must” be visited. The relatively limited level, and simply structured nature, of demand also leads to a low level of competition among Spanish intermediaries. To a certain extent, this creates a vicious circle: demand by first-timers is concentrated on certain sites and the number of repeat visitors is low, so there is a lack of interest on the part of the tour providers to diversify their products, and the situation perpetuates itself.

As a result of the Spanish holiday system — traditionally highly concentrated during the summer months between June and September with a high peak in August — Spanish tourists mostly visit India during its off-season, coinciding with Southern India’s rainy season. This provokes a concentration of demand in Northern India, although this is gradually being reduced, extending the season to the rest of the year. Nevertheless, this seasonal concentration has important implications from the destination’s point of view, because of its potential to compensate the off-season. In reference to current demand trends, most tourism intermediaries commented that demand for India is steadily increasing and is, in fact, already one of the most frequently requested long-haul destinations. However, respondents believe that the Spanish market is very price sensitive, so the fact that India has recently become one of the most expensive destinations in Asia may cause future demand to vary.

From the destination perspective, it is reasonable to state that tourism in India is in good health at present, as the country has recently experienced a rapid increase in the number of visitors accompanied by rising tourism expenditure rates. In tourism terms, the overall potential of India is huge and the country has a wide range of advantages for further development, based solely on its heritage and cultural attractions, apart from the wide array of

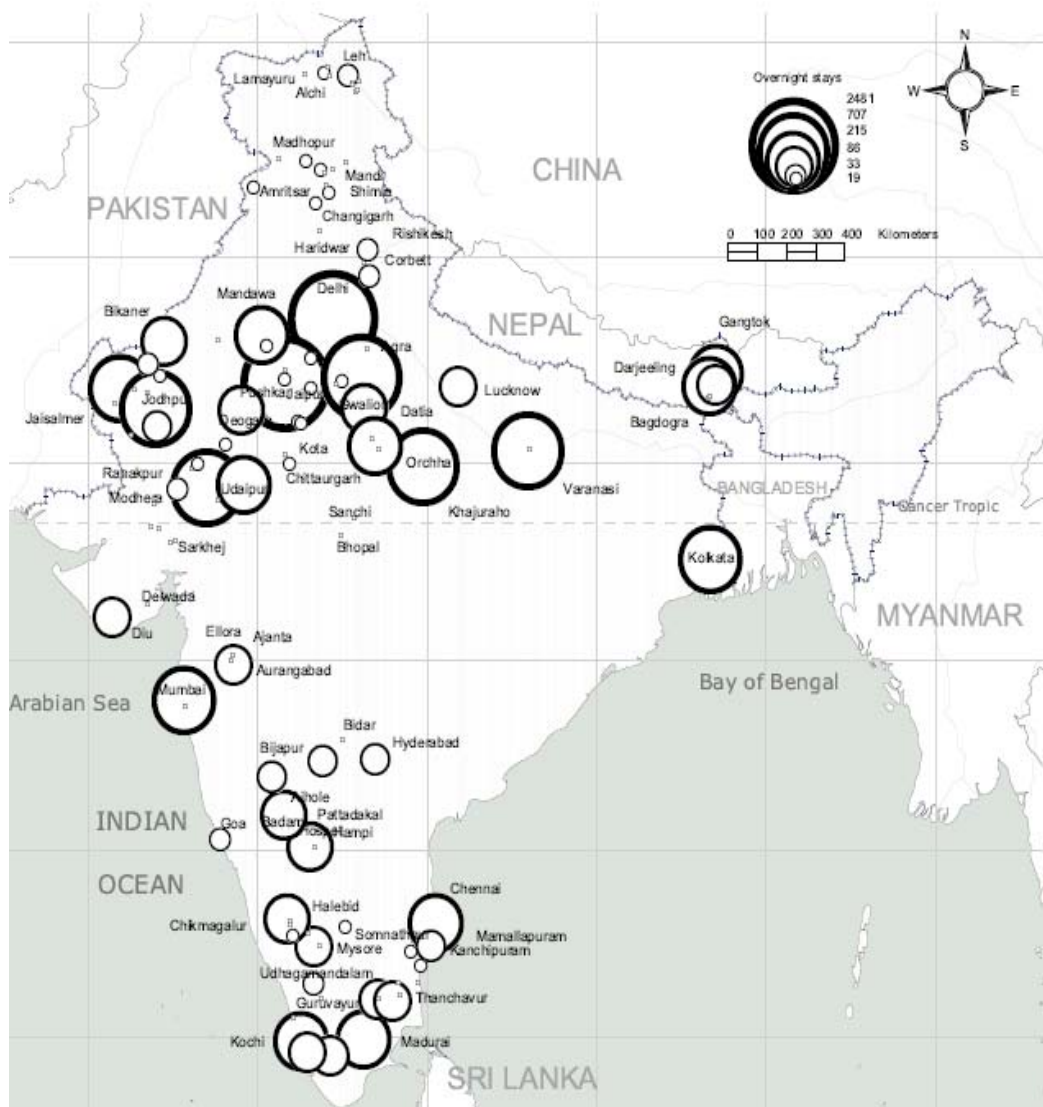
other tourism resources. Nevertheless, it also experiences constraints that could hamper the development of package tours and that cannot be attributed to the suppliers.

As has been stated, the diversity of places included in tours is relatively reduced, concentrating on a number of icon destinations, and this is partly due to the lack of sensibility and awareness from the public and private decision-makers in India. First and foremost, for a long time the Indian Government has largely overlooked the tourism sector, as is evidenced by the Finance Ministry's low budget for this sector (Singh, 2001; Yahya, 2003). Policies of fierce protection of the industry against foreign competition were also counterproductive to its development, although more recently efforts have been made to apply rapid liberalization policies in order to make India an attractive destination for foreign investment in an attempt to rebalance this situation. Moreover, there is a lack of coordination among airlines, the hotel industry and the Tourism Ministry in India that prevents the establishment of an effective strategy to lure foreign travelers (Yahya, 2003). Another relevant negative factor in demand is India's currency policy, for, unlike neighboring, competing destinations, they have not devalued their currencies with a view to making tours less expensive.

Likewise, India's suppliers have made little effort to cooperate with travel agents in the design of holiday packages for foreign tourists. In addition, small hotels that do not belong to the upmarket hospitality sector have no incentive to market themselves abroad. The last main limitation is the lack of funding for education and training in human resource development (HRD), a situation that has led to a relative low quality service industry. Jinthendran and Baum (2000) support these observations, pointing to the absence of adequate HRD programs and a lack of a strategic approach. The situation is worsening, since India is already identified as one of the most expensive destinations among the more lucrative circuit tourism markets in Asia, such as China, Japan or Thailand. Hence, the combination of the factors identified result in the high spatial concentration of Spanish tour itineraries, a pattern that is likely to remain influenced by these same factors in the immediate future.

PLACES VISITED AND FLOW PATTERN

The spatial distribution of Spanish tour nodes to India is displayed in Figure 6.2, which depicts the volume of overnight stays, and Figure 6.3, which demonstrates the spatial distribution of visits. The most significant characteristics are the exceptionally high concentration of nodes in central-northern India and Rajasthan-Gujarat, followed by a second concentration of nodes in the most northern and southern extremes of the country. Finally, a less important concentration of nodes in the central-south and the state of Sikkim in eastern India can be distinguished. With regard to the volume of overnight stays, characteristics similar to those observed by Oppermann (1992 and 1994) in his case studies on Malaysia and New Zealand can be identified; that is, a notably uneven and highly polarized distribution. There are extremely high concentrations in the Golden Triangle (Delhi, Agra and Jaipur), followed at a considerable distance by the cities of Udaipur, Jodhpur, Khajuraho and Varanasi. Thus the pattern of visits is remarkably concentrated in northern India. This was followed by a number of southern Indian cities such as Chennai and Madurai, together with cities in western Rajasthan, Orcha, Kolkata and Mumbai.

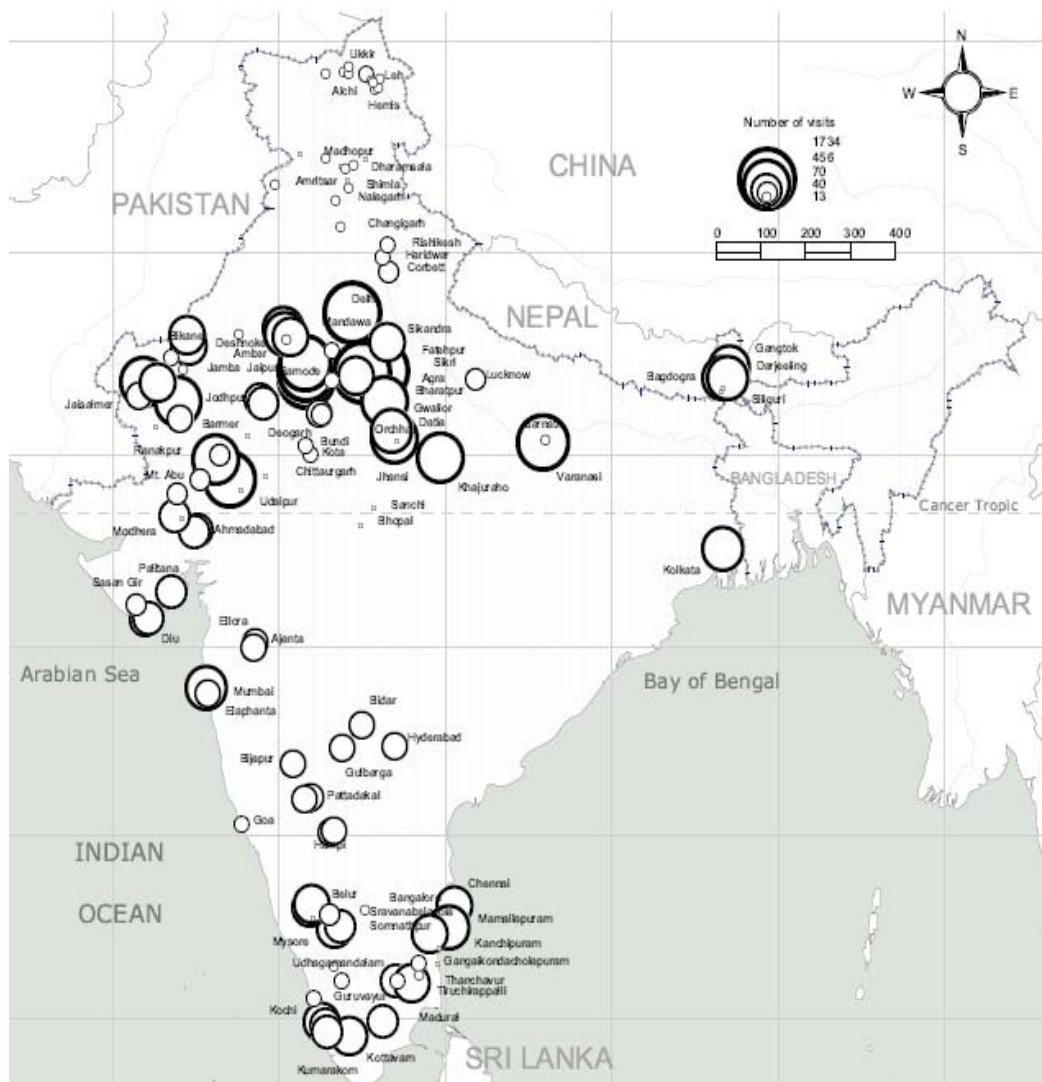


Source: Capellà-Cervera, based on brochure content analysis.

Figure 5.2. Distribution and frequency of overnight stays.

The remaining overnight stays are not significant and, for the most part, are evenly distributed around the key nodes already indicated.

Logically, the spatial distribution of visits shown in Figure 5.3 follows a similar pattern, with high concentrations in the cities located within or in close proximity to the Golden Triangle. In addition, tour extensions from the Golden Triangle towards Varanasi, on the one hand, and Rajasthan, on the other, also contribute to increase the number of visits to other on-route places within the region. Such places that benefit from being situated at the middle of a route were termed “staging points” by Forer and Pearce (1984) and, in this case, Samode and Fatehpur Sikri, for example, would lie in this category. Other tourist sites that register a significant number of visits are most of the cities along the southern India and Sikkim tour routes.

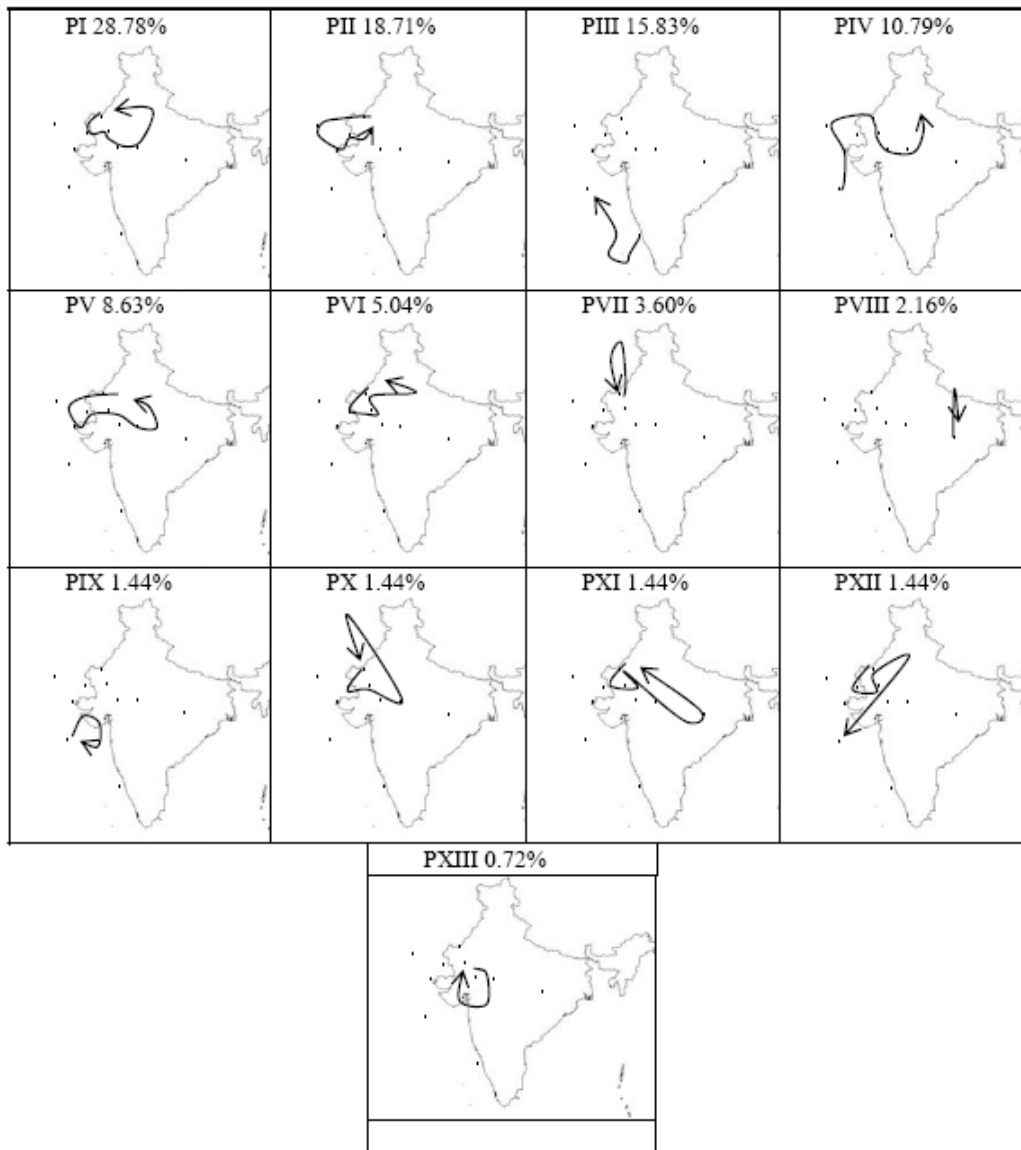


Source: Capellà-Cervera, based on brochure content analysis.

Figure 5.3. Distribution and frequency of visits in India.

Apart from the main concentrations, there is a plethora of smaller tourist nodes that account for a reduced number of visits spread around and between the main nodes already identified. Finally, taking into account that arrival and departure gateways are normally highly concentrated in capital cities and major economic centers, their concentration in New Delhi, Mumbai, Calcutta and Chennai indicates a normal pattern.

Bearing in mind that tourism flows depend on the array of places visited, and that in India there is a high concentration of nodes, it seems logical that tourism flows should follow a similar and highly concentrated pattern. Such is, in fact, the case and this structure is similar to that identified elsewhere, notably by Pearce and Johnston in Tonga (1986), Oppermann in Malaysia (1992) and New Zealand (1994 and 1997), Bote Gómez *et al.* in Spain (2003) and Bowden in China (2003). However, the analysis of the spatial pattern of visits becomes clearer and more meaningful by simplifying the patterns (Figure 5.4).



Note: Percentages refer to share of all tours (n=139).

Source: Capellà-Cervera, based on brochure content analysis.

Figure 5.4. Synthesis of tour patterns.

As a result, the set of tour itineraries can be clustered in thirteen regional touring patterns. The Golden Triangle is included in 76.27 per cent of the 139 tours sampled and, in fact, tourism intermediaries use the Golden Triangle as the base camp to develop most of the itineraries that venture further away. Thus, the Golden Triangle is lengthened either towards the east (to Orcha, Khajuraho and, above all, Varanasi, as illustrated in PI: 28.78 per cent); to the west (to the desert of Rajasthan — PII: 18.71 per cent); or, alternatively, combinations are made with both areas (PIV: 10.79 per cent; and PV: 8.63 per cent). There are also optional combinations with Nepal (PVI: 5.04 per cent); Kashmir (PX: 1.44 per cent); Orissa in the east

(PXI: 1.44 per cent); or Mumbai (PXII: 1.44 per cent). Finally, the national parks of Madhya Pradesh accounted for 0.72 per cent (PXIII).

Southern India (PIII) accounted for 15.83 per cent of the tours sampled and is the only significant pattern that is not based on the Golden Triangle. Other minor regional patterns are based on mountain landscapes and Buddhist sacred places in Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh in the far north (PVII: 3.60 per cent); the combination of Kolkata and Sikkim in the northeast (PVIII: 2.16 per cent); or Mumbai and its inner region (PIX: 1.44 per cent). The combination of both India and Nepal accounted for a significant number of the tours sampled, which indicates that circuit tourism is a specific feature of the pattern of package tours from Spain to India. In contrast, other popular tourism destinations in other relatively accessible Asian countries, such as Sri Lanka, the Maldives, Bhutan, Thailand and the beach resorts of Indonesia are seldom combined with visits to India.

DETERMINANTS OF TOUR PORTFOLIOS

Outbound tourism intermediaries provided an array of reasons to explain the spatial pattern of the package tours that they offer, but these reasons can be grouped in four categories: demand and destination determinants, on the one hand, and inbound and outbound tour operators' strategies, on the other.

Demand Determinants

Respondents said that the pattern is strongly conditioned by demand. In other words, potential visitors were important in determining the current spatial pattern of package tours in India. Interviewees emphasized that one of the most important aspects influencing demand is that Spanish visitors tend to fragment their holidays into two or three different trips throughout the year, so first-timers hope to visit a lot of places in a relatively short amount of time. Moreover this group — already identified as the main market — has a tourist image highly polarized by a number of icon sites in the Golden Triangle and Nepal. Subsequently, short long-haul trips around the north of the country are the most popular among Spanish package tourists.

The information background of tourists was also pointed out as a significant factor. The better tourists are informed, the more places they want to visit. The gathering of information is, without doubt, a central issue that influences tourist behavior. This is supported by Kotler *et al.* (1999) who indicated that the gathering of information increases consumers' awareness and knowledge of available choices and product features. The quality and quantity of information is very important because it dramatically influences tourism demand. Qualitative aspects are related to the different channels by which a tourist gets information: tour operator brochures, TV reports, and press were the sources of information mentioned in this case. The more sources of information consulted, the better a tourist is informed. As a result, a more diverse range of places can be promoted. In qualitative terms, rigorous treatment of information by the mass media has a great impact on demand. When a certain Indian region is displayed favourably on television then demand suddenly rises, and vice versa.

Another factor emphasized was the degree of familiarity with the destination. First-time visitors to India mainly visit North India, and repeaters prefer tailor-made itineraries that are difficult to depict due to the lack of available data. These visitors create “niche markets” that have different needs from those of first-timers, since repeaters seek other types of attractions and experiences. Hence second-time visitors leave the well-beaten tracks of first-time visitors in northern India, normally preferring instead an in-depth visit to Rajasthan or a tour in southern India. Other repeaters, who are very familiar with the country and belong to more selective niche groups, usually request exotic places located in the far north (e.g. Kashmir or Sikkim) or in eastern India (e.g. Orissa). Otherwise, new package tours clearly differentiated from the classical tours are strongly influenced by tourism intermediaries’ strategies, for example, in an attempt to promote a major tourism industry development, rather than from the demand side.

Customer feedback has a twofold influence: information collected through customer service questionnaires (CSQ) or customers’ claims are used to reshape the product. According to Middleton and Clarke (2001) and Costa-Pérez (2004), this factor should, apparently, have more relevance than it does, due to the significance of market research and tourist satisfaction. However, in reference to India, in only a few cases customers’ claims and opinions are considered in an effort to enhance product quality.

Destination Determinants

The characteristics of the destination also influence travel patterns. The great physical magnitude of India and the diversity of its landscapes and environments permit the distribution of different package tours without overlapping places to visit. Furthermore, the fluctuation of prices in India also determines the package tour portfolio. India is highly price sensitive to any variation between seasons: prices rise considerably when potential demand in specific seasons is expected to exceed supply and drop considerably when the season has potentially low demand. This situation forces market suppliers to bargain and re-negotiate product portfolios every year, and consequently the spatial pattern is also affected.

Market campaigns and promotion are another key point emphasized by the interviewees. Official marketing campaigns are especially important for travel agents. Tourism intermediaries are not able to reach the final customer, seeing that they mainly deal with travel retailers or travel agents. Therefore, travel agents are in touch with the customer and their advice may be of great impact for the destination, as well informed and acknowledged travel agents may stimulate demand in less demanded places or reinforce demand in classical tourist sites. However, India’s public institutions are not making great efforts to promote India as a destination in Spain. The closure of India’s tourism office in Spain three years ago is indicative of the lack of the authorities’ interest in this market. The Spanish market is now served from India’s tourism office in Paris. However, India’s regional tourism organizations have competencies to launch marketing campaigns and the positive effects of such initiatives on demand have recently been reflected in the case of the state of Kerala, after presenting marketing campaigns in Spain. Obviously, in these circumstances, most of India’s promotion relies on the efforts made by Spanish intermediaries, who are hampered by their limited budgets for marketing campaigns. One partial solution to the problem could be the allocation of funding to tourism intermediaries by officially recognized tourism organizations. As a

result, potential tourists, by and large, are not well-informed about the destination. Nevertheless, according to the intermediaries, a certain degree of diversification of the range of package tours has been achieved in spite of these constraints. Hence, taking into account the modest efforts to promote other parts of the country, classical India, which encompasses the best known and most popular places, is still successful.

Tourist attractions are another factor influencing the range of package tours. The Taj Mahal in Agra is the most important element influencing the intermediaries' package tour portfolio and the reason why most of the tour itineraries make a visit to Agra. On the other hand, Indian hotels are another great asset for tourists, due to their unique character and luxuriousness. The majority of India's luxury hotels are located in northern India, while the popular Palace-hotels of India are located in Rajasthan, encouraging further concentration of demand in these areas. Nowadays, a significant increase in hotel accommodation provision is taking place in southern India, thus enabling the spatial pattern tourism development in India to spread.

Finally, interviewees mentioned Nepal as the last destination-oriented influence in the concentration of the range of package tours in North India. Approximately 95 per cent of the Spanish demand for India requests package tours combining India and Nepal. Nepal represents a great asset to end a memorable trip to India and, at the same time, tourists have the opportunity of visiting two different countries. Spanish tourists consider that the effort they make traveling to India is so considerable that they want to take advantage of the occasion to combine India with Nepal, as perhaps they may never visit this part of the world again. Thus, taking into account that the entry to Nepal is through northern India, and that 95 per cent of first-timers to India also want to visit Nepal, there is a high concentration of package tours in the north of the country.

Inbound Operator (IBO) Determinants

Spanish intermediaries frequently request advice from IBOs to set up their package tours. Some of the intermediaries agreed that IBOs have a *better and deeper understanding* of the industry in India than outbound tourism intermediaries. IBOs are more *up-to-date with recent changes or new products* and have a wide range of contacts within the industry. Another fact to take into account is that IBOs are *strategically located within the tourism distribution chain*, so they can establish agreements with outbound intermediaries to merge different travel groups into a reduced number of tour itineraries and, as a result, have a greater capacity than outbound intermediaries to deal with accommodation chains and attractions, for example, in bargaining lower prices or getting better deals from destination suppliers. Thus, IBOs participate in the design of package tours in three different ways: sometimes they just work as outside consultants; in other cases, they design a wide range of package tours which are selectively chosen by the outbound suppliers; or, outbound suppliers design their package tours and IBOs modify some aspects slightly in order to avoid problems, failure or unnecessary expense.

Outbound Operator (OBO) Determinants

As a general rule, OBOs appeared to follow well-established strategies and were loath to innovate. However, one particular case demonstrates the potential influence of OBOs in generating demand. In this way, package tour portfolio development can be used strategically to improve a destination's tourism industry development. This case refers to the intention of one OBO to take the initiative in broadening the range of tours that he offers to new sites with tourism development options but that are currently off the beaten track, instead of waiting for news of local developments from IBOs or India's regional/national campaigns to visit new places. His objective in creating new tours is obviously to gain differentiation in relation to the other tour providers, but it will also contribute towards local development in India. Such a strategy is one step ahead of demand as it aims to create a new demand for non-traditional tourist sites.

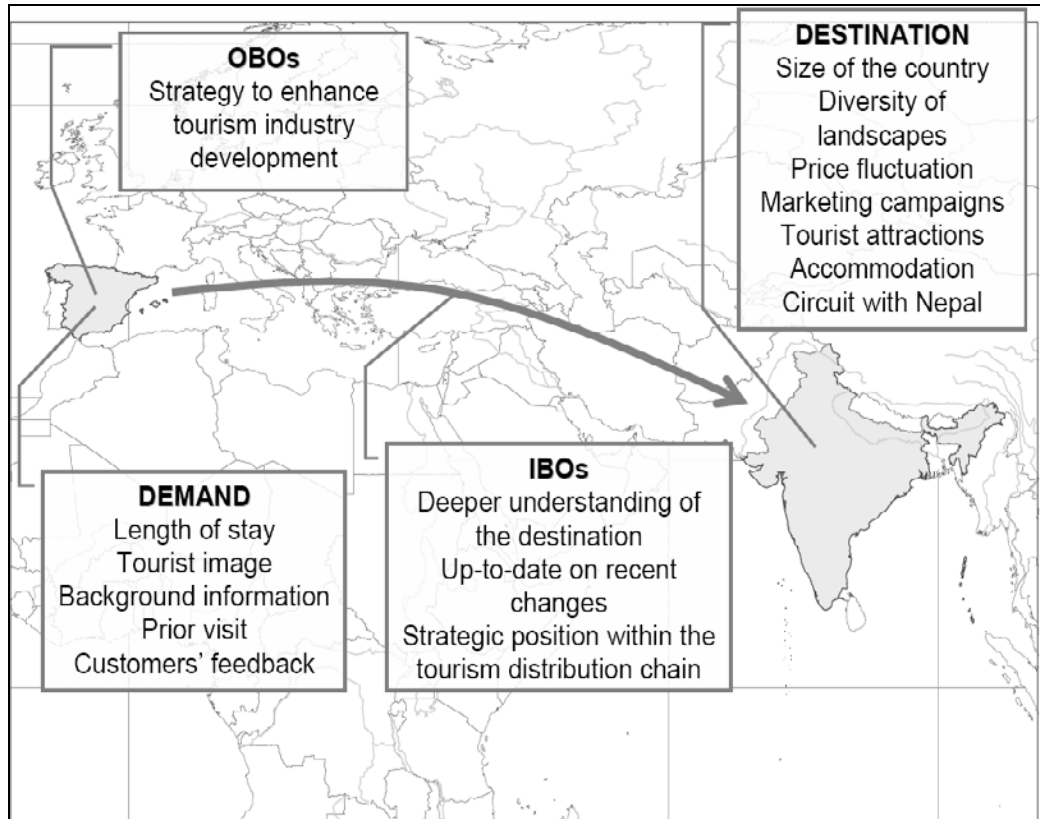
CONCLUSION

The research findings can be summarized in the following terms: the Spanish package tour portfolio to India is influenced by four types of determinants, namely, demand, the destination, inbound (IBO) and outbound (OBO) tourism intermediaries (Figure 5.5). It is particularly significant that, while most of the factors that affect the tour suppliers (OBOs) are external to them, the internal determinants are largely controlled — or, at least, influenced — by the IBOs, above all in case of small and medium-size enterprises.

As a result, the current supply of Spanish outbound package tours to India is strongly influenced by a small number of characteristic traits of the potential market. Of these, the most important are: the fragmentation of holidays into relatively short trips, on the one hand, and, on the other, the preference to visit a different place each year, "place" being understood as a "country", however large that might be, rather than a particular "experience". This is also associated to most tourists' rather sketchy mental map and simplified, uniform, stereotyped image of India, with demand concentrating on certain key cultural icons (as most tourists are obviously first-timers), shopping and bargaining, and the possibility of ticking off two destinations (i.e. also Nepal) more or less for the price of one.

Some trends towards diversification do exist: a demand for nature and adventure tourism is arising, which is leading to the corresponding diversification of the package tour portfolio, while seasonal concentration (especially in July and August) is rebating. All in all, this might lead to changes in the pattern of flows, such as an increase in the volume of tours to southern India, the Ladhak Valley and National Parks. However, most tour providers coincide that future tour diversification is greatly constrained by the dearth of tourism facilities in certain potential destinations.

A final reflection must be made on the profound influence that these factors exert on the future potential of the market and the destination. The situation could be interpreted as a form of vicious circle (Figure 5.6). In addition to the market characteristics already mentioned, the lack of interest demonstrated by both the public and private sectors in India has traditionally been the main constraint for further tourism development and this is a situation that has not yet been addressed.

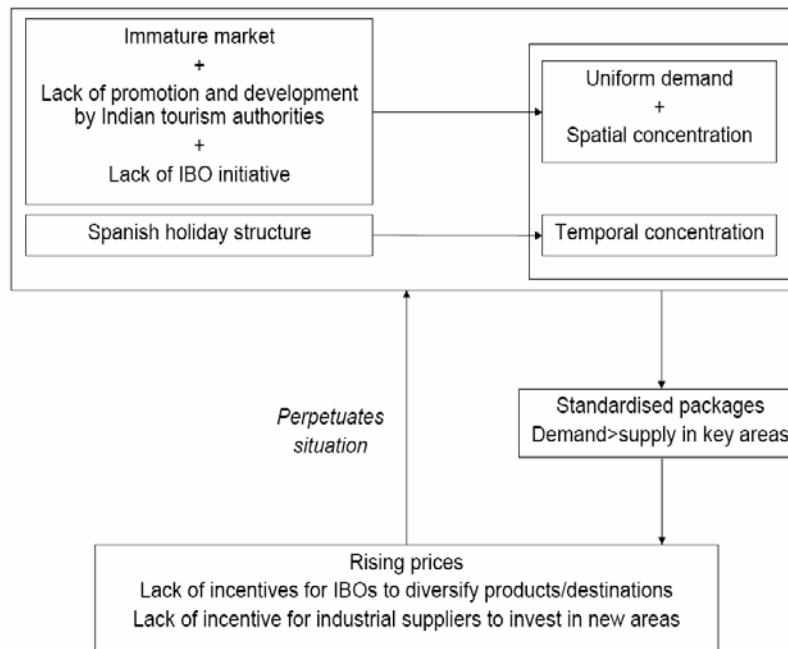


Source: authors, based on fieldwork.

Figure 5.5. Determinants of package tour portfolios.

Thus, the particular interest in icon destinations favors the concentration of visits at a reduced number of places and hinders spatial diversification. This trend is supported by the key role that IBOs play within the tourism distribution chain and by the bonanza stage of tourism demand in India that derives in excess demand at key destinations. This, in turn, generates a lack of motivation to improve and diversify products — at least by existing IBOs and the hotel industry suppliers — all of whom are earning a good living with the *status quo*. This situation, which is not countered by a serious and farsighted tourism policy in India — addressing aspects of both development and promotion — establishes a situation of retro-alimentation in the form of a vicious circle, which hampers tourism development in the country. The keys to breaking this vicious circle that have emerged in this study can be resumed as follows: development incentives and promotion by the central and regional governments in India; close cooperation between IBOs and Indian entrepreneurs with a view to further development and diversification; and the development of new products and destinations by OBOs in collaboration with Indian stakeholders.

However, as things stand, in reference to the Spanish market, the future development of the tourism industry in India is fraught with difficulties and uncertainties. In fact, some OBOs interviewed consider that Spanish demand for India is stagnated and is not expected to grow, a situation that also implies limitations to further tour development.



Source: authors.

Figure 5.6. Potential trend for the market and the destination.

Moreover, the paucity of market research, a basic step to ensure the success of future product launching, is an additional deterrent for prospective innovators. Tours from Spain are dominated by heritage and cultural content, while India offers other assets, such as beach tourism (e.g. Goa) or trekking (e.g. Ladhak Valley), that traditionally appeal to other inbound markets. In the present circumstances, it does not appear that such tourism resources will be tapped for the Spanish market in the immediate future.

Part II. Introduction

PROCESSES: CULTURAL RESOURCES AND TOURISM DYNAMICS

Myriam Jansen-Verbeke

The scope of the book, as outlined in the introduction, is to understand the interactive process of conservation, production and dissemination of cultural heritage. Whereas Part I mainly focuses on the analysis and interpretation of the patterns observed, the chapters in Part II intend to go beyond this stage by trying to understand the role of cultural heritage in the tourism dynamics of places, regions and communities. Heritage elements — material or immaterial — and landscapes shaped by history and habitats cannot be frozen for eternity. The forces in favor of conservation are countered daily by the economic drive to valorize the potentials of the past for the benefit of the local population and the regional economy. The risks of unbalancing the cultural resources, or irreversibly modifying the original form or meaning, are real. The questions that arise are whether or not these signals are being decoded, the right parameters of change are being identified and, above all, whether there is an awareness of the fact that changes induced by tourism can be anticipated, avoided or managed. The most visible impact of cultural resources on territorial identity lies in its potentials for the development of tourism and its eventual role as a dominant agent of change.

A study of the dynamics of the jewelry cluster in old Cairo clearly demonstrates the time and space dimensions of these dynamics (Chapter 6). The traditional imbedding of authentic craftsmanship and its strong networks and small scale organization in a historical area with several tourist icons is a perfect setting for the new “cultural tourist experience”. This is not taking into account the radical changes now being induced by external factors, such as competition, innovation, scale enlargement and the loss of territorial cohesion in the tourist opportunity spectrum. The eventual dislocation of the jewelry cluster to a more efficient “business” area in the city might denote the end of this tourist product life cycle.

The data on tourist intensity (flows and overnight stays) are indeed a perfect parameter for an analysis of the development of tourism in rural regions such as south-western Romania, and this constitutes the topic of Chapter 7. In the study region, the role of heritage landmarks and narratives as tourist attractions is based on the valorization of orthodox spiritual routes

and monasteries. This heritage inspired strategy is assumed to activate incoming tourism and, as a result, local development and the national cultural capital.

Chapter 8 focuses on the transformation of cultural landscapes induced by tourism. This metamorphosis into tourism landscapes can be explained by the interaction of two dimensions: the degree of urbanization and the density of cultural heritage assets. Some landscapes go through a real morphological metamorphosis to become leisure landscapes, whereas other agricultural and rural landscapes have become sophisticated mixed destinations for cultural tourism.

Within Europe the strongest and most ubiquitous cultural resource — also for tourism — is related to religion; hence, new trends in religious tourism and pilgrimage are dramatically changing the scene. This topic is addressed in Chapter 9. Religious tourism is thriving in Europe, facilitated by better marketing, increasing levels of interest in spiritual matters and easier access. In addition, the values of intangible religious heritage and its driving force for tourism and travel are rapidly changing in the present multicultural (non Christian) society.

The most flexible and creative track of cultural innovation is now realized through a rapidly expanding agenda of events and festivals (Chapter 10), although the sustainability of many temporal initiatives, not even place bound, is being questioned. Is there a real added value of historical roots and settings for events, compared to the footloose businesses popping up all over? Can traditional events based on folklore, music, dance or life style, often mixed with religious or legendary components, compete with the boom of new and footloose events? Looking at case studies in historical places, such as Ghent (Belgium) and Savonlinna (Finland) and learning about the success of bottom-up initiatives such as the Jazz in Marciac festival (French Pyrenees) and the “*Notte della Taranta*” event in Salento (Italy) reveals more insights on the range of critical success factors.

It is hoped that this cultural trip through Europe will be an eye-opener on the crucial and subtle role that cultural resources play in local and regional development and in the creation of cultural tourismscapes.

Myriam Jansen-Verbeke

Chapter 6

TANGIBLE VERSUS INTANGIBLE HERITAGE: A CASE STUDY OF THE CAIRO JEWELRY CLUSTER¹

Paolo Giaccaria, Cristina Scarpocchi and Mohamed Abdel-Kader

ABSTRACT

This chapter focuses on the intersection between urban patrimonialization, cluster dynamics and tourism development, highlighting the ambiguities that such processes entail when they come together into a narrow, congested, highly problematic urban space such as the Khan-al-Khalili area in the historic centre of Cairo. After providing a background on the theories of patrimonialization and development, on the one hand, and the conceptualization of local economic development in Egypt, on the other, the authors introduce some general issues related to jewelry production in Egypt and, in particular, in Cairo. This is followed by an analysis of the patrimonialization of Islamic Cairo, highlighting how local communities have often been depicted as obstacles rather than beneficiaries or potential resources in these processes and the strategies followed. The discourse then focuses on the specific institutions — both economic and social — that hold the key to the configuration of the jewellery cluster in the Khan-al-Khalili area. Finally, policy issues are addressed, stressing the ambiguity of the patrimonialization and cluster policies being adopted, for these, rather than recognizing the importance of territorialized practices, are jeopardizing and have the potential to destroy the urban milieu that has traditionally characterized Khan al Khalili.

INTRODUCTION

Over the last ten years the literature on tourism, heritage and manufacturing clusters has witnessed a meaningful process of convergence which, in the most successful cases, led to the establishment of a set of innovative policies for urban renewal and management. The purpose

¹ Though the paper as a whole springs from the discussions and exchanges of views between the authors, sections 1, 2, 5 and 7 are largely by Paolo Giaccaria, while sections 4 and 6 are chiefly the work of Cristina Scarpocchi and section 3 of Mohamed Abdel-Kader.

of this chapter is to consider how these streams have progressively focused on a number of common issues and agendas that make it possible to hypothesize a virtuous circle of interaction between clustering, heritage preservation and tourism development. More precisely, from the authors' perspective, the concept of "cultural district" epitomizes this process. At the same time, it is argued that such convergence is still empirically limited, although the process is well known in urban history, and that it should be fostered by policies and planning designed *ad hoc*. When obsolete, modernist, top-down approaches prevail it is more likely to witness a divergence and the spread of conflicts among cluster, heritage and tourism. This issue is addressed in reference to the jewelry cluster located in Islamic Cairo, an area that, at the same time, hosts the highest concentration of Islamic architecture in the world and is embedded in one of the largest mass tourism markets in the world, namely Egypt. Final consideration is given to how this conflicting collapse of the terms Territory, Heritage and Tourism might be addressed by applying the concept of cultural district in the planning process.

CLUSTERS, HERITAGE AND TOURISM: THEORETICAL VIRTUOUS CIRCLES, EMPIRICAL VICIOUS CIRCLES

The key theoretical point is that the recent debate about manufacturing clustering, heritage preservation and tourism development has highlighted some shared understanding of the underlying process of global-local connection and valorization of the local scale. As far as clusters and agglomerations are concerned, since the 1980s important contributions from geographers, heterodox economists and sociologists have highlighted the importance of territorial, cultural and social factors in addressing the survival and competitiveness of small business activities, mainly specialized in sophisticated, customized, handcrafted goods (Scott, 1997). Labor market pooling and input-output links alone, albeit still central in the making of agglomeration economies, cannot explain the complexity of the assets which are behind the success of culture-driven clusters, such as audiovisual production in London or Los Angeles or made-in-Italy fashion and furniture industries.

More importantly, in the authors' opinion, territory became the shortcut to explain the resilience and permanence of specialization and know-how over centuries in the same areas. In this interpretation, territory is not just the container where social, cultural, economic and political processes take place or where resources are located in order to be exploited. Territory is rather a complex of tangible and intangible resources associated with meanings and values, shaped by social processes and, in turn, shaping them (Giaccaria and Governa, 2007).

This leads to a reflection on the second term, that is, heritage. This is obviously not the place to trace an exhaustive history of the concept, but simply to outline some of the most relevant issues that have arisen over the last decades in the heritage debate (Jeudy, 1990; Choay, 1992; Graham *et al.*, 2000). Over the years, heritage has lost its aura of objectivity — heritage as a set of objects, the meaning of which is somehow defined once and for all by its inherent, reified, symbolic value — to assume a broader set of implications. In particular, the value attributed to heritage is multifold, as heritage valorization is not only about its symbolic (artistic) value, but also about its use and economic value. More importantly, such values are

not inside heritage, but are produced by social relationships, through a process of patrimonialization which is often conflictive. Moreover, the complex range of relationships linking heritage to the community that ascribes value to it has determined a shift from the “monumentalization” of heritage as a set of objects isolated from the territory and somehow menaced by the territory — hence the museification tradition — to the patrimonialization of territory itself. Heritage is no longer a collection of objects, but rather a relational notion: the relationships that the community has established over time with the territory are the true object of the patrimonialization process. In other words, attributing a meaning and a value to heritage implies attributing a meaning and a value to the territory, and vice versa.

As far as the third term -tourism- is concerned comment is limited to focus on the relevance of tourism studies for the purpose of this analysis. Tourism studies cannot be interpreted any more as a simple acritical analysis of how to manage tourist flows in the most profitable way. In this perspective, it is possible to identify at least three streams in tourism studies where a critical appraisal of the phenomenon has played a fundamental role. Firstly, considerable debate has addressed the issue of the relationship between the global tourism markets and local communities that are affected by tourism development. Secondly, discussion has addressed the issue of the sustainability of tourism development, with reference to both the natural environment and built heritage. Finally, post-structuralist studies have dismantled — or, more exactly, revealed — some of the dispositives which link tourism development, identity shaping and post-colonial imaginaries, highlighting how tourism is a powerful tool pledged to build an orientalist representation of the South (Minca, 2007).

However, what is more important is how, over the last decades, clusters, heritage and tourism studies ceased to be three completely different, if not antagonistic, areas of investigation and slowly converged towards some common understanding of the notion of social and economic development. More specifically, cluster competitiveness, heritage valorization and tourism development can be increasingly seen as having positive feedback on each other, enabling the reinforcement of local development processes.

This form of “virtuous circle” can be summarized by briefly addressing the possible feedback among these three realms. In the first place, as far as the relationship between clusters and heritage is concerned, it should first be noted that the Marshallian notion of industrial atmosphere is strictly related to the idea of heritage, in the sense that creativity is deeply rooted in the past and heritage can nurture the inspiration of leisure oriented clusters. This is typically the case for Italian industrial districts, where specializations, such as pottery, that have been present over centuries, now form part of the history of art. At the same time, the specific know-how pertaining to manufacturing clusters can be patrimonialized itself, either in its material dimensions — as industrial heritage — or in its more immaterial ones — as intangible heritage.

In the second place, it is evident that the link between tourism and cluster has also been changing over the last years. Tourism is not seen any more as an alternative to industrial development. This is demonstrated in the spread of factory outlets in some traditional industrial districts, such as Biella’s textile outlet in the Piedmont region of northern Italy, where the presence of a manufacturing tradition and the possibility of buying products directly from the producers is one of the main attractions for tourists. Another example from the Piedmont region can also be quoted: after a couple of decades when tourism was mainly considered an alternative to the declining automobile specialization, industrial design is now seen as an asset to promote the image of the city of Turin. More generally, in order to attract

the creative class, an element which is fundamental for the success of competitive clusters, contemporary location theory focuses on factors that are also considered in tourist supply location, such as the quality of life, the availability of cultural facilities, etc.

Finally, with regard to the virtuous circle, the tourism-heritage link is probably the best established relationship, as heritage is a primary resource for tourism development. Despite the innate conflictive dimension of such a connection, heritage can connote tourism development with a specific symbolic value, while receiving from tourism a renewed set of use and economic values. The retreat of the State as art and heritage patron led to a decrease in the resources available for heritage *per se* preservation and made it necessary to link the safeguarding of heritage to processes of economic valorization and utilization. Nevertheless, as will be seen in the case study, this link is the weak point of the virtuous circle, as the intrinsic process of tourist consumption of heritage is still an appealing tool for policy makers in order to facilitate top-down, short-term, mass-oriented processes in tourism development.

This virtuous circle has its cornerstone in the participation role of local communities in the main processes: the inhabitants play a key function as producers of both goods and meanings and consumers of the complex place that is produced through the interaction of clustering, *patrimonialization* and tourism development. The creativity of the dwellers is fundamental, as the local community has the competences which are necessary to put the virtuous circle to work. Another concept of increasing importance is that of territory. Territory is no longer seen as the physical support of human agency, but is interpreted rather as the unique, localized set of tangible and intangible assets, produced and accumulated over time, that local communities can activate according to their current projects, needs, interests and values, a process which is usually termed *territorialization*. The third element that is central to the purposes of this argument is the need for specifically designed policies which deliberately take into account the issues of participation and territorialization. Territorial policies are necessary in order to deal with the complexity of the envisaged virtuous circle, mainly because the policy background has often been designed by drawing on the separation between cluster, heritage and tourism.

With regard to the policies adopted in developing countries, a tendency for the resilience of top-down policies is common, built up around explicit modernization and, more recently, globalization narratives. In other words, such policies are designed as tools to upgrade national and local economic, social and political conditions, to modernize the country and to make it fit within the waves of globalization. Hence, the main point to be stressed is that, when governments and other policy-makers treat cluster, tourism and heritage as separate realms and, as well, deal with them independently from the existing territorial and communitarian assets, the outcome is likely to be the establishment and subsequent strengthening of a vicious circle, where conflicts between cluster competitiveness, patrimonialization and tourism development explode without any feasible solution.

INTRODUCING THE CASE STUDY: KHAN AL-KHALILI AND THE EGYPTIAN GOLD INDUSTRY

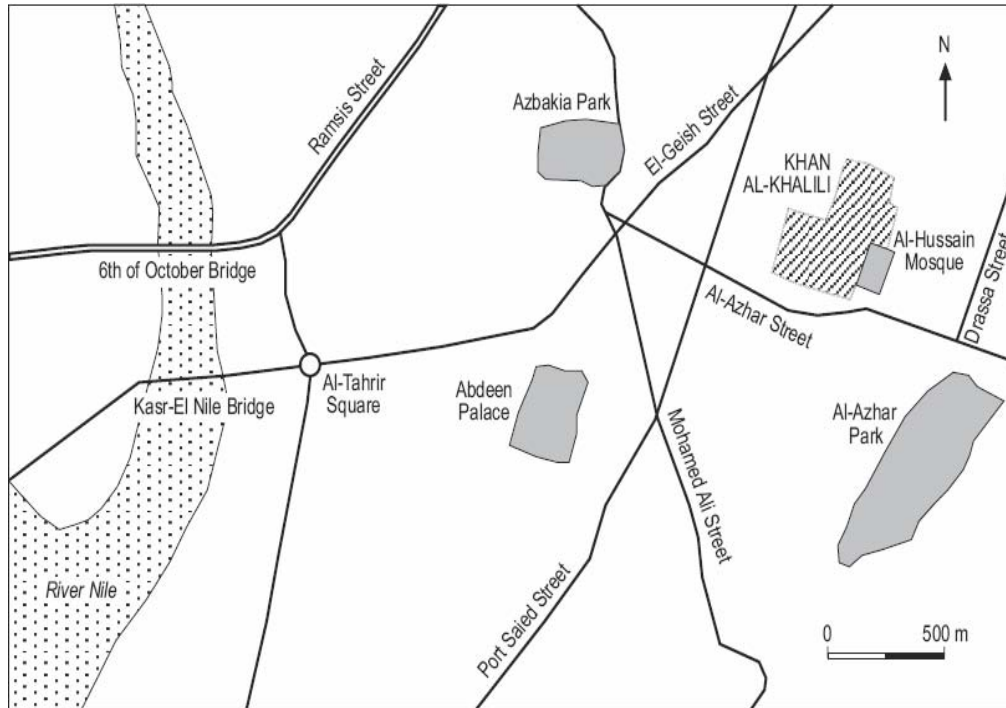
The following section tests this hypothesis about the ambiguous relationships between modernization policies and conflicts, with reference to the processes taking place in the

jewelry cluster localized in Islamic Cairo, more specifically in the Khan al Khalili area (Figure 6.1). Certainly, Khan al-Khalili constitutes a fruitful field in which to analyze how cluster competitiveness, patrimonialization and tourism development come together. Without doubt, Khan al-Khalili is the main concentration of goldsmith production in Egypt, accounting for about 70% of all jewelry production. Nevertheless, some diffusive processes have arisen over the last decades. Apart from the Cairo cluster, there are now several factories in towns on the outskirts of Cairo -four at Al-'Ubur City, two in "10th of Ramadan" City- and smaller factories in Alexandria and Al-Mansura, in the delta area. In general terms, jewel production in Egypt accounts for about 5.000 workshops with 50,000 workers and 20,000 retailers employing about 60,000 employees. More importantly, the jewelry cluster in Khan-al-Khalili can be considered to be a truly cultural cluster (Santagata, 2002), where not only production is split among a large number of small workshops, but also production and consumption are intertwined through complex social and cultural interdependencies. Firstly, it is very important to note that the driving force behind the majority of jewelry purchases in Egypt's jewelry market is what can be called the *store of value* concept. Egyptians believe that gold is a source of security for the future, protection from future uncertainties. In the metropolis, wedding gifts and those given on other important occasions (such as Mother's Day) are mainly presented in jewelry form. Moreover, jewelry purchases are one of the main means of access to property rights for women, who are entitled to keep the jewels as personal belongings in case of divorce.

far as heritage is concerned, Khan-al-Khalili is part of Islamic Cairo, the most important concentration of Islamic architecture in the world, accumulated over more than a thousand years of history of the Victorious City (Figure 6.2). Of even greater importance is the fact that, over recent decades, Islamic Cairo has been the scene of a complex scenario of renewal and preservation policies, designed by a multiplicity of actors — the Egyptian government, of course, but also international organizations such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), foreign cultural institutes, intellectuals and private supranational foundations, such as the Aga Khan Trust for Culture —, a scenario that has led to an endless chain of conflicts and clashes.

Moreover, as a consequence of the presence of both the jewelry market and a concentrated array of monuments, the area is also a well established target for the constant flow of tourists who visit Egypt. Even more significantly, tourism in Khan-al-Khalili is not just made up of international low-cost mass travelers but also of Egyptians from other provinces, going to Islamic Cairo either on a pilgrimage or to buy gold and silver crafts. The outcome is hence extraordinarily complex and it makes Khan-al-Khalili a potential beneficiary of the virtuous circle described above. However, in reality, in spite of such a favorable background, this set of potentially positive interrelations between manufacturing, heritage and tourism has been turned into a conflictive scenario by the spread of inadequate policies introduced by the national government.

In order to grasp the complex relationships among the cluster, the industry and the territory, the methodological issues have been addressed at multiple levels. Firstly, the Khan al-Khalili cluster is contextualized within the wider sphere of the Egyptian gold and silver industry, mainly on the basis of the analysis of literature and official documents, as well as a number of interviews with key observers. The second part of the case study concerns the patrimonialization process in the context of a wider analysis of the conceptualization and rehabilitation of Islamic heritage in Cairo.



Source: authors. Map drawn by Joan Carles Llurdés-Coit.

Figure 6.1. Location of the Cairo jewelry cluster.

