

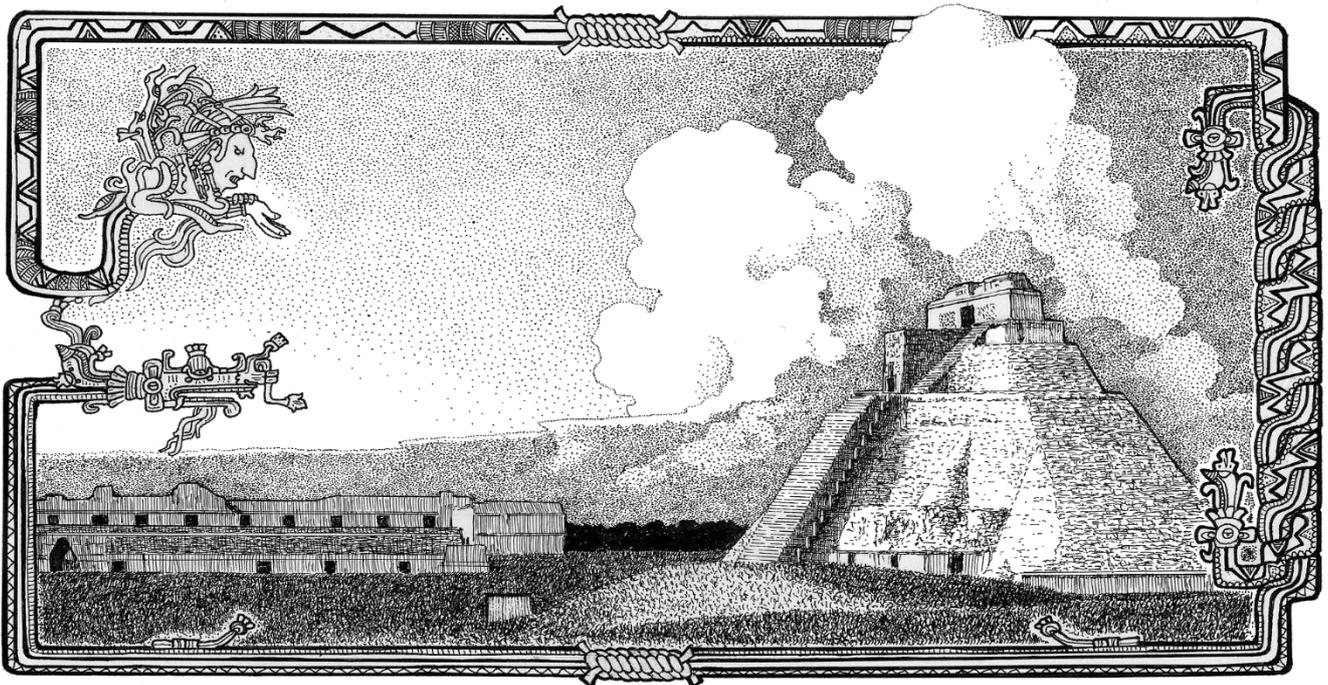


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Tourism Management at UNESCO World Heritage Sites Vol. 2



Tourism Management at UNESCO World Heritage Sites

edited by

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Chapter 1: Tourism Marketing

Tourism Marketing: What's in for Heritage Sites

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SUMMARY

Tourism marketing plays a significant role in heritage destinations. To attract more visitors, destinations look for creative and effective ways to let travellers know what attractions and amenities they offer. Marketing allows destinations to showcase the destination's strengths and create benefits for its sustainable development. This chapter presents a consolidated approach to tourism marketing. The focus is on key elements that heritage tourism organizations should incorporate in their marketing programs. The aim is (a) to understand the fundamentals of tourism marketing, (b) to identify a destination's target markets and (c) to build and sustain quality branding, positioning and theme development for heritage tourism.

MARKETING PRINCIPLES IN TOURISM

When you go on vacation and spend days taking photos of amazing landscapes and sunsets, eating local food, shopping in antique stores, hiking in a national park or exploring an UNESCO World heritage site, you are being a tourist. Tourism occurs when we leave our normal surroundings where we live and work to go to another environment to engage in activities there. We are visitors in other people's place and what we do while visiting is tourism. On the other side, there are individuals and organizations at tourist destinations that promote and provide all those activities for us. To attract tourists, they look for creative and effective ways to let us know what attractions and amenities they offer. What they do is marketing.