In this case the methodology used has encompassed a broad range of sources and methods (the analysis of literature, projects, official documents and the press, and interviews). Finally, an *ad hoc* survey was conducted among workers and entrepreneurs engaged in jewelry production in the cluster, in order to highlight the day-by-day architecture and functioning of the cluster. In order to understand the importance of gold and silver manufacturing in Egypt, it is essential to examine the characteristics of the different components of the industry, namely, raw materials, capital, markets, production, knowledge transfer mechanisms and the government's role in managing the industry. The only source of raw materials for the industry in general is through importation. Despite the government's attempts to encourage the industry by waiving customs duties on bullion (raw material for gold and silver craftworks) and charging only 10% on jewelry, the majority of gold imports are through smuggling, due to the high cost additional charges for other concepts. As a result, the price of legally imported gold generally ranges between 800-1000 EP/kg (Egyptian Pounds) (approx. \$130), compared to 200 EP/kg (\$30) for smuggled gold. Moreover, investment capital in the gold industry in Egypt is mostly self-funded.

Banks do not play a role in this industry: in fact, the Central Bank of Egypt (CBE) refused to introduce the concept of "gold loans", by which banks would give bullions to manufacturers in the form of a loan for a specific period of time at reasonable interest rates (usually 1% in Switzerland and Canada). Hence, gold loans are not applicable in Egypt, although they are considered an important tool to stimulate the market, as is proved by their application in Saudi Arabia, where the industry is evidently progressing.



Key:

Al-Hussain Mosque; 2. Wekalet Al-Selehdar; 3. Khan Al-Khalili Door; 4. Khan Al-Khalili Door; 5. Al-Ghory Door; 6. Wekalet Al-Sanadkya; 7. Wekalet Badwya Bnt Shahin; 8. Sabil El_Shikh Mother; 9. El-Gohary mosque; 10. Sabil, Wekalet Gamal El-Dahby; 11. wekalet Taghdy bardy; 12. Al-Mola Wafk House; 13. Taghdy Bardy Mosque; 14. Sabil Taha Hussain Al-Werdany; 15. Kalawoon School and Bimarstan; 16. wekalet Mohamadeen; 17. Sabil Al-Naser Mohamed; 18. Al-Naser Mohamed School; 19. Sabil, kottab Khesro Basha; 20. Negm Al-Deen Ayoub School; 21. Makad Al-Amer Mamaya; 22. Moheb El-Deen Lounge; 23. Sabil Mohamed Ali; 24. Al-Sultan Barkouk School; 25. Al-Amir Bashtak Palace; 26. Sabil, Kottab Katkhodda; 27. Dareh El-Sheikh Sanan; 28. Al-Amir Methkal School; 29. Tatar Al-Hegazi School; 30. Marzouk Al-Ahmmadi Mosque; 31. Mahmoud Mohamed Mosque; 32. Wekalet Bazaraa; 33. Wekalet, Sabeel Abbas Agha; 34. Bait Al-Kady Door.

Source: authors.

Figure 6.2. Monuments within the Khan-al-Khalili jewelry cluster.

With regard to the gold markets, Egypt used to export approximately 50 tons of jewelry per year to other Arab countries, but this situation has changed due to several factors and, in fact, Egypt started to import raw gold from these same countries. Due to market stagnation, even imports have ceased and traders have begun to export gold both legally and illegally, a situation that has led to an erosion of the gold stock in the country. As has already been stated, traditionally, the production of jewelry was exclusively concentrated in the *Khan Al-*

Khalili area, where Jews and some Armenians began to manufacture jewelry some centuries ago. The recent move by large manufacturers to new cities on the outskirts of Cairo has partly been prompted by the desire to have larger premises at cheaper prices, but more importantly to enjoy tax exemptions offered by the government to producers in these new cities. The production process, however, lacks qualified designers. Products in the mainstream manufacturing industry are based on foreign designs found in catalogues. Despite the fact that some Egyptians have developed their own lines in design and production at a very small scale, their links with the mainstream industry are very limited.

Almost all employees working in this industry are Egyptians, mainly offspring or relatives and acquaintances of old employees, thus forming an almost closed community. With the increasing lack of qualified and talented workers, large factories have begun to import labor, mainly from India and Thailand. Government regulations limit the hiring of foreign workers to one for every 10 employees for whom social insurance is paid. Considering the informal work environment of this industry where employees rarely have insurance, the hiring of foreign workers is unattainable except for established factories. Besides, there are no specialized training centers or educational institutions for jewelry-making in Egypt. The transfer of knowledge among employees and through generations is mainly done by what could be called “learning by practice”. The problem in this learning mechanism is that older and experienced employees do not disclose all the information they have to the new ones, in the fear of being replaced, due to the lack of employee safety nets or unions. Hence, talented, professional workers pass away without handing over the secrets of their profession, which then leads to a dramatic loss of overall talent in the industry.

As for the government’s role and management of the sector, the gold industry recently developed a Chamber in the Industries’ Union or *Ithad Al-Sina`at* to represent manufacturers of the industry. Many believe that the majority of the institutions represented do not play an efficient role, but only seek to satisfy private interests. Others believe that, even with the good intentions of improving the condition of the industry, major factors, such as the lack of coordination and communication and a sense of mistrust among manufacturers themselves or between manufacturers and the government, render any attempts for improvement unrealistic. The government virtually refuses to provide authority to institutions with industry representation to shape the market. This policy is mostly driven by a sense of responsibility towards consumers, on one side, and the imbedded culture of maintaining a central planning authority typical of the socialist regime, on the other, attitudes nurtured by the educational system developed by the post 1952 Revolution government.

KHAN AL-KHALILI AND ISLAMIC HERITAGE IN CAIRO

Although Islamic heritage has been maintained in the background in comparison to Pharaonic heritage, the patrimonialization process began more than one century ago. The official acknowledgement of Historic Cairo as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1979 is, in fact, the result of a process formally started in 1881 with the institution of the *Comité pour la Conservation des Monuments de l’Art Arabe*, but which can be traced to an even earlier period. Despite this long history, it was not until the late 1980s and early 1990s that interest was once again turned to wide-scale projects embracing entire districts or particularly

significant streets, rather than individual monuments. The early 1990s saw the beginning of what was -and still remains- the single, most important project designed until now, given its scope, complexity, thoroughness, and accuracy, namely, the Urban Development of El-Dayora Shiakha Project carried out by the UNDP's experts in 1997-98 (<http://www.undp.org/governance/programmes/life/Case%20Study-Dayora.doc>, last consulted April 4, 2008). Despite its innovative proposals and the consensus achieved among experts, especially in the international community, the UNDP's view of the project never produced an overall and coordinated working plan to unify the range of separate interventions. This led to a period of immobility, which was broken in 1998 when, upon the direct initiative of the Minister of Culture, President Mubarak, the highest governmental authority, launched the Historic Cairo Restoration Project, one of Egypt's most expensive plans ever (with a total budget of one billion Egyptian pounds). Thus, Presidential Decree no. 1352 was issued, in an attempt to overcome one of the main problems that has constantly delayed the rehabilitation of Historic Cairo, that is, the lack of coordination and of a shared view of this specific heritage among the different agents. The objective of the decree was to create an inter-ministerial Institutional framework involving seven ministries and the Cairo Governorate under the auspices of the First Lady, Suzanne Mubarak. In order to prepare and implement the restoration project, the Centre for the Administration of Historic Cairo was set up within the Ministry of Culture, marking a radical shift in Egyptian heritage policy, in that it provided the necessary grounds for the establishment of a powerful group of only Egyptian experts to be involved in the hundreds of restoration projects to be undertaken in the area.

In order to understand the negative vicious circle that can be created among cluster competitiveness, patrimonialization and tourism development, it is fundamental to focus on the conflict that the turn away from purely declarative and rhetorical good-will statements to an effective rehabilitation policy entails (Scarpocchi, 2007). In this particular case, it is possible to distinguish two main kinds of controversies that are relevant for the purpose, concerning institutional responsibilities and citizen participation. The major institutional conflict sees the Ministry of Culture clashing with the Ministry of the Awqaf (the Ministry for Religious Affairs), which has the ownership of most of the historic building in Islamic Cairo. The friction between the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of the Awqaf would appear to arise from a radical difference in perspective and rationale, a situation that has often placed the Ministry for Religious Affairs at the heart of disputes on the rehabilitation of Historic Cairo. Here, the conflict is both cultural and economic, in that the historical and symbolic values that underpin the definition of World Heritage are challenged, on the one hand, by the Ministry of Culture's understanding of their economic and tourist value, and, on the other, by the Ministry of Awqaf's understanding of the concept of *heritage use* that shapes its heritage policies. Historical buildings owned by the Awqaf have often been managed like any other real estate property, because it is on their revenue that the Ministry's budget is based. Hence, this policy of parceling out lots and renting properties was tacitly accepted, partly also because the public funds allocated for the safeguard of Islamic heritage were simply insufficient to guarantee their maintenance. Hence, as legislation does not stipulate rigid conditions, the two Ministries reached a sort of unstable compromise, by allowing the Ministry for Religious Affairs to rent out parts of their properties and giving the Supreme Council for Antiquities (SCA) the supervisory role of preventing abuse — including veto rights about the utilization of the monuments for practical economic purposes- depending on each monument's physical condition.

Another institutional conflict stems from the definition of the safeguarding of Historic Cairo as falling exclusively under national jurisdiction, which brings the Ministry of Culture into conflict with supra-local and external actors, whose participation in the *patrimonialization* process had been a constant feature since the 1970s. In this respect, the relationship between the Ministry, on the one side, and UNESCO and UNDP, on the other, seems to be particularly difficult, although it takes the form of disinterest on the Ministry's part rather than constituting an open conflict. With regard to UNESCO, the Ministry has been accused of carrying out restoration works not in compliance with international standards, while, with respect to UNDP, the Ministry has stated its intention to follow its own guidelines with total autonomy from a presumed foreign influence, thus abandoning the UNDP project's founding principles.

The second main source of conflict is the relationship between the State actors and the residents. Local participation disputes are centered on clashing visions about the meaning of Historic Cairo, i.e. about *inhabitants' use-value* (Islamic heritage is where they live and where they unfold their network of businesses, acquaintances, family relationships etc.) versus the *institutions' symbolic and economic value* (Islamic heritage is something to be preserved in itself and, possibly, to be exploited as a resource for tourism and real estate development). It should, however, be noted that the majority of owners do not live in the buildings, which are rented out under low-rent contracts that do not even cover the burden of maintenance. The area has also been subject to many cases of squatting, estimated to involve up to 30,000 people -amounting to about ten percent of all residents- who have taken possession of vacant or ruined buildings, or have built on abandoned lots. Even more dramatically, illicit occupation often occurred in monuments such as *madrassa* (Islamic schools). As a result of these two issues — the low-rent regime and squatting practices- there is a chronic lack of private resources available for both ordinary renewal and large-scale rehabilitation in order to maintain the built fabric in Islamic Cairo, hence relying almost entirely on public intervention and international aid.

Neglect, by both owners and occupiers, has given the authorities, in different circumstances, the opportunity to justify the area's decay, laying the blame on the inhabitants' negligence and ignorance. More dramatically, the relationship between rehabilitation projects and the commercial and manufacturing activities traditionally established in the area constitutes an even more conflictive issue, in that the process usually leads to the forced relocation outside Islamic Cairo of all non-tourism activities, such as workshops producing aluminum, other metal manufacturers, carpentry and jewelry ateliers and various other workshops. In contrast, actions taken by the Cairo Governorate against polluting activities have been fragmentary, inconsistent and pendulous. In such circumstances, institutional actors are left with two incompatible solutions. On the one hand, there is the option of total relocation, not only of the businesses and other economic activities, but also of the resident population, an option which has frequently been proposed and pursued by Cairo Governorate and by the Ministry of Culture. On the other hand, there is the option of involving the local population in development projects for the area. This is a solution that UNESCO and UNDP have insistently proposed in a number of documents and one that is being successfully pursued, for example, in the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) project at Darb al-Ahmar, where the development of handicraft industries and the corresponding craftsmanship capabilities followed the renewal of the Citadel wall and the creation of an urban park behind Al-Azar mosque (AKTC, 2005). This option would seek a compromise between the rationale

supporting the safeguarding of the environment and of heritage, and that related to local community *use* of heritage.

The key issue behind both sources of conflict seems to be the Ministry of Culture's explicit policy orientation in reference to the future of Islamic Cairo. The main priority in the Egyptian Government's patrimonialization agenda seems to be, in fact, the creation of an enormous *open air museum* to facilitate mass tourism flows. This program implies that the residents become a target almost in military sense as they are identified as the main obstacle to the safeguarding of the local heritage. Locals are targeted as "culprits", in fact, with reference to all the activities that they carry out in Islamic Cairo:

- 1) as handicraftsmen, they are blamed for generating unsustainable production in old-fashioned workshops using poisonous raw materials and chemicals;
- 2) as dwellers, residents are accused of crowding the area, squatting in the monuments and constructing inappropriate modifications to the existing urban fabric;
- 3) as pilgrims, residents' friends and relatives are charged of inappropriate use of the space during the *mulid* — traditional religious feasts.

Some of the accounts about overcrowding and abuse are certainly true and there is no doubt that Islamic Cairo is an overpopulated area where safety and security regulations are not respected. It is also true that the urban fabric, made up of narrow alleys with poor access, is not business-friendly, as will be demonstrated in the case of the organization of the jewelry cluster. Nevertheless, projects such as the those undertaken by UNDP or AKTC, show that renewal and the safeguarding of Islamic heritage in Cairo can internalize the social and cultural question of a community's wealth and participation, while the Ministry of Culture's plan addresses the issue of the residents in a purely negative way, by proposing mass eviction and the destruction of the local social and economic fabric.

INTERNAL DYNAMICS IN KHAN-AL-KHALILI

In order to evaluate the cluster's dynamics, a structured questionnaire was carried out among 34 workers employed in Khan-al-Khalili. The aim of the investigation was to assess how the inter-enterprise relations are organized in order to secure Khan-al-Khalili's survival as a recognizable manufacturing cultural district. The first important observation is that the reproduction of both skills and social capital has worked well up until now, but that it is being harmed by certain ongoing processes that menace the future survival of the cluster itself. This divergence between the past and the future of the cluster can be read across many answers. For instance, although the sample age is quite low — the average age is 33 years, the mode is 32 and 75% of the interviewees are under 40 —, a significant share of the workers was born in the Khan-al-Khalili area (25%) and less than 15% outside Greater Cairo. However, when it comes to the question of residence, the situation is inverted: less than 10% of the sample is still living in Gamaleya district, while more than 25% lives in Cairo's suburbs. Analogously, it can be ascertained that family tradition largely explains why they entered the sector: as many as 65% had relatives working in the jewelry sector and about 20% had inherited the workshop. Even more significant is the fact that 70% of the sample judged the traditional

inter-generational methods of transferring knowledge as effective and still operative. Nevertheless, more than half of the workers interviewed (56%) hope that their sons will have a different job, rather than being a jewelry maker. Even so, family structures seem to exercise an important influence: in fact, 80% of those who had entered the sector through a friend or a simple acquaintance would like their sons to take on a different career, while those who already had a relative in the sector are much more inclined to forecast family continuity (50%).

With regard to the sense of district in the organization of production, it became clear that the awareness of belonging to a cluster is widespread: more than 90% recognized that there is a clustering effect and 88% considered that such an effect is positive for their business. In addition, 80% of the sample believes that specific positive effects arise as a result of the urban location of the cluster. When questioned about the reasons for clustering, half of the interviewees answered that it was because of the historical background and, more specifically, since the time of the establishment of Jewish craftsmen, while only 25% identified economic reasons for clustering (either external economies or market size benefits). Such an answer also highlights a common feature among entrepreneurs and workers belonging to the cluster, which is a partial capability for self-representation in a system characterized by its own dynamics. When questioned about the factors affecting business in the area, most cited generic external factors, such as the depreciation of the national currency (79%), war in the region (47%), the increasing cost of raw materials (44%) and rising living costs (29%). It is only in fifth and sixth position that factors directly related to the local *milieu* were identified, that is, the negative effects of narrow streets on transportation (21%) and the project to relocate the Stamping Authority (17%).

The Stamping Authority (SA) is an agency that was created by Nasser in order to guarantee the authenticity and quality of gold in the markets and to consumers. Obviously, the location of the Stamping Authority within the cluster's boundaries is a fundamental issue for jewelry makers in the Khan and its proposed relocation in Al-Obour City, one of the less successful new towns around Cairo, would endanger the very existence of the cluster. The presence of the Stamping Authority could and should have been turned into a strong competitive advantage, by transforming the mere certification of the quantity and quality of gold into a more complex trademark to secure collective property rights to the cluster. On the contrary, nowadays, the stamping process is nothing more than a tool to collect taxes on gold from the jewelry makers; in fact, Egyptian taxation on gold is currently one of the highest in the region, representing a heavy burden on the producers' shoulders. As a consequence, present-day stamping practices have led to a reinforcement of illegal stamping by experienced cheaters, rather than constituting an instrument for protecting both honest producers and the consumers. Despite the declining importance of this authority, its geographical proximity to the producers is essential to the logistic setting of the cluster itself: hence the concern about its possible de-location. In the next section further evidence of the central nature of the relocation issue is provided, on this occasion because it epitomizes the way that cluster organization and heritage valorization might originate a circular conflict.

With respect to knowledge reproduction, the questionnaire confirmed that this is, effectively, handed down through the generations. Thus, most of the learning (about 60% of answers) takes place as a result of a face-to-face relationship, assisting elderly workers ("look and learn"). It was only in 5 cases out of 27 that the learning process was based on model observation and, in another 5 cases, no training at all was given. The importance of tacit

know-how rather than codified knowledge is confirmed by the criteria adopted in the selection of new workers: knowledge of the industry and experience were the most often cited condition (respectively by 38% and 29% of the sample), while specific studies and talent were less important (respectively 15% and 12%). One conclusion that can be drawn from this data is that, despite the fact that jewelry making is often considered to be a creative, design-based industry, Khan-al-Khalili can be classified as a more traditional cluster, applying conservative design, and serving Egyptians from the low and middle classes and tourists seeking Pharaonic souvenirs. Nevertheless, it must also be recognized that the Khan-al-Khalili masters embody a set of long-established techniques and styles and, as such, are often primary suppliers for design-oriented jewelry makers, no longer resident in the area, but who still maintain important emotional, cultural and economic links with the cluster. This is the case, for instance, of Azza Fahmi and Susanne El Masri, two internationally established designer-manufacturers of contemporary Egyptian jewelry, serving a sophisticated, cosmopolitan market, and who were trained by old Khan-al-Khalili masters.

Finally, the questionnaire addressed the issue of the relationship of the cluster with the different markets. The main feature that emerged was that the link with tourism-related market is important, but less determinant than might be expected. The majority (60%) of the valid answers denoted that most workshops serve a plurality of markets: not only foreigners, but also local and national trade. Only one workshop was identified as specializing in tourist-oriented production, while 22% oriented production to supply mainly the Cairo market. The question of access to markets is also important, for one of the main problems in case of eviction and relocation outside the cluster in a new town in the desert, far from Khan-al-Khalili and Cairo, is that it was seen to sever the relationship with the Khan-al-Khalili shops. According to the survey, more than half of the workshops sell their products directly to local shopkeepers and only 6% deal through local wholesale traders, while a further 9% make sales outside the Khan. This means that, in case of relocation, the workshops would lose their direct link with the end of the commodity chain and would be increasingly dependent on intermediaries, agents and wholesalers, thus reducing their profit margin.

KHAN AL-KHALILI AS A CULTURAL DISTRICT: MISUSED POTENTIAL FOR CHANGE

Khan-al-Khalili seems to be trapped in a mesh of conflicting policies, set with reference not to the interests and competitiveness of the jewelry district, but to heteronymous purposes mainly Islamic Cairo museification and urban renewal. Two final aspects, that may throw explicit light on the topic, merit some comment: the first one concerns the question of representation and collective action and the second one refers to the issue of trademarks. It was not until December 1998 that Egyptian jewelry makers joined into a formal guild with the objective of achieving representation for the sector and acquiring some bargaining power in the face of the Government and other authorities. Nevertheless, the goldsmiths' guild was soon converted into a body representing the standpoints and the stakes of larger producers, mainly located in new towns or along the Desert Road, connecting Cairo to Alexandria. Evidence of this is the fact that the Khan-al-Khalili office of the association has recently been closed and most meetings now take place far from the cluster.

The second issue is even more striking: it concerns the conflict over the relocation of the Stamping Authority, which is meaningful for another reason as well as that mentioned earlier. The authority is currently hosted in one of the most ancient and prominent buildings in Islamic Cairo, where the beginning of the holy month of Ramadan used to be announced in the past, and one that has recently been renovated thanks to a grant from the *Cooperazione Italiana allo Sviluppo* (the official development agency depending on the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs). The relevant point is that the relocation of the Stamping Authority has been envisaged as a convergence of the rationales which are completely extraneous to the competitive dynamics of the cluster. Hence, on the one side, relocation forms part of the narrative about patrimonialization and museification of Islamic Heritage, but this is, to all effects, excluding local communities — both producers and dwellers, as has been demonstrated — from the definition of the use value of historic monuments and buildings, in order to establish new utilities that are functional for the development of mass tourism markets. On the other side, the relocation project involves moving Khan-al-Khalili jewelry makers to Al-Obour City, not in an effort to solve the logistic and competitive problems of the cultural district, but in order to meet the Government's need for enhancing the location process in the new towns, a thirty year old program of spatial planning and reorganization which has never been completely successful (Elyachar, 2005).

Despite the current prevalence of conflict over integration and cooperation, it is possible to envisage some opportunities for the establishment of a virtuous circle between cluster competitiveness, patrimonialization and tourism development in Khan-al-Khalili. Taking into account the organizational architecture of the cluster, the issue takes on a twofold dimension. On the one side, the Cairo jewelry cluster seems to be well rooted in the local urban and social context, thanks to a core set of technical competencies and actors who are aware of the innate potential of the cluster in terms of reputation, social image of the workers and agglomeration economies. On the other side, an important share of the questionnaire sample is largely unaware of the dynamics taking place in the district; they consider the jewelry industry as just a job like any other one and hope that the next generation will be engaged in a different sector. In this perspective, the Khan-al-Khalili cluster can be easily recognized as an industrial cultural district, with its typical historic-evolutionist pattern. Like many cultural districts of the same kind, the jewelry cluster is suffering because of both exogenous pressures *museification* policies of the area, political instability at both national and international scale and endogenous inefficiency such as the lack of competition among the workshops in the cluster, for the presence of institutional arrangements to replace price-based competition might enhance rent-seeking attitudes, leading to a reduction in innovation and lowering quality. In fact, one of the main issues stressed in literature on the industrial district is that, within the agglomeration, prices are not settled solely on a market basis, but they depend on formal and informal institutions, often following non-economic rationalities (“untraded”, according to the definition given by Storper, 1997) and that this process enhances the internal cohesion of the agglomeration and, hence, its capacity to face economic recession. Nevertheless, when global commodity chains spread over the entire world and SMEs gain access to low cost supply, maintaining internally arranged prices higher than actual market prices is quite simply unviable.

Hence, the Khan-al-Khalili industrial cultural district is in transition, but the question is: towards what? Light may be thrown by reference to Santagata's conclusions, when he outlines the need for a general convergence toward setting community property rights as a

shared strategy for the evolution of cultural districts (Santagata, 2002: 21-22). There is in fact potential for the cluster to evolve towards a more complex organizational structure, encompassing features of different and traditionally separate models of cultural districts:

1. the institutional cultural district, developing the fundamental issues of reputation and social image of Khan al Khalili's jewelry makers into more formalized institutions, such as trademarks and other territorial labels;
2. the museum cultural district, given the proximity of important monuments, such as Al Azar mosque and other outstanding examples of Islamic architecture;
3. the metropolitan cultural district, valorizing the already existing leisure facilities, including not only the jewelry shops but also the famous coffee shop and the social and cultural environment where Nobel prize winner Naguib Mafouz located his most famous novels.

The Aga Khan Trust for Culture project for the restoration of the Saladin's walls, not far from Khan-al-Khalili, is a good example of how a complex policy can work efficiently to establish a virtuous circle between the different stakes (Aktc, 2005): *patrimonialization* (through the restoration of the ancient walls and the establishment of museal area); *leisure* (by creating a garden both for tourists and middle-class Egyptians, where property rights are protected by establishing a reasonable entrance fee); and *economic clusters* (by promoting handicraftsmanship in nearby Dard-el-Ahmar, an area formerly well known for its poverty and drug dealing).

CONCLUSION

The main conclusion that can be extracted from this analysis refers to the distance between good and real practices in the setting of policies and interventions for heritage-based local development processes. In particular, in the drawing up of policies linking heritage, cultural districts and tourism, a sort of resilience of long-lasting modernist narratives and discourses can be clearly identified. In the case of Egypt and, specifically, the Khan al-Khalili potential cultural district, such narratives are deeply embedded in a planning-oriented account of space, assumed as the raw material for truly socio-spatial experiments. As a consequence, the territory, interpreted as a unique milieu, as a union of heritage (material and immaterial) and governance relationships, is outside the policy-makers' and planners' vision. While the literature stresses how territory should be the stage where heritage, creativity and tourism converge, reality shows that policies are often founded on divergence and separation: heritage is removed from the social fabric that makes it a live force, to be frozen into an open-air museum; production networks with their traded and non-traded relationships are dug out from the territory in which they had been embedded for centuries; frozen spaces, empty of residents but full of stones, are handed over to tourists, while dwellers, handicraftsmen and pilgrims are evicted to the desert, to the new towns, other frozen spaces, empty of residents but full of stones.

Chapter 7

**HERITAGE-LED DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL
REGIONS: A CASE STUDY OF SOUTH-WESTERN
ROMANIA**

Martha Mary Friel

ABSTRACT

Among different tourism markets, cultural tourism is of primary importance for many European countries, not only in terms of economic drive but also as a contributing factor in the construction of new identities for certain regions. Romania — a country that possesses a rich tangible and intangible cultural heritage, including numerous fortified and painted churches, castles, conjuncts of medieval architecture, as well as important cultural traditions — constitutes one such example, where the valorization of cultural heritage could lead to territorial development and economic regeneration. The chapter addresses this topic by analyzing the ways in which the religious built heritage of Romania's south-western Regions could provide an opportunity for encouraging tourism-based business development, especially in rural destinations.

INTRODUCTION

Europe is currently experiencing profound changes both from a political and social point of view. For this reason, according to the ESPON 1.3.3 Final Report (ESPON 1.3.3, 2006), cultural heritage and identity is assuming a fundamental role, not only as a unique resource for the competitiveness of regions, but also as “glue that keeps society together”.

With the enlargement of the European Union to central-eastern countries, its geography will inevitably change as a result of unprecedented flows of people, information and capital. Thus, European cultural capital both tangible and intangible will be enriched and become more diverse, with the inclusion of an impressive stock of new languages, traditions,

landscapes, intellectual resources, monuments and heritage sites. This increased cultural complexity implies the emergence of additional opportunities both for cultural identification as cultural heritage plays a key role in cultural “bridging” for European social cohesion and for culture-led development strategies.

In this respect, tourism development could constitute the most directly available strategy to convert this heritage into “an economic asset”. Nowadays, it is a widely accepted fact that tourism is one of the leading economic sectors at international level, with world demand growing steadily in line with the UNWTO long-term growth rate forecast (4.1% yearly until 2020) and offering relative stability in the face of exogenous shocks. Among different tourism markets, cultural tourism understood not only as the movement of persons for essentially cultural motivations such as study tours, cultural tours or visits to sites and monuments, but also as an immersion in the lifestyle of the local population (UNWTO, 2004) is arguably of primary importance, and especially so for Europe. Moreover, tourism can also be seen as a contributing factor in the construction of regions’ new identities (Light, 2000; 2004).

Cultural tourism therefore constitutes a great opportunity for many countries but also implies a few substantial risks: economically backward regions may be tempted to “fill the gap” that divides them from the richer regions by abusing the cultural resources, for instance, by investing in a “bite and run” model of tourism development, showing little consideration either for the protection of their assets or for the unique character of their heritage. Consequently, full awareness of the value of cultural heritage for development and the involvement of local communities in the design, management and control of such strategies is of primary importance.

The case of Romania is, in this respect, of particular interest. With a population of 21.6 million inhabitants and an extension of 238,297 sq. km., it is the most populated country among those countries that achieved accession to the European Union in 2007, but ranks very low in most European structural and development indicators, such as per capita GDP, employment growth or gross domestic expenditure on RandD. This newly acquired status provides the country with new opportunities for development based on the recognition and valorization of its rich cultural heritage. The aim of this chapter is therefore to demonstrate that cultural heritage tourism, and especially the *mise en valeur* of Orthodox spiritual routes and monasteries, may constitute a suitable tourism-based strategy for local development and improved performance of the nation’s cultural capital. The first section of the chapter highlights the importance of tourism at national level; the second illustrates the richness of Romania’s cultural heritage in general and of the south west Regions in particular, arguing that this unique heritage could play a strategic role in the future development of Romania’s tourism sector. Finally, the persisting problems in the development of a cultural tourism product in Romania are described in the last section, also advancing possible solutions and future strategic actions.

ROMANIA AS A CULTURAL TOURISM DESTINATION

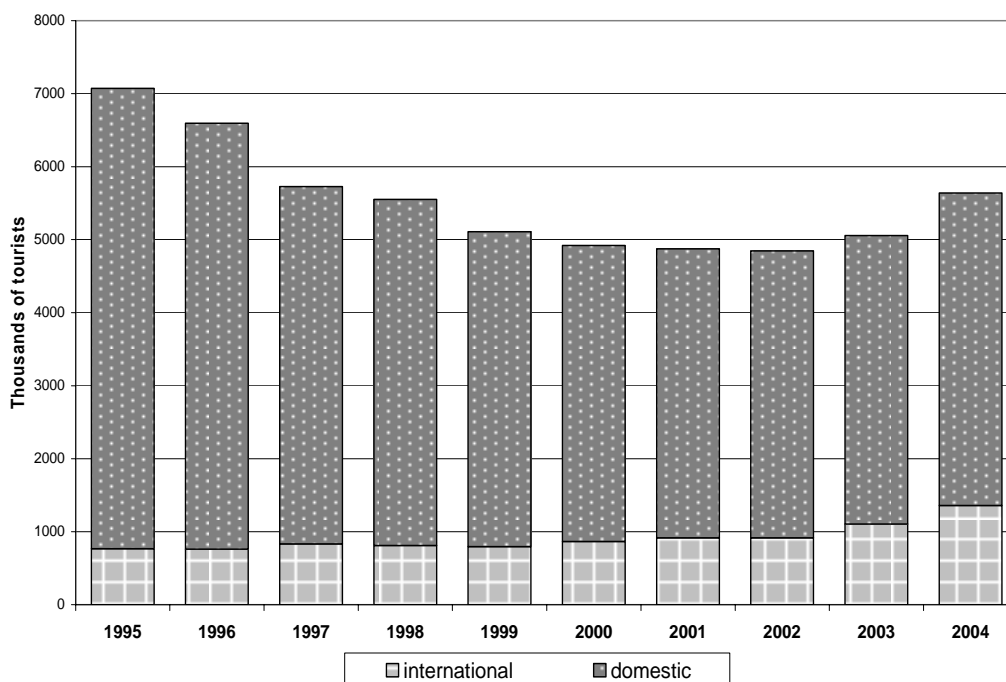
Romania has seven sites inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List and one tradition listed among the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. Moreover, the ethnic composition of its population is historically composite, stratified and rich, as is

demonstrated by the fact that Romania is crossed by four Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe: the Danube Road, the Eastern Trans-Balkan Road, the Via Pontica and the Western Trans-Balkan Road (<http://www.coe.int/>, last consulted 31/10/2007).

The growing awareness of the importance of heritage and cultural tourism development is evident from many actions undertaken at national and local level, such as the foundation by the Ministry of Culture and Cults of a new public institution, the Consulting Centre for European Cultural Programs, the role of which is to provide information and to consult cultural operators concerning access to financial resources in particular. The Romanian government has frequently emphasized the importance of culture for territorial development through the selection of cultural landmarks and the creation of inter-sectoral partnerships, on a public-private and central-local basis, to protect the community's material memory and to support its economic development in terms of new jobs, community services, and entrepreneurship promotion. Nevertheless, many weaknesses still affect the Romanian cultural heritage management system as far as restoration, conservation, accessibility and valorization are concerned, but the country's accession to the EU provides an opportunity to enhance and build on its policy further. This may ultimately result in better opportunities for the development of a composite cultural tourist product with the potential to guarantee sustainable exploitation and the preservation of the natural and cultural landscape.

In 2004, Romania counted 5.6 million tourism arrivals (of whom 1.3 million were foreigners) staying at all types of tourism accommodation and 18.5 million overnight stays. As can be seen in Figure 7.1, the total number of tourist arrivals has experienced an irregular trend in the last decade, even though foreigners' arrivals have shown a slow but increasing trend, reaching 6.037million in 2006, 3.4% more than the previous year. In 2006, most foreign visitors came from European countries (94.2%), but only 46.4% were from the European Union member states (INSSE, 2007). Projections for the next ten years forecast an annual growth of travel and tourism in Romania of 6.7% in terms of GDP, bringing the share of travel and tourism-related GDP to 5.8% in 2016. Arrivals in 2006 amounted to approx. 6.2 millions, 7.1% higher than the previous year with significant increases especially for youth hotels (+55.5%), inns (+34.7%), rural tourism boarding houses (+27.5%) and camping sites (+22.3%). Overnight stays amounted to approximately 18.9 million, 3.4% more than in 2005; and in April 2007, arrivals and overnight stays in all tourist accommodation types experienced an increase of 21.4% and 24.0% respectively, compared to the same month of the previous year.

Information on the magnitude and impacts of cultural tourism in Romania is currently limited, but it is known that in 2004, among the 7.5 million tourists that visited Romania, 4.9 declared visiting friends and relatives as their primary motivation, some 380,000 cited "business and professional reasons", and only slightly more than 530,000 visited the country for other reasons, such as cultural tourism, health treatments and pilgrimages (INSSE, 2007). Cultural tourism potential is therefore difficult to assess given its present dimensions, even though Romania can count upon a rich intangible and tangible cultural heritage, which includes valuable urban centers such as Bucharest, Timisoara, Sibiu (hosting the Cultural Capital of Europe event in 2007), Sighisoara; numerous fortified and painted churches, castles, conjuncts of medieval architecture, and ruins, especially in the Dacian region; as well as important cultural traditions in the field of literature, theatre and crafts.

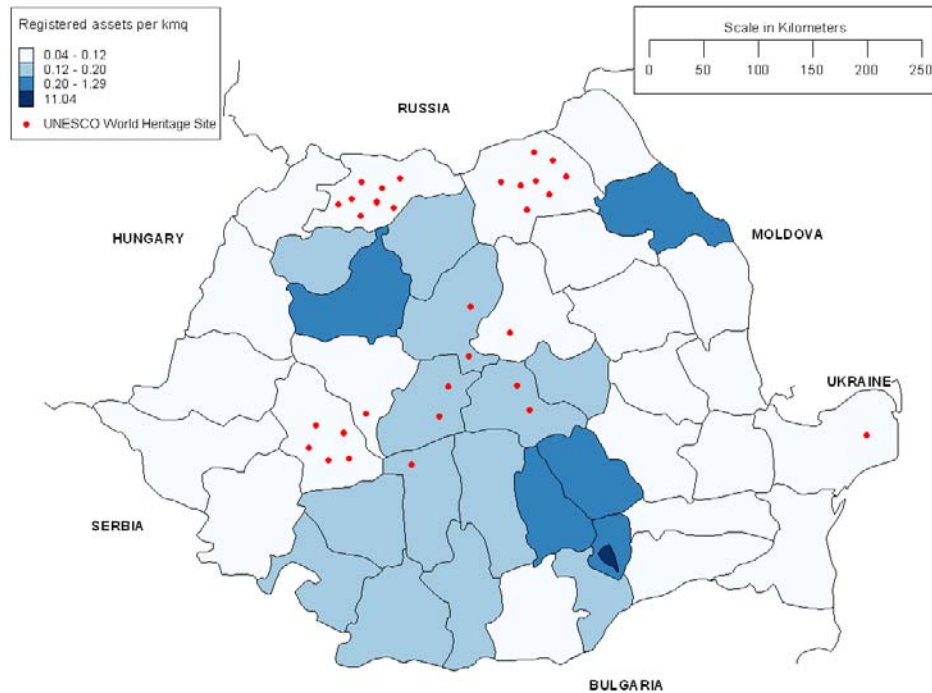


Source: author, based on the on-lien data published on the Romanian Statistical Office (INSEE) website, <http://www.insse.ro/cms/rw/pages/index.ro.do> (last consulted 30/06/2007).

Figure 7.1. Domestic and international tourist arrivals in Romania at all types of tourism accommodation, 1995-2004.

In all, Romania possesses 28,875 registered monuments, 83 conjuncts and cultural landscapes, 667 museums and galleries, seven sites inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List and the traditional Căluș dance listed among the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (Figure 7.2). The architectural wealth of Romania also counts on a notable variety, which is closely related to the country's colorful history and the resulting stratification of the population, that includes several minority groups, such as Hungarians and Rom Gypsies but also Germans, Slovaks, Serbs and Croats that have maintained separate identities in terms of language, customs, religion, arts and crafts, as well as gastronomy.

Figure 7.3 highlights the fact that such diversity is especially present in the north-eastern part of the country, although, by European standards the other regions are also relatively diverse in ethnic terms. In the light of such rich endowment, tourism — and cultural tourism in particular — is emerging as a strategic sector for local economic development. On the basis of this conviction, the Government developed the Romanian Tourism Strategy 2007-2013 (Sima, 2006). The document is the result of a profound assessment of all tourism-related aspects, including infrastructures, environment and human resources, and was conducted in cooperation with the National Tourism Authority, the National Institute for Research and Development in Tourism (INCDT/NIRD), the National Centre for Tourism Education (CNIT/NCTE), the Academy of Economic Studies of Bucharest, the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), CHF International Romania (Cooperative Housing Foundation) and United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

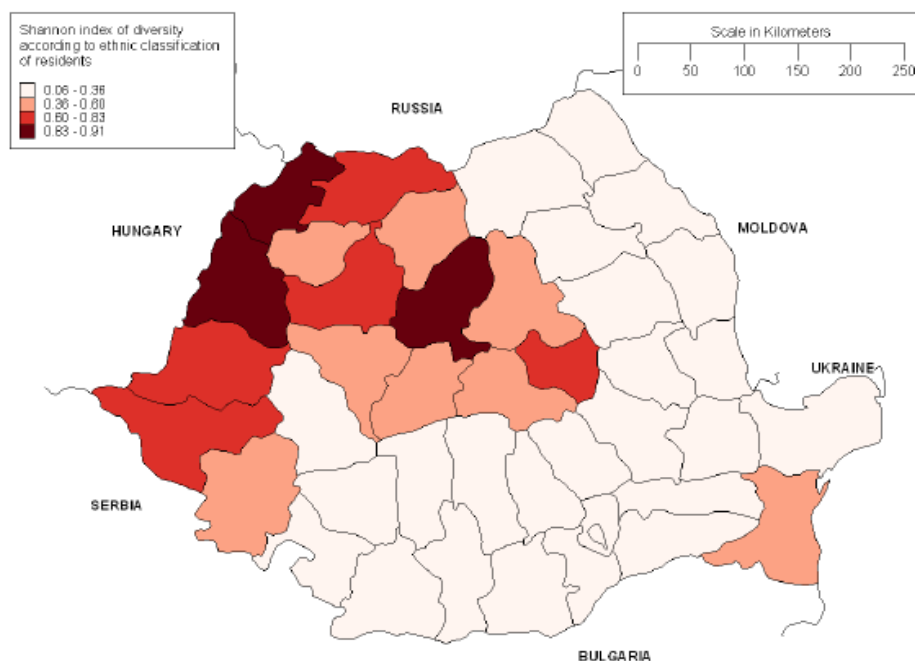


Source: author, based on ESPON 1.3.3 (2006). Map drawn by A.P. Russo.

Figure 7.2. Concentration of heritage sites and location of UNESCO World Heritage sites in Romania, 2004.

As part of this strategy, the National Tourism Authority is also developing a Master Plan for Romanian Tourism, due to be completed in 2008. The highlights of this plan-and its main axes are: the renewal of spa resorts; the development of tourism infrastructures in the mountain regions; the promotion of cultural tourism; the development of sustainable tourism on the Black Sea Coast and Danube Delta; and the expansion of winter sports tourism in the Carpathians.

Considerable effort has been deployed to prepare the candidature of and later promote the city of Sibiu as European Cultural Capital of 2007. This medieval city in Transylvania conserves vestiges of cultural minorities, such as Germans, Hungarians and Romany ethnic groups thus representing not only an outstanding example of Central Europe's cultural complexity, but also an opportunity to consolidate Romania's cultural image in European networks in the year of its accession to the EU, something which has proved a long and contested process. The overall outcome is that Romania is increasingly perceived as potentially offering positive cultural experiences, and as being well endowed with natural attractions. Yet, in spite of the huge promotional efforts that have been undertaken to enhance the country's image, many problems still remain unresolved.



Source: author, based on ESPON 1.3.3 (2006). Map drawn by A.P. Russo.

Figure 7.3. Ethnic diversity in Romanian counties, 2004.

As underlined by Vaughan (2007), the image of Romania as a tourist destination often retains an aura of underdevelopment and low quality infrastructures.

In 2004, Romania's total accommodation capacity was 275,941 beds, of which 166,362 were in hotels, but, of all this capacity, only 53,989 beds were operative (38,050 in hotels). Moreover, in 2005, Romania presented the lowest hotel/population index in Europe, with just 0.1 hotels per 10,000 inhabitants (the highest being Austria with 17.4 units per 10,000 inhabitants). Hotel quality is also still poor: in 2004 only eight hotels out of a total of 928 were five star hotels, while the most numerous category was that of two star hotels (435) followed by one star hotels (203). The situation is similar for other kinds of accommodation, such as BandB or guesthouses. The currently growing interest in rural tourism at European level has given rise to a worthwhile opportunity for the development of alternative accommodation establishments in Romania in recent years, especially considering that in 2004, out of a total number of 3,900 accommodation structures, only 1,077 were hotels.

ORTHODOX MONASTERIES IN SOUTH-WESTERN ROMANIA: AN ASSET FOR TOURISM-BASED LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

Cultural Heritage Endowment and Management

The case of South-western Romania and Oltenia constitutes an interesting example of how cultural heritage, and especially religious built heritage, could lead to territorial development and economic regeneration. This area is one of great natural beauty rich in both

cultural and natural tourist attractions and, in comparison with the rest of the country, it registers a high level of endowment of monuments — and especially of religious buildings — (Table 7.1 and Table 7.2). Dolj county, with 1,068 registered monuments, is the sixth region for number of monuments after Bucharest (2,520), Cluj, Iasi, Dâmbovita and Mures. In addition, south-western Romanian counties present the highest density of monuments (0.14 registered assets per sq. km.) after the Bucharest region, although the use pressure by locals appears to be quite low (562 inhabitants per asset), when compared, for example, with the indicator calculated for south-eastern Romania (1,144).

Among the different categories of assets, religious heritage is of particular importance, as the number of religious buildings in the region and the concentration of these monuments is nearly twice the national average. In the south-western counties, as in the rest of Romania, affiliation tends to follow ethnic lines, with most of the ethnic south-western Romanians following the Romanian Orthodox Church¹ and building up a particularly rich Orthodox religious heritage over the centuries.

Table 7.1. Density of and use pressure on monuments in south-western Romania

South-western Romanian counties	Number of registered assets	Density of monuments (<i>registered assets per sq. km.</i>)	Use pressure on monuments by locals (<i>resident population / number of registered assets</i>)
Dolj	1,068	0.14	694.76
Gorj	697	0.12	566.71
Mehedinti	661	0.13	487.14
Olt	918	0.17	552.29
Vâlcea	919	0.16	470.08
ROMANIA	28,875	0.12	776.14

Source: author, based on ESPON 1.3.3 (2006).

Table 7.2. Monumental heritage in south-western Romania

County	Monuments and Sites*	Religious Buildings**	Archaeological Sites*
Dolj	612	260	196
Gorj	400	186	111
Mehedinți	376	108	177
Olt	633	213	72
Vâlcea	524	295	100

Sources: *Romanian Ministry of Culture and Religious Affairs (<http://www.cultura.ro/Index.aspx>, last consulted 12/07/2007); **CIMEC on-line database (<http://www.cimec.ro/>, last consulted 31/12/2005).

¹ Roman Catholics, largely ethnic Hungarians and Germans, represent 4.7% of the population while 0.9% of the population is Greek Catholic; Calvinists, Baptists, Pentecostals, and Lutherans account for another 5% and there are smaller numbers of Unitarians, Muslims, and other religions (INSSE, 2002).

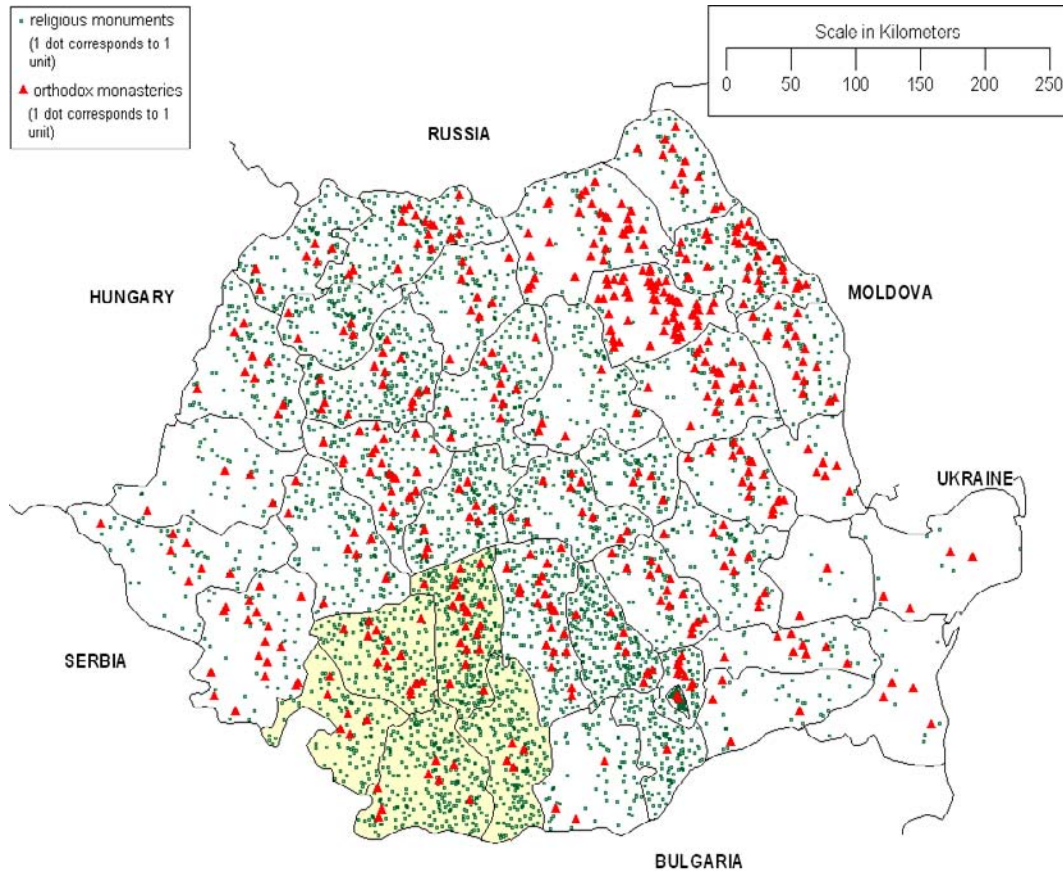
This heritage includes outstanding examples of religious and especially monastic architecture from different periods, such as Cozia, Horezu (UNESCO world Heritage Site), Bistria, Arnota, and Govora in the county of Valcea, and Polovragi and Tismana in the county of Gorj.. In particular, the “Brancuvenau style” boasts richly decorated stone, relief in the “a jour” style, wooden sculptures, numerous vegetal elements, and a variation of the Corinthian style column with less developed capitals.

The richness of religious built heritage in all the counties of south-western Romania, and especially in Valcea, is illustrated in Figure 7.4. Even though many monasteries suffer restoration and maintenance problems and are poorly promoted for tourism purposes, most of them are accessible to the public and the access conditions, such as opening times or entrance fees which are rarely applied are quite adequate not only for the needs of worship but also for cultural tourism. Besides, many monasteries provide accommodation, normally just for pilgrims but, in some cases, also for tourists. In addition, they house museums and exhibit precious religious objects or other collections related to local history and to monastic life. Last but by no means least, the distribution pattern of the monasteries throughout the territory creates an ideal circuit, which could be usefully exploited for tourism purposes through integration in a network both at local and international level. A first step would consist in developing a local tourist product with cultural, religious and rural content, by networking the monasteries present in the territory; the second step could be to create synergies by connecting and promoting this tourist route with other similar experiences such as Greek, Bulgarian or Macedonian orthodox monasteries, as has been done, for example, in the European Pilgrimage Routes project (<http://www.camminideuropageie.com/>, last consulted 12/07/2007).

In the framework of Romania’s religious heritage, orthodox monasteries are therefore particularly interesting, although the combination of monasteries and tourist flows could appear to be conflicting and complicated. The reason is that monasteries and their characteristic architecture represent a particular kind of monastic spirituality, the basis of which is the denial of external social relations. Therefore, the construction of a tourist product based on visits to such monuments has necessarily to take into account the different needs of tourists, pilgrims and the monastic community. Yet monasteries in Romania were — and in some cases still are — places of excellence for the promotion of art and culture, hosting very important schools, libraries and printing workshops. This legacy has not been wasted and, as a result, religious sites — and monasteries in particular — transcend their Orthodox religious significance to become a testimony of Romanian artistic life and culture, currently standing out as an important attraction for cultural tourism in the country.

In addition to the monasteries and the highly evocative mountain scenery, the region has other resources that could be valorized for tourism. The city of Târgu Jiu hosts the monumental ensemble erected by Constantin Brancusi in honor of the dead heroes of the First World War. Moreover the city hosts an art gallery with a photographic display of Brancusi's life and work, as well as works by leading modern artists and icons from the 18th to the 20th century.

As far as heritage management is concerned, the elaboration and control over the application of strategy and policies in the fields of the arts, culture, religious affairs and cinematography is a task carried out by the Ministry of Culture and Religious Affairs.



Note: South-western counties are shaded.

Source: author, based on CIMEC on-line database (<http://www.cimec.ro/>, last consulted 31/12/2005) and on the Orthodox Monasteries the Worldwide Directory (<http://www.orthodox-monasteries.com/romania/>, last consulted 30/04/2006). Map drawn by A.P. Russo.

Figure 7.4. Religious buildings in Romania.

This Ministry includes central departments that assume the role of orientation, design, decision-making and control at national level and, at local level, decentralized directorates for culture, whose main tasks are to draft local cultural strategies, participate in the design and application of these strategies in their respective territories and evaluate the cultural aspirations and needs of the various local communities. In recent years, the Ministry of Culture and Religious Affairs has made an exceptional effort to establish co-operation with the local public authorities, aimed at harmonizing national and local cultural policies and implementing the principle of local autonomy. The authorities carrying out the activities foreseen in the annual budget in each county were indeed decentralized. Besides, in the context of its partnership policy, an important first step was taken in 1997 when the Government Resolution no. 6 recognized the right of local public authorities to intervene and make decisions on public cultural institutions at county level. This policy was aimed primarily at improving the activities of local public cultural institutions under the auspices of local public authorities.

In addition, Romania has a rather unique governmental structure in which the department responsible for religious built heritage — the State Secretariat for Religious Affairs, Department for Ecclesiastic Heritage — forms part of the Ministry of Culture and Religious Affairs. In particular, with regard to the management of the Orthodox religious built heritage, this is the responsibility at regional and local levels of the Romanian Orthodox Church, governed by the Romanian Patriarchate, in cooperation with local mayors and city councils. At the beginning of this century, this body controlled 391 monasteries, 185 museums and museum collections, together with 65 protection and storage centers for objects of cultural and religious significance all over the country, adding up to a patrimony of more than 7,000 objects. The Patriarchate body responsible for south-western Romania is the *Mitropolia Olteniei*, which is divided between the *Arhiepiscopia Craiovei* (that includes, among others, the monasteries of Crasna, Polovragi and Tismana) and the *Arhiepiscopia Ramnicului* (that incorporates the monasteries of Arnota, Bistrita, Cozia, Dintr-un Lemn, Govora, and Horezu).

Socio-Economic Context and the Tourism Sector

Until recent years, some of the counties constituting the south-western region of Romania and in particular Gorj County were among the country's richest, owing to the abundance of mineral resources. Changes in national energy strategy in the late 1990s spurred dramatic social and economic consequences. The restructuring of State enterprises led to a considerable growth in the number of unemployed: the unemployment rate was only 2.3% in 1996, but in only three years (1999-2001) it more than quadrupled, reaching 10.1% (17,767 unemployed). In 2005, the total unemployment rate was 9.1% in Mehedinti County and in Gorj County 15.3% while female unemployment reached 12.6% (Table 7.3). The situation is slightly different in Valcea County where the unemployment rate is 5.1% and where, because of the thermal waters of Călimănești and Căciulata, the tourist sector has been developed since the nineteenth century. In general, the employment structure in the south-west still registers a high level of dependence on the agricultural sector (36% in 2003), followed by industry (18%) and manufacturing (13%), while employment in hotels and restaurants account for just 1% of the total. The labor market is inundated with new university graduates, so the supply of highly qualified human resources is greater than demand, creating a remarkable but unexploited labor potential.

In recent years, south-western Romania has attracted the smallest amount of foreign investment and recorded the lowest foreign trade level in Romania (less than 6% of the national figure, as compared with a population share of 10.7%). Moreover, both companies and the local population have the lowest disposable cash in bank accounts and deposits, and the turnover of private companies is the lowest in the country, representing less than 5% of the national total. There are also well-founded suspicions of widespread corruption affecting all aspects of society, thus worsening the situation by undermining the effectiveness and legitimacy of state institutions and constraining Romania's economic development opportunities. This problem also has a direct influence on the difficulties that local communities encounter in starting up new individual or family tourist service enterprises, further prejudicing the already delicate situation of the sector.

Table 7.3. Unemployment rate in south-western Romania (%), 2002-2005

	2002		2003		2004		2005	
	total	female	total	female	total	female	total	female
Dolj	6.0	6.5	4.9	5.0	6.5	6.4	5.5	6.4
Gorj	6.9	5.6	8.9	7.5	13.4	10.8*	15.3	12.6*
Mehedinti	10.7	8.1	10.0	7.4	11.5	n.a.	9.1*	n.a.
Olt	5.4	6.1	4.6	5.0	5.1	4.9*	3.4*	n.a.
Vâlcea	7.2	4.7	5.1	n.a.	5.1*	n.a.	5.1*	n.a.
Sud-West	6.7	6.2	6.0	5.3	7.5	6.4	6.6	6.2
ROMANIA	8.4	7.7	7.0	6.4	8.1	6.9	7.2	6.4

Note: * provisional data.

Source: EUROSTAT on-line database <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu> (last consulted 27/03/2008).

It is therefore evident that, although south-western Romania, and especially the North Oltenia region, have outstanding tourist potential, the area presents a relatively low level of tourism activity (Table 7.4). As in the rest of Romania, accommodation capacity is still insufficient in terms of quantity and quality. The only exception is Vâlcea county where a considerable number of tourism establishments has been established over the last century, amounting to 38 hotels and 117 other kinds of accommodation facilities at present. Nevertheless, in Romania and the south-western region is no exception there is a noticeable trend towards the expansion of alternative types of accommodation such as BandB, farmhouse accommodation, etc. In fact, in two Counties, Gorj and Valcea, they represent the main category, with 67% and 69% respectively of all the available facilities in the territory. In the 2002–04 period, the number of hotels in south-western counties increased by only 8 units, while the number of other kinds of accommodation structures rose from 94 units in 2002 to 117 in 2004. This type of accommodation presents several favorable characteristics. First of all, setting them up requires lower investment compared to that necessary for other kinds of tourism infrastructures and is therefore easier to achieve in a context of difficult access to financial credits. In addition, this kind of accommodation provides an opportunity for income differentiation for local households. Finally, in a sparsely populated territory particularly rich in natural and cultural attractions spread over a large territory, this kind of tourism infrastructure is certainly more functional and sustainable. The expansion of nature and rural tourism, the possibility for the local population to convert part of their homes into BandB and provide rural tourism activities, and the opportunity of differentiating their income, are the factors underlying the success of this accommodation formula, which could constitute a frontier of convergence between local business opportunities and emerging markets, notably cultural and nature-based tourism, as Hall has already pointed out (2004).

Unfortunately, in spite of the many efforts that have been made to establish programs to protect and promote national cultural heritage in co-operation with decentralized departments of the ministries and with local communities, many weaknesses in the management of religious heritage still persist. The most important of these are: difficulties in finding the necessary financial resources for protection; increasing pressure from construction activity and illegal land use; and the lack of adequate technical tools for conservation.

Table 7.4. Accommodation capacity and tourist flows in south-western Romania, 2004

County	Accommodation capacity		Arrivals	Overnight stays	Net occupancy rate**
	Total (n. of beds)	Annual (n. of beds * opening days)			
Dolj	1,068	354,400	38,700	78,400	22.1%
Gorj*	1,199	357,500	37,900	104,200	29.2%
Olt	724	150,000	18,600	40,000	26.4%
Mehedinți	916	315,000	47,800	123,500	39.2%
Vâlcea	10,058	2,555,000	217,400	1,316,000	51.5%

Notes: * 2002 data; ** based on annual accommodation capacity.

Source: INSSE — Statistical Regional County Offices: <http://www.insse.ro/> (last consulted 30/06/2007).

As a result, the maintenance of valuable buildings and the conservation of objects and furnishings are in jeopardy, even though tourism constitutes a strategic priority in the Regional Development Plan of the Oltenia Region and the religious heritage and monasteries are seen as an important tourist attraction.

In recent years religious/spiritual tourism is, in fact, becoming an increasingly more significant market throughout Europe, not only because of its impact in terms of expenditure, but also for the attention that this kind of tourism draws to other aspects of the territory besides the traditional religious motivation. The increasing demand for high quality infrastructures from the “cultural/religious” tourism segment, together with its renewed interest in local tradition and culture, is progressively displacing the traditional conception of religious tourism as a number of pilgrims traveling in a group, interested only in the specific religious attractions, with little or no interest in local tradition and history and with low spending capacity. Therefore, alongside traditional cultural tourism, this new market segment constitutes an interesting opportunity for developing new products based on religious cultural heritage, with which Romania is particularly well endowed.

CONCLUSION

South-western Romania is identified as an interesting destination for cultural tourism, even in spite of the many difficulties that arise from the lack of funds for promotion and from the negative image of the county’s infrastructures. It can therefore be concluded that the problems facing tourism development in Romania are threefold: there is the question of the product itself; a lack of effective promotional strategies; and important organizational and infrastructural deficiencies. Even though accessibility to the territory in general and to the heritage attractions in particular is quite good, the quantity and quality of public transport is clearly insufficient. Considerable improvements in tourism infrastructures are also needed, for these are totally inadequate — both from a quantitative and a qualitative point of view — for present demand, but even more so in view of a future increase of activity from the cultural tourist market segment. The upgrading of hotels, roads and public transport, tourist

information offices and other facilities is therefore a priority. As an example, the airport of Craiova could be a very important asset for tourism development in south-western counties, but it badly needs renovation. Moreover, additional efforts have to be made to renew Romania's image as a country with a unique variety of cultural and natural attractions. Romania could, in fact, satisfy a great variety of tourism segments: rural, cultural, adventure, spa, etc. However, its image needs to be redesigned through the promotion of a national tourism brand, in an effort to improve both domestic and international tourism, as otherwise it could be very difficult — if not impossible — for the individual rural areas to access international markets. This certainly requires the prior identification of the perceived identity of Romania and its redefinition through carefully selected campaigns.

At present, a strategic plan for the management and promotion of the religious built heritage at national and regional level is being implemented, but to date it has not been very effective in relation to local development objectives. The Regional Development Plan of the Oltenia Region highlights the tourism development potential of its religious heritage, and especially of its monasteries, as important attractions for cultural tourism, considered as a strategic priority for the region. The Regional Development Agency of South-West Oltenia recently created the Oltenia Tourist Association (ATO), an NGO that promotes tourism at national and international level, and has established cooperation agreements with other tourism operators and local development agents, such as the Association for Rural Tourism Promotion (ANTREC) that operates mainly in the accommodation sector, supervising the quality of guest-houses and BandB.

These initiatives are intended, on the one hand, to enhance awareness within the local community of the value of their cultural and natural heritage and the importance of preserving and valorizing it and, on the other, to contribute to the reduction of existing regional disparities through more cohesive development and the equalization of development opportunities. Cooperation among the different actors operating in the fields of heritage protection and of tourism promotion may indeed be the key to establishing a favorable environment for innovation and entrepreneurship, leading to the creation of employment opportunities based on a gradual rise in and widening of tourist flows. Nonetheless, many weaknesses remain in cultural heritage management, such as the scarcity of financial sources for its protection, the inadequacy of maintenance and conservation equipment and techniques, the insufficient safeguarding of the surrounding natural landscapes, and the regulation of construction activity. Better provision of training opportunities would also be needed in the fields of conservation, project management and territorial marketing. In spite of the efforts being made to establish cooperation between different administrative levels, in many respects, the financing and management structures remain inefficient or insufficient.

Despite the obvious deficiencies, and considering the value and uniqueness of this heritage and its very favorable distribution over the territory from the point of view of tourism, the potential for generating visitor revenues in south-western Romania could be quite significant. Further efforts should therefore be made by national and local authorities to support the region in improving its capacity to develop tourism at three main levels: networking, promo-commercialization and training, which appear to complement one another. Networking is needed to improve inter-sectoral integration between culture and tourism with simultaneous modernization of the tourist industry and the creation of a system interlinking the different cultural sites and, in particular, the monasteries mentioned above. The creation of a communications and marketing strategy is also necessary to promote the

area and to lead to the inclusion of Oltenia as a package tour in tour operator catalogues. Finally, training — including the dissemination of information on good practices in comparable foreign experiences — is fundamental to provide the local population with the skills and specific competencies needed in the field of management and planning of tourism services. With regard to communication, greater efforts should be made to build a brand based on the Oltenia territory and not necessarily based on the “Romania” brand.

A possible solution could be the creation of an incoming agency able to bring together, at local level, culture and tourism operators, thus constituting a point of reference for outgoing operators, such as associations, travel agencies, parishes, etc. An incoming agency could also take charge of structuring the product and of promoting and distributing it at fairs, workshops, on-line, etc. Yet this strategy cannot be effectively carried out without an accurate prior analysis of the potential tourism targets, which are the necessary premise for the construction of a structured and integrated tourist product and the condition to define the strengths and weakness of the existing tourism product.

Chapter 8

CULTURAL LANDSCAPES AND TOURISM DYNAMICS: EXPLORATIVE CASE STUDIES

Myriam Jansen-Verbeke

ABSTRACT

Cultural landscapes are, by definition, marked by human activities; the changing characteristics of the habitat through history are now being revalorized as territorial expressions of both tangible and intangible heritage. In this chapter, the focus is on the agents of change in cultural landscapes and the role of tourism in particular. Since tourism has so many faces and implications, it can be a driving force in shaping leisure landscapes or reshaping industrial landscapes, but also an incentive for conservation of the agricultural habitat, rural economies or archaeological sites. Given the great variety of natural and man made landscapes — at least in Europe — this spatial category of cultural landscapes holds a rich and ubiquitous resource to develop tourism into a colorful kaleidoscope of cultural diversity. The current search for the cultural identity of territories, the drive to protect regional brand names — such as those of agricultural products and crafts — can be seen as a dynamic force in the regionalization process taking place throughout Europe and a favorable incubation climate for developing new destination areas for the markets of cultural and creative tourism.

INTRODUCTION

The UNESCO concept of cultural landscapes refers to a coexistence of territorial and human civilizations, apparently their launching theme since 2002-2003 (Buckley *and al.* 2008). Gradually discussion on the concept penetrated into the agenda of the World Heritage Forum. The significant role of cultural landscapes for the development of new tourism markets was a clear incentive. However, behind the apparent consensus that cultural landscapes are created by the intervention of man in natural environments, hides a continuous discourse on definitions and interpretations. From a tourism perspective, the main topics of interest are the relationships between culture and scenery, expectations and experiences,

conservation and economic uses and, last but not least, the symbolic values of landscapes for locals and tourists.

In many ways landscapes are a mirror of society and its history and, hence, a combination of physical and cultural attributes of an area, clearly marked by the symbiosis of natural and cultural systems. The changing morphology, function and meaning of landscapes are a manifestation of the dynamic exchange between natural and cultural forces in the environment (Antrop, 2005). European landscapes are — by definition — to be distinguished by their cultural and territorial identities, but can also be read as out-prints of political and economic forces (Prentice, 1997). In the words of Holden (2006: 19): “The history of the European landscape as a wider common identity is par excellence one of cultural expression, central political direction or economic dictate.” However, despite the complex genesis of cultural landscapes, 21st century tourism tends to reduce landscapes to scenery, a setting for leisure activities or an amenity to be developed as an important resource for tourist experiences. Is this leading to a loss of meaning and intrinsic values of traditional landscapes or, on the contrary, to new social and economic dynamics and revalorization?

The territorial approach of this chapter implies the identification of localized sets of tangible and intangible assets, produced and accumulated over time. The permanence of specialization and know how over centuries in a particular region has indeed generated a unique relationship between local communities and their territory, in association with meanings and values, and shaped by social processes. This is also an incentive for current movements and animated actions to claim community property rights as a strategy to maintain or recover the cultural identity of a region and its “authentic” products (Moreno *et al.*, 2005; Russo and Segre, 2007). The objective of this chapter is to explore the role of cultural aspects in the metamorphosis of landscapes into tourism landscapes. Scanning the changes induced by tourism is much more than an academic exercise, knowing that the introduction of tourism activities and tourists into a particular landscape induces a mutation — unlike certain other activities — and as a rule this is irreversible. There is no doubt that in the post-industrial era, leisure, tourism, culture and heritage are playing an increasingly dominant role in shaping the 21st century environment. There are examples of modified postindustrial landscapes; even some first signs of post tourism landscapes are registered. This process of modification of the morphology and of shifting from production to consumption has now become a field of interest and research for many disciplines (Aitchison *et al.*, 2000).

Cultural landscapes are seen as subjects of a geographical interpretation of human activities in their territory, or the human biotope, and as such a complex field of study. Cultural geographers interested in this complexity tend to refer back to the work of the French geographer, Vidal de la Blache (1845-1918), on regional landscapes, which in his view, were shaped by history and habitat (Claval, 1997; 1998). Howard (2004) noted that “many cultural landscapes are already foci for tourism”. A recent encyclopedia entry on cultural landscape as a geographic concept mentions tourism only as a bracketed afterthought with “other uses” (Conzen, 2004). In this chapter the focus is mainly on the cultural aspects of landscapes, more particularly on the dynamics of cultural landscapes with a tourism vocation (Ringer, 1998). In this tourism context, the term “cultural landscape” is used to indicate an area where the landscape is created by the culture and the culture is created by the landscape. In other words, a cultural landscape is an area where culture and scenery are inextricably integrated in the expectations and perceptions of locals and visitors alike; a place where the landscape would

not look the same without the culture, and the culture thrives because of the landscape (Vos and Meekes, 1999).

Assuming that, globally, there is a growing interest in cultural tourism, the question that arises is how this trend is oriented to cultural landscapes and how it affects places shaped by history and habitat. History has recorded many successive and even devastating landscape changes. Whether in an urban, rural or natural environment, transformations of landscapes evoke negative associations with loss of diversity, coherence and identity. There is also a nostalgic movement whereby images of traditional cultural landscapes are often romanticized. In particular, scenic rural landscapes connected with historical legends and media supported narratives are highly appreciated as “magnetic” for tourists.

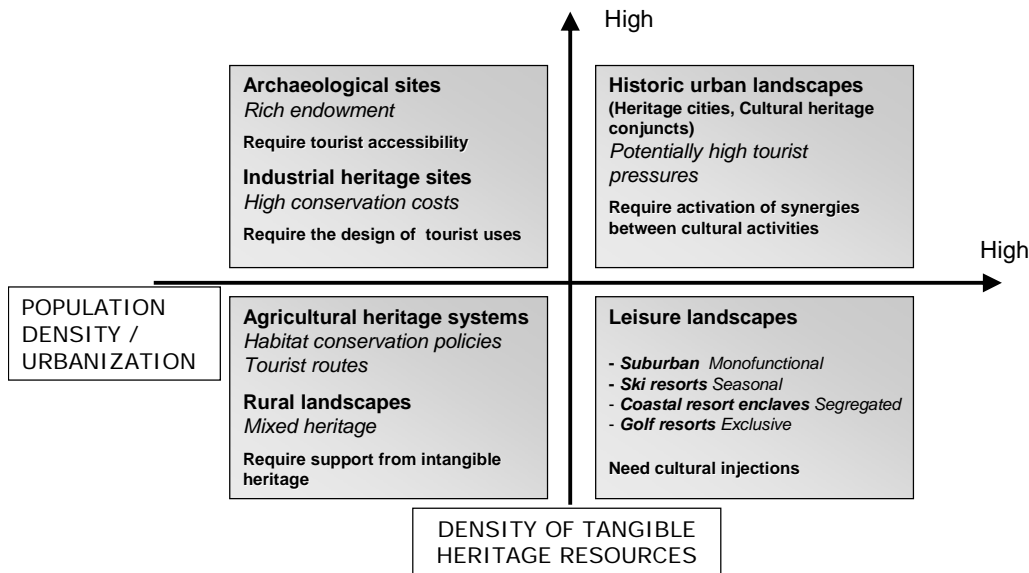
However, values do change and this is reflected in the shaping and designing of landscapes and their contemporary use patterns. There is no blueprint of the process of tourismification, given the great variety of traditional landscape types — at least in Europe — and the rich and ubiquitous cultural resources being developed into tourism products. The new post-modern landscapes in which tourism can be recognized as a dynamic factor are structured by interacting forces. These will be briefly commented upon, prior to an initial, limited exploration of the types of cultural landscapes now appearing on tourist maps.

Dynamics of Cultural Landscapes

Cultural landscapes are certainly changing, a phenomenon that can be observed worldwide. The two key issues for researchers are to search for understanding of the different vectors of change and their roots in the regional geographical context, on the one hand, and to identify quantitative and qualitative parameters that make it possible to indicate the direction and intensity of change, on the other. This does not take into account the most difficult challenge of all: mapping the dynamics of landscapes (Holden, 2006; Terkenli, 2002; 2004).

Too often, studies in this field remain descriptive — travel guide style — and do not easily allow for comparisons in time and space. Apparently a clear conceptual or analytical framework in which “change” can be measured and explained is still lacking. To some authors, change is characterized as a gradual and irreversible transition from a production to a consumption landscape, whereby tourism is considered to be one of the driving forces, the promoter of a cultural turn (Birks *et al.*, 1989; Butler and Hall, 1998). There seems to be consensus amongst writers about the high quality of many cultural landscapes, a connotation with beauty, harmony and authenticity. Recently this appreciation has been reinforced by the expectation that such qualities are equivalent to an index of tourism potential. Certainly, this rather simplistic view opens a wide discussion on the many dimensions of change both physical and mental-, a discussion that is beyond the scope of this explorative chapter.

In an attempt to reduce the complexity of the changes and to order reflections on cultural landscapes for tourism or tourism as an agent of change, two specific indicators are put forward (Figure 8.1). In the first place, the *degree of urbanization* is most relevant to the typology of tourism and leisure landscapes that is emerging. The gap between densely populated urban areas and the rural, agricultural or natural countryside in terms of tourism intensity and function is considerable.



Source: author, based on ESPON 1.3.3 (2006: 164).

Figure 8.1. Types of cultural landscapes for tourism.

The second indicator, relevant in evaluating the cultural tourism potential of landscapes, is *the richness of the territorial endowment* in terms of heritage elements and cultural capital in general. If consideration is restricted to the presence of tangible cultural heritage elements, such as museums and monuments, a *density index* can be constructed. This makes it possible to distinguish in a quantitative way regions with high and low densities of tangible heritage elements (ESPON, 2006: 102-103). Clearly, the tourism potential of a territory does not depend on the quantity of sites, buildings and artifacts only, but also on their historical coherence and on the way this richness is supported by expressions of intangible heritage and cultural identity. The interaction of both dimensions urbanization and cultural endowment constitutes the inspiration for the following reflections.

Urbanization

There are multiple examples of territories where urbanization, modern agricultural practices and new concepts of leisure landscapes are threatening the conservation of valuable cultural landscapes. The shift from traditional agriculture to agri-business, from extensive recreation in the countryside to designed leisure areas and sign-posted tourist routes, the huge investments made to facilitate high accessibility for different travel modes, all have a price; conservation policies for cultural heritage are not exactly compatible with such development goals.

In the first place urbanization, in its multiple forms, is globally the most powerful force in changing the physical, functional, economic and even aesthetic characteristics of a landscape. Modern society uses landscapes in a great variety of ways and for many different purposes, urbanization being the most dominant claim. This implies a high intensity of morphological

and functional changes, eventually resulting in complex pressures on cultural landscapes and, as a rule, holding real threats of downgrading the original landscape qualities. The dilemma between freezing landscapes of the past (rural hamlets, old fishing villages, agricultural habitat systems, traditional handicraft places and pre-industrial working sites, etc.) and injecting new economic activities cannot be easily solved, nor is there a universal best practice model of development. Historic cultural landscapes are under pressure, particularly in the densely populated parts of Europe.

As a rule, for many decades, most urban landscapes with a high density of population and cultural activities and a rich endowment of heritage resources have been claimed by tourism. A case study carried out in the context of the ESPON 1.3.3 project (ESPO, 2006) analyzed the “urbanization” dimension in the distribution pattern of monuments, museums and events in Flanders, Belgium (De Jaegher, 2006) (Table 8.1).

In fact, the concentration of cultural heritage elements in urban areas is inherent to the history of cities in Flanders (Figures 8.2 and 8.3). The fact that almost 80% of the museums in urban regions and cities are accommodated in monuments accentuates even more the concentration in historic cityscapes. The lower density of monuments in rural areas and the fact that more museums there are accommodated in others type of buildings can be explained by the diversity of monuments and often their small size registered in rural areas, on the one hand, and the type of these museums, on the other. Moreover, cultural events, rooted in history and local traditions, tend to follow a similar spatial distribution pattern.

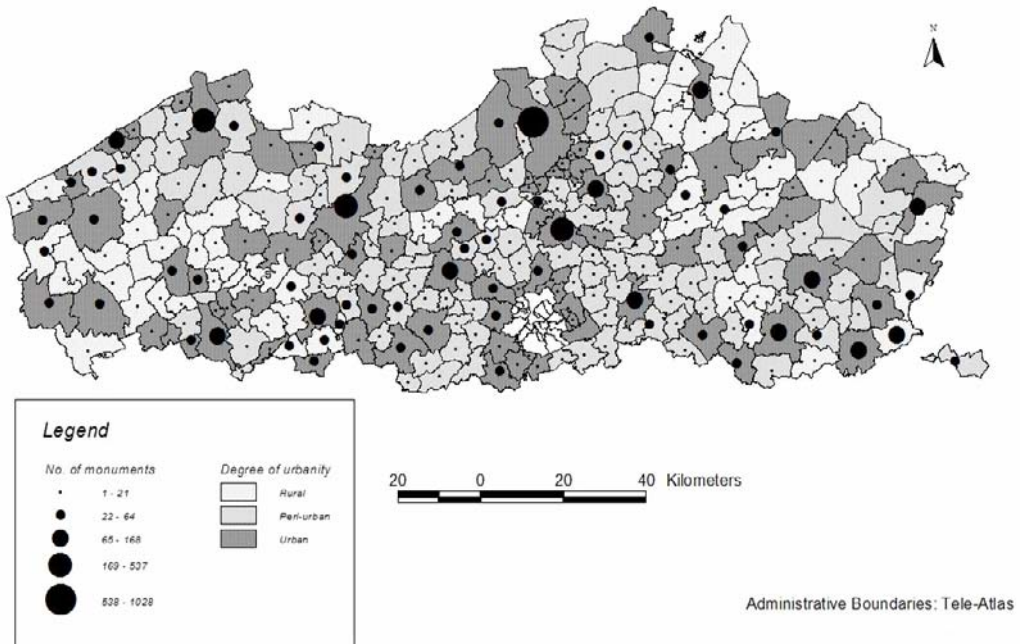
It is not surprising that the concentration of cultural elements and activities in urban areas is also reflected in the number of tourist nights, since the “cities of arts” are the core business of cultural tourism in this region. However, the results of just one case study are insufficient to abstract generalizations. A similar case study was carried out simultaneously in Emilia-Romagna region (Italy), L'Aquila and Chieti provinces also in Italy, and Slovenia (Region Emilia-Romagna, 2006). Although some similarities emerged from the two studies, further in-depth analysis would be required to take into account the divergence in metadata, data and survey methods. This is yet another demonstration of the fact that the study of cultural dynamics is still at the stage of explorative case studies.

European historic cityscapes are a favorite topic for tourism researchers (Russo *et al.*, 2001; Jansen-Verbeke, 2007).

Table 8.1. Location of cultural heritage elements with respect to degree of urbanization, Flanders, Belgium, 2006

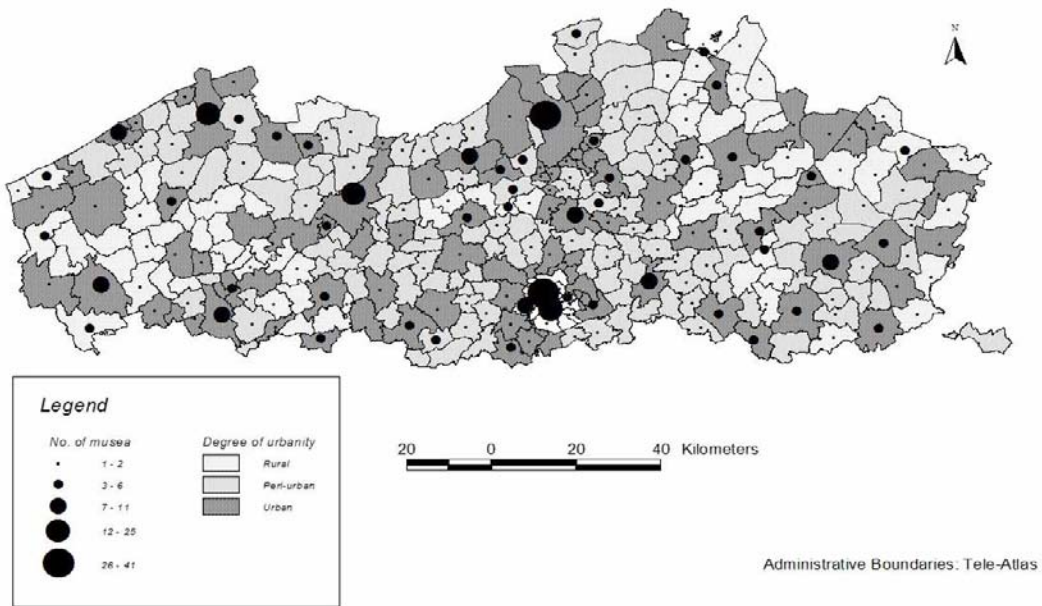
	Rural	Peri-urban	Urban	Total
Monuments	891	1533	5170	7594
	12%	20%	68%	100%
Museums	72	95	303	470
	15%	20%	64%	100%
Events	51	67	208	326
	16%	21%	64%	100%

Source: De Jaegher (2006).



Source: Lievois, based on ESPON 1.3.3 data.

Figure 8.2. Relation between the presence of monuments and urban development in Flanders, 2005.



Source: Lievois, based on ESPON 1.3.3 data.

Figure 8.3. Relation between the presence of museums and urban development in Flanders, 2005.

One of the most recent approaches has been to analyze the intra urban changes induced by tourism and the clustering of cultural and commercial activities, leading to the conclusion that the conservation of cultural cityscapes can stimulate cultural activities and thus enhance the cultural capital of the place. A key issue in protecting cultural landscapes in the city is the capacity to manage the resources, supported by research-based knowledge of site carrying capacity and of the tools needed for an efficient and visitor friendly management policy (Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois, 2004).

However, not all urban areas have inherited a rich past on which to build a cultural tourism economy in the 21st century. Tourism researchers have paid much less attention to under-endowed urban areas or to vast, recently urbanized areas with few historical landmarks. In such cases, the key challenge is to make the best of human and organization resources in an effort to generate more cultural activity and supply for the scarcity of tangible “identity markers”, and to exploit the large local market in order to generate development opportunities from them. This is precisely what many de-industrializing northern European cities have done: notably the British cities, but also the former industrial Dutch and German capitals like Rotterdam or Dortmund, that have been among the first to endorse the strategy of fostering creative industries as a component of economic regeneration (Russo and Van der Borg, in this volume). The creation of new leisure landscapes to meet current demand and hence benefit from the expanding leisure economy is on top of the developers’ agenda. Ambitions even rise as high as the creation of new tourism magnets in the urban periphery (Metz, 2002). Eye-catching modern architecture for museums, concert halls, convention centers, multifunctional leisure palaces, hotels, theme parks, is producing new icons and temples to be visited for “cultural experiences”. The “*Economy of Fascination*” has taken over and strongly encourages a thematic production of post-modern urban landscapes. The practice of inscribing new values into the urban landscape by using flagship museums has spread all over (Plaza, 2000; Shoval, 2007). Suburban leisure clusters can benefit from the dynamics of the metropolitan tourism market and at the same time add interesting experiences and products to the traditional tourist opportunity spectrum of city visits. Designed as leisure landscapes for the urban population, these peri-urban destinations gradually appear on the mental map of tourism business and the tourist.

Attractive cultural and natural landscapes in the vicinity of urban areas are increasingly being adjusted to accommodate the leisure needs and residential dreams of urban dwellers. Although land use in these areas may still include agriculture or nature, the character of the landscapes is plural and diverse. Wherever agricultural landscapes near urban areas are considered less attractive or no longer of interest to the agricultural economy, they are placed on the drawing table of designers and planners of leisure environments and pinpointed for sport facilities, recreation areas, forest parks, golf courses and various other outdoor recreation activities (LAE, 2006). These facilities for the urban population are being developed as enclaves in the peri-urban environment or intertwined with other land uses (Holden, 2006). Recent studies of landscape development in Europe show the extent to which new residential areas are designed as integrated leisure landscapes, many of them as resorts for seasonal use by tourists. This trend identifies tourism as a key agent in the process of designing and constructing ski, golf or coastal resorts.

Apart from the environmental impact and the huge claims on land due to the implantation of a low density, yet highly urbanized, area, the newly created tourism villages have some common problems: the seasonality of their use and their low capacity to develop sustainable

cultural activities. Nor is the second home phenomenon contributing much to the cultural identity of these leisure immigration places. Some landscapes have become mono-functional or even exclusively tourist residential areas. This scene is rather recent, but it cannot be denied that this type of extensive leisure landscape for tourism is expanding universally with only occasional touches of vernacular architecture that refer to the place or the region, whereas other landscapes, although highly dependent on the tourism economy, still hold marks of the original landscape, history and habitat. In a way they have absorbed the new tourism function and the claims for leisure space. Thus, the degree of urbanization provides a first indication of the type of cultural landscapes being transformed for tourism. There is a strong contrast between cityscapes shaped by a rich history and loaded with symbolic values and suburban leisure landscapes resulting from far-reaching architectural, planning and design ambitions.

Richness and Density of the Cultural Endowment

In areas where the pressure of urbanization is much less prevalent or even absent (e.g. rural emigration areas), the dynamics of cultural landscapes are of a different nature. Some rural regions are outstanding due to the presence of many tangible historical elements in the landscape, endowed with a rich history, and hence on the short list for tourism initiatives, whereas other rural and agricultural landscapes seem to be largely excluded from the dynamics of tourism for various reasons.

Assessing the potential of a region to develop destinations for cultural tourism is a most tricky exercise. Although the density of monuments or museums in a region indicates the range of tourist opportunities, many other factors play a role as well, for it is not only the quantity of cultural heritage elements that matters. Coherence between heritage elements, stories that connect places and sites, the attractiveness of the natural scenery and, by no means least, the support of tourism infrastructure, all constitute necessary assets to enter the cultural tourism market. In view of the tourism ambitions of many territories, some crucial questions arise. Firstly, it must be determined how cultural resources can be developed for tourism landscaping successfully and in a sustainable way. Secondly, the possible imprint of tourism activities in these valuable cultural landscapes must be assessed beforehand. The key issues nowadays are how to guarantee that tourism will become an agent of conservation, rather than a destructive invasion and, to identify correctly the implications for the management of resources in the region.

Within most European regions, tourism development strategies now have a high priority (Hall et al., 2006). However this ambition requires a full understanding, on the part of the decision makers, of ways to benefit from the economic opportunities and the impulses of a cultural revival. Most of all, there must be the mission to integrate the past in the future scenario of cultural tourism, with respect for the history, traditions and values of local stakeholders. The great diversity of the cultural endowment of landscapes and the almost total impossibility to quantify this asset implies that each tourism development plan and the proposed strategy have to be unique.

The cultural capital of post-industrial landscapes in Western Europe (Germany, Belgium, France, UK, etc.) and their potential for tourism development cannot be compared with that of, for instance, vineyard landscapes in Southern Europe or with the hidden treasures of many

archaeological sites in the Mediterranean basin. A glance at the map of leisure and tourism landscapes in Europe (Ministry of Agriculture of the Netherlands, 2001) reveals vast rural regions with below-average cultural resource endowment and a low profile for tourism development. For these regions, the challenge is to build a cultural capacity, for instance through education and cultural injections in the area, like museums, events, or universities. This can constitute the beginning of a cycle of development based on a more explicit use of culture as an element of regional cohesion. Indeed, in some regions considerable creativity is required to valorize the coherence of tangible and intangible heritage resources in rural and agricultural landscapes. Above all a vision of the tourism potentials is essential.

Appreciation of Tourism Landscapes

The role of tourism as a catalyst in the metamorphosis of landscapes is not only a matter of mega trends in society, such as urbanization or cultural revival, but also of evolution in values and attitudes. In daily life and, even more in leisure time, there is a drive to search for more authentic experiences, a focus on nostalgia, roots, other cultures and identity, and an increasing interest in spiritual and intellectual activity. These trends are supporting the emergence of products that capitalize on the cultural resources of a certain territory. The beauty and harmony of scenic landscapes are highly valued as well as the quality of infrastructure, green spaces and recreation facilities. This explains why scenic landscapes are subject to fundamental economic and socio-cultural changes driven by leisure and tourism. Positive spin-offs of a tourismification of landscapes often are: a greater concern for the quality of the environment, the natural resources and improved environmental management and planning of the area. Tourism can raise local awareness about the value of natural resources, in the same way as it can about the value of the cultural heritage of a community.

The commoditization of landscapes for leisure and tourism is socially a widely accepted evolution, not in the least because of the great economic contribution to current and future regional economies. Isolated locations, regions with difficult climate conditions, with poor perspectives for agricultural activities and shrinking communities may find a new viability through tourism. Derelict areas are being transformed from hostile no-go areas into attractive leisure destinations with the objective of creating new employment and attracting new residents. Leisure and tourism are considered as important economic supports of future rural economies. Rural areas are in demand, both in terms of housing and leisure activities, a trend that leads to space claims to create tourism enclaves or corridors (Butler and Hall, 1998).

Strong, lively cultural identity and traditions also contribute to the tourist potential of a region and make the difference in the type of tourism landscapes emerging. In the words of Terkenli (2002: 227): 'Tourist landscapes become by nature and by function eloquent geographical media and expressions of a new global cultural economy of space, by hosting, promoting and exhibiting new types of spatial experiences that are increasingly more fluid, complex, surreal and a-geographical than in the past.'

EXPLORING CULTURAL LANDSCAPES AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

The creation of cultural landscapes for tourism has been strongly promoted by the Council of Europe in the perspective of regional development. 'In view of the contribution tourism can make to the member states economies, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe has on several occasions issued guidelines for its promotion' (Council of Europe, 2005). Innovation of tourism policies was encouraged, in particular those geared towards the protection of historic and cultural heritage. In this favorable context, many cultural landscapes are aiming at revitalization through tourism. Some specific examples will serve to illustrate the dynamics of urbanization and cultural endowment (Figure 8.1). Urban landscapes with a rich cultural endowment have caught most attention from tourism researchers and planners, so comment here will concentrate on less frequently analyzed examples of cultural landscapes where there is consensus about the cultural assets but also an ongoing debate about their tourism vocation.

Leisure Landscapes

The need to innovate in the leisure economy of urban areas, to create new venues for cultural activities, has led to a centripetal movement: in the suburban zone there is space, good accessibility and a need to construct new landmarks. Many European cities have seen the recent development of mega and multipurpose leisure complexes, sport arenas, convention centers, hotels, shopping malls and theme parks. Costly investments in eye-catching architecture seem to pay off, for many of these 21st century consumer landscapes have managed to attract tourists. In the context of this chapter the main question that arises is to what extent these leisure landscapes can develop a sustainable cultural economy and eventually a new cultural identity. Various forms of intangible heritage are flexible and new dynamics from a multicultural society might well find new roots in this type of leisure environment. A similar situation of urbanized areas with a low density of cultural assets is to be found in newly built tourist villages at ski resorts, seaside areas and golf destinations, as already identified earlier. These typical tourism landscapes are highly valued by their residents, who are mainly seasonal, but as they mature they are gradually looking for more social coherence and cultural vitality. In fact these tourism urbanization areas are the expression of a new type of cultural landscape: the (temporary) habitat of a new leisure society.

Industrial Landscapes

Industrial activities have marked the landscape in different periods in a most dramatic way, leaving extensive, deteriorated landscapes in search of a new meaning, a new function and new environmental qualities. Although the type of industry, the scale of the plants and infrastructure, the imbedding in the natural landscape and the design of the residential areas give rise to a wide variety of industrial landscapes, they do face common problems and challenges (Jansen-Verbeke, 1999; Cole, 2004).



Source: author.

Figure 8.4. Industrial heritage: Karl Liebknecht Schacht, Germany.

Conservation of industrial heritage landscapes includes all the elements of the former sites, such as coal and ore mines, quarries, railway or canal systems, furnaces, workers' homes and the social infrastructure of their community. Inscription on the World Heritage List was probably a first incentive to revalorize some of these industrial landscapes. For example, the case of the Blaenavon area provides evidence of the pre-eminence of South Wales as the world's major producer of iron and coal in the 19th century. The landscape constitutes an exceptional illustration in material form of the social and economic structure of industry during that period and its components together make up an outstanding and remarkably complete example of a 19th century industrial landscape. However, it is important to consider to what extent conservation of this specific heritage is compatible with new functions and uses and how leisure and tourism can create alternative values and enable a second life and economic vitality for the future, within such a 19th century setting.

Further witness is provided by the case of the former brown coal mining areas in eastern Germany, where leisure and entertainment have now become the new spatial and economic carrier for the area, replacing mining activities. Mega events in spectacular surroundings seem to be a trendy match between a setting in the past and new wave cultural activities. This is confirmed by the transformation of the Zollverein Coal Mine Industrial Complex in Essen (Ruhrgebiet Germany). Complete installations of a historical coal-mining site, with some twentieth-century buildings of outstanding architectural signature constitute remarkable even unique material evidence of the evolution and decline of the coal industry over the past 150 years. Although cultural events might not be a guarantee for a sustainable economy, they contribute considerably to image building and are an incentive for creative forces in the post industrial and multicultural society of the Ruhrgebiet .

Turning industrial landscapes into destinations for cultural tourism remains a pending issue in most countries. The scale of the buildings and technical infrastructure, the imposing architecture and "industrious" outlook of the scenery, the intangible heritage colored by stories of misery and exploitation, of unhealthy living conditions and social conflicts is

appreciated as part of our history, but not really a motivation for many to visit the sites, unless for educational purposes. It can be concluded that the tourismification of industrial landscapes faces a number of problems, such as their location and environmental context, the huge costs of conservation of the infrastructure and the difficulties of inserting new uses in old buildings. In addition, there is a problem of image and ownership of the sites. However, examples of successful renovation projects in which leisure and tourism are catalysts do exist.

Archaeological Sites

The contrast between the power of attraction of industrial and archeological sites is huge. The fascination of the far past, imagination about Romans and Greeks civilizing other regions, the geographical situation of many archeological sites in the Mediterranean basin, are all important pull factors for tourists. It is a well-known fact that the early days of traveling were inspired and motivated by this part of history and oriented cultural tourism from the very outset towards these regions with a rich endowment of tangible heritage. Certainly, numerous archeological sites and artifacts are spread throughout the territory; rural areas do have their share, but might have fewer opportunities to develop these resources into tourism destinations. In fact, there is indeed a distinction between different archaeological sites in terms of tourism potentials, related to factors such as the accessibility of the site, distance to the nearest tourist resort, climate and, by no means least, the attention given by national tourist boards in international image building and marketing narratives. In terms of accessibility for tourists and direct impact on the urban economy, urban archaeological sites undoubtedly enjoy certain advantages. On the other side of the balance, irrespective of their size and historical importance, archeological sites that are situated in an urban environment are facing competition from different land users and uses, the impact of decisions by policymakers and a social discourse among the different stakeholders (Figure 8.5).

A key issue in terms of planning and managing tourism development in “vulnerable” archeological sites is the compatibility of future uses in the perception of the different stakeholders. Clearly, the dispersion and diversity of a multi-layered heritage is a strong asset for the future of the tourism economy, particularly in the Mediterranean region (e.g. Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Jordan, Morocco, Egypt, etc.). Many sites that have recently been opened to the public generate the possibility of product differentiation on the part of the coastal tourism destinations in the region. This opportunity to develop cultural tourism landscapes away from mass tourism destinations and geared at inland development is, as a rule, strongly supported by government agencies. Cultural heritage management tends to be centralized, with a marginal role for local authorities.

Two examples, set in Turkey, serve to illustrate some of the issues involved. The first is Troy, one of the most famous archaeological sites in the world and listed by WH-UNESCO in 1998. This site, with its 4000 years of history, is of immense significance to the understanding of the development of European civilization at a critical, early stage. It is, moreover, of exceptional cultural importance because of the profound influence of Homer’s Iliad on the creative arts over more than two millennia. The first excavations at the site were undertaken by the famous archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann in 1870. In terms of visitor numbers and of stimuli for regional tourism development, this site remains rather low profile.



Source: author.

Figure 8.5. Archaeological heritage embedded in an urban site: Amman, Jordan.

Hence, this confirms the observation that the richness in terms of quantity and quality of the heritage endowment (tangible and intangible) of a site is not the only indicator for tourism potential.

A more in-depth study about protecting cultural and natural heritage in Mugla highlights certain problems that are not unique to that region (Diller, 2004). The richness of the region 14% of the province is registered as sites — opens up perspectives for tourism as a lever for regional development. Local stakeholders have high expectations and the tourism industry is eager to invest, but the archaeologists are reluctant to develop tourism; clearly the rich archaeological sites are now facing important challenges in terms of conservation and planning of heritage sites. They need to be geared primarily towards regional development, taking into account the specific conditions of physical carrying capacity and social involvement. In some cases it would seem advisable to go as far as excluding the most vulnerable sites from the tourist map.

Agricultural Heritage Habitats

In reaction to the many and varied agricultural landscapes being reshaped by agribusiness and modern agricultural systems, often based on monoculture practices and

frequently promoted by the European farming and subsidy policies, awareness has grown that some typical farming landscapes are destined to disappear, together with their history, habitat, folklore, and the communities they represent. Although some forms of recreation have discovered the qualities of agricultural areas, mainly in the form of farm tourism or agri-tourism, tourism remains a secondary function in most cases. Obviously particular types of agricultural landscapes are more attractive for tourism than others, such as vineyard landscapes or traditional rice fields (Daugstad et al., 2006).

Vineyard Landscapes

Many vineyard landscapes have the potential to develop some form of tourism; the first option is usually an association with wine tourism (Mazurekova, 2004), which has been defined as the ‘visitation to vineyards, wineries, wine festivals and wine shows for which grape wine tasting and/or experiencing the attributes of a grape wine region are the prime motivating factors for visitors’ (Hall *et al.*, 2000: 3).

A long-standing viticulture tradition in several regions of Europe has produced cultural landscapes of outstanding beauty that, at the same time, reflect their technological, social and economic evolution. The first wine growing region to catch the attention of international conservationists was the *Cinque Terre* region on the Liguria coast in North-western Italy; the steep, grapevine covered slopes along the coast and the five villages located in the territory were in serious decline — even disuse of the rather inaccessible vineyard terraces — when the UNESCO recognized the uniqueness of this historic habitat in 1997. Since then a rehabilitation program has been launched geared at a diversification of the local economy towards tourism, mainly composed of scenic walks and gastronomy, based on territorial products. Natural beauty, historic grape growing systems and the rich cultural patrimony are now integrated and connected. Several traditional wine regions are now inscribed on the World Heritage List: notable examples include the Bordeaux region in France (1999), the Loire valley (2000), the Rhine-Mosel Valley (2002), the Tokay region in Hungary (2002), while some regions in North America, South Africa and Ukraine have been nominated for inclusion.

The problems of the disuse of terrains that are hardly accessible in a time of mechanic viticulture are not unique. Yet every region looks for its own way to valorize the rich heritage. As an example, traditional landholders in the *Alto Douro Wine Region* in Northern Portugal have been profitably producing wines using traditional farming methods for some 2,000 years. Since the 18th century, its main product, port wine, has been famous for its quality throughout the world. The inscription of the region in the World Heritage list of cultural landscapes in 2001 refers to a coherent complex of wine producing farms. The components of the Alto Douro landscape are representative of the full range of activities associated with winemaking: terraces, *quintas* (wine-producing farm complexes), villages, chapels, roads and the river Douro, used to connect with the Atlantic Ocean for long distance trade. In addition, the long history of colonization, since Roman times, has also produced a rich intangible heritage. This combination reflects the evolution of human activities over years. Despite the richness, fame and beauty of the landscape, the region is not at the top of the wine tourism list, and certainly not of that of cultural tourism.

Likewise, the *cultural landscape of Tokay* in Hungary demonstrates the long tradition of wine production in this region of low hills and river valleys. The intricate pattern of vineyards, farms, villages and small towns, with their historic networks of deep wine cellars, illustrates every facet of the production of the famous Tokay wines, the quality and management of which have been strictly regulated for nearly three centuries. It was in 2007 that the *Lavaux Vineyard Terraces* in Switzerland, stretching for about 30 km along the south-facing northern shores of Lake Geneva from the Chateau de Chillon to the eastern outskirts of Lausanne in the Vaud region caught UNESCO's attention. While there is some evidence that vines were grown in the area in Roman times, the present vine terraces can be traced back to the 11th century, when Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries controlled the area. It is an outstanding example of a centuries-long interaction between people and their environment, developed to optimize local resources so as to produce a highly valued wine that has always been important to the economy. The typical landscape also illustrates very graphically the story of patronage, control and protection of this highly valued wine growing area, all of which contributed substantially to the development of Lausanne and its region and has played a significant role in the history of the geo-cultural region. Conservation and protection became an important issue in response to its vulnerability, given its close juxtaposition to fast-growing settlements.

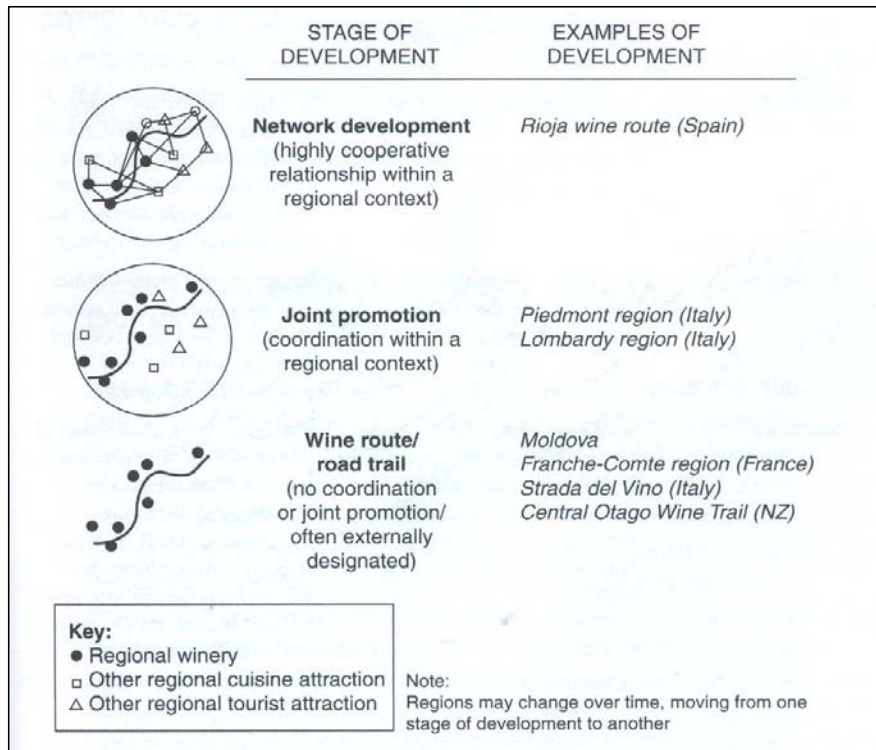
The few examples outlined above confirm the potential interest of a comparative study of the different patterns of tourism development in various wine growing territories, in particular the way they moved from a strong focus on "vineyard and wine" as a core attraction for tourists wine tourism in a strict sense to a wide tourist opportunity spectrum. In this respect, the current success of tourism in the Burgundy region (France) constitutes an excellent example of the implementation of an integrated regional policy (Verest, 2006). The region includes an area of almost 32,000 sq. km with a population of about 1.6 million, and registers on average 5.5 million overnight stays annually (data 2005). Such success can not be attributed only to the effect of the landscape with its traditional vineyards or the prestigious image of the burgundy wines (Figure 8.6), but also to a creative tourism development plan, that has taken into account the presence of 2126 monuments and 371 protected sites in the region and has been supported further by the opening of 68 museums. Numerous local events, related to the territory's products and its history, are indeed strong additional assets to attract various types of tourists. The strategy to connect interesting castles, historical monuments, landscapes, wine tasting, guesthouses and attractive restaurants specialized in local gastronomy, through a well designed and professionally marketed cultural route, is neither new nor exclusive, but has certainly been successful in this region.

The concept of "cultural routes" to link places was launched by the Council of Europe in 2002 as an instrument for understanding the European values arising from the complexity of the cultures and societies that have formed Europe (Council of Europe, 2002: 2). Developing wine routes and many other thematic routes is indeed effective in connecting places and their stories, in stimulating collaboration between places to form partnerships, in creating coherent images and attractive options for tourists (Briedenham and Wickens, 2004) (Figure 8.7). However, the most important value of thematic routes lies in their capacity to arouse greater interest in regional history and geography, in agricultural and artisan activities, in local communities and their heritage. Nevertheless, it should be noted that not all wine farming regions have the ambition or the need to diversify their economies, by investing in tourism infrastructure and marketing.



Source: author.

Figure 8.6. Wine harvest in Fleurie, Beaujolais, France.



Source: Hall *et al.* (2000: 207).

Figure 8.7. Tourism development models for wine regions.

Conservation policies, supported by WH-UNESCO status, might not be sufficient to avoid the deterioration or disruption of an agricultural heritage system and its loss of identity. The old, but recently revised and expanded control system of geographical origins, developed in France and formerly known as AOC (Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée), is a strong instrument for protecting authenticity, regional brands, products and identities. The French were trend-setting in this campaign, from which producers — and regions in general — have much to gain. The system also applies to local products — “*produits du terroir*” — and seems most effective in protecting brands and place names and eventually in promoting each region as a tourism destination. As a consequence, awareness and local pride amongst local communities, farmers, producers and even tourism marketers, have helped to increase and reinforce territorial cultural identity.

Rice Fields in the Philippines

One of the first typical cultural landscapes to be inscribed on the World Heritage List was the spectacular range of rice terraces in the cordillera of Central Luzon in the Philippines (1995). The role of intangible heritage is considerable; for 2,000 years, the high rice fields of Ifugao were cultivated using knowledge handed down from one generation to the next, and expressing sacred traditions and a delicate social balance. This created a landscape of great beauty and manifested a sustainable harmony between humankind and the environment.