For the last two decades, there has been a consensus in marketing literature that marketing is more than just dealing with customers, as it strives to create superior customer value and satisfaction leading to profit which is also the core of hospitality and travel industry (Kotler, Bowen and Makens, 1999). However, in today's dynamic and globally evolving tourism marketplace, marketing practices come in many versions based on sector, business, audience and media platform (for example destination marketing, event marketing, international marketing, digital marketing). Also, different alternatives to the traditional marketing approach emerged, such as sustainable, societal, environmental, green, relationship, quality of life and pro-poor marketing. Each of these types of marketing practice has its own specifics. Therefore, there is no surprise that marketers define differently what they do.

What marketers and marketing scholars do agree upon is the central focus of marketing. Marketing cannot take place unless some sort of exchange occurs. One party must exchange a product or service with another party for some sort of payment. Each side to the exchange gives up something of value, where the exchange in the end is mutually beneficial (Belch & Belch, 2018). Tourists participate in their vacation, before, during and after the journey, through their time, effort and money, because the process of doing so is highly valued, by themselves and relevant others (Prebensen et al., 2014). Tourism marketing needs to focus on superior customer value in order to be able to facilitate and help tourists to complete their motivations.

Before going deeper in the application of marketing to tourism, it would be helpful to provide some basic definitions and elements of general marketing. To start, here are two widely used explanations: one from the marketing's professionals from American Marketing Association (AMA), and one from professor Philip Kotler, the author of business school marketing classics. According to the AMA Board of professionals, «marketing is the activity, set of institutions, and processes for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging offerings that have value for customers, clients, partners, and society at large» (American Marketing Association, 2013). According to Philip Kotler, «marketing is the science and art of exploring, creating, and delivering value to satisfy the needs of a target market at a profit» (Kotler, 2017).

To make it as short as possible for the beginners, marketing can be understood as «the act of connecting customers and products» (Owyang, 2018). However, marketing concept should not be simplified, or reduced to its specific functions only. Too often, the

term marketing is inappropriately reduced to the sale or promotion, and in tourism in particular, to advertising and tourism fairs. While these functions are important, there is much more to marketing in tourism. The inclusive set of marketing principles are the following: segmentation, targeting, positioning, needs, wants, demand, offerings, brands, value and satisfaction, exchange, transactions, relationships and networks, channels, supply chain, competition, the marketing environment, and marketing programs. All these terms make up the working vocabulary of marketing professionals from different fields, including tourism.

MARKETING CHALLENGES IN TOURISM

Tourism is probably among the most difficult “products” to market due to its intangibility, complexity and dynamics.

In tourism marketing, the term product has a broad meaning: in fact, it does not just represent a material product or a consumer good, but also the so-called intangible goods, which include services, events and experiences. Although broader and re-defined, the standard tourism marketing definition still focuses on micromarketing activities (for example hotel bookings), while a more sustainable approach to tourism marketing first explores the role of marketing in the macro living system, where a simple exchange process between company and customer is replaced with complex interdependent interactions within a larger tourism system – destination. Namely, tourists travel to destinations.

Destinations are places that attract visitors for a temporary stay and range from continents to countries to states and provinces, to cities, to villages or to purpose-built resort areas. Destinations are not products; at the foundation level, they are communities based on local government boundaries, physical boundaries (an island, for example), political boundaries, or even market-created boundaries. Destination marketing refers to a process through which tourism organizations and/or tourism enterprises identify their selected tourists, communicate with them to ascertain and influence needs, motivations, likes and dislikes, and to formulate and adapt their products (services, experiences, events) in order to achieve optimal tourist satisfaction.

The tourism industry, besides being complex, is also a dynamic system. This is because the popularity of the products and markets change over time. The changing attractiveness of destinations and their ability to draw tourists is related to both the supply and the demand components of the complex tourism industry. Always changing travel trends and constant development of new technologies have a huge impact too. For example, the travelers’ need for personalization of tourist information and experience induces the use of AI (Artificial Intelligence) in the research of the past behaviors and past preferences of each traveler. Google’s data shows that 36% of travelers are willing to pay more for the personalized tourism experience (Kow, 2017). The digital revolution has deeply changed tourism marketing: by integrating traditional market research with big data analytics and innovating the process of value-creation through co-creation, where tourists are directly involved in the production and distribution of value using social media websites.