Rice field landscapes are by no means unique in many parts of East Asia. Many territories with an equally interesting agricultural habitat have now become areas of emigration, when farmers hope to find a better quality of life in the cities. This scenario is well known in many agricultural regions in China and explains the recent government actions to conserve important agricultural heritage systems (Altieri and Koohafkan, 2007; Li *et al.*, 2008). For instance, the ingenious rice-fish farming system forms a unique biotope that merits protection (Lu and Li, 2006). The option of introducing tourism in the region, as a promoter of conservation, must however be questioned; it is important to establish which type of tourism would not damage the coherent agricultural structure and disrupt the traditional life style of the locals (Min and Sun, 2007). Even by promoting so called ecotourism, or small-scale farm tourism, taking into account the limits of the physical carrying capacity, this type of vulnerable landscape requires a strictly monitored exposure to tourism.

Rural Landscapes

It is not only the most typical agricultural landscapes that are being discovered by tourism; in fact, the interest for various types of rural landscapes — mainly from urban residents — is much older and persistent and has taken many forms. The concept of a “cultural rural landscape” covers a wide variety of territories, with multiple expressions of their history. The UNESCO WH committee reinforced the interest in this type of landscape, by listing some, mainly as a benchmark for conservation in other parts of the world. In 2001 the Austrian–Hungarian cultural landscape of Fertő-Neusiedlersee was selected as a prototype of a rich rural region: a meeting place of different cultures for eight millennia. This is graphically demonstrated by its varied landscape: the remarkable rural architecture of the

villages surrounding the lake and several eighteenth — and nineteenth-century palaces adds to the area's considerable cultural interest. Without doubt, many more rural landscapes of this type will be discovered for tourism and perhaps, as a result, need the status of protected heritage area.

The stereotype of rural landscapes endowed with history and many interesting landmarks and often minor heritage attractions has strongly influenced the general appreciation of cultural heritage landscapes with a tourism vocation (Brown and Hall, 2000; McKercher and Ho, 2006). However, this rather European interpretation of cultural tourism landscapes needs to be adapted when focusing on vast nomadic landscapes such as the Mongolian grass lands (Buckley et al., 2008) and the Orkhon Valley Cultural Landscape, which figures on the WH list since 2004. The extensive area of this "listed valley" (122,000 ha) includes pastureland on both banks of the Orkhon River and numerous 6th century archaeological remains (6th century) and the site of Kharkhorum, the 13th and 14th century capital of Chingis (Genghis) Khan's vast Empire. The intrinsic value of this type of rural landscape is the symbiotic link between nomadic, pastoral societies and their administrative and religious centers that led to the development of extensive trade networks, and the political importance of the valley in the history of central Asia. The grassland is still grazed by Mongolian nomadic pastoralists but the region is gradually entering tourist awareness space. Nonetheless, the very low density of tourism activities in these vast areas might be the best safeguard for the future protection of the cultural landscape.

CONCLUSION

Heritage for tourism, tourism for heritage, whatever the emphasis or the geographic situation, cultural landscapes are under pressure from tourism. Gradually a code of conduct and understanding has registered in the minds of the decision makers, planners and tourism marketers. There is no doubt that cultural landscapes are exceptionally promising resources for the development of cultural tourism and, as such, for the local economy, but a number of conditions need to be respected (Garrod and Fyall, 2000). The credo of conservation might become rather complicated, whenever new uses of old infrastructures and buildings are being discussed. Above all, anticipation of the direct and indirect impact of tourism on each site and territory cannot be deducted from a guidebook and there is no blue print for the "best" heritage management (Timothy and Boyd, 2003).

The transformation from a cultural landscape to a tourism landscape requires profound knowledge of the local situation and the external influences and, above all, a realistic assessment of the assets (Table 8.2). In this process, consensus amongst local stakeholders is valuable, but not always encountered; the level of education, the financial involvement, the ownership patterns and traditions and, above all, the cultural affinity with the heritage in situ might create divergences in the values and expectations. Aspects such as accessibility, site management, educational mission, and even marketing strategies and, eventually, the quality control of resources can now count on more support.

Table 8.2. Cultural landscapes for tourism: assets and key issues

ASSETS	KEY ISSUES
Diversity Space Discovery	Accessibility and planning Clustering and routes
Coherence of cultural heritage elements Revival of intangible cultural heritage	Conservation and resource management Carrying capacity and visitor management Impact of seasonality
Wide range of cultural and leisure activities	Accommodation Dependency on tourism revenues and leakages
Unique Tourist Opportunity Spectrum (TOS)	Decision power of local stakeholders

Source: author.

Creating tourism landscapes based on cultural resources is also a potential source of conflict; the transformation process may not be acceptable to all the residents in the area, or not relevant except for some heritage fans or enthusiasts. What is highly relevant is the observation that the revalorization of cultural heritage can lead to a confirmation of territorial cultural identity, become an incentive for cultural creativity, and support a greater sense of place and pride or, on the contrary, be perceived as exogenous.

A similar impact can be observed in the current discourse about protecting names and accentuating the exclusivity of labels for various types of territorial products, ranging from beer and special liquors, to cheese and ham, to gastronomic recipes, etc. The criteria to be recognized as a truly authentic regional or local product are, in fact, rooted in subtle expressions of intangible heritage (Russo and Segre, 2007). According to the new European regulations (2007) a number of criteria need to be met, in order to be labeled as an authentic or exclusive territorial product. These are:

1. Manufacture from original resources in the region, although imported resources are acceptable if supply is insufficient
2. Recognition by the local population and communities as authentic and grass-rooted
3. Application of artisan processes and methods according to territorial traditions
4. Completion of the final product in the area of origin
5. Presentation of evidence of tradition and historical existence.

The protection of territorial products is just as difficult and complicated as that of cultural landscapes. The main reason is that this category of heritage focuses on the interaction of different cultural elements and on their spatial pattern. These assets have a composite nature and occupy a large area, so it is not possible to pinpoint them to an exact location. Rather than a physical address, they involve a “delimitation” of a territory on the basis of the recognition of a “common cultural element” Moreover, they are subject to different levels of protection and the definitions are even more fluid when intangible heritage elements are referred to as a component of territorial identity (ESPON 1.3.3, 2006).

A priority for future research in this field is to study in depth the different aspects and forces behind the process of transformation: from a production landscape to a leisure landscape, from a coherent landscape to a landscape marked by “tourism enclaves” or even fully functional as a tourism landscape. While the multi-disciplinary approach of tourism research is one of its major strengths and opens wide perspectives, since it allows various viewpoints, it is arguably also its greatest weakness. There is little agreement about concepts, such as cultural landscapes, nor about heritage resources and their coherence, nor about the optimal development model for leisure landscapes in the future.

Chapter 9

RELIGIOUS TOURISM IN THE EUROPEAN UNION: RESOURCES AND TRENDS

Myra Shackley and Rachel Welton

ABSTRACT

This chapter examines the growth and spatial development of religious tourism in Europe, looking both at issues of supply (types of religious sites and routes) and demand (visitor motivation) in the context of the changing religious pattern. Religious tourism has recently seen significant growth in pilgrimage and visits to Marian shrines throughout the European Union. Moreover, large numbers of cultural tourists also visit churches and cathedrals, as well as shrines, and attend festivals and events with a religious theme. As a result, new religious tourist destinations are emerging and demand is no longer exclusively focused on Christian sites. The authors reach the conclusion that religious tourism in Europe is thriving, facilitated by more professional marketing, increasing levels of interest in spiritual matters and easier access to religious destinations. Its growth and diversification is building on the medieval legacy of pilgrimage to develop a diverse portfolio of sites to attract tourists of many different denominations and motivations, including those who have no specifically religious motivation, but may be classified more accurately as cultural or historical tourists. The major paradox is that visitor numbers are increasing at a time when congregation levels at most churches are falling.

INTRODUCTION

There is no uniform definition of religious tourism, which could be said to comprise travel to any place, shrine, building or landscape feature that is deemed, by at least one religious tradition, to be sacred or holy. Religious tourism includes pilgrimages and visits to specific religious events, as well as visits made to churches, cathedrals and shrines primarily for their cultural or historical (as opposed to religious) significance (Olsen and Timothy, 2006). Religious tourism also includes staying at retreat houses (Shackley, 2004a). Much of the analysis of religious travel has concentrated on pilgrimage, including classifications of

sites, discussion about the travel patterns of religious tourists, or differentiation between pilgrim groups (see, for example, Sizer, 1999; Fleischer, 2000). Religious tourism is now well accepted as a niche market in tourism, but much academic discussion has also centered on whether pilgrimage constitutes a legitimate branch of tourism (Boorstin, 1964; McCannell, 1973) with much of the literature on pilgrimage concentrating on definition of the term. An acceptable definition for the writer is that 'a pilgrim is one who strives to obtain salvation of his/her soul through a physical journey in which *caritas*, love for God, and not *cupiditas*, love for material things, drives them'. Such journeys are found in all the great religions of the world; on a global scale pilgrimage probably attracts 250 million people/year (Jackowski, 2000) and have recently attracted considerable interest from tourism planners and marketers who have realized their economic potential. Within Europe, religious tourism focused around urban centers, churches, cathedrals and monasteries as well as shrines and pilgrimage routes. Tourists visiting urban centers (such as London, Paris or Rome) which typically contain many sacred sites as well as secular visitor attractions, are able to combine cultural, artistic and historic information within a specific religious tradition, whereas Europe's major shrines (Lourdes, Fatima, Knock) appeal more to authentic religious tourists or pilgrims (usually within the Roman Catholic tradition) and may often be conscientiously commercialized (Nolan and Nolan, 1992). Eade (1992) notes that tourists may also be moved by religious emotion as well as pilgrims, but these may not necessarily be "religious tourists" (Russell, 1999). Much of the recent interest in religious travel has come from the (belated) realization that such activities are of major economic importance, although the undoubted relationship between religion and tourism has also received attention from authors including Bywater (1994), Vuconic (1996), Rinschede (1992), Coleman and Elsner (1991; 1995), Fernandes *et al.* (2003) and Olsen and Timothy (2002). Many writers that have provided overviews of the development of religious tourism, including Homberg (1993), Olsen and Timothy (1999; 2006) and Russell (1999), project a significant increase in religious tourism in the near future.

CHANGING PATTERNS OF RELIGIOUS TOURISM IN EUROPE

Until 50 years ago, religious tourism in Europe was almost exclusively Christian. However, as a result of the expansion of the EU, of in-migration, the presence of large numbers of refugees and asylum seekers within the EU and the growing significance of Islam, contemporary European religious tourism also includes a series of significant Hindu, Buddhist Muslim and Jewish sites. Examples of the latter include the ghettos in Venice and Krakow and "dark tourism" to the World War II Holocaust concentration camps of Auschwitz or Bergen-Belsen, as well as many other examples (Foley and Lennon, 2000). Arguments have previously been advanced by the writer (Shackley, 2001) contending that visitation to many sites including battlefields, significant memorials to human-rights related events and "New Age" quasi religious sites can all be considered as forms of pilgrimage. Within the UK, Buddhist communities have established sites such as the Samye Ling monastery in southern Scotland which attracts both staying visitors and day pilgrims. London's many mosques attract visitors (especially at times of festival or to hear famous preachers) and various Hindu temples are significant visitor attractions. The Swaminarayan Mandir Hindu Temple in London is a good example, since it is the first traditional Hindu Mandir temple in Europe. In

order to construct it, 2,820 tones of Bulgarian limestone and 2,000 tons of Italian Carrara marble were shipped to India, carved by over 1,500 craftsmen and reshipped to London. Since its opening in August 1995, the Mandir has attracted over 3 million visitors and 2,500 school visits (<http://www.mandir.org>). Some UK cities have very strong religious tourism products. Leicester, an industrial town in the English Midlands where 30% of the population is from ethnic minorities, has a thriving religious tourism industry based around a prominent Jain temple, several significant mosques and a number of medieval Christian churches. Religious tourism can also include quasi-religious sites such as Rennes-le-Chateau in France, or sites associated with the popular Da Vinci Code novel (Brown, 2004). Rosslyn Chapel in Scotland, which featured in the book, used to attract >10,000 visitors/year. In 2005 this number rose by 600% to 68,000, creating extra pressure on the church, but also generating substantial funding for the Rosslyn Trust which will finance a £3m (\$6 million) renovation of the site. Although this allows for a very broad definition of “religious site”, rather than a more traditional definition, this is probably closer to the current public perception of “religious sites” in an arguably post-Christian era.

However, systematic data on non-Christian sites is very difficult to obtain throughout Europe, as are data on the religions on a country by country basis. Figure 9.1 analyses European population diversity by foreign nationality. It might be assumed that areas of very high diversity (indicating ethnically mixed populations), which include substantial areas of the UK, France and the Baltic States, might correspondingly demonstrate a diversity of religious traditions in those regions. However, this would be a fallacy, illustrated by the fact that the Republic of Ireland has a high percentage of foreign nationals yet boasts a religious tourism industry exclusively based on its Roman Catholic heritage, including the Marian shrine at Knock (Shackley, 2004a) and numerous sites associated with St Patrick. Although religious data are not available for all countries, there is data for the UK based on the results of the 2001 census (Table 9.1).

These statistics reveal that 23% of the British population has no religious adherence, but this does not mean that they do not visit sites of religious significance. Moreover, the 45.163 million people (>75% of the population) who do belong to a religious group do not necessarily exclusively visit sites associated with that group. British Christians, for example, might go to the Tibetan Buddhist site at the Samye Ling Monastery out of general interest or for political reasons.

OUTBOUND RELIGIOUS TRAVEL

Nor is religious tourism to Europe merely a matter of intra — and inter-country travel. There is substantial inbound tourism (especially from the USA) on holidays or pilgrimages in order to visit significant Christian religious sites (especially Marian shrines, but also urban locations such as Assisi or Rome). There is also a significant amount of outbound religious tourism with Europeans attending events such as the annual Islamic *Hajj* in Mecca or the Hindu *Kumbh Mela* festival in India. Such large scale intercontinental pilgrimages were estimated by the UNWTO in 2002 to account for 702.6 million international arrivals, although it is difficult to calculate what percentage of these originate in Europe (Mintel, 2005).

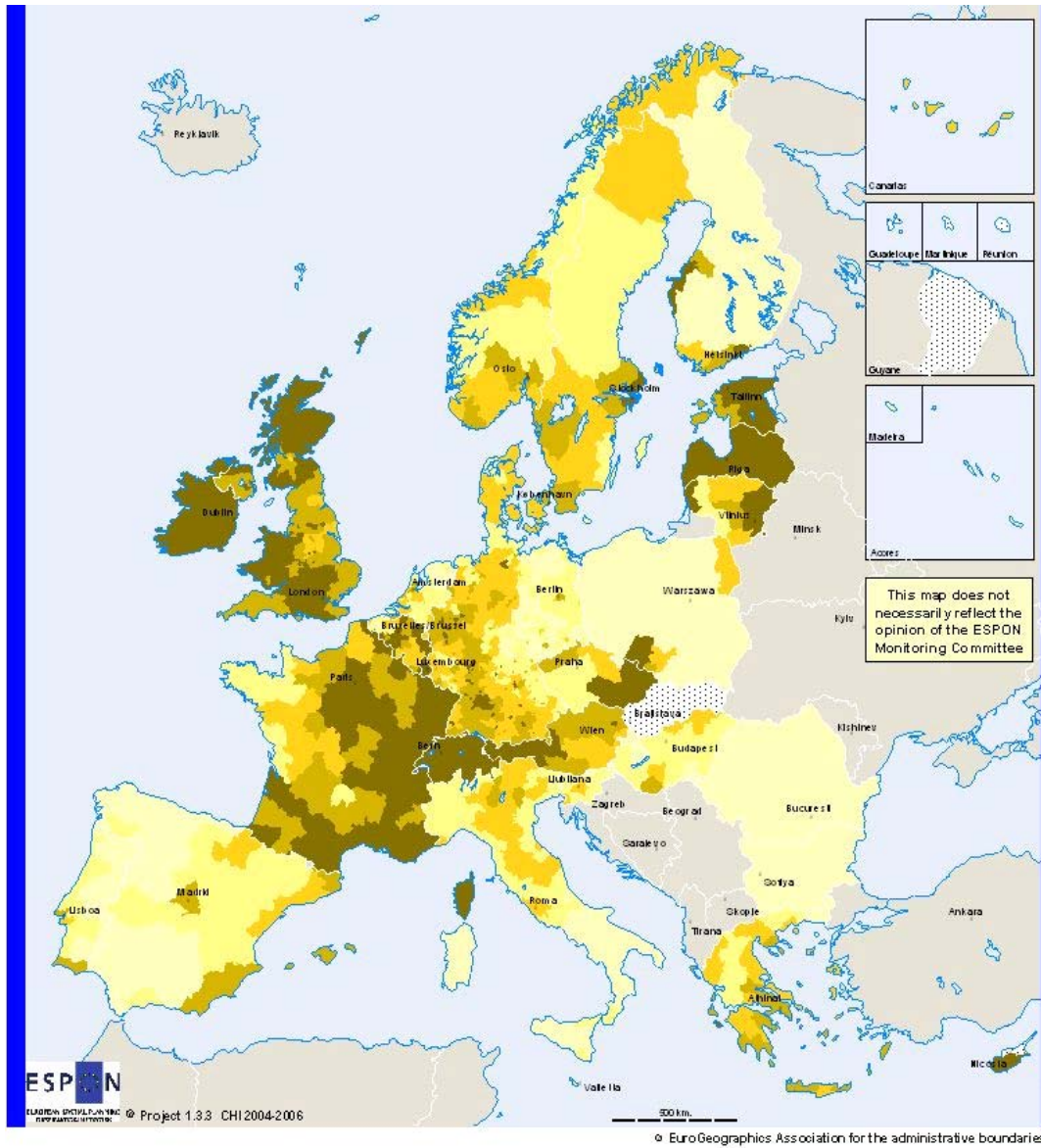
Table 9.1. Religious groups in the United Kingdom

Religious group	N°. of followers	% UK population
Christian	42,079,000	71.6
Muslim	1,591,000	2.7
Hindu	559,999	1
Sikh	336,000	0.6
Jewish	267,000	0.5
Buddhist	152,000	0.3
Other	179,000	0.3
Non religious / undisclosed	13,626,000	23.2
TOTAL	58,789,000	100

Source: National Statistics Office (2002).

Most writers on religious tourism and pilgrimage are agreed that steady growth is evident, related to a parallel growth in faith, a drive from consumers for a more authentic experience, better marketing of religious sites by National Tourist Boards, an increasing number of travel agents offering religious tourism and pilgrimage and cheaper intra-European flights. Substantial numbers of European Jews have taken outbound pilgrimages and visits to Israel, as do many European Christians visiting sites such as Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth.

Muslim religious tourism within Europe is dominated by the outbound pilgrimage to the *Hajj* and *Umrah*. According to the Saudi Press Agency, somewhere between 25 and 40,000 UK residents make this pilgrimage each year, arranged through specialist travel agents and with an annual increase rate of approximately 15% per year. Unfortunately, figures are not available for other European countries. There is, however, evidence that European Hindus often visit religious sites in India as part of VRF travel and that many go specifically to attend religious festivals, of which the most significant is the *Kumbh Mela* Festival, held every 3 years. In 2004 this attracted some 70 million people in a month (an increase of 600% in 50 years). Somewhere between 350 and 500 million people in the world consider themselves to be Buddhists, but a relatively small number of these live in the EU. There is very limited outbound Buddhist tourism to the four most revered Buddhist sites in India and Nepal (Lumbini, Sarnath, Kushinigar and BodhGaya) although some intra-country travel within Europe takes place to attend particular festivals or hear the Dalai Lama speak. European Sikhs also make outbound pilgrimages, mainly to the Golden Temple at Amritsar, which is the center of the Sikh religion. Finally, it should be noted that Jewish pilgrims visit Israel to pray at the Temple Mount and Western Wall, the tomb of the patriarchs in Hebron, the Holocaust memorial *Yad Vashem*, and Masada.



Source: ESPON 1.3.3 (2006: 119).

Figure 9.1. Diversity of resident population by nationality groups in European regions (NUTS III).

The best known of these, the *Camino de Santiago* which leads to the cathedral city of Santiago de Compostela in Spain, now attracts in excess of 150,000 pilgrims per year. Santiago de Compostela, where the tomb of the apostle St James had been discovered in the early 9th century, was firmly established as a pilgrimage destination by the 11th century, at first attracting local pilgrims and then gradually expanding to a network of “feeder” routes from as far a field as Scandinavia. The routes through France and Spain now include a series of World Heritage sites. Pilgrims who walk or cycle more than 100 km. of the route are entitled to the traditional “*compostela*” (pilgrim certificate) on their arrival in Santiago de Compostela. Walking the *Camino* is becoming increasingly popular; over 180,000 *compostelas* were issued in 2006 (compared with 25,000 a decade ago), but this number is only a small fraction of the total number of travelers on the *Camino*, which is steadily increasing as a result of better promotion and easier access to suitable starting points facilitated by budget airlines (such as Ryanair and Easyjet) serving small regional airports throughout the EU. The popularity of the route has also spread to “feeder” routes such as the French section of the *Camino* starting at Le Puy-en-Velay and joining the Spanish section at the foot of the Pyrenees, with other “feeder” routes in Portugal, Spain, France and Italy also becoming popular.

In addition to the *Camino*, many EU countries are developing new pilgrimage trails, which may have medieval origins (such as the pilgrimage to the shrine of St Thomas Becket at Canterbury, in the UK), but have been resurrected to appeal to walkers and cyclists as well as religiously-motivated pilgrims. In some cases this has been achieved by linking together sites that share a common religious and historical tradition, such as St Cuthbert’s Way in the Scottish Borders / Northumberland which culminates in the Celtic monastic island of Holy Island (Lindisfarne).

Cathedral and Church Visits

Overall, tourists’ visits to cathedrals and churches throughout the EU probably exceed those to shrines and pilgrimage destinations, but systematic data is not available except in specific cases. It is only possible to guess, for example, the number of visitors received by major French cathedrals such as Chartres or Reims. However, better data are available for England’s 42 Anglican cathedrals, many of which are major visitor attractions. Together they welcome around 10 million visitors/year and generate substantial local economic benefits of £150m/annum within their urban economies and employ 1,885 FTE people. Cathedral visitors spend £30/day on a visit to a cathedral city although very little of this revenue is received by the cathedral in the form of donations, causing ongoing financial crises connected with the need to generate revenue for the upkeep of these fragile ancient buildings in a country where cathedrals receive minimal government funding. The rising cost of conserving and maintaining the fabric of Anglican cathedrals is likely to result in increased need to raise revenue from visitors, probably by charging for admission (Shackley, 2002a; 2002b; 2007).

The most significant church in Europe is undoubtedly St Peter’s in the Vatican, which has been attracting pilgrims and tourists for centuries to the seat of the Roman Catholic Church and is the most visited Catholic pilgrimage site in the world. The busiest days in the Vatican coincide with the Pope’s Christmas and Easter addresses or other significant festivals, when a crowd of up to 190,000 people can fill St Peter’s Square. The Vatican

estimates that Sunday crowds visiting St Peter's and hoping to hear a Papal blessing number around 150,000, but it is thought that in the course of a year around 20 million tourists — for religious or other reasons — visit St Peter's. This greatly exceeds visitation levels to any other pilgrimage destination, even Assisi in Umbria, where St Francis was born, which receives 3-5 million visitors each year. However, this is a very substantial number for a town with a population of only around 6000 people, most of whom earn a living from the tourism industry.

In addition to popular religious tourism icons, such as Rome or Assisi, there are many other destinations throughout the EU that attract visitors for special events. The classic example is the cathedral of San Giovanni Battista in Turin, home to the Turin Shroud, believed by many to be the cloth in which Jesus had been wrapped after his crucifixion. Because of its fragility, the Shroud is only occasionally exhibited to the public. On the last occasion (1998), 2 million visits were made to view it over a period of 2 months, peaking at 30,000 visitors/day who were able to be in the presence of the Shroud — at a distance — for around 2 minutes. Even when the shroud is not on view, 1.5 million visitors come to Turin, an industrial city with no other religious heritage attractions. Other significant religious attractions and events in Europe include Gaudi's *Sagrada Familia* cathedral in Barcelona, the "Semana Santa" (Holy Week) processions in Seville, and innumerable local festivals and events which attract visitors from outside the relevant region.

Visits to Shrines

Visitation to shrines also constitutes a significant element in European religious tourism. The vast majority of such shrines are Roman Catholic, and many are connected with apparitions of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and are therefore known as "Marian Shrines". Unlike European cathedrals and churches, which are usually medieval foundations, Marian shrines (including major sites such as Fatima, Lourdes and Knock) are relatively recent tourism destinations, having developed over the last hundred and fifty years. Shrines grow quickly in popularity and create huge volumes of tourist business. For example, after the death of the Capuchin Friar Padre Pio in 1968 the mountain-top friary where he spent his life, in the remote town of San Giovanni Rotondo, became the top pilgrimage destination in Europe, attracting 7-8 million visitors/year to its newly-built basilica.

The Marian shrine at Knock in Ireland only receives 1.5 million visitors/year, but is of immense economic significance to a relatively undeveloped area of western Ireland, and a major element in the Catholic pilgrimage network of Europe. Knock was a small, obscure bog-side village in County Mayo where, on August 21st 1879, a vision of Our Lady, accompanied by St Joseph and St John and surrounded by a soft brilliant light, occurred. The apparition lasted for about two hours and had twenty witnesses, with the light visible for miles around. Validated by a Commission of Enquiry, it generated a great wave of religious enthusiasm in Ireland. Today, Knock remains an important centre of prayer and pilgrimage and is primarily a location for organized group tours. A huge circular church with capacity for 10,000 people was completed in 1976, accompanied by landscaping of the extensive shrine grounds, the building of the Knock Folk Museum and assorted oratories, churches, confessional halls, assembly and processional areas. In view of the demand, this large area is certainly necessary, as is proved by the fact that, in 1993, more than 40,000 people attended a

single mass on the occasion of the visit of Mother Theresa of Calcutta. Mayo County Council has largely reconstructed the small village of Knock by widening streets and roads, building a new shopping centre and constructing a huge car park. The shrine is served by its own airport, Knock International Airport, some 11 miles north, opened in 1985 and developed by the Connaught Regional Airport Company with the mission to provide a gateway to open up this disadvantaged region of Ireland and help the shrine to achieve its full pilgrimage potential. Currently, Knock is linked to different Irish and English airports by scheduled and charter flights, including budget airlines such as Ryanair. As with many other Marian shrines, tourism to Knock is seasonal with few services open (including the tourist office) outside the main tourism season that runs from May to October. Knock is not just a pilgrimage destination but also a major visitor attraction. Its religious visitors come mainly as day trippers, motivated by a desire to see where the apparition happened (and with the faint hope that it might occur again), and the wish to share in the sanctity of a holy place. Some wish to pray for healing, others use their visit as a focus for family or community life and some are simply curious. The shrine itself generates very low levels of income (as donations) from its visitors, with most money being made by private-sector service businesses. No precise visitor data is available as the shrine has open access, but it is thought that the percentage of international visitors is increasing, partly as a result of easier air access and partly as a result of the decline in Catholic religious observance in Ireland.

However, Knock is just one of a network of European shrines. Certainly, the most significant site is Lourdes, which marks the location of apparition of the Virgin Mary to Bernadette Soubirous in 1858 and receives 6m visitors/year (Intel, 2005). Some lesser-known destinations, such as Lisieux, Rocamadour, Le Puy-en-Velay, Monial and St Anne d'Suray, have recently joined forces under the banner of "*Villes Sanctuaires de France*" (Shrine Towns of France) and together attract over seven million visitors. Other locations include the Benedictine monastery at Mont-St-Michel, added to the World Heritage list in 1966 and attracting over 3 million visitors/year. Despite these high visitor numbers, it seems probably that only 10% of the visitors are "traditional" pilgrims, but this in itself illustrates the significance of religious sites for cultural/heritage tourists.

In Portugal, the shrine of Fatima (100 km north of Lisbon) commemorates Marian apparitions in 1917, and currently attracts an estimated 5 million visitors/year, with peak arrivals coinciding with the anniversary of the original sightings/vision. EU expansion has facilitated visitation to the Polish shrine of Czestochowa, where a picture of Our Lady of Czestochowa was reputedly painted by St Luke and whose baroque church and monastery in the Jasna Gora sanctuary attract 4-5 million visitors each year, a number steadily increasing since the 1990s, boosted further by Poland's accession to the EU in 2004. Less traditional religious tourism destinations in Europe include Malta, where a small number of pilgrims visit churches and cathedrals associated with the Order of Knights of St John and follow the missionary journey of St Paul. In Bosnia-Herzegovina the shrine of Medjugorje, commemorating the appearance of the Virgin Mary to six children in 1981, attracts 1.2 million visitors/year, although these numbers declined during the Bosnian War (1992-1995). Other shrines include Canterbury Cathedral in the UK (where Thomas Becket was murdered in 1170), Glastonbury and the shrine church of Our Lady at Walsingham (where in 1061 an apparition of the Virgin Mary required the construction of a replica of Christ's family home in Nazareth). Croagh Patrick, Ireland's holy mountain, where St Patrick lived in the 5th century, attracts huge pilgrim numbers on July 31st each year. Wittenberg, Germany, is now a

World Heritage site, partly because of its significance as the birthplace of Martin Luther while the cathedral of Cologne is reputed to contain relics of the three magi. Finally, the cathedral of Nidaros at Trondheim in Norway commemorates the miracles of St Olav.

CONCLUSION

It can be seen from the examples quoted above that religious tourism is thriving in Europe, facilitated by better marketing, increasing levels of interest in spiritual matters and easier access. Visitor destinations have become more diversified as a result of the increasing percentage of EU inhabitants who are non-Christian, creating a new series of Hindu, Muslim and Buddhist attractions. However, these constitute only a small fraction of the number of visitors going to Christian shrines, churches and cathedrals. Better documentation of the level of religious tourism would be possible only if individual attractions kept accurate records, but this is not the case. Nor is it possible, at present, to obtain an EU-wide idea of the religious affiliation of most constituent countries. But in many ways this is unimportant, except for the traditional pilgrimage market, since the vast majority of visitors to European religious sites today has no specifically religious motivation, but may be classified as cultural or historical tourists. As such, this constitutes a complete reversal of the picture prevailing a few decades ago. European Christian sites still remain as a visible legacy of the EU's Christian heritage, and are attracting increasing visitor numbers at a time when congregation levels at most Christian churches are falling. This remains the major paradox of religious tourism in Europe.

Chapter 10

**CULTURAL EVENTS AS CATALYSTS OF CHANGE:
EVIDENCE FROM FOUR EUROPEAN CASE STUDIES¹**

Stephen Wanhill and Myriam Jansen-Verbeke

ABSTRACT

The cultural heritage of a place or a community offers, in many ways, inspiration for the creation of cultural events, as these can generate important impulses for the conservation of heritage and play a dynamic role in the development of cultural tourism. However, the growing number of events globally, with a wide diversity of themes and concepts, raises the question of extent to which the territorial component — the place's identity and the presence of cultural heritage — still makes a difference by adding value to the tourist opportunity spectrum. The objective of this chapter is to study the ways in which events are inducing changes and to identify the role of local assets in the development of an event (the input for the production process) and the multi dimensional impact (the output) on the place and the local community. The insights discussed result from four case studies, each with a different emphasis. The way an event affects the local economy and thus stimulates tourism is a key issue in most event assessment studies, an approach adopted in the Savonlinna, Finland study. The multidimensional impacts of events are central to the three other case studies: rural revitalization as the result of a bottom-up initiative (Marcillac, France); the strength of intangible heritage in the process of territorial identity (re)building (Salento, Italy); and the development of an event monitor as a policy tool for local authorities (Ghent, Belgium). Together, the four case studies reveal the different dynamics of events in the local and regional cultural economy and, above all, the ways in which a process of cultural identity building is initiated, supported and managed.

¹ The chapter includes results from three case studies in the context of the ESPON project 1.3.3 (2006) that were reported by J. Suvantola (Savonlinna, Finland), F. Potier & P. Zeger (Marcillac, France), and G. Serinelli (La Notte della Taranta, Italy). The authors wish to express their gratitude to them for sharing these lively stories of cultural identity building.

INTRODUCTION

Events are appreciated as impulses for maintaining or reviving the cultural identities of communities, and opportunities to create or reinforce local and regional networks. In addition they are considered to be incentives for innovative entrepreneurship in the cultural economy, as well as vehicles for enhancing tolerance and understanding, thus fostering an integration process. The focus of this chapter is on capacities and conditions for events to revalorize tangible and intangible heritage and thus contribute to a process of territorial coherence and cultural identity building.

The composite role of cultural events as carriers of heritage and their dynamic role in cultural tourism is complex and can be studied from different perspectives. The ESPON project focused mainly on the spatial aspects of cultural elements (ESPON, 2006). This strong territorial approach implies a prime interest in “grass roots” resources for cultural tourism, as part of a general switch of emphasis by the European Union away from large automatic grants to attract inward investment projects, towards small firms and indigenous development. A return to the roots movement can be seen as a driving force of many cultural activities. There is also an increasing interest for products of the territory, as well as for local narratives and icons. In fact this might be the expression of a cultural turn in the leisure and tourism market, away from globalized and staged experiences (Debbage and Ioannides, 2004). This search for the “genus loci” or “sense of place”, whether in the built environment, in gastronomy, the arts and music or the entertainment business opens great opportunities for creative entrepreneurship. In the setting and type of attraction, new cultural products with a typical local flavor can indeed be competitive.

The growing number of events on the global agenda, with a wide diversity of themes and concepts, raises the question of the extent to which location and characteristics of the “local” environment still play a role. Folklore events, arts and crafts, religious and military events tend to be historically embedded in a particular site, whereas most music and film festivals can be implanted almost anywhere. Some events look back at a long history. A study in Belgium (in 2004) shows that almost 30% of the events now registered had their first edition before 1940, the oldest ones — mostly religious — even going back to medieval times. Clearly the creation of many new events in the period 1950-1990 is strongly related to the expansion of tourism and the need to create new attractions, or reinforce existing ones, in order to expand the length of the tourist season or stimulate repeat visits to the destination.

The study of events as catalysts of change implies a double scanning: on the one hand, of the local assets in the development of an event (the input for the production process) and, on the other hand, the multi-dimensional impact (the output) on the place and the local community. The identification of relevant parameters for both the input and the output of events is essential in comparative studies. Surely the lack of empirical studies in this area is related to the absence of valid data and statistics, even of clear definitions. In the ESPON project 1.3.3 this handicap was widely recognized (ESPON 1.3.3, 2006). More in-depth and multidisciplinary research work is needed to reveal the interesting dynamics of the event market.

Particularly relevant in the perspective of cultural tourism is the issue of local embedding in the territorial identity (the grass roots model). Is this a real competitive advantage compared to the numerous Christmas trees on the market square, identical and rootless?

Parameters, such as the history of the event, the year of the first edition, the participation ratio of locals and visitors, the yearly number of event days and, not least, the degree of local involvement, are most relevant in assessing the sustainability of the event and its multiple impacts. Events, although primarily a community matter, tend to be framed in the context of cultural tourism, planned to induce diversification alternatives to “frozen cultural expressions” and above all incentives for innovation.

The geography of cultural tourism displays a strong correlation with the presence of tangible heritage elements (monuments, historic cityscapes, religious and archaeological sites), in some cases supported by the dynamics of intangible heritage. The density of cultural resources can be seen as an indication of the local or regional tourism potential. Although the European maps show some discrepancies, as a rule a high density of heritage elements is related to high scores of the tourist intensity index (ESPON, 2006: 103-104, Figures 21 and 22). Behind this simple fact, there is a complex set of explanations, the actual conservation policies being one of the most relevant factors.

In addition there is a clear concentration of events in the urban environment. In Belgium more than 60% of all events that took place in 2004 were located in an urban environment (ESPON, 2006). The hypothesis that the setting of an event in a monument or in a historic cityscape adds considerably to its “market value” needs to be tested empirically and through comparative studies. According to the Belgian case study, about 13% of the events are located at a historical site, building or monument (Table 10.1). This is excluding the 422 events that are set up in a monument specifically for the “Open Monument Days”. The re-use of the built heritage for events and festivals has become an almost evident policy.

Table 10.1. Event type and location in Belgium, 2004

Location	Rural		Peri-urban		Urban	
	N.	%	N.	%	N.	%
Festival	11	13.1	10	11.9	63	75
Music	12	13.3	13	14.4	65	72.2
Dance	4	16	1	4	20	80
Theatre	1	8	2	15.4	10	76.9
Literature			2	40	3	60
Film					5	100
Crafts	10	24.4	8	19.5	23	56.1
Markets	3	15.8	3	15.8	13	68.4
Military	1	33.3			2	66.7
Folklore	18	15.8	23	20.2	73	64.
Religion	4	13.8	11	37.9	14	48.3
Carnival	6	17.7	3	8.8	25	73.5
Various	10	28.6	4	11.4	21	60

Source: ESPON 1.3.3 (2006), based on field work carried out in 2004.

New views about the dynamics of events and their role in the generation of creative environments and clusters of entrepreneurship in the cultural economy are being developed

(Richards and Wilson, 2006). Events can be understood as manifestations of acquired cultural capital and expressions of creativity, mainly geared at realizing innovative tourist experiences.

Alongside the growth in tourism for cultural purposes and urban tourism in particular, has been the expansion of festivals and cultural events. These are designed to augment the tourism profile of a destination. However, some become branded by their location and in so doing contribute greatly to the image of the destination through becoming an iconic attraction. There are multiple benefits to the local community from developing an attraction of this kind, in terms of: improving the tourist trade in the local economy, particularly if the cultural event extends the season or is part of a regeneration program; promotional value not only for tourism but also for other economic activities by achieving recognition of the town as a worthwhile place to live and work; and fostering local awareness and pride in the community. Clearly the mission of cultural festivals is not just to benefit tourism, but primarily for the benefit of the community. If the community does not support it, there is very little likelihood of a successful or sustainable tourism festival.

Increasing the potential for cultural tourism and realizing positive economic spin-offs of events on a local and regional scale are key issues in many projects (Dwyer *et al.*, 2004; 2006). The high expectations concerning the direct and indirect economic impulses of events and their leverage function for the cultural economy need to be balanced against the pressure on carrying capacity and sustainable development. In addition, many events depending on public funding enter into a highly competitive arena, whilst the private sector is becoming more cautious and risk averse. In fact there are strong arguments to selectively support flagship projects and those with a sustainable regional impact. Nevertheless there are multiple examples of events, even mega-events, with a very short life cycle and questionable impacts from a long-term perspective (Picard and Robinson, 2006). In addition, successful projects such as the Cultural Capital of Europe event are showing signs of erosion and surely open the discourse on critical success factors (Palmer and Richards, 2007). Many festivals and events seem to fit well into the local cultural tourism policies and are increasingly being developed as instruments for tourism promotion and for boosting the regional economy (Jansen-Verbeke, 2004a; Felsenstein and Fleisher, 2003).

Trends on the demand side for cultural events offer new market opportunities for the tourism business and the branding of destinations. Sometimes an event is the tourist's first contact with the community and with the local tourist opportunity spectrum, therefore an effective destination marketing strategy. Because of the temporary nature of events and the "trial-and-error" characteristics of this tourism and/or cultural product, they seem to be excluded from the mainstream discussion on sustainable tourism. There is this unwritten knowledge that events are operating in a self-selecting market; if the formula, the location, the timing or the product mix is no longer a success, the event is deleted from the agenda or at least from the list of activities sponsored and marketed by the local tourist board. Success is usually measured in terms of generated visitor nights and expenditures (Getz, 2000). These data offer a good selling argument with potential sponsors and fit in well with the ambitions of local politicians and tourism marketers to gain media coverage. The long-term target of many events is to develop new and permanent infrastructure or to renovate the existing infrastructure. Eye-catching architectural experiments for new theatres, conference centers, exhibition halls, visitor centers, hotels and museums are often launched in the context of an event with the intention to become icons for the tourist destination.

This chapter focuses on some selected aspects of events. The economic dynamics or the way events affect the local economy and stimulate tourism is the most obvious question in event assessment studies. Different methods were introduced in cultural economics studies, although sometimes missing the link with tourism. The Savonlinna Opera Festival in Finland has been studied with a clear emphasis on the economics and strategies in the opera sector (Wanhill, 2004; 2006; Suvantola, 2006). The impact of an event on social life, the criteria to penetrate in the tourist map and eventually to become a cultural product for export have been described in the case studies Marciac-France and Salento-Italy (Potier and Zegel, 2006; Serinelli, 2006). Clearly such fragmented and one-off evaluations of events form a weak basis for the making of integrated local plans and strategies.

The challenge in event studies is to find ways of measuring the multidimensional impact of festivities, to identify the parameters of change and to take into account the limits of carrying capacity of the city and the local community. The ambition to monitor various impacts of an event in a longitudinal way, but also from a multidimensional perspective, now becomes more realistic. An explorative study of the Ghent Festivities (Belgium) illustrates some methodological issues and implications of such an empirical approach (Jansen-Verbeke, 2004b). The case studies were set up with a very different scope of interests. The objective of this chapter is not to compare the four events, but to highlight the uniqueness of each concept, the way cultural resources, both tangible and intangible, are being mined and methods to monitor the impact and processes of change.

ECONOMIC VIABILITY ISSUES: THE SAVONLINNA OPERA FESTIVAL, FINLAND

Place and Setting

The case study on the Savonlinna Opera Festival is included here as an example of an economic scan of a local event with an international reputation (Wanhill, 2004; 2006; Suvantola, 2006). The Savonlinna Opera Festival is a well renowned cultural occasion that has become branded by its location. The elements that dictate the establishment of most opera festivals are the place and the setting. This annual event takes place every July in Olavinlinna Castle, which adjoins the town of Savonlinna. The town is situated in the Etelä-Savo region, a lake area in Eastern Finland known for its cultural events, for, with little tangible heritage, many cultural activities are concentrated on music and arts. Hence, within the national context, Etelä-Savo scores above average in terms of tourist arrivals per cultural event. In the case of the Opera Festival, the location choice for the event is highly relevant, being situated in the courtyard of the Olavinlinna Castle, a medieval castle with exceptional acoustics, that lies on a rocky island jutting out into a lake (Figure 10.1). The castle is within walking distance of the centre of the town of Savonlinna. The town has a rounded total of 28,000 inhabitants, but being a popular tourist resort, the population rises to around 100,000 during the main season when the festival is running.

The history of the Savonlinna Opera Festival dates back to 1912 when it was founded by the famous Finnish soprano Aino Ackté (1876-1944). Unfortunately, the Savonlinna Festival was swallowed up in the maelstrom of World War I and then caught up in the political

turmoil between Finland and Russia, so it did not appear again until 1930. In the recessionary period of the 1930s and with war clouds again on the horizon, this revival was short-lived.



Source: author.

Figure 10.1. Olavinlinna Castle, Finland.

But memories of the Festival lingered on in the town, which gave the revival of the Festival an important motive for local support, for the historical underpinnings and the relationship between the Festival's theme and the community's culture were well founded. After a period of close on four decades, it was started again in 1967 with the production of Beethoven's *Fidelio*. According to the management team the real artistic revival of the Festival came with the production of Mozart's *Magic Flute* during the 1973 season. At that time the Festival lasted for only one week, but it has progressed to a stable formula of three weeks with its own production of four to five operas, over 24-26 performances, some concerts and one week where it receives a guest company (initiated in 1987 with the Estonian Theatre Company from Tallin). To accomplish this task, the Festival has a full-time staff of 12 and 3 craftsmen in its workshop, with total employment rising to some 660 persons during the season, including its own chorus and orchestra (Wanhill, 2006).

Economic Aspects of the Festival

The importance of cultural events in Etelä-Savo becomes even more evident by comparing the estimates of direct economic impact of the Savonlinna Opera Festival with the

estimated direct expenditure from tourism in the region of Etelä-Savo. Using data² from surveys of opera attendees (Savonlinna Opera Festival Visitor Surveys, 2004 and 2005), the average visitor spends some €290 per day in town. Grossing this figure up by the 68,753 participants at the festival yields a total spend of around €19.9 million, as most visitors to the opera festival only stay for one night or just a day (Table 10.2). This estimate of expenditure is in line with the data from some earlier visitor surveys that show figures of about €15.8 million for 1988 (Sairanen, 1988) and €14.8 million for 1992 (Piirainen, 1993). The revenue from tourism in Etelä-Savo region was estimated as €115.2 million for 2000 (Laakkonen, 2002). Given the fairly static level of tourism in the region as a whole which makes it viable to make comparisons using the data in 2007 prices then the Festival accounts for about 17% of the total tourism expenditure in the county. Taking into account that the festival only lasts for 30 days, this is impressive.

Table 10.2. National cultural events in Etelä-Savo region, 2007

Cultural Event	Organizer	Duration in days	Visitors / participants	Subsidy from the Ministry of Education (€)
Joroinen Music Days	Joroinen Music Association	6	3,200	7,000
Kangasniemi Music Festival	Kangasniemi Music Festival	11	2,000	12,000
Mikkeli Music Festival	Mikkeli Music Festival Association	8	4,860	15,000
Savonlinna Opera Festival	Savonlinna Opera Festival Association	30	68,753	660,000
Retretti Art Centre	Retretti Oy Ltd.	88	85,000	30,000
Salmela Art Centre	Salmela Arts Centre Ltd.	65	27,000	33,000
International Amateur Theatre Festival	Support Association for the International Amateur Theatre Festival	3	4,272	20,000

Source: Statistics Finland (2007b).

The public service aspect of the Savonlinna Opera Festival is recognized by the Ministry of Education, as indicated in Table 10.2. The subsidy given amounts to just over 16% of the €4,069 million of the public monetary support distributed to Finnish cultural events by the Ministry in 2007. This is by far the largest share of any event in the country, indicating both

² All price data in this section have been updated to 2007 prices.

the national importance of this cultural event in Finland and the cost of supporting opera festivals relative to other events. Along with the Retretti and Salmela Arts Centers, the Savonlinna Opera Festival is one of the three major tourist attractions in the region.

Opera Economics

Because tourism in the region shows a strong dependency on a very specific product — opera— it makes sense to briefly summarize the characteristics of this cultural segment. Opera is recognized as one of the most expensive of the performing arts, and sums of €400,000 per performance in the major opera houses are not uncommon. Equally, public subsidy per attendance by far outstrips any other performing art. To put this in perspective, the Finnish National Opera received €44,793,000 from the state cultural budget in 2008, while the Finnish National Theatre was awarded €13,199,000 (Statistics Finland, 2007b). This is because opera is, as Lord Guthrie put it some years ago, ‘a 19th century art form that has built into it 19th century cost assumptions’ (Guthrie, 1995). In fact this implies that costs are dictated by a long gone composer and his/her librettist, and there is little the artistic director can do about it without radically changing the experience, which would be self-defeating if it fails to attract audiences. Thus the traditions and conventions in the repertoire lead to high costs and prices in today’s market, despite relatively high amounts of public subsidy given to enable the art form to survive (Wanhill, 2006). Activities for which the purpose of public intervention is to encourage consumption are termed merit goods, to indicate that in this case opera as an art form is socially needed even if the economic willingness to pay (WTP) for it in the marketplace is somewhat limited.

The underlying philosophy of the festival is one of service to the public at large through offering a high quality experience that is comparable to any other world-class venue. However, the experience is constrained by the requirement to break even “one year with another” from a variety of revenue sources, of which on average some 62% comes from ticket sales, the remainder being roughly equally split between public subsidy on the one hand, and private funding in terms of sponsorship, commercial trading of opera recordings, and guest performances on the other. Despite the many operas that exist, in order to meet revenue targets, most opera companies position the bulk of their work around a popular few, either in the form of new productions or revivals. These are the operas that appeal to audiences worldwide and can be relied on to fill seats. Audiences tend to fall dramatically for contemporary opera even at reduced ticket prices. These aspects are reflected in the artistic policy of the festival: one new production every year, one new opera every three years, carry over of some (popular) operas from previous years and a guest company performing two (usually popular) operas in the last week. In this the festival office is attempting to balance artistic endeavor against prudential financial management. The potential monetary risks from changing the repertoire are high; hence the marketing concentrates on retaining existing customers, bringing in around 70%-75% repeat business every festival. Some years back the festival launched a winter season for one week, which proved to be very damaging financially. Although repeats of popular operas sell well, venues do not get the same critical acclaim as they would for new productions or totally new operas. It may thus be appreciated that the art of opera management is about maintaining a balance between filling seats, controlling costs and artistic integrity. Filling seats requires an active price segmentation

policy: in a theoretical world, perfect price segmentation requires each ticket sale to be negotiated with every customer so as to extract the maximum WTP. The current policy is to segment the market offer into blocks of seats, according to their location and proximity to the stage, popular operas and lavish productions and differential pricing for weekdays and weekends. This pricing strategy generates greater revenue than the “one price only” policy and allows the surplus over average costs achieved on the better seats to compensate for lower prices on the poorer seats.

Impact on Tourism

A major difficulty for tourism in the region is the strong seasonality, as in most high latitude countries. The role of the Festival as a main magnet for tourists shows in the strong visitation peaks during the month of July, and considerably lower levels at other times. The season starts towards the end of May, peaking in July at the time of the opera festival and declining sharply in August when the schools go back. Up to 20 % of the opera visitors are foreigners and 40 % stay for one night only. The latter has even increased. Particularly first time visitors tend to plan a longer stay (Savonlinna Opera Festival, 2004; 2005). The share of day visitors has remained the same. One of the ambitions of the hospitality and tourism sector in general is to extend the stay of the opera visitors in the region. However, the assumption that an average stay of 2 nights could double the expenditures would only make sense if visitors replicated their behavior by going to the opera on both nights. The expenditures include the opera ticket, which varies from €33 up to €213 in the 2008 price panel, but an extra night in the region (€65 to €180 in today’s prices) would indeed account for additional revenue.

The critical constraint here is the amount of accommodation available. There would be a capacity problem to host all the opera visitors from outside the town for an extra night. Although the accommodation sector is able to move to a full rate tariff during the festival period, it does not make economic sense to provide extra hotel rooms for such a short time. As it is, some of the hotels close down soon after the season ends and their star rating is not of a standard that many opera-goers might be used to. To counter this, the festival office liaises closely with the accommodation sector, but the need to fill seats requires the promotion of opera packages to the people in the capital area of Helsinki that include afternoon flights to Savonlinna, night at the opera, and a flight back to Helsinki that same night. Clearly, the direct impact of these visitors on the local economy is mainly limited to the opera ticket and transport from and to the airport.

The success of the opera festival witnessed the establishment of a summer ballet event in 2002 and the opening of a new concert and conference centre and a holiday home fair, all in the same year. From the perspective of the municipality, the opera has become the catalyst for the establishment of arts amenities for the town, as well as drawing in new businesses through building a successful image of the area. An indirect measure of the importance of the festival to the town’s tourism sector can be gauged from the expansion of flights between Helsinki and Savonlinna to five flights per day during the period of the festival, dropping to two flights per day afterwards.

Evaluation Methods

The many facets of the Savonlinna Festival in respect to its contribution to the town does raise the issue, as with most cultural activities, as to how the public input into such projects should be formally evaluated. The dilemma is caused by the multiple and sometimes conflicting objectives that pertain to festivals, when there are so many stakeholders involved. This is illustrated in Table 10.3, which links the evaluation method to the main objective of the event. For example, to evaluate a local cultural event on the basis of its economic importance, as a generator of additional tourism expenditure, is likely to show it as poor value for money, yet it may be of great value to the local community. This is because, if most of the participants are from the locality, then their spending at the event is simply displacement of money that would otherwise be spent in the area, and so the net benefit from participant spending to be weighed against any public subsidy is likely to be small. Similarly, *avant-garde* culture does not sit easily in the marketplace, so that most exhibitions are often free and supported entirely by public subsidy and donations, so they would fail any economic hurdles put in their way (Shubik, 1999). But not all cultural events are a good investment; sometimes the money given to them could be better used in other pursuits (Kainulainen, 2005).

Table 10.3. Evaluation methods for cultural events

Evaluation methods / Objectives	Tourist attraction	Culture/heritage of value to local people	Avant-garde and “High brow” culture
Economic Impact Analysis	√	√ X	X
Contingent Valuation Method	√ X	√	√ X
Socio-Political Assessment	X	√ X	√

Key:

√ = makes major contribution to event objective.

√ X = partly contributes to event objective but can be partly at variance with it.

X = method likely to be at variance with event objective.

Source: Wanhill (2006).

The contrasts drawn in Table 10.3 serve to demonstrate that cultural and economic values are not necessarily coincident, and may move in opposite directions. Having multiple objectives, all three of those shown in the table allow critics to mismatch the evaluation methods which are discussed in more detail below to the objectives and draw negative perceptions. Hence a festival designed to boost tourism in a town may be criticized as “Ersatz”, of no substance in the context of the locality, a nuisance and generator of unnecessary expenses to residents. Thus, it is important to have a focused main objective and match it to the appropriate evaluation procedure when public money is being allocated. A perennial difficulty of grant aiding bodies is deciding the basis by which funds will be allocated to cultural activities: the number of participants, artistic quality and innovation, image building or the need for the project in terms of local regeneration.

Economic Impact Analysis

Movements towards greater market orientation in public spending, supported by government finance ministries, have led to operational demands for improved cost recovery from cultural institutions in terms of user charges, and their evaluation on a wider platform in accordance with their contribution to the local economy as a component of the tourist product. This policy is reinforced at the European level through the award of grant aid from the Structural Funds on the basis of the contribution of the project to regional convergence by raising per capita GDP, but more importantly job creation. If the objective of the event is to create a viable cultural tourist attraction from the public sector standpoint then market models to assess the economic impact appear to be the most appropriate. This has been done using traditional input-output (I-O) economics to estimate Keynesian income and employment multipliers by calculating direct, indirect and induced effects (Fletcher, 1989), as in the case study of the impact assessment of the festivities in Ghent discussed later, but more recently carried out through computable general equilibrium (CGE) models, as the latter offer more flexibility in the underlying assumptions (Ginsburg and Keyzer, 1997).

The argument against the input-output approach rests on the rigidity of the assumptions, namely that resource use by the event has no material effect on output elsewhere, so that prices and costs remain fixed as economic activity expands, and linear production functions, that give rise to constant proportions between inputs and outputs (Dwyer *et al.*, 2004). On the other hand, CGE models are felt to reflect economic realities such as the role played by factor constraints and changing prices on industry balance (Dwyer *et al.*, 2006). They have a high degree of empirical content in the form of detailed commodity flows, labor market data and national accounts data. They include more general specifications of the behavior of consumers, producers and investors, than those allowed in I-O models, thus permitting specific models to be calibrated to actual conditions, depending on data availability, in a particular economy. The methods for assessing the economic impact do not affect the methodology for evaluating cultural products (Hansen *et al.*, 1998), but rather the size of the multiplier effects in output terms.

Contingent Valuation Method

While tourism is, by and large, regarded as a business by most European governments in which the methodology of economic impact analysis looks at culture and heritage from their production value, there is a clear body of research that looks at leisure and, with it, cultural activities, from alternative directions within welfare economics. From a welfare perspective, cultural activities are public goods which generate consumption externalities for society as a whole, such as adding to the creativity of the population, quality of life, identity, social criticism, aesthetics, pluralism and so forth; values that provide, to a considerable degree, the rationale for cultural measures and are legitimate arguments for public provision or subsidy for which surrogate market techniques of evaluation are required.

From the above, it follows that if the objective is to establish a project of cultural value to the local community, the Contingent Valuation Method (CVM) is probably the best way forward (Epstein, 2003). It is a relatively recent method of analysis that takes a direct approach by setting up hypothetical markets for the resource in question and surveying a

sample of individuals for their WTP for any developments. The term CVM is used because the responses depend on the hypothetical market situation that the interviewer describes to the consumer or non-consumer, when the population at large is taken into the sample frame. In this manner CVM is the only method capable of estimating the total value (use, non-use and option value) of a cultural event.

Socio-Political Assessment

Table 10.3 also adds a further strand to the appraisal methodology in the form of socio-political assessment, whereby a panel of experts is appointed to evaluate the worth of a cultural event and give advice to the relevant authority. This category of assessment is included to reflect the authors' experience of institutional decision-making both within and without the public sector. Economic yardsticks are only one way of allocating resources and the case for many cultural projects, particularly those that may be considered *avant-garde*, is often made in terms of qualitative evaluation, which transcends the economic calculus of utilitarianism. The point is that, to minimize the risks of failure, either commercially or in terms of attendance targets, cultural attractions create "reproductive" experiences that evoke known products; events or stories in the public mind are most suitable, as can be seen in the repertoire policy of the Savonlinna Festival. *Avant-garde* or "anticipatory" experiences, which are about evoking expectations, are difficult to evaluate in the marketplace, because they usually separate cultural value from economic value, leaving no recognition in the population at large of their worth. Irrespective of their cultural value, they have a high probability of economic failure, both commercially and also in the wider sense of attracting visitor expenditure to an area. Of course it must be recognized that economic calculus cannot cover all aspects of the project evaluation process. If it were to, then there would be no need for a "decision-maker", thus, in the final analysis, all public projects are subject to socio-political assessment to some degree.

Perspectives

Compared to the economic impact the festival has in the town and the region, the support by the town of Savonlinna at about €400,000 may seem small. The budget for the 2007 festival was set at €8.1 million (Savonlinna Opera Festival, 2007). It consists of ticket sales (64%), sponsorship (15%), government grants and subsidies (12%), Savonlinna town grant (5%) and private funding (4%). While the municipal administration stands firmly behind the opera festival and the importance of the festival is recognized, increasing the local economic support is felt to be politically difficult. Finnish municipalities, like any other local authority, are subject to pressures from central government to control costs and demands from residents for better public services. The high profile of the opera festival means that it is not immune from criticism that is regularly aired in the letters' pages of local newspapers. In simplistic and populist rhetoric, opera is seen as elite culture, which the elite, and not the local taxpayer, should pay, particularly when it is targeted mainly at non-residents. The festival office is criticized also for its repertoire being too commercial, through putting on standard production of popular operas to fill seats.

Economic modeling of the festival in recent years has allowed the management team to change its pricing structure and improve ticket yield. For an opera company that is world class, to be able to cover 83% of the budget from one's own resources and sponsorship is no mean achievement, especially when set against the major international opera houses (Frank and Wrigley, 2001). The long-run price elasticity of demand for tickets is below one, which implies that it is possible to raise revenue still further (Felton, 1992). But the consequences of this would be to leave empty seats in the auditorium, which runs counter to the public obligation requirement to propagate opera as an art form that is the basis of the Ministry of Education subsidy and other government grants. It is also likely that artistic integrity would be compromised (Heilbrun, 2001). Some of the adverse criticism is undoubtedly unfair, as the festival does identify itself with the local community through promoting concerts, recitals and family opera, using the Savonlinna Concert Hall. These tend to make a loss, particularly the family opera, which costs more than twice the ticket take to produce, and are therefore cross-subsidized by performances in the castle. Thus reference must go back to Table 10.3, where the reality is a trade-off between competing objectives, as in most cultural events, whereby it is not possible for the management team to maximize any objective, but rather to try and optimize among them. What is lacking is ongoing modeling of the economic impact of the festival, that would give the town hall a regular flow of information to fend off speculative assessment as to its worth in the locality.

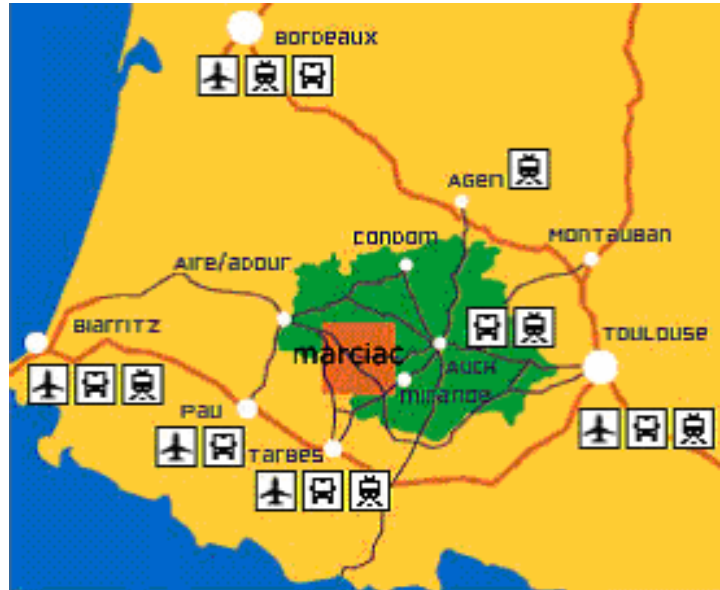
IMPULSES FOR DEVELOPMENT IN A RURAL AREA: JAZZ IN MARCIAC, FRANCE

Characteristics and Location

This case study was carried out in the context of the ESPON study and reveals some interesting understandings of the actual impact of a newly created and imported — yet successful event in a rural area (Potier and Zegel, 2006). The jazz festival of Marciac was created in 1978 by residents of a rural village in southwestern France, at that time threatened by rural exodus. The festival has become very popular in Europe, in just a few years, attracting an ever growing international audience. The success of the festival is the result of the following combination: the quality of the programming, a natural, well preserved environment, rich cultural heritage (including historic buildings, local gastronomy and wines), professionalism and the motivation of the volunteers. The associative and authentic spirit of the project won the support of inhabitants and local players, whose mobilization constitutes a fundamental success factor. As a result, Jazz in Marciac has become a driving force for the tourist development in the region. Furthermore, the dynamism of its organizers enabled the development of a permanent activity centered on jazz, branding the place as a major cultural center in the region. Marciac is a rural village with about 1200 inhabitants, situated in the Gers department of the Midi-Pyrenees region, about 130 km from Toulouse (capital of the region and fifth largest city in France), and 800 km from Paris (Figure 10.2).

From A Temporary Cultural Event To A Permanent Territory Project

Jazz in Marciac is a yearly event held in August. It was launched in 1978 thanks to the efforts of a handful of music lovers and started with only one concert.



Source: Potier and Zegel (2006).

Figure 10.2. Situation of Marciac.

Progressively the festival was extended to two weeks and offered a more varied program, in spite of the fact that its organization relies mainly on a team of volunteers. Prestigious concerts with famous names take place in the municipal stadium, under a giant marquee known familiarly as the “*chapiteau*”, with capacity for 5000 people. During the event period, the entire village is the scene of a myriad of activities: free concerts on the square, art exhibitions, films, a market for local products, and even stands selling craftwork from further afield, not to mention cafés and bars on every pavement. Many restaurants in the village, or taverns installed for the occasion, offer meals accompanied by live music. There is a real “village fête” atmosphere, centered on jazz, which attracts more than 150,000 visitors a year.

After some years of existence, the festival organizers of Jazz in Marciac, a non-profit association, decided to anchor the event with a range of permanent activities and invested in the development of the small town as a major cultural and tourist centre in the Midi-Pyrenees. Since 1988, various initiatives have been taken, such as an agenda of monthly concerts. These concerts are linked with weekend courses for amateurs who want to improve their musical skills, led by renowned musicians. Later in 1992, a museum was opened, “*Les Territoires du Jazz*”, an astonishing creation that uses up-to-date audiovisual technology to take visitors on a tour through the universe of Afro-American music, in a scenic space of 600m². In 1993 the first ever jazz section in a state school in France was created: pupils are introduced to jazz music, as part of their curriculum, from the age of eleven. This was recently awarded a “*Victoire du Jazz*” honor, confirming Marciac as a leader in its domain.

Environment and Local Heritage

Jazz in Marciac takes place in the region of Gascon, which has a strong cultural identity, despite the fact that the region has not constituted an administrative district since 1790. Gascon has a significant density of medieval sites, castles and fortified towns, including Marciac, a small fortified town (*bastide*) founded at the end of the 13th century, a rural community nestling in the green heart of Gers district. The town definitely has additional tourism assets, such as the town square with its medieval arcades, the majestic church with its 90-metre-high bell tower (the highest in Gers department), the old convent, streets with typical houses, a 30 ha lake, the chapel, museums (Museum of Natural History, Museum of Watercolor Painting, “Les Territoires du Jazz”). The country has many Roman, Gothic and Neo-Gothic churches, interesting landscapes and footpaths. Gascon hospitality explains why the Jazz in Marciac festival is unique in achieving an international reputation. The region boasts a wealth of “produits du terroir” and gastronomic specialties: *foie gras*, *confits* and *magrets*, local wines (*Côtes de Saint-Mont*), and *Armagnac* liquor. The valorization of several heritage resources adds to the quality of the tourist experience and the number of repeat visits.

Involvement of the Local Population and Partnerships

As already mentioned, Jazz in Marciac is managed by a non-profit association and based on the help of numerous volunteers, a total of 632 volunteers, 30 administrators, 15 team managers and 6 paid employees. Only highly technical tasks are sub-contracted to qualified specialists, and even then often helped by volunteers: communication, sound, lighting. Half of the volunteer team lives in Marciac or the surrounding area, the other half is composed of students and jazz lovers (who are compensated with free access to concerts) from all over France. The festival became a success in enthusiasm and spontaneity. There was no market study before launching it. For the musical programming, no leeway is given to passing fashions; there is no room for popularity ratings.

To meet the demand for accommodation a local formula of bed and breakfast is organized. According to the tourism office, more than 5,000 overnight stays are registered in the homes of the locals during the two weeks of the festival. The local community lives to the rhythm of jazz during the festival: shopkeepers, restaurant owners, bed and breakfasts, all taking part one way or another in the swinging party. In fact, the festival mobilizes a whole region, which is a clear indication of a successful local integration and involvement.

An active partnership policy was developed from the beginning, associating numerous companies and institutional bodies. Several partners supported the project since the first editions of Jazz in Marciac in various ways. Today 46 partners bring significant help to the annual festival and the wide range of activities of the association (off-season concerts, expositions, etc.). Furthermore, thanks to these services, some companies did help to make substantial savings. Among the various partners are: the European Union, the Midi-Pyrenees regional council, the Gers district council, the French Ministry of Culture, as well as various private partners. The institutional partner, General Council of Gers, was the first to realize the positive impact on local and regional development, whereas the Regional Cultural Direction (DRAC) and the Regional Council of Midi-Pyrenees helped to increase the festival’s audience by promoting it. Nowadays, the Jazz in Marciac budget amounts to €2.7 million, of

which 50% is dedicated to artists' remuneration. In this budget, self-financing amounts to 68% (one of the highest rates in France), while subsidies amount to 32 % (€864,000).

Table 10.4. Attendance at “Jazz in Marciac”, 1989-92 and 2001-05

Year	Number of visitors	Attendance at the concerts
1989	40,000	18,000
1990	52,000	20,000
1991	60,000	27,000
1992	70,000	35,000
2001	160,000	35,000
2002	170,000	45,000
2003	170,000	45,300
2004	180,000	45,489
2005	180,000	55,000

Source: Potier and Zegel (2006).

The Audience

The audience of the Jazz in Marciac festival has continued to rise year after year to reach 180,000 visitors for its 2004 edition, thus quadrupling the number of visitors over a fifteen year period (Table 10.4).

In the early years, the regional population constituted the main part of the audience (40% in 2001), but the ever-growing number of visitors originates from other French regions (mainly from Paris), Europe and even the USA. By 2001, international attendance represented 5% of the total. The increase of the international audience is mainly related to the presence of foreign journalists and the pairing of the festival with those in Aspen (Colorado) and Brecon (Wales). Nevertheless, the festival's popularity among musicians is probably the strongest form of promotion.

A Dynamic Initiative for the Region

The Jazz in Marciac Association took care to reinvest in order to renew the attraction and to develop new actions in continuation of the initial project. This policy explains why the project has sustained its success and made Marciac a cultural and tourist hub in the Midi-Pyrenees region. In many ways this is a unique example of a non-professional cultural initiative becoming a real driving force for local development. The development of a permanent cultural activity, related to jazz, has enabled the region to remain dynamic beyond the summer period. Considerable impulses have been injected into the regional economy, particularly in tourism, trade, hostelry, restaurants and real estate. A 25 room hotel has opened in Marciac and three real estate agencies have established offices. After having been closed for twenty years, the town hall café re-opened in 2001. Alongside Marciac's lake, to the north of the town, a tourist resort was built in a one hectare landscaped park, including a

residence with 350 beds, a fitness centre and a swimming pool with a wooden deck that overlooks the lake. The building of this tourist facility cost €11 million, of which more than half was brought in by “Pierre and Vacances”, a tourist property development company that opened the resort in 2003. The traditional and local architecture includes details borrowed from New Orleans (tiered tile roofing, wooden façades, carved wood and metal awnings and lambrequins).

In 1992, as a result of the de-population of the region, the Marciac secondary school was threatened with closure. Thanks to the creation of the jazz initiation section it survived, with 90 resident students in 1992, rising to the current figure of about 200, all interested in learning about jazz. Important investments for the conservation of the local built heritage (the fortress, the church, the rural houses and village spaces) became possible and this reinforced the attractiveness of the site. These are incontestable signs of the town’s increased power of attraction, mirrored in the economic return from the festival which amounted to an estimated €4.6 million in 2000.

Moreover, Marciac has joined forces with 24 neighboring villages to strengthen the regional identity with the branding “Bastides et Vallons du Gers” and to develop strategies for sustainable economic development in the territory. The Jazz in Marciac festival started as a modest bottom-up initiative to stop the rural exodus and has eventually become a cluster of new activities with the capacity to revitalize an entire rural area. This case study clearly shows how a snowball effect can be initiated with a “cultural arrow” in the hands of the locals and pointed in the right direction.

VALORIZATION OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE IN TERRITORIAL IDENTITY: SALENTO LA NOTTE DELLA TARANTA, ITALY

Characteristics and Situation

The case study set in the Salento region illustrates the potential strength of intangible heritage in the process of territorial identity (re)building. After briefly introducing the tarantismo phenomenon, the study questions the process through which an ancient popular tradition, that had almost disappeared, was reborn as a new icon for an entire region. The study was carried out and reported in the context of the ESPON project (Serinelli, 2006). The Italian region of Salento is an interesting workshop where the marks of globalization interfere with regional identity. Changes in the geo-political landscape of the late 1980s have repositioned the region at the centre of a Mediterranean Europe that is boiling with unrest and makes it the backdrop of epochal immigration patterns. Spontaneous movements against globalization also made the region’s population question their own cultural identity and their relationships with each other.

In this region, tarantismo is a social reaction to many strict impositions of agricultural life, and now an escape route from the obligations of modern life. In fact tarantismo is a complex musical expression. The music that accompanies the tarantati is a way for the local communities in this region to define or redefine their cultural identity. The incredible and occasionally contradictory explosion of interest, a real rebirth in the 1990s, can be explained

by different factors, local as well as global. The growing academic interest in people's ethnic origins has led to the rediscovery of a phenomenon that was dormant for a long period. The event is definitely the new icon and also strongly supported by local celebrations, patron saint festivals and even beach parties along the Salento coast, far away from media attention and with no ambition at all to attract tourists or large audiences. In particular, the debate that recurs yearly with the "Notte della Taranta" is focused on ways to protect this intangible cultural heritage while sustaining the economic stakes in balance with cultural values. A new cultural identity for branding the region and its attractions, for creating a new myth for cultural tourism based on music resources is at stake.

The tarantella dance can be traced back to the middle Ages, and may have evolved from an even older dance. According to legend, an epidemic of tarantula poisonings spread through the town of Taranto. The victims (tarantata) were typically farmwomen whose daily life brought them into contact with the spiders living in the fields. These supposed victims of spider bites would dance while villagers played the mandolin or tambourine. Various rhythms were tried out until one proved vigorous enough and eventually the tarantata was cured. The "tarantati" danced following the rhythm and entered into a state of trance; "Tarantismo" is therefore a complex, choral dancing and musical phenomenon.

In recent centuries its popularity has spread through southern Italy, with an epicentre in the Salento region and this cultural revival has caught widespread attention. The new music that accompanied the tarantati has now become a means through which the people of this region are defining or redefining their cultural identity. The pizzica (an archaic form), and in general, the new-tarantismo, which retains part of the traditional tarantismo, contributes with its music to build or re-build the local cultural identity. The tarantismo has generated incredible creative energy and has become an identity signal and symbol against the homogenization following globalization. The first edition of La Notte della Taranta dates from 1998. Local cultural heritage, architecture, dialects, music has become the fulcrum around which new territorial marketing plans and cultural tourism policies are being developed.

Valorization and Exploitation: A Difficult Balance

The Salento region is an important anthropological laboratory in Italy where the need for territorial identity and differentiation in the cultural globalization process are interconnected. However, behind this widespread demand for dance and popular music, there is no detailed study about archaic dances. The numerous neo-pizziche circulating in folk concerts have been reinvented without a real comparison and a linear change of traditional models. The Notte della Taranta is now the largest festival dedicated to the pizzica of this area and to its fusion with other musical languages. In recent years the festival has become more important and achieved a certain degree of cultural prestige. In fact, the participation of the Province of Lecce (since 2001) and the Puglia Region (since 2005) has meant new sponsorship, more widespread marketing and better organization.

Since 2004 more attention has been paid to the traditions, history and culture of the Salento territory. The Orchestra Popolare La Notte della Taranta appeared on stage for the first time with typical instruments (tambourines, guitars, percussion, flutes, violins, violas, etc.) for producing traditional music. The average audience for concerts in 2005 was about

5,000 people every evening, with the final event attracting between 80,000 and 90,000 people. During the closing evening concert of the festival —Notte della Taranta— approximately three hundred musicians, technicians and organizers were involved. In 2005, the Salento region accommodated about 600 people — musicians, technicians, managers and journalists in bed and breakfast, home stays and farm accommodation. As a consequence of the growing interest, the national media attention to the Puglia region and the event increases year by year.

At the same time the discourse about conservation of intangible heritage has sharpened. The current discussion is complex because the very nature of intangible heritage elements is rather undefined, ephemeral, illusive, irretrievable and changing, especially when associated with rituals, symbols, and narratives of the local communities. The Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, adopted by UNESCO during the General Conference of Paris in October 2003, tackles the problem of ways of protecting intangible heritage (UNESCO, 2003). According to some, the only legitimate reason for sustaining the festival is local demand and participation. This inside driving force is seen as crucial. The outsider to this culture would hardly appreciate all the complexity of the performances.

However, the growing presence of “foreigners” has become part of the festival and has inevitably led to some fundamental changes in musical and entertainment aspects, becoming a mass show in which original elements are separated from their context and mixed with exogenous ones. This process of contamination or expropriation seems irreversible; the young and dynamic entertainment business has taken over. Conservation and protection of traditional music and dance with a “not for sale” policy is an anachronism: the archaic ritual of tarantismo is now everywhere on offer through concerts, CDs and DVDs. The neo-tarantismo is not able to re-create the past of the Salento culture, but it can keep the memory alive; the Notte della Taranta will survive as a folkloric event.

EVENT MONITORING: THE GHENT FESTIVITIES, BELGIUM

The case study on the Ghent festivities (2001) was followed by an experiment to develop an event monitor as a policy tool for the local authorities (2002). This analysis concentrates on the concept of monitoring only, which implies deciding on parameters and methods for impact assessment. By taking this turn to an integrated policy and the development of a longitudinal policy support tool, the city of Ghent has set an example for many other European cities with similar ambitions in the market of event tourism ascribing to the EU Liveable City project (Jansen-Verbeke, 2004b).

The impact assessment of the ten days of festivities in Ghent was carried out in a multi-modal and multidimensional way, including economic, physical and functional, social and cultural indicators. The economic impulses for the city and its population can be evaluated in terms of a financial return-on-investment, in which public costs are balanced against revenues by visitor expenditures and other sources of income. The direct and indirect economic impulses are indeed considerable and most difficult to measure. But concern about the social carrying capacity also has a high priority on the political agenda: the concentration of high numbers of visitors (1.5 million) in a restricted area (480,619 sq.m.) and in a limited time span (10 days) certainly is a major challenge for visitor management strategies, quality and

safety control, etc. In order to analyze in detail the spatial impact of the festivity and the visitors, two distinct areas were defined: the core area of the festivity and a buffer zone where no festivities are planned but which functions as a visitor access area. Eventually this area might be taken into consideration for a further expansion of the festivities.

Information Sources and Survey Methods

The first step of the project was a visitor survey carried out in 2001, during the 10-day local summer event. In a more comprehensive survey in 2002, different groups of stakeholders were approached. The table below (Table 10.5) illustrates the multi-method approach applied with the objective of including a wide range of stakeholders in the study. For each group the most efficient survey method was applied.

Table 10.5. Information sources and survey methods used in Ghent Festivities Survey, 2002

Target group	Survey method	Response
Residents of the City of Ghent	Mail survey	N= 504 52 % in core area 48 % in buffer zone
Visitors to the festivities	a) Street interviews (<i>standardized questionnaire</i>) b) Visitors' path analysis; a selected sample of visitors was asked to map their path	Na= 1071 Nb=243
Hotel managers	Face-to-face interviews (<i>standardized questionnaire</i>)	Nh =23
ReCa (restaurants/café's)	Mail survey	Nr= 90 52 % in core area 20 % in buffer zone 28 % in periphery
Market /street vendors	Telephone survey	Ns = 60
Business managers in Ghent	e-mail survey	N= 49
Key persons in politics and civil society	Personal interviews	N = 11
Media	Content analysis of written press (national only)	
Website visitors	Web survey	R= 348

Source: Survey of Ghent Festivities, 2002.

Visitor Numbers and Profiles

According to police estimates a total number of 1.5 million visits was registered during the festivities in 2002, which means an increase of 8% compared to 2001. These estimations can be verified with some specific data on visitor numbers: during the festivities 10,819 persons requested information at the Tourist Information Office, a 20% rise on the 2001 figure. The electronic registration of visitors to the premises counted 21,289 visitors/visits, an increase of 8%. The number of visits/visitors to specific cultural attractions in the city is yet

another relevant indicator. As a rule, the volume of garbage also allows for a reasonable estimate of visitor numbers. However, due to the introduction of a new regulation regarding the use of recyclable materials, the volume was considerably reduced, but still amounted to 427 tons. The number of passengers on the local public transport system during the festivities can also serve as a barometer of success. The total number of 115,835 passengers/rides on the shuttle and night buses registered in 2002 shows a remarkable increase (about 30%) over the 2001 figure (83,366 rides).

A map indicating the place of origin of the visitors to the event illustrated the regional catchment area very well. Among the respondents to the survey, 20% were local residents, 15% were residents in the outer metropolitan area of Ghent and 65% came from farther away. International visitors account for 9%, coming mainly from the neighboring countries. The number of repeat visits denotes a high degree of fidelity: in fact, only 17% were first-time visitors in 2002. The event attracts predominantly day visitors: only 11% of the visitors stayed overnight. All the above parameters can be measured yearly in order to track changes.

Traditional Involvement of the Local Population

The inhabitants of the City of Ghent display a high degree of involvement with “their festivities”, which has been a local tradition for decades. Formerly every neighborhood in town had its own festivities on a Sunday, with plenty of beer drinking to compensate for the 6 days of hard labor for low salaries in the factories. This led to a high percentage of absenteeism on Monday mornings. So, in 1843 the decision was taken by the mayor and the factory owners in town to replace this with one major festivity for all. Ever since, the festivities were organized yearly and with increasing success, variation in the program, professionalism and impact on the local economy. The way this is now managed and monitored by the local authorities is very much appreciated; more than half of the residents approve of the current event policy and the way they are respected as stakeholders. This implies also an approval, by 67 % of the respondents, of public spending for the event. Nevertheless there are also some signs of disagreement when it comes to priorities of interests: too much attention seems to go now to the visitors (according to 60% of the responses).

Characteristics of the Ghent Festivities

In the different surveys, questions were included to identify the possible discrepancy in views among the stakeholders. A lively debate is going on regarding the changing identity of the event. The perception of the different stakeholders has been measured on a (controversial) scale from high cultural to popular. From the media analysis, it can be concluded that the perception of a cultural event with a cultural program of theater and performances dominates. Residents of the city spontaneously associate the event with a cultural program (17%), whereas 8% rather emphasize its popular character. The role of the event in the image building of the city has been questioned in the different surveys (Table 10.6); the results show that the level of agreement varies considerably among the different groups of stakeholders. It

is certainly apparent that the highest degree of consensus is reached concerning the event's role in the positioning of the city as a tourist destination.

Perceptions

The perception of liveliness going towards overcrowding is inherent in the very nature of an urban event: 1.5 million visitors in a period of 10 days in a restricted inner urban area. The general perception of crowding or overcrowding can be further analyzed by defining the actual areas of concentration. The results of the survey on visitor paths or routings offer useful empirical evidence. Despite the limited number of paths analyzed, the resulting maps provide an adequate tool for the development of a circulation plan, a location strategy for the market stalls, an emergency evacuation plan and, eventually, the basis for a visitor management plan. The spatial analysis of visitor paths also makes it possible to weigh the intensity of visitation in different areas in the historical city.

Although there are some signs of irritation among the residents, this seems unrelated to overall appreciation for the event, which tends to be positive. This apparent acceptance of hindrance by the local residents can be seen as an indication that the limits of carrying capacity have not yet been reached.

Table 10.6. Stakeholder views on the importance of the Ghent Festivities for the image of the city

Statement	residents	businesses	vendors	ReCa ^a	Hotels
The event contributes to a positive image of the city	60 %	82 %	87 %	68 %	82 %
The event is an important factor for the city's image	76 %	85 %	90 %	68 %	87 %
The event is important for the attraction of the city	68 %	85 %	90 %	74 %	87 %
The event reinforces the tourist attraction of the city	74 %	98 %	100 %	81 %	96 %

Key: a: ReCa: restaurants, cafés bars, etc.

Source: Survey of Ghent Festivities, 2002.

There is a general positive attitude towards the urban festivity, albeit with some difference among the various stakeholders. The appreciation score on a scale of 10 varies between 7.8 (street vendors) and 6 (local residents).

ECONOMIC IMPACT ASSESSMENT

Although information on return-on-investment is most crucial for the local authorities, no systematic measurement or evaluation of economic data has been set up to date. In order to

assess the economic significance and effects of the festivities on the region, the following aspects need to be analyzed: the expenditure impulses of the event in the region and the effect of the event on other activities in the region. Obviously the multiplier effect, spin-offs and impact on employment are also extremely relevant. However, the most important factor in the economic impact assessment is the direct effect of expenditure, the analysis of which should be based on the input from the following five parameters:

- Expenditure patterns of visitors during the event
- Public expenses directly related to the event
- Expenditures for additional employment
- Investments (public and private) related to or induced by the event
- Substitution effects and leakages.

In fact, the average expenditure per day per visitor to the event amounted to about €30 in 2002 (Table 10.7).

The total amount of expenditure can be calculated by multiplying the average daily amount of expenditure per visitor by the number of days of participation in the event — at the aggregation level of the total sample and then dividing by the number of respondents. The result is €92.47 per person (Belgian visitors) and €193.76 per person (foreign visitors), in which the costs for the overnight stay are included. In order to estimate the total expenditure of 1.5 million visitors, these figures can be multiplied by the number of persons in each category. The exercise of balancing revenues and expenses is complex and seldom managed in an integrated way. Table 10.8 provides a useful overview of the type of costs to be taken into consideration, together with the actual figures resulting from this case study.

A calculation of the net substitution effect is necessary to measure the direct expenditure impact. Two types can be distinguished: opportunity costs, which refer to expenditures for alternative activities, if one had not attended the event; and missed opportunities, referring to the loss of income from the local residents who preferred to leave the city during the period of the festivities (4%). Taking into account all five parameters, the direct impact of expenditures induced by the event was estimated at €36.3 million. In addition to the direct impact of expenditures, the spin-off effect on the region needs to be taken into account as well. For many visitors in town, this event is an incentive to visit various attractions and other activities in the region. The additional expenditures were estimated at €2.8 million which can be added to the €36.3 million resulting from direct expenditures. Indirect effects on the activities and turnover of many suppliers in the inter-sectoral distribution chain can be calculated on the basis of an input-output analysis and by applying multiplications.

Table 10.7. Visitors' daily expenditure pattern during the Ghent Festivities, 2002

Concept	Average daily expenditure per visitor (€)
Advance ticket booking	3,88
Performances and attractions — on the spot payment	1,39
Food market stalls — in the festival core area	4,74
Beverage market stalls — in the festival core area	5,86
Various market stalls — in the festival core area	1,37
Eating places in the city — open all year	6,19
Drinking places in the city — open all year	4,51
Shops in the city — open all year	2,39
Car parking	0,55
Transport to Ghent	1,99
Local transport in Ghent	0,13
Miscellaneous	0,16

Source: Survey of Ghent Festivities, 2002.

In fact, due to the nature of the events, the number of businesses involved in one way or another in the distribution chain of goods and services is high. As a result, the indirect impact is estimated at €10.4 million, which brings the total financial impact of the Ghent festivities to about €50 million.

In terms of employment, the event induces positive effects, although these are rather limited by the temporary nature of the event (10 days only). However restaurants and cafés do employ additional personnel during the event, as well as students and volunteers. According to the information from the hotel/restaurant/café sector (Horeca) and the vendors, the event leads to additional employment of 19 full-time equivalents. The total impact on employment, taking into account the inter-sectoral spin-off effect, comes to additional employment of 25 full-time equivalents in the Horeca and vending sectors.

Table 10.8. Expenses and revenues generated for the City by the Ghent Festivities, 2002

Department	Expenses	€	Revenues	€
<i>Collection of public garbage</i>	Public space cleaning costs	226,000	Public subsidies	3,750
	Awareness-arousing campaign	5,500		
	<i>Total</i>	231,500	<i>Total</i>	3,750
<i>Police force</i>	Wages	347,020		
	Renting costs (cameras)	30,000		
	<i>Total</i>	377,020		
<i>Festivities</i>	Fees and salaries	60,315	Pavement cafés	65,413
	Reception costs	8,547	Displays	6,447
	Administration costs	196	Vendor stalls	10,063
	Technical costs	166,525	Drinking stalls	9,870
	Subsidies (nominative)	250,373	Tent constructions	13,070
	Subsidies (other)	224,468	Food stalls	185,424
			Public-Mobile Sanitary facilities	8,057
			Street vendors	750
		Street animation	2,646	
	<i>Total</i>	710,424	<i>Total</i>	301,740

Source: Survey of Ghent Festivities, 2002.

Balancing the Costs and Benefits of a Monitoring System

The results of the explorative study confirm the assumption that this 10-day summer event is of major importance for the urban and regional economy. In order to sustain the positive effects in the forthcoming editions of this event, investment in an integrated event plan and policy is highly recommended. Such a task force could anticipate potential problems of carrying capacity, for instance, by working out a visitor management plan. The introduction of an event monitoring system as part of an urban monitor requires a selected number of indicators that can be easily measured on a regular basis. The above analysis indicates the type of data and the parameters that are useful in a repeated set up. Many cities

and event organizers are gradually discovering the advantages of this policy tool. The city of Ghent is a trendsetter in this respect.

CONCLUSION

The objectives of cultural events are to enhance the quality of cultural activities, the level of expertise in the cultural economy, the quality of cultural experiences for both visitors and residents, and to strengthen the image of the cultural tourism destination. However, apart from the degree of participation and measurable changes in the image of the place, it is difficult to find relevant parameters to identify cultural dynamism. Various aspects of events need to be taken into consideration when assessing their impact. In order to measure correctly the impact of an event on the local community, much more empirical evidence is needed and a comparison over time is indispensable. The balance of social benefits and costs, of community involvement and/or irritation, rarely appears on the checklist of event organizers. The social carrying capacity is directly related to the perceived impact on the quality of the residential environment and this is a crucial issue in terms of the sustainable development of the tourist destination. Traditional or grass-roots themes may find it easier to generate local support, whereas more specialized or imported themes may face a lack of local interest and support. In order to encourage genuine involvement of the local community, cultural events need to create opportunities for the local trades, crafts, gastronomy, shopkeepers, pubs and restaurants. Moreover, some types of cultural events may be easier to commercialize than others.

The attitude of the different stakeholders towards local cultural events is a crucial factor in the long-term cost–benefit balance. One rather critical issue in the progress towards effective event management is to reach consensus amongst stakeholders to invest in the development of a monitoring system on a longitudinal basis. This consensus also infers the selection of relevant indicators for policymaking, the identification of adequate parameters (quantitative and qualitative) that will allow objective interpretation and eventually a comparison over time and between different events. Data on quality, such as the appreciation score of different stakeholders, require a representative and effective system for opinion polls. The establishment of a permanent representative panel of the different stakeholders is one option, albeit a more expensive one.

As a rule, data on visitor numbers, expenditures, time-space use of visitors, public and private investments, the number of activities on the event calendar, the number of street vendors, occupancy rates in the hotels, etc., are relatively easy to register, once a counting or registration system is in place. However, the key issue in establishing a monitoring system for events is a clear engagement from the public authorities to invest time and human resources. In addition, this implies close cooperation with the private sector and the local community (event organizers, hotels, restaurants, cafes, street vendors, taxi drivers, etc.) in order to obtain valid and correct data in the required form. This system of data collection will never be watertight, since many small enterprises cannot be convinced to deliver their information. Event management needs to be more than a temporary task for some local officials, for whom clearly this is not core business. Several destinations have realized this need not only to

promote, but also to manage the event market segment, undeniably a motor for the development of local and regional tourism, and have created a special task force.

The four case studies above reveal different dynamics of events in the local and regional cultural economy and above all the ways in which a process of cultural identity building can be initiated, supported and managed. Events are particularly interesting to study because of their explicit capacity to mobilize local initiatives and, above all, to effectively contribute to the territorial coherence of different heritage elements, both tangible and intangible. The dynamics of the cultural economy often find an expression in the organization of events. Although history, traditions, religion, arts and music are seen as inexhaustible resources for cultural products, the challenge remains to find the best-fit use for the built heritage in that place and the most respectful way of valorizing intangible heritage assets.

Events are seldom seen in a time–place perspective, although it is essential to understand the lifecycle of these specific cultural tourism products. Converting the dynamics of events into a sustainable local economy is possible, when well managed and framed into an integrated policy of clustering and innovation. Cultural policies with a vision on the public side and entrepreneurship on the private side are the critical success factors. More than any other cultural activity or expression, events are catalysts of change. Numerous examples have been reported of processes of change being induced or reinforced by events. Positive examples are the direct impact on the revitalization of rural areas, on stopping the emigration of the young active population and gradually building on a new economic and social future for rural communities (as in Marciac, for example).

In many places, the micro-effects of conservation policies for the built heritage create the right incubation conditions for developing cultural tourism, and for branding places as attractive destinations for cultural tourists (as in Savonlinna). In many cases, events prove to be a viable strategy to introduce places on the mental map of tourists. But gradually more critical notes are reported on the less desirable effects of events, such as the irreversible transformation of spaces, a possible imbalance between costs and benefits, the growing power of external stakeholders in the event (as in *Notte delle Taranta*), and, last but not least, the loss of control and identity.

Part III. Introduction

POLICY ISSUES IN CULTURAL TOURISM PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT

Antonio Paolo Russo

The last section of the book switches to a “normative” approach to cultural tourism-based development, by considering practices, policy programs, or sector strategies, all of which aim to capitalize on existing cultural strengths to attract visitors’ flows and leverage local and regional development. Frequently, this involves fostering structural change in the local economy towards (reputedly) more sustainable and competitive models, notably creating a bridge between the “hard” tourism infrastructure of cities and regions and the “softer” realm of the post-industrial, post-fordist, and intangible or ephemeral elements.

This trend marks a substantial move away from the “social-oriented cultural policy” that was popular in Europe in the years of urban decline, focusing on collective identity, and on the overcoming of the boundary between popular art and fine art. In the “leisure decade” of the 1980s, with the advent of the mass-entertainment industry, the “symbolic” started to be consciously integrated with the economic. The cultural economy emerges as a planning paradigm (Gibson and Kong, 2005), instrumental to a number of economic objectives, including the revalorization of urban resources through tourism, the generation of appealing city images, and the differentiation of local markets. Cultural tourism planning focuses on revamping city centers, and “greening” leisure peripheries. Although festivals and events remain important especially after the 1992 Olympics in Barcelona, which heralded a whole new template for waterfront regeneration, the largest investments are in architecture and infrastructure. Airports and railway stations, museums, bridges, squares, university faculties, boutiques: the city centers of Europe populate themselves with memorable markers that project a dynamic image and redefine consumption as symbolic practice.

Skepticism for such development strategies or straightforward rejection could be expressed on the grounds that they are seen to generate converging, stereotyped landscapes (as captured by the “McGuggenheization” metaphor, evoking Ritzer’s work), increasingly subject to development impulses which abide by global capital strategies at the expenses of genuine community identity, access and democracy. However it is indubitable that some

cities and regions did a surprisingly good job in transforming formerly unsafe, depopulating and decaying areas into animated, safe, trendy destinations incorporating “tourist quarters” within them. The regeneration effects of cultural and “creative” tourism, though contested, is commonly seen to justify much public-sector intervention or straightforward leadership, to the point that “art for art’s sake” is dismissed in the public policy discourse when it is not instrumental to other social or economic objectives.

This section presents four distinct narrations of the ways and degrees in which cultural tourism imperatives have become integrated in urban policy and politics. Chapter 11 presents the case of Brussels, capital of Belgium and political centre of Europe, as having been incapable, so far, of reconciling its historical heritage and its contemporary image, all too often dismissed as technocratic and politics-laden. The authors propose steps to use the multicultural and hybrid reality of Brussels as the pretext for redefining the identity of Brussels as capital of the European Union, based on new mythical and hegemonic narratives, which may compensate for the lack of a “visionary leadership”.

Chapter 12 reflects on the role of tourism in culture-based urban development, both as a catalyst of cultural regeneration strategies, and as an element that may undermine the stability of these processes, providing evidence from the cities of Barcelona, Manchester and Rotterdam. These considerations call for appropriate, proactive policies that remove the existing obstacles to a “spectacularization” of emergent cultural landscapes for tourism consumption, and that also smooth out the negative feedbacks which tourism may prejudice the viability of community-embedded cultural projects.

In their case study of four European spa resorts (Chapter 13), the authors describe a number of strategies that may be achieving the rejuvenation and repositioning of spa towns, based on the new opportunities for the conservation, restoration and renewed use of the historical spa heritage that have arisen as the result of the development of contemporary forms of wellness tourism.

Finally, Chapter 14 analyses how European integration has provided new scope for cultural tourism in Europe, not only by adding many eastern European countries to its resource base, but also by liberating a formerly undisclosed diversity of languages, traditions and tastes that may challenge established “western” views of these regions. At the same time, a call is made for a more active role of the European Union in shaping a multidimensional, inclusive cultural identity of Europe as a vector of regional development.

Antonio Paolo Russo

Chapter 11

**POLICY, CULTURAL HERITAGE AND
TOURISMSCAPES: A CASE STUDY OF BRUSSELS**

Reinoud Magosse, Robert Govers and Myriam Jansen-Verbeke

ABSTRACT

The selection of Brussels as the location for European institutions in 1958 imposed an international role on the city that had been Belgium's capital since 1830 and which, at that time, had neither the ambition nor pretension to capitalize on this new international status. The transition of Brussels to its present complex role as an international metropolis and European capital has profoundly undermined the balance of the city's identity and its institutions. In many ways Brussels seems to be going through an identity crisis. This perception can only partly be explained by the fact that the traditional role of Brussels and the narratives about the capital of Belgium are fading away. Due to the lack of coherence and cooperation among all the different European, Belgian and local institutional stakeholders, innovation in urban governance and narration strategies based on shared or traditional identities are hardly applicable to Brussels. Apparently the existing void has not yet been replaced by new hegemonic regionalist or "European" narratives. At first sight, the absence of a "visionary leadership" and the growing number of stakeholders in the urban governance arena could explain the hesitant development of alternative future trajectories for the city. In this chapter, the authors argue that the lack of both a hegemonic narrative about the city and a coherent urban policy creates opportunities for developing more inclusive processes of constructing representations and for valorizing its rich cultural heritage as a driving force in re-creating new identities for the city. The building of a more dynamic future by using cultural resources as an innovative economic driver is gradually being explored.

INTRODUCTION

In 1958 Brussels was selected as the location for European institutions, imposing an international role on the city that had been Belgium's capital since 1830 and which, at that time, had neither the ambition nor pretension to capitalise on this new international status. In

their 2005 report on “City Tourism and Culture: The European Experience”, the United Nations World Tourism Organization and European Travel Commission (UNWTO and ETC, 2005) classified the European capital cities according to a number of parameters: the size of the city, on the one hand, and the characteristics of cultural resources being valorized for tourism development on the other. Brussels is classified in cluster 5, together with comparable cities such as Amsterdam, Budapest and Copenhagen (Figure 11.1). In this report, Brussels is viewed as having the capacity to develop its heritage resources and arts into a driving and creative cultural economy.

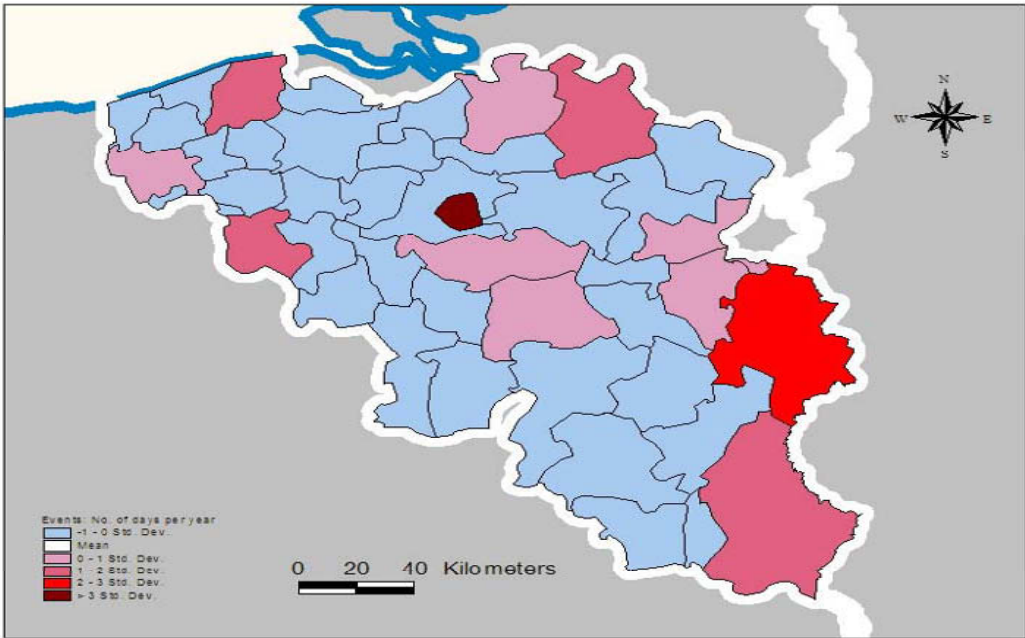
However, this optimistic perspective needs to be assessed critically and systematically. The interpretation of European data on cultural heritage provided by the ESPON report (ESPON, 2006) makes it possible to define the importance of Brussels’ inherited cultural resources, at least in quantitative terms. These include not only the visible and tangible heritage of buildings and urban morphology monuments, museums, and historical cityscapes ,but also the colorful kaleidoscope of intangible heritage assets. The combination of both can be seen as a favorable and stimulating context for cultural creativity and entrepreneurship. For instance, the number of public events held annually can be seen as an indicator of the cultural dynamism in a city or a region and, in fact, the high number of events in Brussels makes it an outlier in the Belgian context (Figure 11.2). To a certain extent, this also applies to other cultural indicators such as the number of monuments, theatres, concert halls, libraries, etc. The density of museums (Figure 11.3) appears to be related to the size of cities, on the one hand, and to the historical setting on the other.

As the ESPON data suggest, cultural heritage resources, be they tangible or intangible, are descriptors of territorial and urban identities, and can be valorized through tourism activities (Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois, 2004). In fact, the way cultural assets interact with the urban tourism landscape and interfere in urban dynamics characterizes the touristscape.

Type of place	Village	Town	City	Metropolis
Product category				
Heritage	Cluster 1	Cluster 2		
Heritage + Arts		Cluster 3	Cluster 4	
Heritage + Arts + Creative industries			Cluster 5	Cluster 6

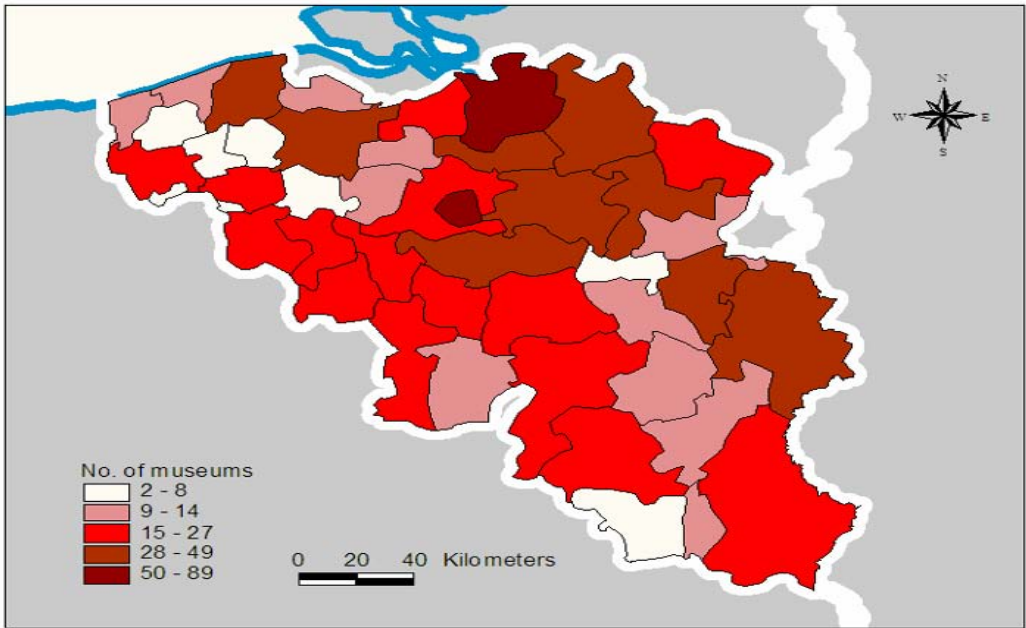
Source: UNWTO and ETC (2005).

Figure 11.1. Classification of urban areas according to cultural components.



N = 890 per year.
Source: ESPON 1.3.3 (2006).

Figure 11.2. Regional distribution of events organized in Belgium, 2005.



N = 916.
Source: ESPON 1.3.3 (2006).

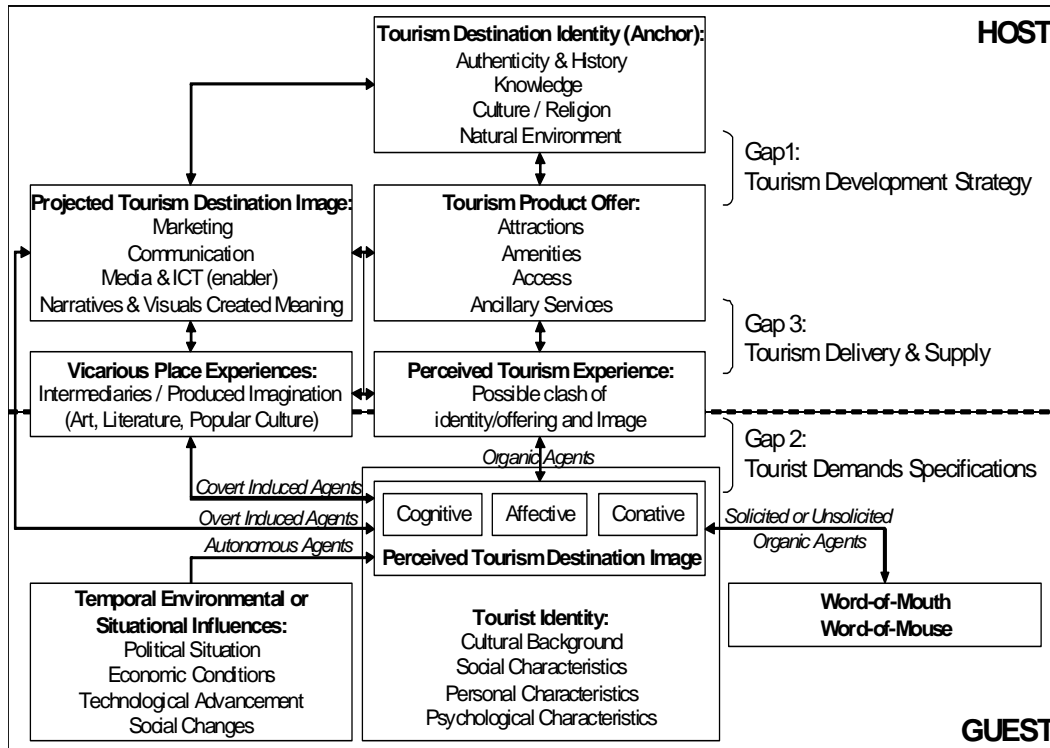
Figure 11.3. Regional distribution of museums in Belgium, 2005.