As today's travelers are better informed, critically-minded and care about the environment, they look for authentic tourism products. Also, they are health-conscious and look for products that offer material and intellectual well-being and a better quality of life. They are responsible consumers caring for sustainability and waste reduction. Therefore, tourism companies are embracing corporate social responsibility to achieve economic success and social progress. According to the recent sharing economy logic, tourism marketing may contribute to increase social and economic value in different ways. For example, conceiving new products and new markets, new business models focused on social needs, on the small scale of the activity and on the value of local and traditional production, thus increasing productivity and innovation inside the environment in which the company acts (Napolitano and Pencarelli, 2017).

In a competitive and evolving tourism industry, marketing has become increasingly important and equally pervasive for destinations and large multinational organizations, for smaller entrepreneurial firms as well as local businesses (Belch & Belch, 2018). In the new competitive environment, even the smallest firm becomes global. Today, every tourism company is asked to develop marketing programs that are globally integrated and locally responsive. To make tourism marketing successful, all the relevant stakeholders should be involved in the process of planning, developing and implementing marketing programs.

STRATEGIC MARKETING PLANNING

Every marketing effort should begin with a plan, and tourism marketing is no different. The marketing plan acts as a road map that details the attractions for tourists.

Strategic planning enables tourism companies as well as products/services a successful and efficient transaction with its tourists. Every marketing plan should be feasible, flexible and must have measurable and achievable goals (Shoemaker et al., 2007). A marketing plan includes several important steps such as:

1. Definition of the mission and vision of a company or its strategic business unit;
2. Environment research;
3. Definition of the marketing objectives and expected results;
4. Market segmentation;
5. Definition of the target markets;
6. Positioning and branding;
7. Marketing mix strategy;
8. Budget setting;
9. Implementation;
10. Feedback and control.

Setting organizations' mission and vision should derived from its history, achievements and competitive advantages. The environment analysis helps organizations to get insights into their internal strength and weaknesses and into the opportunities and threats in the environment they are operating (SWOT analysis). Market segmentation is a crucial step in developing an effective tourism marketing plan. It represents a strategic tool by dividing a bigger heterogeneous market into smaller groups of consumers with familiar characteristics based on segmentation variables (for example geographic,

demographic, psychographic and behavioral). Tourism market segments are usually created based on one or more variables (for example age, lifestyle, motives). This represents a solid basis to define tourism organization's target markets and perform positioning and branding. Clear position in the minds of target segments and recognizable brand has pull. It makes people want to get up from the couch, pack their bags and go, both with their friends and family or alone. This requires an inspirational promise that holds true to the experience (and value) it can reliably deliver. A unique position gives a destination or a company a clear guideline to the operational marketing mix activities.

TOURISM MARKETING MIX

According to «The 4 Ps Model» developed by Philip Kotler (inspired by Jerome McCarthy), the main elements of the marketing mix are: Product, Price, Place and Promotion. In tourism marketing, the initial concept has been extended and adapted to the 7“Ps”, including additional three elements: People, Physical evidence and Process.

- *Product* represents a tourism offer (either physical products or services) which meets the tourists' wants, needs and benefits, preferably with a clear branding strategy;
- *Price* considers various pricing strategies for performance of an exchange transaction between a provider and tourists;
- *Place* represents all the channels of distribution and locations of all the points of sale (websites, reservation systems etc.);
- *Promotion* is the most visible element of the marketing mix, which includes several tools (advertising, sales promotion, direct marketing, merchandising, public relations, sale-force activities, brochure production, Internet communication);
- *People* as tourism employees, especially front-line employees, can crucially influence the service delivery and improve tourists' experience as they have an extensive contact with tourists;
- *Physical evidences* embody tangible clues about delivered products and services as they support service delivery;
- *Process* represents extensive and complex services for service delivery.

In contemporary marketing practices, the traditional 4“Ps” have been transformed into 4 “Cs” as a result of a more consumer orientation perspective: Customer value, Cost, Convenience, Communication (Middleton & Clark, 2001). By using integrated marketing 4 “Cs” activities, organizations communicate consistent image and focused messages to the marketplace (Belch & Belch, 2018). At the end, an implementation, budget setting, feedback and control of all the marketing activities are needed to perform an efficient marketing plan.