According to Van der Duim (2007), the concept “tourismscape” involves an actor-network approach, bringing together people, organizations, objects, technologies and space. The analysis of tourism dynamics in Brussels within this conceptual framework of processes and actors can furnish new understanding of the interactions between people and place, users and uses of public space, geography and history, culture and consumption. From a policy perspective, the dynamics around the valorization of cultural heritage and identities can probably not be better illustrated than by the case of Brussels.

A degree of inertia, on the part of the Brussels authorities, the local and regional institutions, and even of the hospitality sector, marked the end of the last century. The cultural capital of Brussels remained dormant, despite some solitary initiatives and efforts for cultural innovation projects and for the development of cultural tourism. A lack of vision regarding the tourism potential of its European status marked the policies of destination marketing in particular. However, clear indications of a growing awareness amongst different stakeholders of “new” opportunities in the cultural economy have appeared more recently. Certainly, in these emerging cultural dynamics, the status of capital of Europe is a main driving force. The rich cultural heritage of Brussels also plays a major role in developing an attractive tourist opportunity spectrum (TOS). At the moment, Brussels is mainly a destination for business tourism and city trips, but the number of overnight stays is increasing. In 2006, 4,836,000 tourist nights were registered, which is 4% more than in 2003 (Huytebroeck, 2007). So the inspiration and the incentives for promoting alternative narratives and images of this historic city in the Low Countries are on the rise.

However, to convert this trend into coherent and coordinated policies and actions is not an easy task as is illustrated in Figure 11.4. Ideally, a destination’s tourism product should extensively build upon the identity of place, which, in fact, is much more than the TOS of the place. The way place identity is communicated or projected for consumption is crucial. So-called hegemonic narratives projected place images can be seen as a set of stories, using certain symbols, images, and discourses, while marginalizing other narratives, and thus providing the city with an identity that conforms to a seemingly unchanging and consistent unity. These can be highly relevant, as they build the perceived place images of potential guests in “foreign markets”, composed of consumers who are prejudiced by who they are, whom they communicate with (on- or off-line) and by the media that they monitor.

It can prove useful to manipulate perceived images, as these generate demand specifications or scripts or, in other words, consumer expectations that need to be fulfilled during the tourism experience. The role of cultural heritage in this context is increasingly important, not only in reinforcing identities in a globalizing world, for the sake of competitiveness the “attraction paradigm” according to Greffe (2004), but also to be seen as vicarious experiences, where “foreign markets” can consume place identities from a distance, through movies, literature, virtual museums and traveling exhibitions or even complete virtual worlds such as Second Life the “dissemination paradigm” in ESPON terms (ESPON, 2006). At the same time, cultural heritage and identities can create a sense of enrichment among local populations, including community awareness and cohesion, socio-economic regeneration and an enhanced feeling of pride among residents and service industry hosts, thus optimizing the tourism experience the “territorial paradigm”.



Sources: Govers (2005); Govers and Go (2004).

Figure 11.4: The 3-gap tourism destination image formation model.

In other words, cultural heritage and identity can play an important role in creating the right tourism product offer and hegemonic narrative, in order to bridge the tourism development strategy gap (Gap 1); build appropriate perceived images, thus bridging the demand specifications gap (Gap 2); and facilitate host–guest interactions, thus bridging the tourism supply and delivery gap (Gap 3). Although, from a theoretical perspective, all this seems logical, reality is always more complex and problematic, as will be illustrated in this chapter, based on the case of Brussels. In the following analysis section, the case will be illustrated from both an urban policy and tourism perspective, indicating problem areas and inhibiting factors in the bridging of the gaps.

BRUSSELS, A CAPITAL CITY

From a purely economic point of view, Brussels is performing reasonably well in the global urban competition, depending on the indicators that are cited. Host to the most important EU institutions, Brussels has evolved over the last 50 years from a rather provincial national capital into a small “world city” and one of the world’s most important decision-making centers (Baeten, 2001; Elmhorn, 2001; Swyngedouw and Baeten, 2001). The city has turned into a rising star in the global urban hierarchy, but it is also clear that the presence of the EU institutions has directly and indirectly generated a general increase of wealth in the entire Brussels Capital Region. The European presence has attracted a so-called “European

agglomeration economy” (Elmhorn, 2001), consisting of an important global service economy and other international governmental and non-governmental institutions, together with a large pool of highly skilled, international human resources.

Despite the impressive economic figures (for instance, the rise of real estate values), the Brussels story was never really perceived to be a complete success, either by the Belgians themselves or by their European neighbors. In fact, many comparably sized cities (like Barcelona, Lille, Glasgow, Amsterdam, Vienna, etc.) that could not fall back on the objective advantages related to the European presence, seemed able to challenge Brussels and in some cases to even surpass it on different terrains (Baeten, 2001; Christiaens, 2003; Swyngedouw and Baeten, 2001). To make it even worse, Brussels, as the main seat of the EU institutions, became a synonym for the place where “undemocratic” and “bureaucratic” decisions were taken. As a result of a deficient local planning approach and the “placelessness” of new architectural projects resulting from it, Brussels, and in particular the EU district, came to symbolize the mismanagement and the inhumanness of the EU (Christiaens, 2003; European Commission, 2001). This led to the diagnosis that ‘Brussels today is a European capital by default’ (European Commission, 2001). However, at the same time, one could say that, except for Belgian institutional stakeholders and the Commission, the project of building a European capital in Brussels has never really enjoyed widespread support outside Belgium. The claim that Brussels would be the capital of Europe is a strictly Belgian claim (Calay and Magosse, 2007; Magosse, 2007 and 2006). Nevertheless, there are now signs of a growing interest. According to 92% of Brussels’ residents, much more emphasis is needed on European culture and its diversity and 75% insist on upgrading the European quarters in the city landscape (Dedicated Research, 2006). An example of an injection in this process is the recurring event “Europalia”.

Fragmented Identities (Gap 1)

The building of the European capital was — and still is — left to the local (national, regional or municipal) authorities. The seat question, however, made it impossible for the local stakeholders to openly develop a vision of how to turn their respective host cities into a capital for the EU. But even after the Edinburgh summit, no vision emerged and, although Brussels is by far the main seat of the EU institutions, Strasbourg and Luxembourg appear to have been more skilful at integrating the European presence into their urban trajectories (Hein, 2004).

The main reason for this is local institutional fragmentation. In order to overcome the linguistic struggles, and through the resulting constitutional reforms that started in the 1970s, Belgium developed a kind of “institutional high technology”, in an effort to maintain a political balance between the two largest communities. In this structure, Brussels simultaneously became the piece holding Belgium together and the scene of its dismantling. This situation is consequently reflected in the complex institutional landscape that developed. First, there is the Brussels Region, with its own government, parliament and administrative institutions, which are competent for all “territorial matters” (economy, mobility, housing, etc.). However, for more personal matters (education, language, culture, etc.), the French and Flemish communities are responsible. Secondly, there are 19 municipalities, together forming the Brussels Region, with fairly important competences, such as security and mobility; and,

finally, there is the Federal Government, that has the right to intervene in regional or municipal competences, if they interfere with federal interests (Corijn *et al.*, 2004).

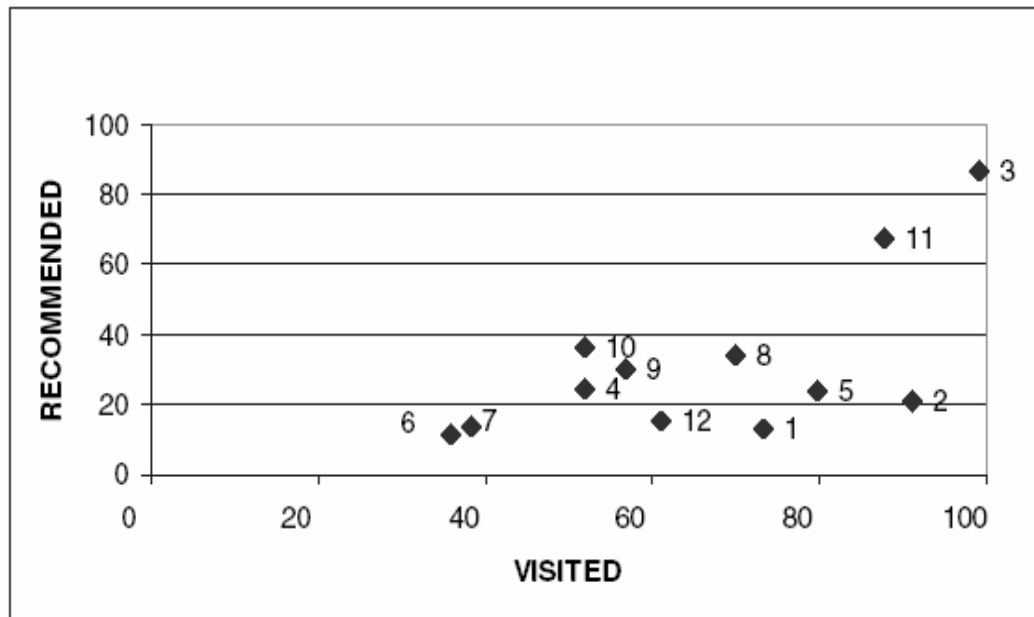
Very telling here is the fact that, while it is generally accepted by now that cultural industries and projects play a crucial role in the processes of city imaging and city branding, the institutional fragmentation prevents Brussels from developing a coherent cultural policy. As briefly outlined above, the Brussels Region has no competences over cultural matters. Personal matters (like culture) belong to the competences of the French and Flemish Communities of Brussels, who both have their own cultural policies, which are not really complementary. They constitute two completely distinct, parallel cultural circuits. Furthermore, the municipal level is also competent for cultural matters on its own territory. Because of the linguistic struggles, here again a separate cultural policy is developed for Flemish and French culture.

The direct consequence of this situation is that the local governments were never able to develop a coherent urban project or even a vision on how to integrate the EU in Brussels' urban trajectory. On the contrary, because different political majorities are possible at the various institutional levels, distinct or even opposite and competing visions and plans were developed.

Inconsistent Images and Experiences (Gap 2)

The diversity of visions and plans is reflected in the various perceived images in “foreign markets”. A study of travel guides aimed at the young travelers' market by USE-IT (2006) reveals: “what happened in Brussels is that they tried to transform the city to resemble Paris, but stopped half way to start imitating New York, which they abandoned as well. Reckless management of urban patrimony is called “Bruxellization”. Other sources suggest that Brussels is mostly known as “the centre of Europe”; dirty/noisy, lively/busy (Jansen-Verbeke *et al.*, 2005); or, according to the travel guides (USE-IT), for its “waffle walk”, beer, chocolate, and cafés. Little is mentioned about Brussels' cultural heritage, the unique conservation of *art nouveau*, and the wide range of high quality museums.

This interpretation of the city is paralleled in the way Brussels is consumed by tourists and other visitors, as confirmed by the Jansen-Verbeke *et al.* (2005) report on the Brussels Eurocrat residents' appreciation of the city's museums, places of interest and events (Figures 11.5, 11.6 and 11.7). Despite the fact that this only reflects the appreciation of a very specific group of cultural consumers in Brussels — the Eurocrats — a picture of missed opportunities comes into focus. The results of this small-scale, explorative survey show healthy levels of cultural tourism visitation, yet low levels of recommendation. Nevertheless, travel guides (USE-IT) sometimes conclude that: “For a place with a stereotyped reputation for dullness, there's an extraordinary diversity of life here”. It's hard to fathom how Brussels got a “boring” tag. In a city where fine food is mandatory, café culture common, *art-nouveau* architecture prolific and the bizarre and surreal comfortably at home, how did anyone find it dull?



Key:

- 1 Atomium; 2 Statue of Manneken Pis; 3 Grand Place; 4 The Munt Opera House; 5 Park of Brussels; 6 Law Courts; 7 Mini-Europe; 8 Saint-Michel Cathedral; 9 City Hall of Brussels; 10 Saint-Hubertus Gallery; 11 Sablon/antiquaries; 12 Botanical gardens.

Source: Jansen-Verbeke et al (2005).

Figure 11.5. Eurocrats' appreciation of Brussels' places of interest.

The Absence of a Hegemonic Narrative and Visionary Leadership (Gap 3)

It could therefore be asserted that Brussels got trapped in the middle of a process of political re-scaling. Over the last 40 years, Brussels, like most capital cities, was turned into a truly multicultural and cosmopolitan city. The city also became a semi-autonomous city-region, functioning as a background for both the devolution of the Belgian national state and the European integration process. All this led to the unique situation in which Brussels today hosts no less than five capital city functions (for Belgium, the EU, Flanders, the French community and the Brussels Region). This is undoubtedly a confusing situation, clearly expressed in the city's confrontation with a kind of "identity crisis" engendered by the processes of "glocalization" (paradoxical co-occurring forces of regionalization and globalization). What makes Brussels unique is the multi-level role this city plays within the European bubble, on the one hand, and within a small, federalised country, on the other.

This identity crisis was clearly illustrated in the way different actors projected the image of Brussels on their respective websites' home or Brussels pages in early 2006. The European Travel Commission referred to it as the 'Capital of Europ'" (www.visiteurope.com, last consulted 20/09/2007); the Brussels Tourism and Convention Bureau as 'Your European Village' (www.bitc.be, last consulted 20/09/2007); Tourism Flanders as the 'Capital of Belgium' (www.visitflanders.co.uk, last consulted 20/09/2007); the Tourism Promotion Office of Wallonia as 'a region where the most extraordinary places cross paths with

surrealists, fashion artisans, and the elegance of Made in Belgium' (www.opt.be, last consulted 20/09/2007); and Brussels Capital Region as 'Brussels having two faces: on the one hand, it is a contemporary and historic metropolis and, on the other, it is a human, friendly city' (www.bruxelles.irisnet.be, last consulted 20/09/2007).

The search for a new identity seems even more critical than in other places. This tends to be explained by the lack of coherent vision and leadership. The void that was left behind is only partly accounted for by the fact that the traditional images of Brussels its position as the capital of Belgium are fading away. These are not being replaced by a strong local or "European" narrative or by European icons, despite the presence of some typical landmarks in the urban landscape. Meanwhile, the institutional fragmentation and the impotence of the local, national and international institutional stakeholders to work together in an effort to "recreate" a strong identity for Brussels, have also inhibited strategic reactions to intervening opportunities. At the same time, the absence of a coherent and hegemonic image of Brussels expresses the lack of a cultural hegemony of one dominant group over the others. For already 40 years now, the narratives about the Belgian nation have been challenged by the "new" regionalist affinities and interpretations colored by the French and Flemish communities in Belgium. In the emerging scenario of a multicultural metropolis, the identity of Brussels is rapidly globalizing.

Some might assume that, based on the observation that French is the *lingua franca* in Brussels, French culture is dominant. This could, however, easily be countered by the fact that not all the French-speaking residents actually originate from a French cultural background. Many of the French-speaking are in reality multilingual people of African origin, mainly from Morocco and the Republic of Congo. They can hardly be considered as "belonging" to "the French or Walloon cultural community". In fact, the mono-linguistic French speakers are gradually becoming a minority in the Brussels international scene. This brings some observers mainly Flemish to the conclusion that Brussels is, or will become in the near future, a "city of minorities".

THE CHANGING TOURISMSCAPE OF BRUSSELS

Several routes can be tracked in this process of a changing Brussels tourismcape. There is growing understanding of the facts that cultural heritage definitely has a "process nature" and can be an agent of change. In addition, activities aimed at the creation, reproduction and preservation or, alternatively, the destruction of heritage assets are deeply embedded in the social and economic transformation of the territory and in its cultural identity building. The following statements are standpoints of this approach:

- Cultural heritage is a renewable resource, albeit to a limited extent, because it does not just "exist" out there, but is continuously being (re)produced and (re)elaborated.
- Cultural heritage is a phenomenon of social organization, as it is based on social practices. Cultural value is produced through cultural/social practices. As such, cultural heritage is intimately linked to civil society and to participation in civic activities.

- Certain subjects are active agents in producing cultural heritage, and certain objects are the outcomes of these agents' activities.

Based on these concepts, at least three tracks can be developed for the unique case that Brussels constitutes, although other cosmopolitan cities might also benefit from similar consideration.

“Glocalizing” the Debate (Track 1)

In a way, the world is present in Brussels. The starting point goes back to the beginning of the 1990s, when Brussels became the leader in hosting international organizations, according to the Union of International Associations (UIA, 2001) In 2000, Brussels hosted no less than 1,694 international organizations, outnumbering by far cities like Paris (1,063), London (883), Rome (603) or Washington (514). On top of this could be added the numerous regional representations, national cultural institutions (including the Goethe institute, the Cervantes institute, the Czech cultural institute, etc.), and other national and international actors that settled in the proximity of the so-called “European agglomeration economy” (Elmhorn, 2001). By linking these glocal actors to specific projects, it should be possible to implicate them in the urban trajectory of Brussels. In this sense future projects, like the construction of a European cultural pole and the installation of a European Museum, should implicate the different national and regional cultural institutions — and their networks.

The Museum of Europe initiative is a good example of how this could function. As stated on their website (Le Musée de l'Europe, 2007), this cultural initiative was not the result of the traditional path towards the creation of cultural institutions, as it was not initiated by a state authority, but by a group of civil society actors. This project, originating in 1997, is based on the diagnosis that the European integration project can no longer simply rely on economic arguments to move forward, but rather needs a cultural component as well. Brussels, as the main seat of the institutions, would be the perfect node for undertaking such a European cultural project and making it tangible. Although the project is largely supported financially and practically by the different institutional stakeholders at regional, federal and European level, the initiators clearly articulate that it is not their aim to voice any “official” narrative on European integration. On the contrary, the initiative aims at fostering reflection and free debate on the subject. In this sense, it is a project which does not aim to play an “institutional”, but rather “intermediary” role and hopes to become a kind of “European cultural platform”. A most interesting aspect here is that it is not only based on a network of both Belgian and European personalities (politicians, artists, academics and businesspeople), but that it has also originated the creation of a network of European Museums. The underlying idea of the network is that it should lead to cooperation based on the principle that “the museums of Europe together form one great museum of Europe”. Such cooperation not only facilitates the exchange of collections, documents and know-how, but aims at the flourishing of cultural cooperation that emerges “from the bottom up”.

Setting up Development Coalitions Around Specific Projects and Actions (Track 2)

The cultural heritage of Brussels is a nexus for innovative tourism to the city. In ESPON terminology, this means developing the concept of “heritage stakeholdership” as the community of interest, which can guarantee the (re)production of culture in a given territory. According to the Tourism Barometer of the City’s Tourist Office, 84% of the city’s residents have a strong feeling of belonging to Brussels and 70% think they can play an important role in the tourism promotion of the city. Jeong and Almeida Santes (2004) emphasize the role of festivals as a means to reconstruct, reframe and promote regional identities, on the one hand, and to provide a link between culture and politics, on the other. “A vehicle through which people can advocate or contest certain notions of identity and ideology.... They occur in specific localities and offer representations of certain elements of those localities, resulting in the creation of a powerful sense of place” (Jeong and Almeida Santes, *op. cit.*:642).

Brussels certainly has an intensive agenda of events (Figure 11.2), but the key question is the extent to which this affects the tourism profile of Brussels (ESPON, 2006). Are events a real lever for a new cultural economy in Brussels, constituting incentives for, or expressions of, renewed cultural dynamics? Apparently there is an interesting move in event activities towards greater involvement of the multicultural community in this European cultural capital. An interesting example to follow up in the context of the international role of Brussels is the relatively recent initiative consisting of the organization of the BRXL BRAVO festival in February 2005 and 2007. This cultural city festival was the result of collaboration among cultural actors from both the Flemish and French communities, in collaboration with the Culture Directorate General of the European Commission. As a result, it involved the implication of a whole range of “glocal” cultural actors, including the Czech and Hungarian cultural representations in Brussels and local socio-cultural organizations. From a purely economic perspective, this festival is not really a major success. The point, however, is that this kind of events not only allows the actors involved to test unusual forms of cooperation between unusual partners, but also makes it possible to bring large, otherwise fragmented, audiences together around specific issues or actions. By doing so, they create a medium where different approaches, visions and narratives can interact, creating temporary spaces of re-negotiation and hybridization that hold the potential to eventually become institutionalized.

Fostering Hybrid Experiences (Track 3)

Brussels constitutes a perfect site to develop a kind of “experimental zone”, by providing the context for constant intercultural dialogue and the emergence of post-national and hybrid identities. This is not only because Brussels has become a truly multicultural world city for, in that case, London or Paris would probably be more obvious locations but also because it apparently affords more room for hybridization than, for example, London and Paris. Yet again, the argument can be used that the disintegrating Belgian national narrative leaves a void that makes room for this. Brussels could then constitute a free haven for all those who, for different reasons, do not fit in the dominant often national discourses, enabling new identities and claims to come to the fore.

Therefore, it is important to stimulate the emergence of spaces and events where different world views, cultures and subcultures are confronted with each other and can, as a result, generate new hybridized forms. It is in this context that, in and through daily practice, new modes of living together are created (Baeten, 2001). Hence, a melting-pot process (*métissage*) among the different cultures and sub-cultures in Brussels is already taking place. These spaces and events are, however, very often exclusive, in the sense that they are — albeit with some exceptions taking place in select or privatized environments (certain night clubs, restaurants and bars, *avant-garde* art scenes, the working context of EU civil servants, specific shops, etc.). In this context, it is then very important for these hybrid spaces to become both more public and more open for interactions.

One very inspiring initiative is the Zinneke Parade, which originated in 2000 in the context of “Brussels, European Cultural City”, with the distinct objective of supporting the reality of the city’s multicultural identity and authenticity. In this way, an artistic parade was created that ‘tries to be both the expression of and an experiment in living together in diversity in the city of Brussels’ (Stoffen, 2004: 107). At the same time, it attempts to express the cosmopolitan and multicultural contemporary reality of Brussels, by allowing hidden voices to partake in the re-negotiation of the city’s identity, an identity that is not rooted in tradition or history, but that, on the contrary, aims at fostering hybridization (Stoffen, 2004).

CONCLUSION

The case of Brussels demonstrates how the lack of “visionary leadership” can create openings for more sustainable alternatives for city imaging, allowing the construction of more inclusive representations and identities in the post-modern city. Brussels indeed lacks the institutional profundity necessary for setting up urban flagship projects and classic projects of city imaging that would allow the city to take full advantage of its European role. This leaves the field open to “imagining (the capital of) Europe bottom-up”. Thereby the multicultural and hybrid reality of Brussels could be used as the point of entry to redefine both the identity of Brussels and the EU, creating new mythical and hegemonic narratives based on diversity and dynamic identity creation, in order to facilitate the bridging of the gaps that this chapter has identified.

Chapter 12

**AREA REGENERATION AND TOURISM
DEVELOPMENT: EVIDENCE FROM THREE EUROPEAN
CITIES**

Antonio Paolo Russo and Jan van der Borg

ABSTRACT

This chapter discusses a key issue in the framework of this volume: the role of cultural tourism in processes of urban transformation. The analysis focuses specifically on how the emphasis on the symbolic in the restructuring of certain areas of the city may function like a spin-wheel for the regeneration of urban economies, and on the stability of this process. The chapter presents the cases of three European cities Barcelona, Manchester and Rotterdam, all of which are believed to be templates in cultural planning, and have been successful, to different extents, as tourism destinations. In the three cities, the peculiar relationship between area renewal through cultural development projects and tourism has unravelled in different ways that are revelatory of structural, as well as contingent, differences in tourism policy organisation and contexts, and that present different challenges for the future.

INTRODUCTION

In the last three decades, cities have been spending more and more on cultural activities and related infrastructure: the restoration and “packaging” of cultural heritage, the construction of new landmarks and architectural icons, the organization of large-scale cultural events, as well as cultural programs refocusing local identity in combination with social policies for the integration and empowerment of ethnic minorities. Through the redefinition, valorization, and branding of their cultural profile, many if not all cities in Europe are trying to accelerate the transition towards a post-industrial “knowledge economy”, with a new role for inner cities as highly symbolic consumption spaces and interaction arenas.

Enhanced social cohesion and the attraction of new economic agents who are seen to critically influence the positioning of places in the global economy are also part of this strategy. Creative-friendly urban environments *à la Florida* provide the best conditions for dynamism and innovativeness in their economies (Florida, 2002). It is particularly interesting to note how traditional industries in crisis have been able to “reinvent” themselves by coming in contact with the new cultural mediators. Advertising and design are just a few examples of service industries in which creativity and technical skills coalesce to produce a comparative advantage in mainstream economic sectors.

Yet the most immediate area for “infection” from culture to mainstream business is arguably tourism. By enhancing the aesthetic and functional profile of public spaces in specific parts of the city through investments in “hard” and “soft” landscape elements, the chances of symbolically-charged visitor consumption are increased, boosting the value of business and real estate in the area. Thus cultural tourism development parallels the growing interest of international visitors in urban “cultware” (Van den Berg *et al.*, 2001) large cities being the preferred destinations for short breaks (Richards, 2001) and day trips and the possibility to cash in on visitor interest, so that large investments in infrastructure become viable for venture capital and private-public partnerships. However, there is uncertainty with regard to the type and magnitude of the returns which may be expected from such initiatives, as well as ample evidence of waning consensus in community and academic circles (Bianchini *et al.*, 1992; Eisinger, 2000; Rodríguez *et al.*, 2001; Miles and Paddison, 2005).

The next section focuses on particular process aspects of area regeneration, highlighting their interlinking with cultural tourism development initiatives, and making reference to the cases of three European cities that were studied by the European Institute for Comparative Urban Research (EURICUR) within a project on the “impacts of culture on the economic development of cities”¹.

PRESENTATION OF CASE STUDY CITIES

Facts and Figures

Barcelona, Manchester and Rotterdam are considered among the most successful cities in Europe in turning previously existing disadvantages into strong points for cultural tourism. Table 12.1 illustrates the key figures of the cities in question. Their metropolitan areas vary in size from 1.3 million inhabitants to almost 5 millions. Both Barcelona and Rotterdam’s inner cities are losing population to the suburban areas, while Manchester is notably reurbanizing in absolute terms. Unemployment is high in all three cities compared to the national figures, and tends to be higher in the centers than in suburban regions.

The population is remarkably mixed in all three cities. While the number of non-EU foreigners officially residing in the three cities is around 10%, the number of people with “non-white” descent or born abroad is much higher, a reflection of the colonial legacy of

¹ The cases of Manchester and Rotterdam have been carried out within the EURICUR project “The impact on culture on the economic development of cities” (2002-2004), whose results are published in Van der Borg and Russo (2005), while the case of Barcelona has been developed within the EURICUR project “Know-how to redevelop”, whose results are published by Pol *et al.* (2007).

Spain, the UK and the Netherlands, and of the dense flows historically existing between the former colonies and the motherland.

Ethnic diversity is at its peak in Rotterdam, where the non-white population has surpassed the autochthonous, but it is growing fastest in Barcelona, where residents born outside Spain accounted for 15.9% of the population in 2006. Social diversity is enhanced by higher education students (HE), who are most numerous in comparison with city size in central Manchester.

Table 12.1. Basic data on case study cities, various years

		BARCELONA	MANCHESTER	ROTTERDAM
Population (1,000) †	<i>city</i>	1,505	418	599
	<i>metro area</i>	4,804	2,512	1,362
	<i>national rank</i>	2 nd	3 rd	2 nd
Pop. Growth †	<i>city</i>	–	+	–
	<i>metro area</i>	+	–	–
Unemployment rate †	<i>% unempl. on active population, year 2001</i>	10.8% (10.6% in metro area)	7.8% (3.8% in metro area)	5.9% (4.1% in metro area)
N. foreigners †	<i>per 1,000 inh., year 2001</i>	5% foreigners	19% “non white”	> 50% “non white”, 17.6% born abroad
N. HE students □	<i>year 2003</i>	35,000 (metro area)	133,700 (inner city)	50,000 (inner city)
N. of visitors □	<i>overnight stays by foreigners, 2003</i>	21 Mo	2.5 Mo (including excursionists, 17Mo)	250,000
	<i>overnight stays by nationals, 2003</i>	9.6 Mo	2.5 Mo	435,000

Sources: † EUROSTAT Urban Audit, data 1991-1996-2001; † various municipal sources, city websites.

Barcelona and Rotterdam also have large student populations, but they are more spread out within the metropolitan region, which hosts large suburban universities in both cases.

These cities are all important tourism destinations in their national system, albeit at different levels. Barcelona is an outright international “star” that presently attracts more than 10 million overnight stays per year (but reaching 30 million if the metropolitan region is considered, as this includes important surrounding coastal destinations), and 20 million arrivals at its airport, almost doubling the figures of ten years ago. Manchester is an important national and regional destination with 5 million overnight stays, but more than 12 million excursionists every year, and an international airport serving more than 19 million people yearly. Rotterdam is also a national destination for day trips, while its importance in terms of overnight stays is shadowed by the proximity of top international destinations like Amsterdam and Brussels. It receives around 850,000 overnight stays yearly (approximately 60% nationals).

Cultural Highlights

All three cities have a number of cultural strong points, which they use to brand themselves as tourism destinations and attractive locations for firms and new residents. Barcelona is probably one of the cities in the world with the most clear-cut “cultural” image, due to its modernist architectural icons, but also the medieval core and the 19th century developments. Yet, most of all, Barcelona is a city of intangible cultural charm, with vibrant nightlife, clubbing and fashion scenes, a reputation for tolerance and diversity, a first-class supply of international events and traditional celebrations, and a pervasive “social culture”, an expression of the singularity of the Catalan identity, reflected in political commitment, popular art, folklore and gastronomy. Barcelona cleverly used the 1992 Olympics as a springboard to refresh its image and renew the urban infrastructure. Since then, it is on the map of “cool cities”, with staggering growth rates in international tourism and a very positive image in the media and among cultural trendsetters. Moreover, it is the gateway to one of the most successful coastal regions in the Mediterranean to diversify its market orientation towards culture, leisure and active tourism.

Manchester and Rotterdam cannot possibly match Barcelona’s status, but they have made giant steps in the last 15-20 years towards developing a unique cultural image which has functioned as a powerful tourism magnet. Former national industrial hubs, plagued by social problems since the early 1970s, both cities have used their cultural strengths for the best, taking advantage not only of their built heritage (the redbrick factory in Manchester and the maritime architecture in Rotterdam) but also of their identity as working-class, tolerant communities with a strong proclivity to creativity. This has been furthered to the present day through their large immigrant population, a true melting pot of knowledge and cultures. Instead of subtracting from this vitality, the social problems have become spearheads of these cities’ *culture*. The edgy rock (and later clubbing) scene of Manchester has opened the way to booming music, media and fashion industries, to the point that for many years “Madchester” has been considered the music capital of the UK, and still attracts many young people to clubs and events at weekends. Rotterdam has successfully blended non-white urban cultures and far more identity claims into its cultural DNA, developing as a major hub for the performing and plastic arts, and the location of an important media and video-making

industry. In addition, Rotterdam is an architectural laboratory with no equal, as the large availability of disused industrial land and the peculiar maritime cityscape permit large-scale experimentation.

Area Regeneration, Cultural Clustering and Urban Development

In this context, area regeneration refers to the enhancement of specific sections of the city through a cycle of economic revitalization, upgrading of the housing stock, the improvement of the quality of life of the local population and the attraction of new residents. The starting point of area regeneration processes is generally the spatial concentration of new economic activities to substitute declining functions and land uses. These mostly comprise service sector organizations, with an orientation for “urban” settings where interaction and contacts with patrons and consumers is maximal. Among these are knowledge-intensive sectors like business services, higher education (Russo and Capel-Tatjer, 2007), telecommunications, and creative and cultural industries, or industries involved in the production and manipulation of the “symbolic” (Scott, 2001). Focusing on the latter, Mommaas (2004) presents a taxonomy of cultural cluster development models, based on different combinations of seven elements, including internal differentiation, leadership and inclusiveness in the participants’ network, funding regimes, top-down or bottom-up origin of development initiatives.

Most cities have concentrated culture-led regeneration initiatives in declining and marginal areas. Mostly, it has been the case of historical quarters, that progressively lost relevance and centrality during previous stages of the urbanization process as described in Ashworth and Turnbridge (1990). Yet, they are now seen as a valuable asset in an era in which cities seek, above all other things, distinction and a clear identity: with competition between cities getting more intense every day, none can afford to under-exploit their landscape qualities. The industrial peripheries of cities, characterized by “voids” left over from the deindustrialization process, have been another recurrent focus of regeneration efforts where diversification and an increased “compactness” of the urban supply are pursued. Certainly the three cities studied do present a wide typology of area regeneration programs both in the dilapidated historical core and in former industrial areas in the suburbs.

In Barcelona’s recent history, two contrasting models have been applied in different areas of the city. The first is the regeneration of historical districts like the Raval, a part of the medieval Ciutat Vella (Old City), mostly based on social interventions, the development of cultural infrastructure, and the renewal of the degraded building stock through state-subsidized interventions, a program which is still ongoing and is currently extended to other historical quarters of the city. The second is the development of idle suburban lots and the adaptation of former industrial buildings to new residential and economic uses, especially in “new economy” sectors, leisure, and administration. The latter approach was notoriously spearheaded with the 1992 Olympics, which led to large-scale changes in the waterfront areas of the city, and more recently has been extended to a larger section of Northern Barcelona and to the South in the direction of the airport. Regeneration programs have been very successful in changing the image of a city that only regained its social and cultural freedom after 1975 when a democratic government replaced the Franco dictatorship to that of an international hub of culture and entertainment. The Raval area, a former sanctuary of Barcelona’s underclass, is now celebrated as the hottest place in the city, a diverse, accessible, bohemian

“edutainment” district where immigrants live side-by-side with foreign students and creative workers from all over the world (Figure 12.1).

The number and range of business in the neighborhood has risen substantially in the wake of the location of new iconic cultural infrastructure in this area, like the Centre for Contemporary Culture of Barcelona (CCCB) and the annexed Museum of Contemporary Arts (MACBA), designed by J. Meyer. As a result, between 1998 and 2002, culture-related businesses increased from 174 to 468, and art and events professional organizations from 25 to 103. These new buildings, as well as smaller but no less important developments, like the refurbishment of the National Catalan Library, and the opening of many theatres and cultural centers in the area, have established a creative image of the Raval, to some extent representing “epicenters” of widely participated cultural activities: events, lectures, festivals, etc.

Rotterdam, a city where unemployment peaked at 20% in the late 1970s when the port economy underwent deep crises and subsequent restructuring, has a peculiarly “North American” urban structure, with declining inner city neighborhoods boasting the remains of the historical city destroyed by bombs during the second world war, and the oldest section of the port and affluent suburban districts, separated by large tracts of industrial land and infrastructure. The regeneration of the inner city has attempted to rejoin these disconnected areas and reestablish their relation with the water, while, at the same time, developing a contemporary, dynamic image especially through iconic architecture and the redevelopment of public space, which to some extent recuperate and modernize the “maritime” theme projecting it into the twenty-first century.



Source: authors.

Figure 12.1. An icon of playful new Barcelona: Botero’s “Gato” in the Rambla del Raval.

The physical reconstruction of the city has been actively pursued by the municipality (owner of the largest share of land and real estate in the city) engaging in public-private partnerships with various business partners. The other staple of Rotterdam's regeneration has been the impulse to culture and creativity, through extensive support given to art organizations and neighborhood associations, the provision of a world-class infrastructure, including art, music, theatre and sports venues, the staging of top events, and the celebration of its ethnic diversity and international orientation. Over the past twenty years Rotterdam has invested a total amount of some € 140M in capital funding, and approximately € 90M every year on culture and the arts, roughly 8% of the municipal budget available for discretionary spending. Hosting the European Cultural Capital event in 2001 was the main achievement in the city's cultural strategy in the 1990s. The event, though not completely successful (Richards and Wilson, 2004), leveraged an additional € 25M in capital expenditure for the thorough renovation of one of the most attractive canals in the city (along which the Cultural Capital office was located), € 18M for the expansion of several museums, and some € 40M for the new Luxor theatre that opened in 2001 (Weeda, 2001).

The city has used its cultural strong points to develop various forms of cooperation among cultural producers. This approach has concretized in a full-blown "cultural quarter" in the Witte-de-Withstraat area (Figure 12.2), a thematic "appendix" to the Museumpark's avant-garde stylistic offer, which includes the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, the Dutch Architecture Institute, a couple of iconic buildings of the 1930's that survived destruction, and Rem Koolhaas' Kunsthall. The area is conceived and managed as a highly experimental cultural cluster (the "Art Axis", www.kunstas.nl, last consulted 20/02/2008), including art galleries, a design hotel for long-stayers, trendy boutiques, fusion eateries and stylish bars, coffee-shops, and a very fashionable hairdressing salon (Figure 12.3). It has created its own "marketing instrument" with an area portal, which congregates information on the cultural facilities on the route between the Maritime Museum and the Museumpark.

However, the clustering strategy of the city has recently moved in another direction, under the pressure to "cash in" development gains. The new approach is illustrated by the Lloyds Quarter, a waterfront area formerly dedicated to port-related activities and located in Delfshaven (a historical part of the old harbor incorporated in Rotterdam's municipal territory since 1886). The redevelopment of the area was started as a 10-year project in 1996 by the Development Corporation of Rotterdam, the owner of the land. One of the main projects concerns the Schiecentrale, a former power station, which was refurbished for the purpose of hosting an audiovisual and ICT cluster. At the time of writing, 75 companies were located in Schiecentrale with more than 400 people employed in the creative sector. Most of them work in film, TV and video production, in the multimedia and internet sector, and in the recording industry. Another attempt to develop a business-oriented cultural cluster is the Van Nelle Factory, formerly a tea, coffee and tobacco manufacturer. Designed in the late nineteenth-century, it is a striking example of industrial architecture, considered for inclusion in the UNESCO world heritage list. In 1995, when the Van Nelle company decided to leave Rotterdam, it was decided to designate the complex as a business location centered on architecture, design and high technology and, in 1997, the "Van Nelle Design Factory" project was approved. Partly due to the economic stagnation of the following years, the ICT target group has been dropped in favor of the leisure sector. Nowadays the Van Nelle Design Factory hosts approximately 40 firms most of which were previously located outside Rotterdam mainly in the sectors of architecture, design, and events organization.



Source: authors.

Figure 12.2. TENT: iconic art space in regenerated Witte-de-Withstraat's "cultural axis".

Manchester has a long experience of turning social ills into community development opportunities: the success of its pop music scene of the 1980s illustrates how the sparkle of entrepreneurship can turn eccentric talent into a profession and an economic specialty in a city. "Madchester" is now gone, or reabsorbed into mainstream business frameworks, but the attention for the creative potential is still very present, thanks to the work of dedicated agencies like the Creative Industry Development Service.

Manchester's approach to cultural planning has possibly been the most advanced and complex of the three cities. At the end of the 1980s, the city embarked on a vast regeneration program which explicitly recognized the attraction and staging of cultural initiatives, the generation of a "creative climate", and the development of creative clusters as central elements in urban development. Quilley (2000) argues that the first significant achievement was the redevelopment of the Canal Street area, intending to provide suitable residence to workers in the surrounding up and coming business areas; in this way the "Gay Village" was built, almost by chance. City centre regeneration has been frantic since then, accelerated further by the needs of the 2002 Commonwealth Games. Developments in Castlefield and Salford Quays started as an effort to revitalize old and neglected docklands and other infrastructure dating from the city's industrial past. The councils of Manchester and Salford boosted private sector investment through the establishment of partnerships thus enabling the overriding of local planning legislation.

The renovation of infrastructure included the recovery and new provision of buildings and services, a residential building program, a thematic tourist facility associated with TV production, the creation of the Museum of Science and Industry, the new Imperial War Museum and Bridgewater Hall. Castlefield is now one of the most popular areas of the city, and the area connecting it to the suburban town of Trafford is a highly successful media cluster attracting major national and international companies (Figure 12.3).



Source: authors.

Figure 12.3. Regenerated Manchester: the Lowry centre at Salford Quays.

The development of Castlefield, Salford Quays and St. Peter's Fields could be described as a "top-down" process, with large-scale investment, property-led development, and a thematic streamlining of museums, heritage and other tourist sites. As in the case of Barcelona, the mirror approach was followed in another area of the city, the Northern Quarter. This area attracted little planned investment; yet — and possibly because of this — it became a haven for creative businesses. In the 1960s, the main street in this area was Manchester's most popular commercial area. A dwindling but still sizeable working class community stayed in the area after the demolitions of the early 1970s. On account of the low rental costs, laxity with planning permission, the centrality of location, and the opportunity to exploit some of the remaining commercial premises and disused warehouses, alternative cultural businesses began to re-colonize the area. The Northern Quarter's bohemian atmosphere drove the area to become a prime site for youth culture in the UK, principally in the music, fashion and design industries. New businesses were attracted: relatively small, predominantly run by young people, embedded in dense networks, their activities closely linked to the local scene, as in the case of members of rock bands wearing "street fashion" designed in local ateliers and often involved in their management. In a few years, the Northern Quarter grew to host over 300 small and micro cultural businesses including clothes boutiques, music shops, the vibrant Craft and Design Centre — the largest provider of studio/retail space and support for designer-makers in the North West region—, bars, restaurants, and professional services.

On account of these developments, the three cities have all boosted their cultural and creative production sectors over the last decade. In spite of heterogeneous accounting and estimation methodologies, it can be stated that “traditional” cultural activities — including productions and performances in the fields of fine arts and the arts market, performing arts and entertainment, music, museums and libraries — are a very large sector compared to the size of the local economy only in Rotterdam, where it represents around 4.5% of employment, while they are very small, at around 0.5% of total employment, in Barcelona and Manchester.

The picture changes significantly, when the creative industries are taken into account. Employment in sectors such as architecture, audiovisual and graphic arts, fashion, design, literature, publishing, music recording and production, print media, software, multimedia, games, and internet is large and growing in Barcelona and Manchester, totaling 4.5% and 11.6% respectively if sports and tourism are also included, while Rotterdam has only 3.3% of its workforce employed in creative industries, less than in the “core” cultural sectors. Estimates of the impacts of culture, with methods again differing substantially and reference years varying from 2001 to 2004, range from a € 400M impact in the case of Rotterdam (2.2% of the city economy) to € 935M (plus € 1,685M indirect) in Manchester “City Pride” metropolitan area, while no data are available for Barcelona but a 1.2% estimate of total added value of all Catalonia (Marlet and van Woerkens 2004; Regional Intelligence Unit (various years); Cambra Oficial de Comerç, Indústria i Navegació de Barcelona, 2005).

CULTURAL AND CREATIVE CLUSTERS AS TOURIST ATTRACTIONS

In areas that do manage to develop as creative clusters, new social networks are established, and novel value systems overlap and in some cases replace existing ones, attracting a larger palette of user groups. These areas tend to become “interaction arenas” typical of the post-modern urban environment: trendy, animated, diverse and tolerant, and to some extent pacified (Zukin, 1995: 28). But most notably in the scope of this paper, regenerated areas attract symbolically-charged consumption, which is leveraged by appropriate planning solutions such as the development of “open malls”, including galleries, eateries, bars and clubs, musical venues. From this point of view, nowadays it is hard to draw a clear distinction between indigenous and “tourist” patronage of such areas, as consumer behavior and social modes of participation to the visual and symbolic construction of the new cultural quarters are converging.

It could even be argued that today area regeneration and urban tourism development initiatives tend to blend as far as the effects that they produce are concerned (Degen, 2003). In fact, Maitland (2007) argues that the strategies for the attraction of the “backbone” of competitive cities in the global economy -the creative class- are substantially no different from a clever marketing strategy of urban areas and neighborhoods to culture-aware, curious and allocentric visitors, while, on the other hand, areas with a strong “sustainable tourism” profile tend to stir the interest of new global dwellers in search of animated, “hot” places with a positive and “green” image. Tourists come to be the leading animators of creative clusters, *prosuming* creative experiences, and defining a whole new *glocal* landscape based on reflexive interaction, as opposed to the confrontation implied in Urry’s “gaze” (1990).

Barcelona's Raval is probably the best illustration of tourist success from area regeneration. Though just a few steps away, until recently tourists crowding the Ramblas and the Gothic Quarter were reluctant to venture into its narrow streets, warned off by hotel managers, tourist guides and locals. Yet today the Raval is an obliged detour for cultural tourists, boasting an exuberant street life, small-scale events, countless bars, cafés, restaurants, music clubs and galleries, from stylish to more down-to-earth, which give the whole area a pleasant, dynamic feel. Visits to CCCB and MACBA total around 350,000 and 250,000 per year respectively, to which some 400,000 participants to other cultural activities in the Raval should be added (estimates by Subirats and Rius, 2005: 51), rounding up to a million cultural visits in a part of the city which, at the beginning of the last decade, could barely attract 200,000. Yet the supply of the Raval is only in part ascribable within traditional conceptions of art and culture. "Ravalejar" — meaning wandering around the Raval, and getting in touch with its multiple cultural manifestations — is rather a *lifestyle brand* for both local and foreign young people; as such, it made some impact as a sticker identifying trendy shops and cultural facilities in the area.

Among the new attractions that define this user segment, the SONAR festival is probably the one most worthy of quoting. Started as an underground festival of electronic music in 1994, it has now grown to be the most important European festival of this type, attracting a yearly audience of 80,000. Mostly including DJ sets and collective performances organized around the CCCB-MACBA complex, it is estimated that, at least in terms of directly-generated income, local spin-offs, media exposure and public perception, it makes a bigger impact on Barcelona's economy than the mass-scale Forum for Culture of 2004. Today the SONAR program has been extended to other parts of the city in order to minimize the stress for residents due to "noisy" acts, but it is still identified very closely with the new creative heart of the city, epitomized by the CCCB and its surroundings. It also became an export industry for Barcelona, having been "reproduced" in different formats in Amsterdam and Tokyo.

The process of "tourismification" of the neighborhood has been an important side-effect of the rehabilitation of buildings and public space, of cultural investments, and of social policies aiming at integration and the improvement of the residents' quality of life. To a large extent, the tourist success of the Raval has also meant greater social cohesion and opportunities for development for the large immigrant population of the district, as many foreign residents (mostly Pakistani, Filipino, Moroccan and Ecuadorian) are now employed in restaurant and bars or are owners themselves. This extraordinary choice became a strong point in Barcelona's tourist product, providing cheaper and more varied experiences than the traditional Catalan cuisine. However, the social profile of regeneration in this and other neighborhoods is today contested, as it increasingly gives way to speculative pressures and seemingly "unnecessary" infrastructure projects.

Greater Manchester attracts some 17 million visitors each year (4.5M staying overnight), with an expenditure of approximately € 22M, a third of which is in the city itself. Tourism and visitor activity contributes around € 800M per year to the city's economy, while the total impact on the local economy is estimated at some € 40M (5.5% of the GDP of Greater Manchester) and 31,500 jobs (Regional Intelligence Unit, 2004). The leisure infrastructure of the city expanded significantly as a result of public and private sector investment in mall projects, such as The Triangle, Printworks, Great Northern and Spinningfields. Such initiatives, together with cultural programming, contributed to making Manchester one of the

most attractive destinations for short breaks and day visits in the UK. The 2002 Commonwealth Games event, attended by half a million visitors, boosted the city's outreach for tourism further. Manchester also developed a world-class infrastructure for congress tourism, with venues such as the G-MEX, the Bridgewater Hall, the Manchester International Conference Centre, as well as new university facilities and top-class hotels.

Commentators argue that the cultural motive is not decisive for attracting visitors, at least not as much as shopping facilities, sport events and entertainment. Cultural attendance is rather seen as a complement to these types of visits. However, the question is raised whether tourism marketing takes full advantage of the rich cultural endowment of the city: the fact that 80% of the cultural audiences are in the wealthier segment of the population gives an idea of the potential impact of pointing more decidedly on the idiosyncratic primacy of the city in the "night-time cultures".

In spite of a similar starting point, Rotterdam's regenerated city-centre areas, such as the area of Witte-de-Withstraat, the Old Port and the Waterstadt, or the ethnic Western neighborhoods, have a long way to go to become the next Ravals or Canal Streets, but there are elements in common, including the conviction that investments in culture and leisure could be levers of change, and that diversity in uses and residence schemes is the key to a more sustained and socially balanced regeneration process. These neighborhoods can hope to attract only a few visitors; indeed, accommodation capacity in the whole centre of Rotterdam is limited. The image of an industrial city rather known as a business city, *a place to work* and the city's proximity to Amsterdam, the real selling point of the Netherlands, has left Rotterdam at the margins of the tourist market, occasionally doing well with business and congress tourism and with large sporting events.

In recent years the city has tried to promote the development of the leisure sector and culture has played an important role in it. During the European Cultural Capital year, more than 14.1 millions of visitors attended Rotterdam's attractions, events, museums and theatres, without counting the regular shoppers, commuters and sports attendants. Almost 2.2 million visitors came with the purpose of attending the ECC event (16% of total), injecting some € 62.7M into the local economy (OBR, 2002). Since then, however, the tourist market has shown contradictory signs of development. On the one hand, in the 2000-2003 period tourist expenditure in the city increased by € 44M (3.2%) and there was also a 9.6% increase in employment (1,600 jobs). On the other, the number of hotel guests and overnight stays decreased in the 2001-2003 period by 23.8% and 18.4% respectively. This may be a signal that the 2001 event failed to provoke the structural break in tourism positioning that was hoped for, and that a "temporal substitution" effect has prevailed: people came to Rotterdam in the year of the event and did not care to come back afterwards or to spread positive impressions of the destination. The slight increase in average expenditure reveals that nowadays there are more opportunities to spend in Rotterdam, which confirms the growth and the increased sophistication of the supply side, culture included.

It can be asserted, however, that Rotterdam is highly attractive to specialized visitor niches: industry-themed tours in the port, art events, architecture itineraries, and sports events cater for small but passionate numbers of patrons. And it is rather the qualitative profile of visitors that is so striking, as they represent a thoroughly different segment of cultural consumers from the prevailing model of a day-trip shopping destination, as was pointed out for instance in Richards and Wilson's (2004) account of the changing social construction of a 'Cultural Capital of Europe'. While the top visited attractions, mostly by locals and

excursionists, include the zoo, the casino, a water-attraction and cruises on the Maas river, the most visited venues are the cinemas and the Ahoy Hall (hosting pop concerts and fairs) (OBR, 2002). People accessing key cultural attractions and events were found to be in the higher levels of scholarization, and a substantial proportion of them had high-income jobs in the cultural and creative industries. For them, Rotterdam represents a highly creative, experimental playground; they value its diversity, engaging with the conflictive elements in the local society; they seek to blend in with the locals, adopting a “latin”, extroverted, relaxed attitude during their visit to the city and its most explicitly “mixed” creative areas, such as Witte-de-Withstraat.

PLANNING FOR SUSTAINED TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN REGENERATED AREAS

While it should be recognized that not all cluster development efforts are successful — and even when they are, they could be rapidly disbanded (Mommaas, 2004: 515) — a more intriguing issue is that, even in the case of success, the “cultural revolution” which started the process of change may wane with time. The increased level of expenditure in regenerated areas and the improvement of their image open the doors to housing renovation and a general rise of real estate prices as well as of commodities. In the long term, these factors may underplay the extent of the social impacts that are expected in area regeneration programs — and in some cases justified them in the first place— namely: inclusion, diversity, economic vibrancy. Only the commercial results of the operation are guaranteed in the end: high land values, the privatization of public space, and the “sanitation” of the areas, which tend to stabilize as white upper-class residential neighborhoods or central business districts.

However, in the scope of this chapter a stronger argument is that the very tourist profile of gentrified areas is at stake in this development. A common reading of recent urbanization trends is that flagship investments may be leading to a global convergence in cityscapes (Muñoz, 2006; Richards and Wilson, 2006): iconic buildings, bridges and public spaces with a similar design are erected everywhere, often by the same architects and with the same materials, depleting rather than enriching urban uniqueness. Furthermore, intangible factors that explain the attractiveness of “creative quarters” as tourism attractions are affected: the institutional and social networks on which they were based thin out and disperse to other “up and coming” areas of the city; communication barriers get erected between heterogeneous groups as underground cultural actors go mainstream; a commercial relationship between the creative community and the increasing mass of tourist gazers replaces genuine cultural exchange.

This does not need to be the endpoint for the cultural tourism attractiveness of a city or for its vitality: the “creative arena” may simply shift where new favorable conditions are met. Large cities have sufficiently diverse resources to continuously redesign their cultural map, blending tradition and innovation, and staying attractive to successive waves of culture-motivated travelers. However, the capacity to sustain such a “seek and destroy” model of cultural tourism development could be limited by the availability of adequate spaces in the city. These should remain sufficiently cheap, with a concentrated structure of property rights, and not too peripheral with respect to the key attractions in the city.

It is thus a challenge for policy and planning to keep the process of development in motion, and to explore alternative, more resilient development models. The conditions that are necessary for the vitality of cultural tourism, like spatial coherence, social mobility and access to cultural resources, but also networking and cross-fertilization within the cultural clusters and at their edges, should be maintained even at later stages of the regeneration program. This demands incursions into policy areas that are not normally in the portfolio of tourism planners, such as the establishment of a working collaboration with underground movements (pioneered by Amsterdam with its *Breeding Places* program: cf. <http://bureaubroedplaatsen.amsterdam.nl/>, last consulted 20/02/2008), the capacity to take on risks resisting speculative pressures and, instead, fostering the development of spaces and functions with a fuzzy and long-term return profile and an active role in the creation of platforms that link currently disconnected key agents.

To support these recommendations, reference can again be made to the three case studies, which provide ample evidence of successes and failures in their attempt to “keep tourism going” in rapidly gentrifying urban environments. In Barcelona’s Raval, small business in the service sector now provide approximately a quarter of the jobs in the district (from practically nil a decade ago), although unskilled labor still represents a major part of the market (Bonet Esteve, 2005). The area is presently subject to a large inflow of “new” residents, mostly in the higher scales of the job market, single households, or higher education students sharing low-quality flats, without substantially altering its atmosphere and yet improving its economic profile. Tourists, and especially long-stay tourists, share some traits with these groups, and their impacts on the area are remarkably similar. The engagement with the place of culturally-aware and implicated tourists, as is mostly the case with Raval’s *connoisseurs*, is certainly to be preferred to the unreflexive attitude of mass tourists flooding the Ramblas. The Subirats-Rius report (2005) quoted earlier presents four evolution scenarios, which are seen to depend on two dimensions: the integration of new residents in existent social networks and the formation of new ones, on the one hand, and the diversity of economic activities, on the other. The dangers to avoid are the two “high-low” combinations, which would lead, respectively, to a divided, gentrified Raval, or to a “normalized” quarter; however the most promising development is one in which both economic diversity and social integration are accentuated, leading to a uniquely creative, attractive and cohesive neighborhood.

The toughest challenges in this sense come from speculative pressures, that often take the form of “house-mobbing” against long-established low-rent tenants, and social integration, which requires moving to a higher gear in fighting the marginality that still lingers in the area. Interestingly, this very marginality and its superstructure (tolerance to drugs and prostitution, illegal bars and meeting-places, house squatting, etc.) are a substantial part of the tourist attractiveness of the area. For this reason, it is becoming a very delicate ground for policy, as is another conflict arising between the liberal character of the area and the pressure to protect the decency and décor of the public spaces for the local residents. The outlook is not for the better: after a long negotiation, a new large 5-star hotel is under construction on the Rambla del Raval: a space charged with symbolic values of integration and empowerment by the local ethnic communities, which the new building is likely to challenge.

Despite the reputation gained as a creative city and the innovative approach taken in its cultural strategy, Manchester remains a community with more problems than many other British regional capitals: unemployment, low skills, poor educational attainment, ill-health and crime, and even deprivation and social unrest in some of its wards. Paradoxically, the

wave of pop artists who generated the fame of “Madchester” were an expression of such social diseases. Bravely, Manchester turned huge problems into strengths, becoming a fashionable, hip and “sanitized” city, and attracting wealthy groups back to live in the city, as well as a large tourist market. Putting together the strong ethnic character of the city and the city’s international reputation for sport, the Commonwealth Games were an opportunity to shift the discourse on “sustainability”, as a long-term, balanced and inclusive result of regeneration. Yet the transformations in the social and cultural capital of the city did critically affect the creative strengths of the city, as in the case of the Northern Quarter, now virtually a pacified “partying area” that has lost much of its original cultural vibrancy. Further threats come from the standardization of the centre under the pressure of global consumerism and landscaping.

Such developments are the inevitable result of a process of privatization of space through the production of fenced communities and shopping arcades. Even if, in the initial stages, such manipulation may be seen as benign, it does pose a potential threat to the quality of public space in the long-term. Animation in these spaces is invariably constructed through leisure and cultural events, such as concerts, festivals and street markets aimed at encouraging tourism expenditure in the area. Such activities do raise questions with regard to the vibrancy and vitality of street-life once the festivals and events are over.

The image of Rotterdam among its own residents has been improving steadily (City of Rotterdam, 2004). Yet it is still insufficient to recentralize the suburban middle class (70% of the population still thinks that the city should become more attractive) or to achieve a dramatic rise in international tourism. In order to attract the medium-high income groups, Rotterdam set out to enhance the quality of its housing stock by providing approximately 3,000 new top-market housing units per year, which are changing the face of various city centre neighborhoods. However, the “mother” of all regeneration projects, the waterfront redevelopment on the southern bank of the Maas, has so far delivered only part of what it had promised (Van der Berg *et al.*, 2003). While it certainly added a stunning new visual element to the city and valuable business and cultural infrastructure, it failed to catch up with the surrounding area the original reason for huge public investments in this area was to involve the Rotterdam South community in the jobs generated there and to recoup the physical and cultural distance that keeps the two sides of the city separated — and to become the real centre of the cultural and leisure activity of the city. Instead, while the new stylish housing stock and business facilities have sold at record prices, the city’s invisible dividing line has merely shifted southward. There is not much going on in the Kop van Zuid apart from the odd night-time event; a testimony of this is the very poor performance of the many restaurants and bars that opened in the yachting marina at the end of the 1990s and shortly afterwards started to close down. This is a peculiar demonstration of how regeneration projects based on cultural development, albeit involving prestigious flagships, are doomed if they lack attention to the “social embedding” of the new facilities, even at a very local scale. While it is not clear that tourists or Rotterdam residents are motivated enough to cross the Erasmus bridge, it is equally unlikely that any of the disadvantaged communities in the south, whom the city wants to integrate, will see the new facilities as an opportunity for participation and inclusion.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the importance of policies that redefine the relation between culture and place has been highlighted, signifying a dramatic change of pace in the transition towards post-industrial, experience-based economies, embedded in global networks of knowledge and international labor mobility, but at the same time gaining from distinction, “localness”, and idiosyncratic talent. The construction of “glocal” cityscapes has been crucially related in urban scholarship with a process of integration of the “cultural” with the “economic” realm, which is exacerbated by the growth of importance of creative production sectors and their capacity to re-valorize formerly declining areas and “void” spaces left over from deindustrialization. Tourism is regarded as the most immediately available medium to link excellence in creativity to economic development. To some extent, success in the formation of creative clusters and their development as tourism areas depends on specific circumstances which are hard to recreate artificially. Policy and planning can steer the process in order to make it more resilient and to boost its “regenerating effect”, yet it must be considered that traditional institutions and policy approaches are ill-prepared to come to terms with the fuzzy, anarchist social structures typical of the creative city (Landry 2000).

Evidence from the three case study cities confirms that there seems to be a thread linking their success in creative cluster development, the change of status and image of the areas, and the overall orientation of the local economy and image towards tourism; and that, to some extent, this process is cyclical, because it tends to affect and shift in space the conditions that triggered this development in the first place.

Thus, Manchester, the city that has arguably the longest history in using culture and creativity to renew declining areas of the city and generate opportunities for social development, is clearly the most successful as a post-industrial hub, attracting global economic functions, investments, new residents and millions of visitors to its refurbished shopping streets and venues. However, it is also the one facing the toughest challenges from possible loss of identity and vibrancy, as its anarchist creative impulses, which motivated cultural policy in the first place, are slowly being diluted in the gentrified city-centre environment. Similarly, Rotterdam did not completely succeed in developing a tourist edge to its numerous redevelopment efforts because these lack social embedding and consistency with the peculiar conditions that define contemporary culture, especially inclusion and multiculturalism. Finally, Barcelona has performed very well until now, and the development of the Raval as a tourist area is certainly a good example of achievement in “sustainable regeneration”. Nevertheless, it is not clear whether or not the area will be able to resist the speculative pressures brought about by “tourismification”, once the current generation of tenants is replaced by new residents. Furthermore, control over the process seems less binding today, as local politics is shifting towards different models, focusing more clearly on “cashing in” on the gains from land redevelopment (as is happening in the north-eastern neighborhoods of the city).

Finally, it can be stated that evidence from the three case studies shows that funding grassroots initiatives, fostering networking at all levels, (un)planning public spaces, and in this way inducing creative interaction between visitors and local agents, are innovative areas for policy which may, in the long term, prevent redevelopment from offsetting a neighborhood’s original qualities. Area regeneration should therefore be a continuous process

involving a program of investments in training and education, support for small businesses, and the refurbishment of buildings for mixed uses, rather than the construction of spaces for pre-determined “cultural” activities, with the overall objective of retaining tourism attractiveness in the long term.

Chapter 13

**CULTURAL HERITAGE AND THE REJUVENATION OF
SPA TOWNS: EVIDENCE FROM FOUR
EUROPEAN CITIES**

Katleen Vos, Monika Rulle and Myriam Jansen-Verbeke

ABSTRACT

The tourism market for health resorts is changing fast throughout the world. The ageing population, the growing interest for wellness and health, care for body and mind, and the search for new experiences and meanings force traditional health resorts in particular to adjust the products they offer within the triangle of health treatments, recreational activities and cultural entertainment. Traditional spas, above all, possess an extremely rich variety of tangible and intangible cultural heritage elements, as well as valuable natural and cultural resources. The authors propose that these elements need to be identified and valorized in order to develop the spas further. The arguments presented are supported by four case studies: Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lázně (Czech Republic), Abano Terme (Italy) and Spa (Belgium) all of which were famous spas frequented by the European elite in the 18th century, but had fallen behind modern developments in spa tourism by the end of the 20th century. The main conclusions are that all four spas are now in the situation of having to design and apply revitalization strategies. In these, not only the development of infrastructure, on which most of the emphasis had been placed in the past, is necessary, but also more attention should be given to the potential contribution of intangible heritage, to which less consideration had previously been given.

INTRODUCTION

Global competition in the market for health, wellness and medical tourism is growing fast. Worldwide, exotic and appealing spa resorts are created in response to the expanding wellness hype. This chapter explores the strategies of some historic European spa towns to reposition themselves in this competitive tourism market by exploiting their cultural heritage assets.

Traditional spa towns are not only facing the challenge of implementing conservation policies but also of diversifying their product range in response to changing tourist demands. Three distinct trends influence the interests in spas significantly: the ageing population, the growing interest in wellness and health care for body and mind, and the search for new experiences and meanings (Rulle, 2004). Some spa towns are moving away from the role of traditional health resorts based on natural resources towards destinations offering various wellness products, whereas others try to find a future in the creation or re-creation of cultural products by revalorizing their tangible and intangible heritage. The combination of both policies also occurs. Assessment of the tourism potential of spa towns implies an analysis of the cultural heritage elements, by referring to the metadata, concepts and methods that were introduced in the ESPON 1.3.3 study (ESPON, 2006). The geographical context of spa destinations in Europe with regard to their political history implies different strategies for revitalization (Hall *et al.*, 2006).

This chapter focuses on four historic spa towns now trying to consolidate their power of attraction as destinations in the new European tourism market by offering a range of health products, as well as recreation and cultural entertainment. Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lázně, both situated in the Czech Republic, Abano Terme in Italy and Spa in Belgium have in common their traditional dependence on thermal springs and a long history of urban development. The Roman roots of this form of enjoying the healing and relaxing effects of water explain the genesis of Bath (UK), Baden-Baden (Germany) and many other places in Europe. Indeed most resorts have a similar TALC (Tourist Area Life Cycle), the rediscovery of “water and health” in the 16th century, which gave rise to the development of a place of attraction. The internationalization of thermalism began in the 17th century and some Spa resorts became places where the European elite gathered for “taking the waters” and above all, “to see and be seen”. This social meeting vocation was reinforced in the 18th century with the creation of casinos and prestigious hotels. During the 19th century, characteristic urban landscapes were developed and surrounded with sports facilities for golf, horse riding and car racing. The 20th century not only brought war, but is also marked by a move from elite tourism to social and medical tourism. These changes explain the downgrading of the infrastructure and, as a consequence, a fading away of the tourist function.

However, since the beginning of the 21st century many historical Spa towns have gradually been getting back on the tourist map by investing in rejuvenation strategies and alternatives for Spa tourism (Murphy, 2008). Particularly in east-central Europe, since the opening of the Iron Curtain and the “Velvet Revolution”, much attention has been paid to the need for a revitalization of former resorts, including the reconstruction or renovation of traditional spa buildings (Rulle, 2004; Bachvarov and Liszewski, 2004; Gosar, 2008). The typical architecture and urban landscaping could be strong assets for their tourism vocation but, in terms of tourist attraction, the water springs are still the core product for these tourist destinations. Hotels and other facilities, such as casinos, theatres, concert halls, cafés, restaurants and shops, urban parks and promenades are important elements, all setting the “tourist” scene in a characteristic way. Nevertheless, it is clear that renovation of the built heritage and beautification of the urban environment are the critical factors for rejuvenation and repositioning in the tourism market. In addition, images and narratives play a crucial role in the revitalization process and the branding of the “renewed destination”. However, the software concepts for destination marketing have to be consistent with the changing perception and appreciation tourists have of a spa destination. Their expectations are indeed

influenced by awareness of the availability of preferred activities, the packaging of opportunities and, especially, by promotional activities. In fact, the attraction of a destination increasingly depends on the communication and strength of images and messages included in the narratives about the place.

The objective of this chapter is to compare the revitalization policies of traditional spa towns based on a revalorization of their cultural heritage assets. This challenge is now on many a political agenda in Europe. The relevance of such actions is well demonstrated by Jordan and Schappelwein's (1999) map of international tourism attractions, which demonstrates the high density of spa resorts in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Hungary, Slovenia and the Czech Republic.

FOUR HISTORIC SPA TOWNS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Unique Profiles and Different Policies

According to the European Spa Association, at least 1,200 spa resorts were listed in 2004 (Rulle, 2004). Jordan and Schappelwein's (1999) map of international tourism attractions in central, south-eastern and eastern Europe introduces a classification of resorts according to their importance for international tourism. The attractions referred to are of a diverse nature (e.g. health resort, attractive cultural landscape) and also differ in terms of their capacity to attract visitors from abroad. A distinction is made between four types of attractions: a "world attraction" is one of such importance that visitors travel from all over the world to see it; secondly, they define as a "European attraction" one which attracts visitors from all areas of Europe; thirdly an "important international attraction" brings visitors from nearby countries traveling mainly for the purpose of visiting this attraction; and, finally, an "international attraction". This geographical mapping of spa resorts allows the identification of places and regions with an interesting tourism potential, even though the valorization of their heritage resources might be very different. An interesting interpretation of the map is the high density and hence high tourism potential of less known spa towns in the former communist countries of east-central and south-eastern Europe, in comparison with the well known western spa destinations in Italy, Austria and Germany. The high regional density and diversity of cultural heritage elements support the hypothesis of a strong tourism potential.

The current situation of under-exploitation and downgrading of cultural resources is an indication of the fact that many traditional spa towns have reached a stage of decline in their lifecycle as a tourist destination. This calls for rejuvenation strategies, and decisions on the best options in the given geographical situation and current market position. Since the 1990s, major policy investments have been made in an effort to rejuvenate many spa towns. In order to assess the critical success factors in this process, a systematic analysis of the tourist opportunity spectrum in each of the four towns on which this study focuses will prove to be useful. The towns of Karlovy Vary, Mariánské Lázně and Frantiskovy Lázně belong to the "Bohemian Spa Triangle", but only the first two of these were included in the study. The first town was defined by Jordan and Schappelwein (1999) as a destination in the "European attraction" category, the second as an "international attraction". Both spa towns have a long tradition as thermal resorts; Karlovy Vary is the oldest and nowadays the most visited spa

town in the Czech Republic. The geographical location in central Europe adds to its tourism potential. The town of Spa in Belgium is in focus as one of the oldest thermal resorts in Europe, giving its name to the phenomenon “*Salus Per Aquam*” and currently in search of a new dynamism. Abano Terme in Italy is also a spa town with a long thermal tradition dating back to Roman times (Rulle, 2004). All thermal resorts have one important natural resource in common: thermal springs, an element that is obviously essential for their existence. Karlovy Vary counts 132 springs, of which 12 are used in thermal institutions; Mariánské Lázně has more than 40 thermal springs; Spa 16 and Abano Terme 130 mineral springs. An overview of the natural and cultural resources of the four spa resorts is included in Table 13.1.

Cultural Heritage Marking Spa Towns

With the objective of achieving a comparison among the four spa towns and of identifying their specific cultural heritage resources, a data file with the basic data of the ESPON 1.3.3. Project “The Role and Spatial Effects of Cultural Heritage and Identity” (ESPON, 2006) was consulted. In this respect, data on the number of monuments, museums, theatres and events in each of the NUTS III regions in which the spa towns are situated, were especially useful. Additional data and information were collected from the websites of the statistical service of the Karlovarsky Kraj Region and from Eurostat. Direct contacts with local and regional tourism authorities were equally important in the obtainment of information (Vos, 2007).

In fact, most traditional spa resorts in Europe are located in areas with a considerable concentration of interesting cultural heritage, endowed with a rich heritage of tangible and intangible elements from the past. The distinction between tangible and intangible, between natural and cultural resources, is useful in assessing the tourism potential of the place or the region (Graham *et al.*, 2000). The identification of these resources therefore constitutes a crucial step in the process of developing cultural tourism in accordance with sustainability criteria.

The concepts of “hardware, software, orgware and shareware” were introduced in a conceptual model on territorial cohesion of cultural heritage elements in order to structure the analysis and allow for some comparison (ESPON, 2006: 186). The “hardware” of the tourist destination refers to the natural, physical and tangible “human made” resources in the place, including the accommodation and transport infrastructure. The “software” is, by definition, flexible, can be inspired by intangible heritage assets and needs to be adapted to the policies of positioning, packaging, and marketing of the destination. The “orgware” indicates the way tourism is organized in the destination in terms of partnership, policies, traditions, human resources and knowledge.

In this respect, the issue of innovative public and private alliances is crucial, for these partnerships sustaining the development of the destination are, in fact, the key factors and as a general rule should include all the various stakeholders.

Table 13.1. Tourism: Hardware, Software, Orgware and Shareware in the four spa towns studied

Resources	Elements	Karlovy Vary	Mariánské Lázně	Spa	Abano Terme
HARDWARE					
Natural resources	Springs	132	40	16	130
Cultural resources [#]	Monuments and sites	363		361	n.a.
	Spa buildings	7	3	1	n.a.
	Colonnades	5	4	1	n.a.
	Music kiosks	1	1	1	1
	Religious buildings	*	*	*	*
	Castles	*	*	*	*
	Parks	*	*	*	*
Cultural facilities [#]	Museums	58		35	1
	Concert halls	4	n.a.	2	0
	Casinos	1	1	1	0
	Art galleries	15	n.a.	4	n.a.
Sport facilities	Golf courses	*	*	*	n.a.
	Horse races	*	n.a.	*	*
	Car racing circuits	n.a.	n.a.	*	n.a.
	Skiing	n.a.	n.a.	*	n.a.
	Walking trails	*	*	*	n.a.
SOFTWARE					
	Spa treatments	*	*	*	*
	Spa souvenirs	*	*	*	*
	New narratives	*	n.a.	*	n.a.
	Living History	*	*	*	0
	Events	110	49	2	n.a.
ORGWARE					
	PPP in Culture, Tourism and Thermalism	n.a.	n.a.	1	n.a.
Policies	Integrated Destination Management	*	*	0	0
	Hospitality and Visitor Management	0	0	0	0
SHAREWARE					
	Cross border cooperation	*	*	*	*
Strategic alliances	Between sectors	*	*	*	*
	Within the sector	*	*	*	*

Key:

* = item exists, but is not quantified

0 = item is not present

n.a. = no information available

[#] = data registered at the NUTS III level (ESPON 1.3.3, 2006): Mariánské Lázně belongs to the Karlovarsky Kraj region.

Source: Data registered in 2006 in the context of the ESPON project (ESPON 1.3.3, 2006).

The introduction of the “shareware” concept in the analytical model of territorial cohesion of cultural resources is the outcome of a growing awareness of the importance of networks in all aspects of destination development and management. European associations of spa towns and many other forms of international networks are thus supporting the revitalization process. This model was used for the analysis of the four spa towns (Table. 13.1).

Evidently, the emphasis of all development models lies on the synergetic and profitable interaction of thermalism and cultural tourism, both types of leisure activities being associated with “quality tourism” and generating high expenditures. Obviously financial resources are most welcome to support the cost of renovation and revitalization. Moreover, the revenues from cultural tourism and thermalism seem to be less influenced by seasonality. Yet a recent study in Slovenia indicated the summer months (June to September) as definitely the high season for their health resorts (Gosar, 2007). In addition, cultural tourism offers greater possibilities for seasonal spreading and for the diversification of products in a wide range from entertainment (e.g. music or film festivals) to edutainment (e.g. exhibitions and events) and education (e.g. international language courses in Spa).

However, a full and sustainable exploitation of the different heritage elements for tourist use not only requires policies of conservation and renovation of the existing built environment, but also creativity in product development and diversification to attract new target groups and, above all, innovative strategies in place marketing. As a rule, the transformation of heritage resources into (cultural) tourism products needs to be strongly supported by interpretation and packaging, whereby images of landmarks and typical tourism products attract specific target markets.

In addition, the way in which the heritage resources are combined and supported by secondary facilities characterizes the local tourist opportunity spectrum (Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois, 2004). Spas not only offer a range of health products and treatments, but also an attractive setting for recreation and entertainment. The built environment is often developed according to typical architectural concepts and landscaping designs: spa buildings, hotels, colonnades, concert halls and a music kiosk in the park, theatre and casino, religious buildings, museums and art galleries, castles, monuments and sites. It is significant that the German language uses the specific term “thermal architecture”. There are many examples where the historical buildings are located around a central park, usually an important landmark of the destination. In the four spa towns analyzed, most of the attractions are concentrated in the city centre or within walking distance of it, a spatial setting that pleases the elderly target group in particular. Furthermore, green areas in the urban landscape and the green scenery of the hilly surroundings characterize all four spa towns. This setting in a natural environment with rivers, lakes, forests and an attractive landscape certainly holds strong assets for health resorts.

Another critical success factor for spa destinations is the physical access to the thermal springs and spa facilities. In Spa, as well as in Karlovy Vary, a cable lift connects the city centre with the thermal and accommodation facilities, and offers picturesque viewpoints. The Spa souvenir industry constitutes yet another typical aspect of the thermal heritage (Osborne, 2000). Indeed, “tangible memories” of the past do have tourism potential as well. Strong selling items are travel guides, diaries, glassware (e.g. Bohemian crystal), wooden craftwork (in Spa), spa wafers (e.g. Bohemian Oblaten), liquor (Spa Elixir, Becherovka, etc.) and, of course, the mineral water itself.

Compared to the other three spa towns, Abano Terme seems to be less successful in telling its story in combination with a strong product development. Terme Euganee, the group of local spas in which Abano Terme is the dominant component, has performed very well for decades in the traditional treatment sector. However, the destination is increasingly confronted with an ageing clientele that shows no signs of rejuvenation. Clearly the younger generations are far less attracted to traditional spa destinations because of the lack of modern health treatments, fitness and beauty centers and, above all, of lively entertainment and dynamic leisure opportunities. Abano Terme is situated in a culturally well-endowed area, as was clearly identified in the ESPON Project 1.3.3. (2006, p. 103). Taking the NUTS III level into account, the area around Abano Terme was classified as having a “very high” density of registered monuments and sites (the highest possible classification). However, Abano Terme uses little of its potential. It is only during the summer period, when the Arena di Verona an Opera festival with international fame held at about 90 km from the spa town is on the agenda, that this cultural activity is used for marketing purposes and promoted as an additional attraction for Abano Terme (Rulle, 2004).

Spa has created a new “cultural” product inspired by its history, the “Spa Raconté”, a walking tour that is guided by a storyteller dressed in period costume (www.spa-info.be, last consulted 28/5/2007). Besides the marketing of its history, which can be successfully supported by well-known icons, the promotion of Spa also strongly highlights international Formula 1 car-racing. In fact, the oldest car races in the area, dating from the 1920-ies, have created a tradition in their own right. Nevertheless, since the opening of the new thermal complex in 2004, Spa is placing thermalism in the spotlight again as its core attraction.

The spa towns in the Czech Republic highlight somewhat different aspects. Mariánské Lázně is focused principally on balneotherapy in a historical setting, with an architecture that evokes the atmosphere of the heydays in the 18th and 19th centuries. The events organized there also tend to refer to these times. There are music festivals, such as the Chopin Festival, the Mozart Festival and the yearly Mariánské Lázně Cultural Festival. (www.marianske-lazne.info, last consulted 28/5/2007). Similarly, Karlovy Vary is not only internationally renowned as a spa resort, but is also famous for its international film festival and its yearly Tourfilm festival. Another annual event is the “Ball of the European aristocracy”, to recall the aristocratic past of the town. Furthermore, thanks to its “genius loci”, Karlovy Vary has always attracted artists; nowadays approximately 70 artists live and work there. The presence of 15 art galleries in the town demonstrates their creative productivity. (www.karlovyvary.cz, last consulted 28/5/2007). Clearly Karlovy Vary seems to invest intentionally in cultural tourism for future success.

Cultural Tourism in the Spa Towns

The composition of the accommodation supply in the four spa towns (and their surroundings) is presented in Table 13.2.

Table 13.2. Accommodation supply in the study regions

Hotel Star rating	Bacino Termale (2005) (Terme Euganee)			Spa (Pays des Sources) (2007)			Karlovy Vary (2004)		
	Units	Rooms	Beds	Units	Rooms	Beds	Units	Rooms	Beds
5	10	1362	2047	0	0	0	47	2530	4908
4	39	4752	7387	5	337	752			
3	59	5113	7874	24	222	600	237	5420	11376
2	14	590	887	8	82	168			
1	8	173	255	0	0	0			
Total	130	11990	18450	37	712	1520	274	7950	16284

Source: authors, based on statistics obtained locally

An analysis of the data reveals important differences among the three regions in many respects. In the first place, although Bacino Termale and Karlovy Vary offer a comparable number of beds, the average number of rooms and beds per hotel is considerably higher in the former (142 and 68 beds, respectively). This indicates the predominance of much larger establishments in the Italian region than in the Czech region — somewhat more similar to the Spa region (37 beds) and offering a more limited range of accommodation products. In the second place, the relation of high-priced establishments (four and five stars) to the rest of the hotels (three stars and less) also varies considerably. The dominance of three and lower star hotels in the Karlovy Vary region is a characteristic normally associated with a low budget destination. In contrast to this, the proportion of three and four star establishments in Spa seems more balanced. For the Bacino Termale region, an almost evenly distributed quality supply might reflect a destination with no particular market segmentation.

Tourism demand in the three regions studied is depicted in Table 13.3. The first important observation is that nearly half of all overnight stays in the spa-”regions” is generated in the local market. In the Karlovy Vary region, however, the presence of foreign overnights is more significant than in the other spa towns included in the study. The average length of stay in the spa towns is relatively short: it varies between 2.9 nights in the Spa Region to 6.4 in the Karlovy Vary region. This is in strong contrast with the longer medical “recovery cures”, which mostly took several weeks in former centuries and at least three weeks until the 1980s.

Common Problems, Different Strategies

Beyond doubt, key objectives in the revitalization strategies of Abano Terme, Spa, Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lázně are the development of policies that allow for repositioning in the tourism market, through a combination of cultural and thermal tourism. The uniqueness of thermal springs is being rediscovered and their attraction is being exploited once again.

Table 13.3. Tourism demand in the study regions, 2005

Tourism demand		Karlovarsky Kraj *	Pays des Sources #	Terme Euganee †
Hotel guests	Total	589,838	219,632	560,590
	Foreigners	405,969	89,838	251,949
Overnight Stays	Total	3,792,155	633,849	3,194,107
	Foreigners	2,619,054	313,705	1,607,797
	Foreigners as % of total	0.69	0.49	0.50
Average length of stay (nights)	Total	6.4	2.9	5.7
	Foreigners	6.5	3.5	5.7
Population in 2005		304,274	39,124	32,763
Tourist Intensity index	Guests/Pop.	1.9	5.6	17.1
	Nights/Pop.	12.5	16.2	97.5

Note:

* = Karlovarsky Kraj: the NUTSIII region where Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lázně are situated.

= Pays des Sources: communities of Spa, Stavelot, Theux, Trois-ponts, Jalhay.

† = Terme Euganee: Abano Terme, Montegrotto Terme and Battaglia.

Sources: EUROSTAT (<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>, last consulted: 02.12.2007) for data on Pays des Sources and Karlovarsky Kraj; Osservatorio del Turismo di Padova (<http://www.turismopadova.it>, last consulted: 02.12.2007) for data on Terme Euganee.

Although the current situation of the four spa towns reveals common problems, related to the stage of development in the tourist area lifecycle and to external market trends, the ways to cope with rejuvenation plans are different (Butler, 2004). The main difference among the thermal resorts lies in the variable emphasis placed by each town on the valorization of local cultural heritage and, above all, in the creativity of marketing.

During the last decade, major investments were made in the physical restoration and refurbishment of the material heritage. However, far less attention has been paid to the valorization of intangible heritage, in spite of the fact that this provides opportunities for innovation and incentives to bring new life into the town. The immaterial heritage of the spa towns refers to many aspects of a traditional health resort: the histories of the “old time grandeur” and lifestyle (e.g. promenades, classical concerts in the parks, etc.); or the narratives of “famous personages” with their contributions to the arts (literature, music, painting, etc.). Traditional thermal resorts can profit not only from their “local history and stories”, but also from the medical know-how about health cures. In competition with newly

created health resorts, the presence of heritage assets enables them to brand the profile of a unique destination. In fact, the reference to intangible heritage elements allows them to emphasize the specific knowledge and expertise in health treatments and thermal therapies in current image branding.

The software is about packaging combinations of resources, images and narratives in order to create memorable experiences. Nowadays, storytelling or creating “living history” is fashionable, but requires much creativity. This also applies to the organization of festivals and events. The four towns have considerable potential as thermal resorts and the different options are examined in the section that follows.

OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

Strong Points of the Traditional Spas

The variation in capacity to develop the tourism potential of spa towns can be explained, to some extent, by the results of a SWOT analysis (Middleton, 2002; Vos, 2007). Inspired by the model for analysing territorial expressions of cultural resources (ESPON 2006: 55 and 186) and previous studies on urban tourism, the concepts of hardware, software, orgware and shareware were applied in the assessment of strong and weak points (Table 13.4) and, likewise, of opportunities and threats (Table 13.5) (ESPON, 2006: 186).

Table 13.4 reveals the main strengths of traditional spa resorts, which can be identified as their typical morphological characteristics and the endowment of their natural and cultural heritage: the thermal springs in an iconic urbanized landscape. The attractiveness of Mariánské Lázně and Karlovy Vary has been reinforced since the 1990s by the reconstruction and renovation of important landmarks and the infrastructure in general. Considerable investments were made to upgrade access to and the quality of the thermal facilities, including accommodation and leisure facilities. All four spa towns now offer a reasonably wide range of accommodation. Spa boasts a new thermal complex, equipped with modern technologies, but certainly investment in the hardware of the resorts seems to be a priority in all cases. More clearly marked differences can be observed in the marketing of the intangible heritage. The narratives of these spa towns can boast an international reputation, thanks to the visits of famous historical figures and the confluence of a political and intellectual elite. Famous events include the visits of Peter the Great in Spa, Goethe in Karlovy Vary, Chopin in Mariánské Lázně, and Shakespeare, Mozart and Goethe in Abano Terme. Spa was the “Café de l’Europe”, thanks to its central location in “Old Europe”, whereas Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lázně are now situated in the heart of “New Europe”. Furthermore, Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lázně served as a setting for international movies and Spa has enjoyed considerable media attention as a result of its Grand Prix Formula 1 races.

In terms of organization (orgware) Abano Terme is collaborating with the spas of Montegrotto Terme and Battaglia Terme in a strategic marketing cooperation, known as the “Consorzio Terme Euganee Abano-Montegrotto”, in which Abano Terme is by far the best known member. The brand name for the marketing activities is “Terme Euganee Abano Montegrotto” (www.abanomontegrotto.it, last consulted 22/6/2007).

Table 13.4. Main indicators of tourism potential and their ranking in the four spa towns studied

Indicator	Karlovy Vary	Mariánské Lázně	Spa	Abano Terme
HARDWARE				
Central location in the “new Europe”	++	++	+-	+/-
Presence of natural thermal and/or mineral springs	++	++	++	++
Presence of cultural heritage in the town and in the surrounding area	++	++	++	++
Sports facilities (golf courses)	+	+	++	+
Increase of the attractiveness through renovation	++	++	+/-	-
Good access facilities by:				
Air	+	+	+/-	+
Rail	+	+	-	+/-
Car	+/-	+	+/-	+
SOFTWARE				
International fame through history but also thanks to major events	+	+/-	+	-
International Film Festival	++	-	-	-
Formula 1 Races	-	-	++	-
Music Festivals	+	++	+	+/-
Attractive packages thanks to lower prices than in other (Western) European spa resorts	++	++	-	-
Combination packages “spa and culture”	+	++	-	+
Presence of Human resources capital as “medical know how”	+	+	++	+
ORGWARE				
Public private cooperation	+	+	++	+
SHAREWARE				
Extended biking and hiking trail system	+	+	+	++
Regional and cross border cooperation	++	+	+	-

Key:

++ very good, + good, +/- average, - bad, -- poor.

Source: authors.

Nevertheless, as is typical for Italian spas, and in contrast to German or Austrian spas, each hotel maintains its own treatment department. In Spa, a public-private partnership, Aqualis, has assumed responsible for developing new tourism products and organizing promotional activities for the town and its surrounding region. Eurothermes, a company that runs a European network of thermal complexes in France, Switzerland and Belgium, now manages the new thermal complex. In Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lázně efforts are also being made to stimulate public-private-partnerships at a regional level.

The geographical location of Spa, Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lázně in border regions creates opportunities for cross-border cooperation. Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lázně in particular have created an extensive walking and cycling network in the region. European funding also stimulates cooperation among spa resorts in the Euregio Egrensis and with the German “Kurorte”. In this context Mariánské Lázně cooperates with a thermal resort in Neu Albenreuth in Germany. Another example of collaboration is the “Spas in the heart of Europe” project that promotes 12 spa towns in the Euregio Egrensis. Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lázně are also members of ESPA, the European Spas Association, connecting them with other European spas in a network that aims at sharing information. For promotional purposes, Spa is cooperating with Valkenburg (Netherlands) and Aachen (Germany), situated in the Euregio-Rhine-Meuse network. Abano Terme also forms part of an extensive promotional network, including several public and private partners. Furthermore, Abano Terme is well connected with southern Germany by Pullman services, giving older people the opportunity to travel easily to Abano.

Finally, European networks geared towards quality management, competitiveness and sustainable product development have been developed, such as the European Spa Association (ESPA, www.espa-ehv.com, last consulted 13/6/2007), the Royal Spas of Europe and BISA (British International Spa Association), all set up by professionals in order to establish quality standards for spa resorts.

Structural or Temporary Weaknesses of the Spa Towns

From the perspective of revitalization, a number of weak points can be identified. The urban planning context and policy of Karlovy Vary is typical of post-communist urban redevelopment. Renovation of the city centre has a high priority, thus creating an even bigger contrast with the far less attractive suburbs. In the stage of redesigning the city, the problems of urban transport and car parking were seriously underestimated. Abano Terme also suffers from numerous architectural “eyesores”, inherited from the postwar period. The weak points in Spa consist mainly of rather difficult access to the thermal facilities and poor road signposting. Moreover, the city centre lacks attractiveness, due to the presence of many old buildings badly in need of restoration and the through traffic in the centre.

Some weak points of tourism places are much easier to amend, such as a lack of knowledge of foreign languages, which is a feature in the Czech destinations in particular. In Mariánské Lázně there is also a demand for more evening entertainment. The town of Spa suffers from a lack of creativity in terms of local initiatives that take advantage of the “cultural resources”. The policies of the Spa authorities tend to focus on competition with the surrounding regions, and to underestimate the potentials of cooperation for joint product innovation and promotion.

The management and organizational structure of Karlovy Vary is rather complex: the management of the springs is divided over four different partners from the local to the national level. On the one hand, the strategic management of the spa resort is organized at regional level. On the other, one particular spring is owned by Russian investors and the influence of a growing Russian clientele is affecting the real estate market. Abano has the advantage of each hotel having its own spa department, but this also creates a negative effect, in so much as it implies a constraint for large-scale investments. As a result, many hotel owner and manager has difficulties in finding financial resources to introduce new treatment facilities, even though innovation and diversification of health products and services is undoubtedly very much the critical success factor to attract the market of younger guests.

Competitive Advantages of Traditional Spa Towns

Future trends will also be influenced by the degree to which the spa towns take advantage of favourable circumstances and avoid the threats that menace their success (Table 13.5).

One common opportunity for all spa resorts is the ageing of the population in Western Europe. This demographic factor generates a growing demand for wellness, cultural and golf tourism. The last is especially important for Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lázně, as they have invested in the renovation of their golf courses. Mariánské Lázně has the oldest golf course in the Czech Republic and the second oldest in Europe. Spa also hosts one of the oldest golf courses in Europe.

Table 13.5. Opportunities and threats facing the four spa towns studied

Main market opportunities	Main threats
Ageing population interested in the wellness product and in cultural heritage, with a kind of nostalgia for the “heydays” of the spa town Increasing self responsibility for personal health through new offers in the medical wellness segment Worldwide growing interest in the wellness product and cultural heritage Growing interest in golf tourism packages Market opportunities for product combinations: e.g. cure and culture or cure and congress	Traditional thermal cures lose their medical-scientific importance and shift towards the wellness approach Competition with more exotic spa destinations and modern integrated health resorts Tourists moving to more natural and rural destinations Booming of spa and wellness opportunities in the daily environment Difficulties in combining markets: e.g. elderly / parents with young children

Source: authors.

Karlovy Vary, Mariánské Lázně and Spa are all situated near the German border and can attract the traditionally important German market for wellness and health tourism. In fact also Abano Terme benefits from the nearby German market. This situation is an incentive to maintain a good price/performance ratio and especially well organized services for German guests, such as bus shuttles from their hometowns.

Moreover Abano has additional competitive advantages as a result of its Italian flair and lifestyle, which pleases the Germans yearning for this Mediterranean country, famous at least since the descriptions of Goethe.

The combination of thermalism and medical tourism would appear to hold some opportunities for Spa, as the town is situated in a region that boasts four university teaching hospitals and is recognized as a “health region”. The development of extensive recreational and leisure facilities in the region can be considered an additional strategy.

Problems and Challenges

Nevertheless, a number of potentially negative factors need to be considered as well. Traditional thermal healing is losing its medical meaning and there is a clear shift to a wide range of wellness treatments. In this market segment, the traditional resorts have to compete with many newcomers in the market, often destinations offering modern and high quality wellness facilities at lower prices.

Within the context of the European enlargement, economically weaker regions will surely attempt to valorize their cultural resources for the development of tourism in the short term. In fact, in several eastern European regions, thermal and mineral springs have been used as places for leisure and recreation for a long time (Gosar, 2007). Moreover, the redevelopment of some of the older spa centers has widely attracted foreign investors. As has already been pointed out, in Karlovy Vary, Russian investors own many hotels, guest houses and residences in the central tourist area. This trend is marking the character of the spa town. In previous times, Karlovy Vary was an internationally oriented cosmopolitan spa town: now it is strongly influenced by Russian culture.

In fact, growing competition from modern infrastructures and integrated health resorts remains a key issue for the future planning of historic spa towns. Even without local resources such as mineral springs, some newly designed resorts manage to enter this market successfully (Murphy, 2008). The growing interest of leisure tourists for rural areas and natural environments might even induce a further loss for the urban destinations. The dependence on the health market for the revitalization of traditional destinations is both an opportunity by taking advantage of the heritage setting and a handicap due to the high investments needed for reconstruction, efficient renovation and creative re-imaging.

CONCLUSION

The four spa towns included in this case study are facing a challenge of renovation that hardly differs from so many other towns. The quest for an economic revival, maintaining respect for the specific qualities of the built environment and public space, and in harmony with the sustainability of the enterprises and the quality of life of the inhabitants, is not unique.

What makes the difference is the presence of a cultural capital in these traditional spas, which needs to be revitalized in an efficient (market-wise) and sustainable way. The main driving force in this process of rejuvenation in the four spa towns is their rich heritage, both in the built environment and in the virtual history. Definitely, the presence of cultural resources

for tourism development is a true asset in the competitive arena of health and wellness tourism. The attraction of the traditional spas lies in their history and the potential to create and renovate cultural activities. This cultural dynamism can lead to a wide range of cultural facilities for music, theatre and cinema and possibly also festivals and events. So far one key issue remains unsolved: which authority or government, public or private partner should take the lead in long-term revitalization projects? Views can certainly differ over governmental responsibility in initiating the rejuvenation programs of thermal towns.

Undoubtedly, the refurbishment of important landmarks, the restoration of monuments and infrastructure, and the creation of shopping precincts, can have an important leverage impact for the revival of the thermal resort. Examples of successful revitalization are the re-use of monuments for modern cultural activities (e.g. a convention centre in an old opera house, a tourist information centre in a museum). The latter is the case in Mariánské Lázně, where the tourist office is located in the Goethe Museum. Since 1990, major reconstruction plans have been implemented in Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lázně in order to enhance the attraction of the city centre. For example, of the 63 hotels now existing in Mariánské Lázně, 17 were built after this date. In Karlovy Vary the renovation of the old theatre took place in 1995, and the refurbishment of the cable lift between the Sanatorium Imperial and the city centre was finished in 2003.

But beyond investments in the renovation of the hardware, it is also crucial to support the process of rejuvenation of the health resorts through the innovation of images and narratives. All thermal resorts have their own unique story. Therefore the interpretation of cultural heritage resources is indeed an important tool in the creation of grass-roots tourism products. A common trap in this process is imitation and standardization: successful formulae in other destinations are copied, but they lose their power of attraction quickly when their uniqueness disappears (Rulle, 2004). It is nonetheless true that a certain level of standardization is necessary in order to guarantee the high quality of services. Creativity and innovation are the critical success factors: how to revive the cultural identity of the place, and how to promote the “genius loci” in the process of facilitating unique experiences.

Combining different tourist attractions in innovative packages is one of the options. In Karlovy Vary, for example, each year the spa season is opened with a special event (www.karlovyvary.cz, last consulted: 28/05/2007). As golf is gaining in popularity, Mariánské Lázně is taking advantage of its golfing tradition by re-creating a golf tourism “product” combined with thermalism (www.marianske-lazne.info, last consulted: 28/05/2007). In a similar way, Spa has established a link between its international reputation for Formula 1 racing and its history, through the organization of races for old timers (www.spa-info.be, last consulted: 28/05/2007).

Rejuvenation planning can benefit from sharing knowledge and expertise with different partners, especially with other thermal destinations. Vertical and horizontal networks form part of strategic policies for the revitalization of tourism destinations (Rulle, 2004). New alliances between partners in the tourism, culture, health and medical businesses certainly open new perspectives. Equally important is the emerging cross-border cooperation between spa resorts, proving to be effective in the process of product development and promotion and, above all, in the competition with newcomers in the global market. In the short term, and under conditions of modest resources, a creative action for “re-imaging” historic spa resorts is of considerable strategic importance and definitely feasible. Policies for the rejuvenation of

traditional spa resorts can be summarised with the following keywords: “re-novation”, “re-imagining”, “re-creation”, “re-organization” and relations.

Chapter 14

TOURISM REVITALIZATION IN EASTERN EUROPEAN UNION COUNTRIES

Peter Jordan

ABSTRACT

This chapter informs about tourism revitalization in the eastern European Union countries (EEU), defined as the former Communist countries of central and southeast Europe that became members of the European Union in 2004 and 2007, symbolic dates in a continuous process that had begun much earlier. Although the EEU are far from being a homogeneous group, they dispose of several common assets, including low visiting levels, the presence of many symbolic places relevant to European history and culture, and built cultural heritage of cities not destroyed by war. The EEU also offer outstanding natural attractions, a tradition of spas, while ethnic and folk culture play again an important role for national identities. EU structural and cohesion funding together with integration into the common agricultural policy will stimulate development, currently hampered by poor rural transportation and health care infrastructure and service facilities. A profound revitalization of EEU tourism started only in the late 1990s, and three segments can be identified as priorities: cultural (including city) tourism; spa and wellness tourism; and rural and agro-tourism. In all three cases, culture is recognized as an important component, but two recurring questions arise in the different countries: which cultures should be offered within the range of tourist products and to what extent are these cultures — or cultural elements — compatible with national identity, on the one hand, and with local reality, on the other.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with tourism revitalization in the eastern European Union (EU), understood in this case as the former communist countries of central and southeastern Europe, which became EU members in the years 2004 and 2007. These include the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Slovenia,

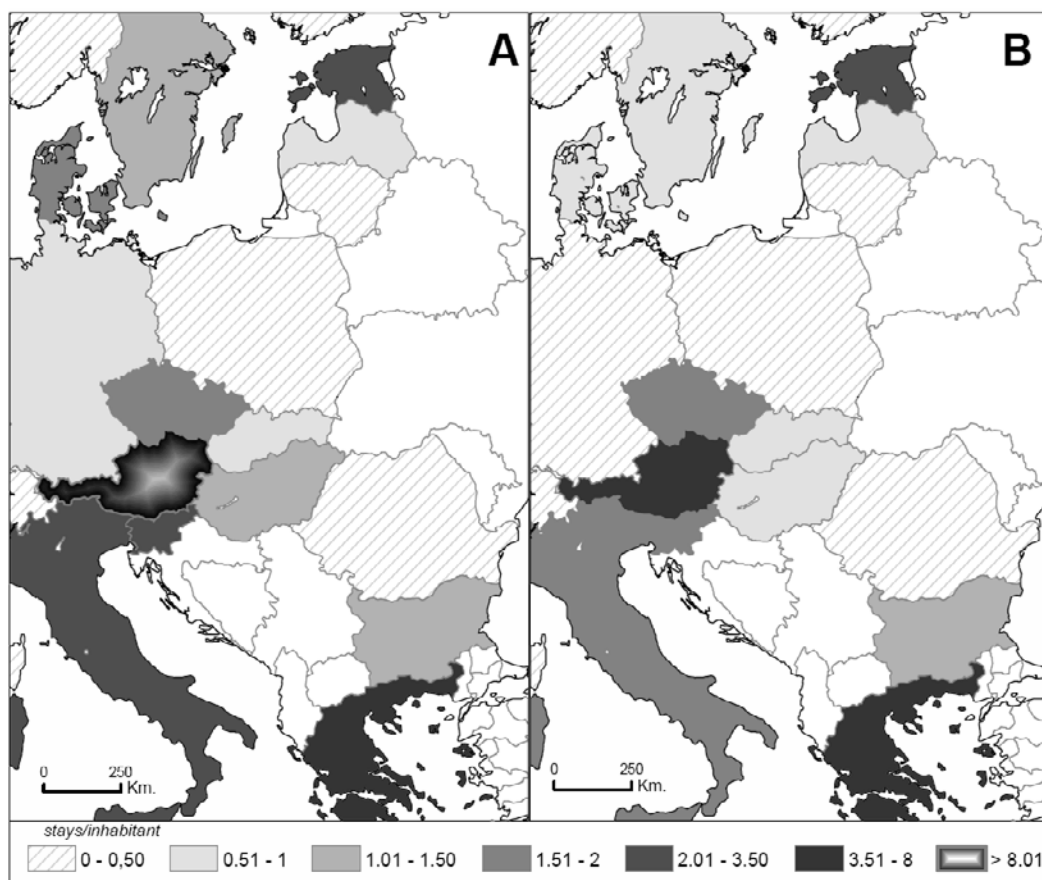
which joined the EU on 1st May 2004, and Romania and Bulgaria, which were incorporated on 1st January 2007. No reference is made to Malta and Cyprus, countries that also entered the EU in 2004, but rather belong to the “southern façade” of the EU, did not have communist regimes and therefore did not undergo the same kind of transformation as the other countries mentioned.

Special attention is paid to culture and cultural heritage as an ingredient of tourism revitalization in these countries, since these elements have played an important role in tourism development so far and still continue to play it in development strategies. After a brief comparative analysis of volume, intensity and markets of tourism during the transformation period in the countries under investigation, the chapter discusses: the assets of these countries in the international tourism market; the economic and societal frameworks that are relevant for tourism development; and the main segments of tourism development, strategy and promotion. The features of tourism revitalization are discussed in the form of a common survey over all these countries, while country-specific aspects are highlighted only occasionally.

VOLUME AND INTENSITY OF TOURISM AND TOURISM MARKETS

Data on tourism are comparable only with many reservations, even if they are collected by a single institution, in this case Eurostat, and according to standardized schemes (Eurostat, 2007). It is therefore sufficient to show them on a general map that displays the intensity of foreign tourism (measured by the number of foreign overnights per inhabitant) for the year 2005, the most recent year for which data for all these countries are available (Figure 14.1). For comparison, the data for adjacent, longer-standing EU members are presented, some of which are important, traditional tourist destinations like Austria, Italy and Greece. In all the eastern EU countries (hereafter referred to as EEU), foreign tourism intensity was still at a lower level in 2005 than it was before the political change (Jordan, 1990). This is mainly because of the collapse of socialist tourism immediately after the political watershed, a form of tourism that had been conducted on the basis of highly organized holiday recreation centers run by companies and trade unions and which played a dominant role in tourism in all communist countries except Yugoslavia. Comparison among the 10 EEU reveals that Estonia, the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Bulgaria have the highest relative intensities. This means that foreign tourism in these countries has a more significant economic impact and greater social relevance. But they still lag far behind Greece and even more so behind Austria, where tourism intensity is more than three times higher. However, if Croatia was included in the representation, it would not rank far behind Austria being by far the most important tourist destination in former communist Europe, in spite of its 1991-1995 war and a long phase of recovery afterwards.

In addition to foreign tourism intensity, foreign overnights in absolute figures (for the 10 EEU only) are depicted in Figure 14.2. The circles (in black and grey) indicate the data for 1995 and 2005 respectively and thus convey an impression of the development of inbound commercial tourism during the transformation.



Note: For Romania, EUROSTAT presents no overnight data for 2005, only for 2001. To fill this gap, data on foreign tourist arrivals for 2005 have been extracted from the Romanian Statistical Yearbook 2006 (Comisia națională pentru statistică, 2006) and, by assuming the same proportion between arrivals and overnights as in 2001, overnights for 2005 have been extrapolated.