TOURISM MARKETING AT HERITAGE SITES

Tourism marketing plays a significant role to attract tourists at heritage destinations. Heritage tourism is based on historic, cultural and natural resources that already exist. Applying marketing strategies and techniques to heritage sites represents the

opportunity to link heritage, artistic expression and local socio-economic development. Heritage tourism includes authentic experiences, which are among the fastest-growing, highest-demand products in the tourism industry. Tourists are searching for a complete, participatory, authentic experience, which provide them opportunities for new knowledge. This can be achieved through the arts, cultural entertainment, folklore, festivals, cultural institutions, history, architecture and landscapes, cuisine, local traditions and languages.

Considering a heritage site as a “product” should be divided in three levels (Cenderello, 2015):

- Core (for example the heritage site or the heritage product itself);
- Actual (for example interpretation, interpretation facilities and packaging);
- Augmented (the brand or added value services such as retail/shopping and eating opportunities).

Marketing in heritage tourism has to be considered a key-element, leading managers to targeting the “right” or desired type of visitors to the site. On the other hand, heritage promoted in tourism promises a wholesome experience to the visitors and, hence, enhances the value of the destination. The marketing of heritage tourism must be a balanced set of activities, as there is little point in alienating the local population in favor of (possibly short-term) heritage tourism.

Recommendations for long-term successful heritage tourism marketing are (Cenderello, 2015):

- As heritage itself is a “complex commodity” and experience-based product, there is the need to go beyond the conventional marketing mix by adding 2 more “Ps”: Programming (cluster development or attraction bundling; it is about packaging together certain elements of a heritage product or experience and market them together, for example in a themed festival or series of events), and Partnerships (collaboration and network development: to ensure a long-term focus among different stakeholder groups, from community initiatives to government associations);
- To reduce the risk related to cultural consumption, there are three main markets for demand in a heritage site setting: those who come for a learning experience (educational experience), those who come for entertainment (recreational experience), and those who come to be involved in a personal and emotional experience (emotional experience);

The process of heritage product design and management should be experience-based, customer-focused, technological, problem solving and highly ethical. Focus should be on quality and authenticity. This also involves the experience dimension and interpretation strategies and tools. The experience should be relevant to the visitor and it should be participatory. The asset has to come alive, thus the storytelling and the latest technology should be used (mobile apps, Internet, social media, virtual reality, augmented reality), yet the medium should not compromise the message. It is important to not forget the personal touch - local community should be involved (for example, local decision-makers, whose story is being presented in the attraction).

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Chapter 2: Site Management Systems

Tools for Managing World Heritage Sites: Site Management Systems and Plans Assessed

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SUMMARY

Management systems (MS) and management plans (MP) are asked for, or become even compulsory (since 2005), for sites to be listed on the UNESCO world heritage list. They are an attempt to formalize the protection of WHS and (recently) to cope with pressure provoked by the use and commodification of the sites, e.g. for tourism. Especially Management plans are static (for a certain period) and (therefore) 'asked for' but not compulsory while they might be able to "ensure that their [of the sites] Outstanding Universal Value, including the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity at the time of inscription are sustained or enhanced over time" (UNESCO, World Heritage Centre, 2017, par. 96). Management systems are very diverse while management plans - being formalized tools - are more comparable since a frequently used Practical Guide, proposes seven modules to be elaborated.

In the past, tourism was not mentioned in the Operational Guidelines of UNESCO. In recent versions tourism is explicitly present in the UNESCO OGs, which does not imply that tourism is fully elaborated in Management plans on specific WHS, e.g. in terms of visitors management and zoning. In all cases, it is of utmost importance that positive as well as negative links between (world) heritage and tourism are considered and provided with measures and monitoring since the ideal of a perfect sustainability does not exist. Therefore, Management Systems and Management Plans are key to successful synergies between (world) heritage and tourism.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the other chapters, it becomes clear that (world) heritage sites need to be managed by the sites authorities and management structures must be put in place, in order not only to preserve the site but to prevent it from falling in misuse or overuse (Jansen-Verbeke, McKercher, 2010). Hence, we will introduce here the tools that the UNESCO recommends for a proper site management and attempt to render precisely what is expected from these sites. Originally, the focus was on conservation and conservation only, while recently, proper use and sharing with the (local and remote) community is at stake as well. This is why 'tourism' becomes an item in MPs since tourism is a double-edged sword: development and sharing on the one hand while growing numbers represent pressure, possibly threatening conservation and the Outstanding Universal Values or OUVs on the other hand. We will reflect on the benefits of management structures as thought by the UNESCO but also on their limitations and different stakeholder needs, and ways forward to tackle eventual tensions that arise because of those rules.