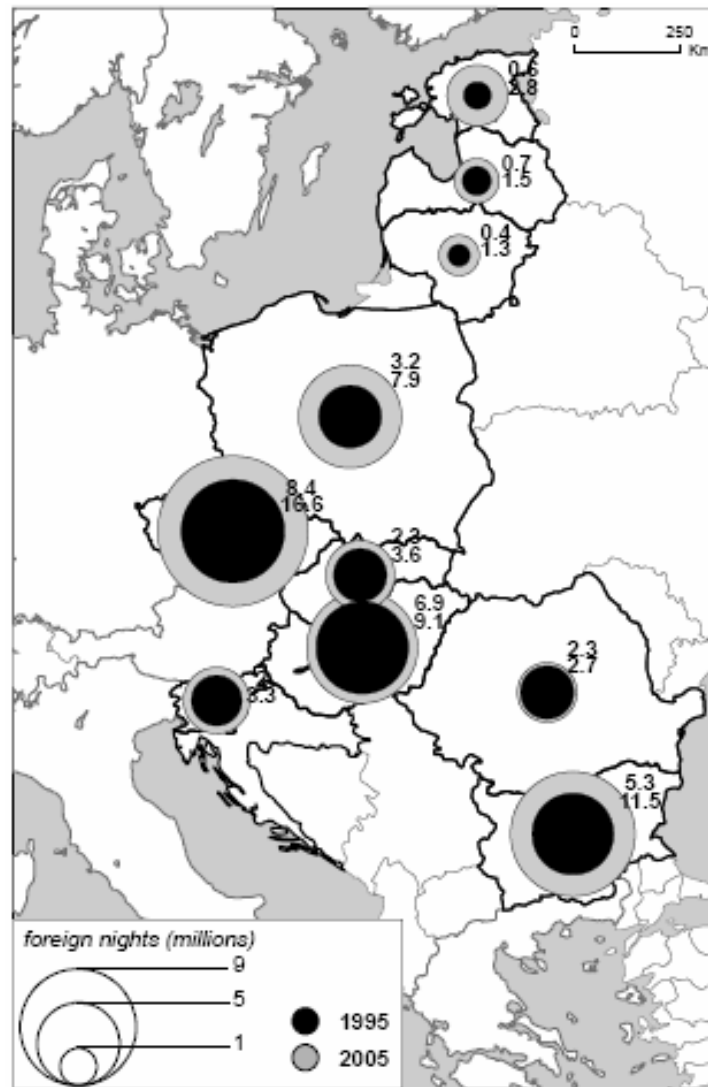
Source: EUROSTAT (<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal>, last consulted 10 March 2008). Maps drawn by Jordi Duch-Cortinas.

Figure 14.1. Intensity of foreign tourism as stays/inhabitants in all accommodation types (A) and hotel accommodation (B).

Taking the year 1995 as a starting point shows the real growth of inbound commercial tourism better than using a date earlier in the 1990s, since, in general, this was still a period of decline in foreign overnights due to the phasing-out of socialist welfare tourism. Comparison among the figures presented leads to the conclusion that the Baltic States (especially Estonia), Poland, the Czech Republic and Bulgaria (the latter two at a particularly high quantitative level) were the most successful in expanding commercial tourism. The relatively small increases registered in Hungary and Slovenia must be attributed to the fact that in both countries commercial tourism had already developed strongly long before the fall of Communism in Slovenia (as a part of the former Yugoslavia) since the late 1950s and in Hungary since the late 1970s. The rather limited increase in Slovakia may be attributed to a late onset of reforms and a weak tourism image. Stagnation in Romania at a very low level

can be accounted for by very much the same reasons, in an even more accentuated form (see also Hall *et al.*, 2006).

Germany is by far the most important market for the EEU. Far behind Germany, Italy, Austria, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Russia, the United States, France and Finland also play major roles at least in some of the EEU. Besides, mutual tourism among the EEU has also some importance. Except for Bulgaria, all EEU are mainly approached by road. But air transportation is gaining ground. Domestic tourism is dominant in Romania and Poland and almost equal to foreign tourism in Slovakia. Likewise, it is of major importance in Hungary, the Czech Republic, Latvia, Lithuania and Slovenia, while it plays only a marginal role in Bulgaria and Estonia.



Source: EUROSTAT (<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal>, last consulted 10 March 2008). Map drawn by Jordi Duch-Cortinas.

Figure 14.2. Variation in overnight stays of foreign tourists, 1995-2005.

ASSETS FOR TOURISM

Although the EEU are far from being a homogeneous group, they dispose of several common assets not as frequently encountered in the traditional tourism destinations of western and southern Europe. In the first place, much of the region is still relatively under-visited. This is due to the long political separation from the western part of Europe and the world in general, resulting in a limited presence in education and public awareness and also in mental reservations up to the present day. On the other hand, up until this separation the EEU formed an integrated part of European history and culture, and therefore have many symbolic places relevant in this overall context, and they are the source of many emigrants and refugees due to several historical events and situations. These include the Holocaust, expulsions after World War II, dissidents from Communism, economic migration after the fall of Communism and, not least, they have also been a theatre of World War II, in which many west Europeans, now old and retired, but often enthusiastic travelers, took part and are now keen to visit places where they had experienced so much. All these elements create a potential for tourism.

The built cultural heritage of cities and towns is very often comparable in density and quality to the highlights of western and southern Europe with the additional advantage that less has been destroyed by war than, for example, in Germany and Austria, as well as by the economic boom of the 1960s and 1970s in the West, which very often resulted in careless reconstruction and even destruction of historical buildings and ensembles. This provides for a strong potential for cultural and city tourism.

After a phase of neglect in the Communist era, ethnic and folk culture (much more than the built village environment and the rural landscape as a whole) play again an important role for national identities and are therefore supported by public authorities and the media, but also enjoy wide appreciation among the population. This certainly supports rural tourism, when it looks for specifics. In addition, all the EEU have a tradition of spa culture, which partly dates back to Roman and Ottoman times (in Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria), but certainly culminated in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In this period, it was customary to frequent spas using one medical excuse or another and enjoy the entertainment and social life offered alongside health-related regimes. As a result, many of the existing spas date back to this era. They still possess some of the old, charming architectural features and atmosphere that satisfied the social needs of the clientele of that time. Under Communism, many of them were operated as sanatoria and the buildings underwent structural changes. It was difficult to revert to former conditions where these changes required major rehabilitation work. But, where it was possible to re-establish health resort operations on a basis not unlike former conditions, as in Karlovy Vary or Mariánské Lázně (Czech Republic), they became up-market destinations along with newly established facilities based on mineral and thermal waters in line with modern requirements for wellness and beauty care (as has been analyzed in detail in Chapter 13).

The EEU offer outstanding natural attractions like the Danube Delta (*Delta Dunării*), the Iron Gate (*Porțile de Fier*), the Carpathians and other mountain areas, the caves of the Slovenian Karst, as well as many unspoiled and scarcely populated landscapes, such as the Masurian lake district or large parts of the Baltic States. This gives them an advantage in nature and adventure tourism, certainly not compared to northern Europe nor so much to eastern and southeastern Europe, but surely to the most important tourism-generating markets

of Western Europe. The existence of extensive natural areas is partly due to the fact that most of the EEU belonged (and still belong) rather more to the economic periphery of Europe than to its core regions. It is also due to the fact that it was easy for authoritarian communist regimes to designate national parks and other forms of nature protection. On the other hand, the negative environmental image originating in the communist period is gradually fading away.

The EEU form a cluster of relatively small nations speaking minority languages. Consequently, for international communication and personal advancement it is necessary to speak at least one second language reasonably well. This has resulted in the achievement of good language skills favorable for international tourism. Knowledge of the languages of the most important tourism-generating markets — especially English, German and French — is widespread in the EEU, and to some extent also of the languages of neighboring countries (e.g. Italy, Finland and Sweden).

GENERAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS RELEVANT FOR TOURISM

In the course of economic transformation, privatization (including facilities relevant for tourism) was a gradual process. It very often started with a management and employee buy-out of enterprises and facilities and only later proceeded to “real” privatization by attracting strategic investors including foreigners who brought in new capital and know-how. In many EEU, the stage of “real” privatization started only in the late 1990s¹, for it was blocked by post-communist, populist and protectionist regimes before that time. This situation at least partly caused a delay in market orientation, the spread of customer-oriented mentalities, the growth of competition and quality improvement and helped to preserve “old” networks and clusters as well as socialist state mentalities. It has to be mentioned that the prospect of becoming an EU member and the accession requirements imposed by the EU worked as major incentives to achieve far-reaching privatization.

Economic transformation produced winners and losers in a spatial and regional sense. Winners are certainly the metropolises, major regional centers and some other larger cities. Due to their diversified economic structure, abundant human capital and good accessibility, they received the most investment from the very beginning and present themselves today very much in the same shape as their counterparts in the West: “westernized”, globalized, with high wages and low unemployment levels and prices for real estate frequently higher than in the former west. A second regional category of transformation winners are belts along the borders with countries in a better economic situation (usually western border zones). They profit from being a preferred destination for foreign investment, from cross-border commuting and shopping, as well as from nearby well-paying markets for their cheaper products. The Hungarian and Slovakian belts along the Austrian border and the Slovenian belt along the Italian border are typical examples. But similar phenomena can be observed at many other western borders, e.g. at the Romanian border to Hungary.

¹ With the exception of Slovenia and Hungary where it had already begun long before, while in Romania it did not begin until after 2000 (Light, 2006: 259).

The main loser in the transformation process is rural space, not only in the sense of agricultural mono-structures, but also of mixed structures with country towns. It comprises large areas that were already neglected in the Communist period, when traditional villages received next to no investment in infrastructure and maintenance and were conceived to be abandoned in favor of newly established agro-industrial centers and complexes. Transformation further accentuated this process in three ways. In the first place, it did so by depriving rural space of state and associative agro-industrial enterprises, which had exerted not only economic, but also social, educational, cultural and health-care functions for their rural environment. In the second place, accentuation came by the frequent splitting up of properties into very small farms not able to produce for the market but only for subsistence. Finally transformation caused selective migration (brain drain, the younger and more active cohorts) towards the cities leaving behind the aged and socially conservative (innovation-skeptic) population components. Thus, due in part to its unfavorable demographic structure and in part to its shortcomings in infrastructure, the rural space in general offers with some exceptions little potential for innovative tourism projects.

Communist transportation policy was characterized by an emphasis on rail and a neglect of road transportation. With the major exceptions of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, this resulted in a rather modest quality of the road network, especially in the countryside. The shift in modal split from rail to road during transformation prompted the EEU to develop their road network rapidly. But these efforts had to focus at first on the higher ranks of the networks (most obviously in Hungary and Slovenia), while the lower ranks are very often still in a state not meeting the expectations of Western tourists. This means a barrier to automotive tourism in general, to a wider spatial dispersion of tourism, but more specifically to rural and nature tourism.

For the EEU in general, EU accession in 2004 and 2007, respectively, marked more a symbolic date in a continuous process than a turning point in economic and political terms. This integration had already started much earlier and, in fact, has not yet been completed; only Slovenia is part of the Euro zone (so far, the Schengen treaty has not been extended to the EEU); and full freedom of labor migration is not yet established. However, it did involve full integration into the legal system and in this way increased investment and personal security, including, of course, investors in tourism and security for travelers. It also simplified border regimes within the enlarged EU, but made them more rigid along the external borders. A consequence of major importance for tourism is the liberalization of air transport operations. The skies over the EEU were opened to budget airlines and this initiated an intensification of air transport as well as its spatial expansion to secondary and tertiary airports and destinations. Occasionally former military airfields were converted into commercial airports. EU accession also meant full participation in EU structural and cohesion funding, which has been transformed into a new system for the financial period 2007-2013, in order to favor the EEU in particular. It does not explicitly subsidize tourism, but supports it indirectly by several measures and programs referring, for instance, to small and medium-sized enterprises, the development of peripheral and rural regions, environmental measures, the development of the transportation system, cross-border cooperation, border station management, conservation of cultural and natural monuments, the development of disadvantaged urban structures, etc.

Another aspect of EU accession was full integration into the common agricultural policy (CAP) which has at its disposal a large amount of money, similar to the structural and

cohesion funds. They are directed not only towards agriculture, but also towards rural development as a whole, obviously benefiting tourism development in rural areas. Due to the reluctance of the old EU members to give up what they had received so far, the EEU will, however, only gradually and in the long run benefit from the CAP to the same extent as the old member states.

Wage levels still differ considerably between old and new member states, and this divergence is likely to persist for some time. This also applies to employment in the tourism industry, even to a more significant extent than in other branches of the economy, due to steeper wage gradients in the new member states. This prompts employees in tourism — especially those who are higher skilled — to migrate legally and illegally to places with better economic prospects. As a result, strong efforts to improve education and training of tourism personnel, common to practically all EEU, results unintentionally in a drain of many graduates. Those who stay are very often a negative selection. In fact, the main beneficiaries of this development so far have been Ireland and the United Kingdom, as well as all the western neighbors of the EEU.

MAIN FEATURES OF CURRENT TOURISM DEVELOPMENT, TOURISM POLICIES AND PRIORITIES

Notwithstanding the remarkable recovery of bathing and seaside tourism on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast and the shorter Slovenian Adriatic coast, the most dynamic developments all over the EEU can be observed in the three segments of cultural (including city) tourism, health and wellness tourism and rural tourism. These are also the segments on which tourism policy and promotion usually places the strongest emphasis.

Cultural Tourism

Cultural tourism displayed a certain dynamic from the very beginning of the transformation period, but was at first limited to a small number of extraordinary attractions like Prague (Praha), Budapest and Cracow (Kraków), while other only slightly less important places in terms of heritage richness were neglected. This was for reasons of accessibility, insufficiently developed tourism infrastructure and a lack of promotion. By improving accessibility, especially the considerably stronger engagement of low cost airlines after 2004, as well as by intensified promotion (e.g. by the nomination of Sibiu as “cultural capital of Europe 2007”), additional destinations appeared on the market and received a growing share in city tourism (e.g. Tallinn, Riga, Vilnius, Bratislava, Ljubljana, Sibiu) (ETC / WTO, 2005; Hall *et al.*, 2006; national statistical agencies). Increasingly, festivals and other cultural events are offered, including popular and folk culture, exhibitions and opportunities to explore one’s own creative powers (e.g. pottery, painting), all of which attract foreign tourists and enable diffusion to smaller and rural sites. Typical local dining has also become a product that can be subsumed under cultural tourism. Also very important is the increasingly active and still far from exhausted potential for ethnic or nostalgic tourists, due to the considerable number of

emigrants and refugees from this region, many of whom like to visit their places of origin or show them to their children.

Cultural and city tourism is intensively promoted by the EEU, but frequently they encounter difficulties in deciding which cultural layers should be offered and promoted. All of the EEU have a rich and vivid history: periods of sovereignty were followed by periods of control, or even occupation and suppression by external powers, and every period left a layer of cultural heritage. The identity and historiography of the currently existing nation states is at odds with some periods of history and emphasizes others. This results in a rather selective presentation of the cultural heritage, implying the choice and promotion of landmarks and cultural icons, and in difficulties to define a tourism brand. As a rule, selectivity increases from ancient to modern times: while older cultural strata like Greek, Thracian, Dacian and Roman are usually beyond dispute and proudly presented, Ottoman, Hapsburg, Russian, German and other more recent layers are partly unacceptable as constitutive elements of the nation's history and hence hidden away from the tourist. This differs, of course, from country to country. In Poland historical ensembles of German origin, such as the old city of Danzig (*Gdańsk*) or the main square of Breslavia (*Wrocław*), have been renovated or rebuilt according to the historical models, and Poles in Silesia (*Śląsk*) or the region of former East Prussia have in general no problems to accept the German history of these territories as part of their own identity and present them in museums and in other cultural manifestations. In contrast, in the Slovenian region of Kočevje, populated by Germans from the High Middle Ages up to World War II not even the ethnographical museum in Ribnica conveys any mention of their former presence. In Romanian Transylvania (*Ardeal*), in turn, the cultural landscape shaped by the German Saxons is much better preserved and more obviously presented to tourists than what has been left by the Hungarians.

In many countries it seems to be a problem to admit that, apart from the national culture, regional or minority cultures could also be presented to tourists. All the current EEU conceive of themselves as nation-states, at least implicitly. Most of them achieved sovereignty rather late, having emerged from multinational empires or escaped from foreign domination, and for a long time had to accept local elites of different ethnic origin. They therefore find it necessary to stress national homogeneity, although regional cultures and identities are quite strong and reasonably large cultural minorities exist. Using the opportunity of presenting regional and minority identities, even by developing regional brands, would essentially diversify the tourism product and would also help to eliminate the somewhat negative image of national brands, which is frequently a much disputed matter of construction in, for example, Romania (Light, 2006) or Slovenia (Konečnik, 2006). With regard to minority cultures, it seems that size matters: the minority cultures that are actively presented to tourists are mostly smaller, declining, or even historical minorities, currently present only as remnants (like Germans in Romania or Jews in Poland).

Another question in this context is the extent to which the communist heritage should be presented as a component of the cultural landscape and whether or not this would be appreciated. It complies with the usual approach to regard Communism as an "accident" in national history and to exclude the built cultural heritage of this period from tourism, except when it is presented in an ironic form, such as the park of communist monuments near Budapest. It is nevertheless a fact that at least the earlier periods of communist rule produced some examples of good architecture and of innovative urban planning (e.g. Nowa Huta near Cracow, Dunaujváros south of Budapest, Poruba near Ostrava). But even the more blunt

materializations of the communist idea, notably the suburban housing quarters or the oversized and badly located culture houses and representative buildings such as the House of the People in Bucharest (*București*), are, in their monotony and monumentalism, telling expressions of this historical period and attractive for visitors interested in its more profound comprehension during theme and study tours.

As a consequence of the emphasis on national culture mentioned above, cultural and historical features common to a supra-national sub-region of Europe and connecting neighbors are usually not highlighted or are even totally disregarded. National specifics are considered to serve tourism image and market success better than supra-national commonalities. This impedes cooperation in tourism among between the countries, even at the sub-national level in the sense of cross-border cooperation between sub-national units. Thus, the Jewish cultural heritage, historically so important for all of east-central Europe, is actively presented only in a very few countries. Smaller-scale, regional examples of the neglect of a common cultural heritage are the historical regions of Bukovina (*Bucovina/Bukovyna*) and Dobrudsha (*Dobrogea/Dobruđa*), which are politically divided today, but have much of a common cultural heritage. In the case of Bukovina this is mainly based on former Jewish and German presence; in Dobrudsha it rests on direct Ottoman rule and a former Turkish majority.

However, due to EU promotion through, for example, structural funds, such cooperation has nevertheless partly developed and has even produced some positive examples like cooperation in tourism in the Romanian-Serbian-Hungarian Danube-Tisza-Mureș Region, where cross-border hiking and cycling trails and cultural tours are promoted. Another positive example, in this case at sub-continental level, is the project of cultural corridors of southeastern Europe (Association of Cultural Tourism, 2006-2007) based on a Bulgarian initiative. It defines 9 cultural routes crossing the territories of all the ex-Yugoslavian states, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey and highlights the cultural attractions along these (always trans-national) routes, bringing them into relation and stimulating travelers to visit them as a thematic entity. The underlying assumption is that these were roads, 'along which cultural processes have taken place for thousands of years' (Association of Cultural Tourism, 2006-2007). This general function of roads can never be denied. Closer investigation into the kind of cultural processes described, however, shows that historiographical construction plays an important role. Another cultural road project has been launched in the Baltic States together with some Nordic countries (Komppula *et al.*, 2006: 148). It uses the pretext of roads, where kings and merchants used to travel, to link important landmarks and historical attractions.

It is also an interesting phenomenon that all the national identities in question place strong emphasis on folk and traditional rural culture by presenting folk costumes, dances and music, which reflects itself in tourism promotion, even though all these countries are today heavily urbanized and farmers represent only a very small share of their population. This may be interpreted partly as a reaction to the communist period, in which these cultural elements had been stigmatized as outdated and non-socialist. Partly this may be due to the relative recentness of urban development (except for the Czech Lands and parts of Poland), but even more so to the fact that all national ideas in this region had emerged in the late 19th century in confrontation between the "autochthonous rural people" and an urban upper class of different ethnic origin. In tourism promotion, emphasizing these cultural elements may aim at presenting the specific, "authentic" and exotic "other" in a globalizing and increasingly

uniform tourism scene. Folk and rural culture, as it is publicly presented and promoted today, has a rather artificial character, idealizing an irrevocable past. It also lacks widely visible reflection in the cultural landscape, where traditional villages and forms of land use have been conserved mainly in mountain regions not transformed by communist collectivization and post-communist transformation.

Finally, it is pertinent to note that foreign investment in tourism, expansion of international hotel and catering chains and the rise of quality standards may result in globalization and cultural standardization of the tourism supply and increasingly conflict with the intention to present the specifics of a national or regional culture.

Spa and Wellness Tourism

Spa and wellness tourism is a second key direction of current tourism development and promotion. It is closely related to the cultural heritage, since many spas and spa facilities originate from historical periods and — as already mentioned — at least partly possess this former atmosphere. Moreover, the habit of visiting spas is inherent to all these cultures, as it is in Germany, Austria, northern Italy, United Kingdom or France.

Most conspicuously, the Bohemian spas of Karlovy Vary, Mariánské Lázně and Františkovy Lázně used this potential for further, very successful development, attracting mainly German, but also many Russian visitors (Királ'ová, 2006: 109). Hungary was very early (1980s) to re-develop its rich potential of historic spas in different parts of the country (Miczek, 1989) and is determined to make them, together with newly created wellness establishments, its core tourism product (Puczkó and Rátz, 2006: 125). In the framework of the Széchenyi Plan for the recovery of spas, during the years 2000-2003, 33% of all funds of the Hungarian Tourism Development Program were invested in this sector (Puczkó and Rátz, 2006: 123). Moreover, the EU provided financial support for the Itinerari Termali (ITER) project in recognition of this cultural heritage that offers 'an extraordinary combination of archaeology, architecture, craft and landscape' (Puczkó and Rátz, 2006: 124).

In Slovenia, overnight stays in spas have a one third share of all overnight stays (according to 2004 data) and occupy the first position by destination categories (Konečnik, 2006: 84). The most prominent spas, such as Rogaška Slatina, are based on cultural heritage, but modern wellness facility development has also been very active. The eastern part of Slovenia, together with western Hungary and southeastern Austria, already forms a dense spa and wellness cluster, which is encountering difficulties in finding the appropriate market for all individual competitors in the cluster (Zsilincsar, 2007). Within the EEU, only the Baltic States have been as active as the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia in the recovery of spas and the development of wellness tourism, and this is especially true of Estonia with its prosperous market in Finland. In contrast, Poland, Slovakia and Romania have done much less in this respect, in spite of an almost equally prominent historical heritage. In Bulgaria, spa tourism has declined after the political watershed, when many establishments were closed down. The small remainder is almost exclusively oriented to the domestic market (Bachvarov, 2006: 245).

As regards the further growth of spa tourism, in all EEU many hopes are invested into the future readiness of foreign health insurance companies in the older EU member states to support cheaper cures in the EEU in the face of exploding health care costs in their own

countries. This might, however, be a miscalculation, since precisely these companies, very often owned by organizations closely linked to trade unions and other bodies representing employees have so far displayed rather protectionist behavior in favor of national employment.

Rural Tourism

Rural tourism constitutes the third major direction of tourism promotion. It is combined with expectations to disperse tourism spatially and to create employment opportunities or a second income, where they are needed most, i.e. in peripheral rural areas without traditional tourism or other major secondary or tertiary activities. This segment includes the typical summer vacation in the countryside as well as "farm holidays", frequently termed "agrotourism", which can have a kind of an adventure character, at least for children, when they meet animals and can explore forests, waters and meadows.

The first initiatives in this direction were taken in the early 1990s by Hungary, especially in the eastern part of the country, specifically in the Great Hungarian Plain (*Alföld*), in order to promote economic development in this rather disadvantaged region. At the outset, they enjoyed some success then, but decline set in later. More sustained success has been achieved through rural tourism initiatives in combination with certain prominent attractions, such as the Masurian lakes or the Moldavian monasteries in Romania, where tourism attracted by these extraordinary cultural sites is dispersed over the villages throughout a larger area. The Marmaros Region (*Maramureş*) in northern Romania, with its wooden Orthodox churches and popular wooden architecture, can also be seen as an example of this kind. It appears then that, generally speaking, rural tourism in the EEU needs additional attractions in order to develop. Only in combination with very specific natural or cultural attractions is it able to succeed against an almost unlimited number of competitors all over Europe. The EEU are not far from the major tourism-generating markets in Europe, but for rural tourism few central Europeans will travel, for instance, to Romania if they cannot expect very much more than the usual accommodation at a farmstead and a scenery and rural environment not so different from destinations at closer distance.

In addition, endogenous barriers against a stronger development of rural tourism are still vigorous. First and foremost, the neglect of traditional rural culture under Communism resulted in a deterioration of villages and the traditional rural landscape in general. What can be found today in regions collectivized under Communism are dual structures of abandoned collective agriculture and traditional villages and farmsteads, which are only partly renovated. This applies to most of the Baltic States, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. It is only in Poland and Slovenia, which largely escaped (like Yugoslavia) Communist collectivization, in some mountain regions such as the Romanian Carpathians, as well as in parts of Czech Silesia (*Slezsko*), that the traditional rural landscape has been well preserved and today presents a more traditional appearance than many other parts of Europe, where prosperous economic development and tourism have modified it.

Poor infrastructure in respect to the rural transportation network, health care and many other kinds of service facilities in rural areas is also common to all EEU. This is equally applicable with only a few exceptions to all kinds of specific tourism infrastructure, including walking paths, hiking trails, bicycle lanes, attractive inns, benches, shops and evening

entertainment. Another important barrier already mentioned is the current demographic structure of the rural space, which is characterized by over-ageing, a lack of younger, educated, dynamic people due to heavy out-migration. In some EEU, especially in Bulgaria, parts of the rural space are even suffering from rampant depopulation (Sterbling, 2006; Daxner *et al.*, 2005; Gajdusek, 2000).

In consequence, farm holiday-makers, who look for more than a well-furnished individual establishment, and would like to enjoy also a well-equipped wider environment, will therefore be satisfied only by a few destinations in the EEU, with the exception of Slovenia, to which many exceptions apply with regard to what has been outlined before. Moreover, the development of an adequate environment will also be more difficult than in other parts of Europe and might only succeed very gradually. Major public and private investment, even more than for other segments of tourism, would be needed to develop larger areas. It might, however, be an economical proposition to develop some particularly suitable smaller regions for this type of tourism and to allocate them a model function for more widespread development. It might also prove promising to promote rural and farm tourism as group tourism for younger people as is done in Poland (Marciszewska, 2006: 129).

CONCLUSION

With the noteworthy exceptions of Slovenia and Hungary, where commercial tourism was already well developed in the Communist period, and some extraordinary tourism attractions like Prague, a more profound revitalization of EEU tourism started only in the late 1990s, delayed by rather late real privatization. Due to a lack of relative competitiveness in the international market in segments like winter sports or seaside bathing tourism, tourism development in the EEU has concentrated on city and cultural tourism as well as on spa and wellness tourism. Together with rural and agro-tourism, these are the segments on which tourism strategies and tourism promotion also focus. In reality, all three products are very much based on culture and cultural heritage: spa tourism insofar as it can utilize the attractive atmosphere of facilities dating from the late 19th and early 20th centuries; rural tourism insofar as it receives its competitive advantage over similar offers in other parts of Europe from the specifics of local rural and folk culture or from the opportunity to visit cultural monuments in the vicinity of the destination.

In defining the contents of the cultural products to be offered, however, many EEU have difficulties. The dilemma lies in which historical layers of culture should be presented, and to whom. Is it appropriate to present regional and minority cultures in addition to the national culture? Are the national specifics to be highlighted or would it be better to emphasize the common cultural foundations of a larger region? Is the Communist cultural heritage to be accepted and presented as a part of the past? For all EEU, traditional rural and folk culture form important components of national identity and are therefore also ingredients of the tourism image, although societies are now heavily urbanized and much of the traditional rural landscape was destroyed under Communism. A further complication arises as a result of the clash between a tourism industry that proceeds towards global uniformity and the quality expectations of foreign visitors, on the one hand, and attempts to preserve and even to promote cultural specifics on the other.

Chapter 15

**TOWARDS A POLICY AGENDA FOR TOURISM
DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE
RESOURCES¹**

Jan van der Borg

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, governments and international organizations have finally acknowledged that Europe is not only very rich in heritage and that this is a resource for development, but also that heritage constitutes one of the less polarized assets. In fact, material and immaterial heritage can be found almost everywhere, both in central and peripheral areas, in old as well as in new member states. This became particularly clear from the analysis undertaken in the context of the ESPON project 1.3.3 (2006). The mapping of cultural assets (heritage and other forms of cultural capital) and their territorial effects in conjunction with other economic and social variables showed that they have a substantial transnational, cross-border dimension, and possibly more so than any other development asset that was studied within that program. Heritage could thus very well become the strategic production factor in the global, post-fordist economy, taking the place that coal and iron ore once held in the industrial economy and, at the same time, lead to more cohesive, balanced regional development.

This, obviously, represents a new challenge for the European Union (and supposedly for any other world macro-region in the same situation) and calls for focused policy initiatives both at local and international level. A number of crucial issues emerged in the ESPON project 1.3.3, and some of these were further analyzed in a number of carefully targeted case studies, the results of which are presented in this book. On the basis of the ESPON project 1.3.3 in general, and the case studies in particular, certain recommendations for policy can be drawn up. It is noteworthy that the case studies covered a wide spectrum of geographical and

¹ This chapter is partly based on material developed for the ESPON 1.3.3 project on “The Role and Spatial Effects of Cultural Heritage and Identity” that was directed by the Department of Economics of the University Ca’ Foscari of Venice (ESPON 1.3.3, 2006).

socio-economic contexts with distinct cultural endowment and an equally varied range of issues related with the methodology of analysis, governance, and marketing of cultural heritage; in particular, the book focuses on the following issues.

Firstly, the analysis of the territorial distribution of the supply and use of cultural heritage showed that all the European member states, also including the new member states, possess many sometimes hidden treasures. European, national and regional policies ought to actively valorize them and make them the cornerstones of social and economic development. Since cultural resources tend to be concentrated in urban areas, a European heritage policy ought therefore to explicitly recognize the driving force of cities in cultural dynamics. Likewise, some coastal areas are endowed with an above average heritage supply (ESPON 1.3.3, 2006: 100-101), and this fact should be taken into consideration when designing regional cultural policies. Moreover, the scenario of rising sea levels might threaten the conservation of heritage assets and this is an issue that should also be addressed in global and national policies.

The map of Europe presents a limited number of cultural clusters, or creative hotspots, that may well become the continent's post-industrial growth poles. More attention should be devoted to the dynamics of this clustering process, taking into account the role of heritage and, above all, the need to sustain balanced policies of conservation and economic innovation. Lying in the shadow of these hotspots of cultural innovation, there are significant pockets of social and economic marginality, eventually leading to a form of cultural de-pauperization. The impact of social and economic decline inevitably undermines the critical mass and the public support that is necessary to maintain and revalorize heritage resources.

However, there is considerable evidence that cultural excellence and regional competitiveness are structurally interrelated. Policies that enhance cultural excellence might therefore explicitly improve the region's overall competitiveness at the same time. Multicultural and multi-ethnic societies are indeed assets for regions that strive for social and economic development and should therefore be explicitly perceived as such in regional policies. Thus, marginality may be challenged through generation of an awareness of local or regional cultural assets. Conversely, economic policies such as increasing public expenditure and social programs such as social housing may indirectly support the conservation of built heritage and local traditions or bring to the fore whole new cultural identities.

Another fact revealed in the book is that cultural landscapes and territorial systems of cultural heritage assets do not conform to administrative boundaries. This opens new perspectives and real opportunities for cross-border, trans-national and interregional programs and regional cooperation projects. Hence, it is justified to assume that the sustainable use of heritage assets for development requires a sophisticated transport policy that stimulates accessibility when the use of heritage is to be encouraged and limited access when conservation is at stake. Moreover, further investment in the application of ITC in managing access to cultural assets would be particularly welcome.

With regard to the development of cultural tourism, a number of specific, recurring issues have also come into focus in different chapters of the book. It would certainly appear that such development is a convenient way of realizing the social and economic potentials of cultural assets. In fact, cultural tourism is now a booming segment of the growing global tourism market and, as such, much pursued by development agents at all levels of government. However tourism development does not only generate benefits, but also implies costs of both an internal and external nature. A number of the case studies illustrated that

more should be done to limit the costs and internalize the benefits where regions are engaged in tourism development policies. They also showed that not only the quantitative dimension of these costs and benefits is of relevance, but also their distribution, and especially the spatial aspects of this.

The following section provides an overview of the current European and national cultural heritage policies, paying particular attention to the role of tourism. The challenge is to understand more about the integration of the issues outlined above in the existing policy frameworks and to assess the need for intensification or restructuring. By including some non-European case studies, the book has sought to extend the scope of these concerns to a more general context, thus enriching the final analysis, the lessons to be learned and possible policy responses.

CULTURAL POLICIES AND TOURISM TODAY: FROM EUROPEAN TO LOCAL POLICIES

The EU Cultural Heritage Policy Framework

European cultural policy has, to a large extent, a *stealthy* nature, in the sense that specific actions regarding cultural development and cultural heritage are but a very small component of much wider policy initiatives, embedded in the various industrial and spatial policies that only indirectly address cultural aspects (examples include: social policies that stimulate cultural employment; regional policies that address the problem of deindustrialization by investing in cultural development; agricultural policies that fund programs related to rural tourism development, and so on). The same holds for European tourism policies. However, the spatial dimension in the European Union's cultural and tourism policies has gradually increased, bringing this closer to the actions of dedicated bodies like UNESCO and the Council of Europe.

In the first place, the European Union's involvement in a common cultural policy is regulated by article 151 of the Treaty of Amsterdam that was adopted in 1997. This article clearly states that "the Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of member states", co-operating actively with all the member states, third countries and other competent organizations in the sphere of culture, in particular the Council of Europe". The broad aims of these actions concern, on the one hand, bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore, and, on the other, respect for and promotion of the diversity of its cultures.

Two key programs have been developed by the European Commission to address the cultural development of Europe directly: Culture 2000 and the European Capitals of Culture Program. The first was originally implemented during the 2000-2004 period but was extended and expanded until 2007. The budget grew from approximately 200 million euros per year in 2000 to 408 million in 2007 (www.europa.eu.int, last consulted 20/11/2007). The aims of this program were: acceleration of the construction of a united Europe; acceleration of the process of globalization; acceleration of the immersion in the information society; creation of occupation and strengthening of social cohesion and integration; and stimulation of economic development.

In fact, attention to culture in the European Commission has really been rather marginal. In 2007, approximately one Euro per inhabitant was spent on explicit, direct cultural policies, far below the average spending of the single member states. Nevertheless, the new Culture 2007 program partially corrects some of its flaws, which are, principally, the difficulty in creating synergies with other organizations that deal with cultural development, the excessive number of objectives that were being pursued simultaneously, and, consequently, the marginal and fragmented budget it could count upon.

The European Capitals of Culture Program has run successfully since 1985, the year that Athens became the first Cultural Capital. Following recommendations made by the Committee of Regions, the selection criteria of cities were modified in order to allow the new member states to obtain a cultural capital as rapidly as possible. In fact, between 2009 and 2018 two capitals will be selected annually, one from the old member states and one from the new member states, in accordance with a precise calendar. Moreover, Decision 1419/1999/EC allows for third countries to forward candidates that might be designated as Cultural Capitals. The eagerness and interest of cities to become Capital of Culture is often explained by social-economic motives as much as by cultural motives. Cases such as Glasgow (1990), Lisbon (1994) and Lille (2004) are perfect illustrations of the philosophy that this project has been trying to emphasize: if the events are properly managed, cultural, tourism and regional development walk hand in hand.

A second important player in terms of culture-related policies is national governments. As far as national cultural heritage policies are concerned, the first noteworthy fact is the considerable variation from one country to another in the financial effort explicitly dedicated to cultural policies, in general, and to cultural heritage, in particular, as is illustrated by Table 15.1.

Notwithstanding the obvious problems related to the comparability of the information (for example, the years of reference differ considerably, not all policy levels are represented in the figures presented above, and the role of regional and local administrations in financing cultural development in financing culture cannot be neglected — as is the case in Spain and Belgium, for instance), the expenditure per inhabitant and as a percentage of GDP make it possible to identify the countries that tend to invest more in culture than others. Thus, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Scotland, Slovenia, Sweden and Switzerland spend more than 100 Euros per inhabitant, while Belgium, Estonia, Malta and Portugal spend more than 1% of GDP on culture. France and Germany spend almost €100 per inhabitant and especially France, with its 0.90% of GDP spent on culture, comes very close to the big spenders. The new member countries, with the exception of Estonia and Slovenia, fall far behind.

A comparison of the priorities in cultural policies in EU member countries reveals a wide constellation of social, economic, artistic and personal development objectives, ranging from addressing basic cultural needs, to enhancing their integration in chains of economic value generation. Likewise, cultural assets are used explicitly, on the one hand, to define — and in some cases redesign — national and regional identities, and, on the other, to improve international relations based on fair cultural exchange, especially with neighboring countries. In spite of the high degree of diversity, a number of recurring priorities can be identified in most of the national policies exposed previously. The first is the aim to achieve a general improvement in access to culture and, in particular, access for special target groups, such as minorities and youth, thus “democratizing” cultural development.

Table 15.1. National expenditure on cultural policies

Country	Year	Total Expenditure in €	Exp. per Inhabitant in €	Expenditure as % of GDP
Austria	2002	1.888.820.000	234,20	0,88%
Belgium	1999	2.505.125.000	245,00	1,05%
Bulgaria	2004	70.689.923	8,54	0,66%
Croatia	2003	95.961.757	21,43	0,37%
Denmark	1996	1.197.524.552	226,17	0,82%
England	2004	8.626.275.177	176,39	0,50%
Estonia	2003	159.876.293	113,23	1,90%
Finland	2001	745.000.000	140,35	0,54%
France	2000	5.780.000.000	98,94	0,90%
Germany	2003	8.190.000.000	99,30	0,39%
Greece	2001	714.049.000	37,56	0,32%
Hungary	2004	364.000.000	35,70	0,50%
Ireland	2004	215.550.000	59,44	0,15%
Italy	2000	6.754.200.000	118,00	0,57%
Latria	2004	82.340.091	26,87	0,58%
Lithuania	2003	96.811.594	27,70	0,60%
Luxembourg	1993	24.844.720	64,59	0,15%
Malta	2003	96.815.541	43,62	1,45%
Moldova	2003	16.155.216	3,69	0,08%
The Netherlands	2003	3.621.000.000	161,00	0,50%
Northern Ireland	2004	140.141.843	84,99	na
Norway	1994	17.264.276	3,94	0,01%
Poland	2004	810.025.744	26,10	0,47%
Portugal	2003	632.687.000	64,15	0,43%
Romania	1998	49.099.078	2,18	0,13%
Scotland	2004	550.415.602	107,16	na
Slovenia	2003	196.899.028	100,00	0,81%
Spain	1995	2.082.435	0,05	0,0004%
Sweden	2003	1.908.359.928	215,53	0,71%
Switzerland	2002	1.500.820.007	205,30	0,53%
Ukraine	2004	349.540.200	6,90	0,42%
Wales	2004	240.520.567	82,46	na

Sources: www.culturalpolicies.net; www.culturelink.org; www.european-heritage.net (last consulted 20/11/2005).

Secondly, many countries are considering becoming more business-oriented, improving efficiency and cost-effectiveness in the management of cultural assets. Thirdly, cultural policies seem to have a distinct territorial focus. Not only are a number of countries shifting the responsibilities for cultural development from the national to the local level, but even in

some cases national policy explicitly addresses the socio-economic potential of culture for the country's regions (as in Hungary, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom, in particular). Last but not least, identity plays an important role in almost all national cultural policies. Other specific themes that can be found in various countries are, among others, the quest for conservation (especially in countries that are richly endowed with historical heritage assets) and are highly knowledgeable about cultural heritage, especially in relation to tourism development (as in Lithuania or the UK).

The differences between cultural policies in the old and new member states are less pronounced than might be expected. In terms of priorities, the latter group do, however, seem to be lagging slightly behind the former in placing emphasis on establishing satisfactory organizational structures in the cultural sector. It is, however, remarkable that, in many countries, cultural development and tourism are not yet perceived as two sides of the same coin. In fact, of all the countries for which information was provided, only Lithuania and the UK seem to be addressing the opportunities that culture offers for tourism development explicitly in their cultural policy documents. Frequently, the ministries that are responsible for culture and for tourism hardly communicate. For instance, it is only very recently that Italy has addressed the damage that this separation may cause, by bringing cultural development and tourism together under the responsibility of the vice-presidency of the Council of Ministers.

Specific Issues and Policy Responses: Illustrations from the Case Studies

The case studies presented in this book make it possible to proceed beyond the general, national policies regarding culture and tourism to present a finer-scaled and more detailed analysis of the spatial, process and normative dimensions that articulate the relationship between culture and tourism. This relationship was approached and studied in terms of patterns (Part I), of processes (Part II) and of policies (Part III)

Despite the range of scales of analysis, the methodological differences and the varying themes and objectives present in the case-studies presented in Part I of the book, a number of recurring outcomes can certainly be identified. In the first place, the authors coincide in addressing the topic of and stressing the need for the identification of spatial visiting patterns as a pre-condition for future strategy design and development. Moreover, all of the studies pinpointed the dangers of the high concentration of visitors in small areas, often provoked and accompanied by excessive pressure exerted on icon monuments. In the short-term, these were seen to ensure high demand with little effort in promotion, but, paradoxically, in such circumstances the quality of the experience descends rapidly and the situation leads to territorial imbalances in the long term. One of the greatest challenges is obviously that of striking a balance between sustainability and economic viability, for conservation and dissemination frequently have conflicting interests. Besides, there are inherent difficulties involved in restricting access to many popular sites. It is clearly necessary to understand the way people, place and product interact in order to make decisions; equally clear is the need for the articulation of tourist destinations and regions — both large and small — through careful planning, product development and management of the territory. This is where policy and planning take over.

The role of cultural heritage was identified in several case studies as dynamic and powerful in the perspective of local and regional development (Part II). In order to support this statement, analytical knowledge about the parameters of change and about the interaction of different factors and stakeholders needs to be sharpened. The direction and intensity of the induced changes largely depend on the geographical context, the type of heritage, the density of cultural elements and the characteristics of the cultural landscapes. The potentials of the past to create benefits for the local population and the regional economy are real, but so are the risks of irreversibly unbalancing or even eroding the cultural resources. Warning signals need to be decoded, and anticipatory policies should constitute a high priority in local and regional governance.

In Part III policy issues finally come to occupy a focal position. The emphasis, in fact, is on programs, strategies, discourses and organizational structures which may facilitate the pursuit of specific objectives with regard to the deployment of heritage tourism in development, or, if missing or inadequate, may hamper these achievements. What emerges from the four chapters in this part of the book is a wide array of instruments and policy frameworks to address development priorities in different contexts, together with multiple demonstrations of the necessity to use the best available knowledge about the spatial patterns and processes operating in cultural heritage tourism, in order to make the correct decisions to ensure its future sustainability.

THE DELICATE BALANCE BETWEEN VALORIZATION AND CONSERVATION

Over time, it has become clear that in a society that is developing increasingly fast, cultural heritage may constitute one of the key stabilizing factors for the social past and collective memory of this society, even though culture and the cultural heritage themselves are subject to change. In this context, it is necessary to ensure that future generations may continue to benefit from these stabilizing effects. However, the emphasis on “being there” instead of on “being used” has sometimes led to a restrictive, passive attitude towards heritage conservation. Economic progress through the commodification of heritage, on the one hand, and its conservation, on the other, are all too often regarded as incompatible. Nonetheless, gradual changes in this attitude have been observed, as many of the cases presented in the different chapters of this book demonstrate. Lately, a new vision with regard to heritage conservation has emerged, a vision in which the presence of heritage alone is no longer sufficient, but rather heritage itself becomes a major impulse for social and economic progress, constituting a process through which heritage benefits considerably.

Several international conventions and charters relating to heritage and cultural tourism respond to these juxtapositions, by stating that the “wise” use of heritage ought to be promoted (Council of Europe, 1985; ESDP, 1999; ICOMOS, 1999; UNESCO, 1976; 1989; 2000; 2003), as is illustrated, for instance, in the case studies of the southwestern Romanian regions in Chapter 7 and in the more general account of southeastern Europe in Chapter 14. The term “wise use” can be defined as taking advantage of the many opportunities which cultural heritage offers, while simultaneously respecting the ethical aspects of heritage. The value of heritage is closely connected to its geographical location and to the knowledge of the

local community. Making heritage accessible and recognizable to the wider public provides opportunities for enrichment, such as increased community awareness and cohesion, social-economic regeneration for deprived areas, employment in the lowest sectors of the job market and, finally, image improvement of the place. In fact, cultural heritage is increasingly considered the “glue” that may help to keep local and regional societies together, even if this “return to the roots” could be a contested issue in the construction of a new pan-European identity. Revenue generated through the use of heritage is a major means to finance the upgrading and conservation of the different elements of which it is composed, and can be redistributed to improve the socio-economic conditions of the community. Nevertheless, although the status of cultural landscapes in spatial planning policies has increased considerably in recent years, in most countries cultural sites and heritage cities are not yet sufficiently protected. This is especially the case in new EU member countries, where greater priority has, understandably, been given to development than to conservation. This may prove very damaging in the long run, leading to the erosion of cultural capital or its loss of meaning as a marker of local identities and distinction.

Ongoing discussion also relates to the “relative” value of heritage. In current times when (public) budgets are limited, there are doubts whether only outstanding landscapes or landmarks of cultural heritage deserve to be taken care of or whether ordinary heritage elements should also receive attention (Mignosa, 2005). Heritage resources certainly ought to be preserved by applying appropriate methods, while, in some cases, they could even be renewed or recycled to recover their economic value through new uses. This process requires better articulation of the concepts of cultural landscapes and built cultural assets in planning and policies, as these make up an important part of Europe’s historical development and common heritage and identity. As a basis for making appropriate decisions in this respect, a number of relevant indicators were developed in the ESPON project 1.3.3 (2006), by measuring, for instance, the intensity and diversity of the presence of cultural heritage in an attempt to understand their role in the European space.

Thus divergent priorities for heritage policy become apparent. On the one hand, the main goal identified can be the conservation of the existing cultural heritage in its present state, constituting a sort of “museification” approach. This may also imply restricting access through site design and destination planning. On the other hand, prevalence can be placed on the tourism connection in furthering the development of access to virtual and semantic heritage as well as its physical components. However, these options cannot be generalized and each case should be considered in the appropriate context and at the relevant scale. Nevertheless, as a general rule, it could be argued that the first approach is often criticized as a management philosophy that prevents the inherent cultural evolution and development. On the other hand, by adopting the second approach, the price to pay is that cultural heritage may undergo an alteration and changes to its character, or may even be physically affected as a result of tourism pressures. Obviously, neither of the approaches can be considered totally correct or completely wrong.

One aspect that must be clearly understood is that (rigorous) protection measures can only cover a very limited portion of this cultural heritage, because most parts of the cultural landscape and built heritage have evolved over a long time and, in order to ensure future development, the economic and social functions imposed on them by the people living there are a necessary requisite. Hence, protection does not mean “access bans”, but the necessity to make use compatible with the nature and dynamics of the cultural assets especially given their

fundamental role in social and economic development and thus also make it sustainable. The fact that different countries apply very different criteria to identify heritage renders spatial planning less effective, because it may lead to all kinds of “spatial externalities” originating from tourists’ increased mobility both physical and relational. The contribution of some sort of harmonization of these criteria therefore emerges as an important task for the European Community.

In connection with the conservation and development of cultural landscapes, spatial planning should also aim at taking on an interdisciplinary co-ordination and moderation function. One essential task would be to create mechanisms of co-ordination among the economic interests, multi and intra-sector agricultural plans and the resource-protecting plans of nature conservationists. Moreover, attention should be paid to the possible relationships between built heritage conservation and, for example, housing policies and urban regeneration policies.

Spatial planning includes the monitoring of land use changes and the imposition of restrictive conditions on certain uses. Standard routines of environmental impact assessment at all spatial levels as well as in a strategic sense should be implemented, including not only natural aspects, but also cultural heritage. Land consolidation, which has for long been applied with the sole aim of improving agricultural efficiency, could be further adapted to incorporate other objectives, including landscape conservation. Another possibility would be to respect landscape aesthetics for leisure purposes and attractiveness as an important “soft” location factor. Likewise, the implementation of primary infrastructure for tourism development could be encouraged, as exemplified in the installation of foot and cycle paths or in the promotion of rural tourism facilities.

In general, regions can be divided into three groups: those for which the use of heritage may not be sustainable; regions where this use is sustainable; and those that are not making full use of the potential of their cultural assets. Bearing in mind the basic philosophy that has been followed throughout this book, a further distinction can be made between regions where social and economic development potential is lost because of insufficient use of heritage and regions that suffer from excessive pressure of demand on their cities, sites and monuments. In the first type of regions, further tourism development should aim to stimulate and internalize the benefits of the presence of cultural heritage further; in the second emphasis should be laid on controlling and limiting visitor access to heritage sites and resources.

Two very different situations in which cultural tourism policy must be formulated — both implicitly present in all the case studies analyzed in the previous chapters — thus emerge. The first situation is that where further (tourism) development should be sustainable. This implies an awareness of the regional patrimony of tangible and intangible cultural treasures, an endowment that should be developed productively. Examples of such policies are the stimulation of the development of economic clusters focusing on heritage tourism, the development of cultural tourism and the valorization of assets in the eyes of the local population. The adoption of policies to internalize the positive effects of cultural development policies also constitutes a key issue. The spill-over of positive effects makes it even harder to sustain cultural investments autonomously. Hence, Territorial Impact Assessments should deal explicitly with the spatial patterns of impact. Furthermore, attention should be paid to the strengthening of cultural tourism policies through the implementation of adequate transportation policies that stimulate the accessibility of heritage where use is insufficient. This can be achieved, for example, by implementing Park and Ride schemes, by reserving

public transport for visitors, and by investing in the application of new ITC technologies in guaranteeing and managing and monitoring access. Last but not least, private partners and non-governmental organizations need to be extensively involved in the maintenance and valorization of cultural heritage and cultural landscapes.

The second type of situation is that in which further development of cultural tourism might disturb the local society and, ultimately, even threaten the integrity of local material and immaterial heritage altogether. The five main ingredients of such a policy can be summarized in the following terms. Firstly, all the traditional investment schemes regarding the physical maintenance of cultural heritage should be accompanied by a sound strategy related to the (re)use of the conserved elements as, for example, public offices, libraries, exposition spaces, or student housing. secondly, it must be acknowledged that the development of cultural tourism brings about both benefits and huge often underestimated costs. These effects can only become visible if systematic Territorial Impact Assessments are performed. Greater efforts should be made to limit the damages that tourism may generate. Existing initiatives related to visitor management policies (including computerized reservation systems, intelligent guidance by palm computer, city cards, visitor centers) that are based on the analysis of the carrying capacity should be studied and the appropriate measures for individual situations implemented.

A third ingredient is the implementation of social housing policies and urban regeneration policies that may help to sustain the conservation of cultural heritage. In the fourth place, policy makers must be aware of the fact that cultural landscapes and the aforementioned cultural heritage systems do not respect administrative boundaries at all. The opportunities for cross-border, trans-national and interregional programs and development projects should be captured by local and regional authorities with enthusiasm and promoted by the European Union. Finally, the fact that cultural excellence and regional competitiveness are strictly interrelated must be recognized. Policies that enhance cultural excellence and cultural innovation will therefore improve a region's overall competitiveness. In fact, today Europe presents a limited number of cultural clusters, of cultural hotspots, of cultural tourism destinations that may well become the continent's post-industrial growth poles. Consequently, these clusters should be nurtured with care.

At this stage of the analysis, it should now be very clear that cultural heritage protection, planning and policies should not be contemplated separately. On the contrary, they should be integrated in other aspects of planning and planning for instance, economic development, infrastructure, and mobility and treated with a mixed instrument tool case and by professionals from different fields. Moreover, it should be equally apparent that any debate on policy options should recognize that the final decision on the direction in which cultural heritage is to evolve should be taken in agreement with the local population and their ambitions, but should also acknowledge that the tourist appreciation for heritage-based products might change, turning some opportunities into strengths but possibly generating certain disadvantages where threats existed.

The involvement of the different representatives of the community and other stakeholder groups is of the utmost importance to sustain policy efforts through time, as has been amply demonstrated in many of the case studies included in the text. Although it is equally true that an integration of findings and policies on an EU-wide level is desirable and necessary, a focus on local and regional decisions and measures should not be forgotten for two main reasons. First of all, it is precisely at local or regional level that cultural development is rooted; all

actions in this context give the cultural landscapes their regional identity and intrinsic value. Hence, planning measures only work when accepted by and done in co-operation with people that live and work there and this constitutes a second, vital reason. Certainly, without the commitment of all the stakeholders, the long-term success of any action will be fraught with difficulties and possible failure.

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