TOOLS FOR MANAGEMENT OF WORLD HERITAGE SITES

The **1972** convention established, after defining what heritage is and which type of properties can claim a WH recognition, the need for a management system and framework for WHS (article 5). The purpose of such a system or framework is to standardize the way to define heritage, place it in a context, highlight the need for an integrated approach, and to create a way to assess and compare management strategies (UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS, 2013). Back then, the responsibility for management was attributed to the national level.

Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972, Article 5

"To ensure that effective and active measures are taken for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage situated on its territory, each State Party to this Convention shall endeavor, in so far as possible, and as appropriate for each country:

- (a) to adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programmes;
- (b) to set up within its territories, where such services do not exist, one or more services for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage with an appropriate staff and possessing the means to discharge their functions;
- (c) to develop scientific and technical studies and research and to work out such operating methods as will make the State capable of counteracting the dangers that threaten its cultural or natural heritage;
- (d) to take the appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures necessary for the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of this heritage; and
- (e) to foster the establishment or development of national or regional centres for training in the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage and to encourage scientific research in this field."

Operational Guidelines (OGs) written by UNESCO serve as a guiding thread for site authorities and are updated every one to four years. While some argue that the need for and importance of place-specific management planning appeared for the first time in the 2002 Budapest declaration on WH (Gullino, Larcher, 2013), the idea emerged in the 1997 OGs.

Between 1977 and 1997, UNESCO did not give recommendations on management and protection of nominated properties but rather asked information regarding projects and means for conservation and preservation, already existing at sites, to be included in the nomination files. In **1997** though, UNESCO started requiring more details on management processes, including existing management plans of the nominated sites. Still, this was related to plans formerly created on the area and did not ask for the design of new plans as a condition for the nomination. It was in **2005** that the idea of designing and implementing systems for the protection and management of sites recognized as World Heritage, became compulsory. Indeed, in the 2005 OGs, UNESCO included a whole new section on “protection and management”, 23 paragraphs long, asking for the existence or drawing of legislation, regulations and contractual measures for protection, boundaries, buffer zones, a reflection on the sustainable use of the site etc. (UNESCO, World Heritage Centre, 2005).

Compulsory Management Systems (MS) were understood as the description of: authorities, ownership, coordination, monitoring, mediation measures etc. that are implemented on site. It was defined as “a series of processes which together deliver a set of results, some of which feed back into the system to create an upward spiral of continuous improvement of the system, its actions and achievements” (UNESCO, ICCROM, ICOMOS, 2013, p.23). Those systems are dynamic and subject to change, reflecting processes occurring in communities (Ripp & Rodwell, 2018).

In **2008**, the OGs asked for the formalization of MSs into Management Plans (MPs). Those “should specify how the OUV of a World Heritage Site should be preserved, preferably through participatory means and promoted to ensure the effective protection of the site for present and future generations” (UNESCO 2008, paragraphs 108-109). A practical Guide, written by the German Commission for UNESCO, gave a more detailed idea of what a MP should include. This plan proposes seven modules:

1. Introduction to the fundamental concern, contents and objectives;
2. Statement of OUV. Considerations on authenticity and integrity;
3. Subject of protection, protection goal and instruments of protection;
4. Description of the protected area (physical characteristics);
5. Description of the management system (authorities and their mandates, how they are involved in creating the MP, detailed responsibilities and planning);
6. Considerations on sustainable development and use;
7. Resources (staff and budget).

This MP can incorporate real cartographic plans or maps, delimiting e.g. core and buffer areas.

Therefore, MPs are not just MSs put into a formalized book with chapters. These modules can be adapted to each site and their natural and cultural contexts (Ringbeck,

2018), but MPs are outlined tools that are static for a certain period of time (Ripp & Rodwell, 2018). Some processes that stakeholders have to consider when designing a MP are: short term and long term objectives (2, 5, 10 and up to 30 years), concrete methods for protection, scientific and technical supervision, assessment of the needs for restoration, the question of security, use, traffic, protection of the environment, past and potential threats, existing pressures, climate change and its effects, overpopulation or over-use if it is the case, conflict management mechanisms, education, and reporting and advertisement (Ringbeck, 2008).

Nonetheless, this template does not constitute a legal requirement and therefore its use remains quite flexible after all. Indeed, such a wide variety of sites exists that it would be counterproductive to normalize MPs.

Even today, a MP is not an obligation if a detailed MS is provided in the nomination file. One can see that sometimes a MP is created afterwards, to provide a clear, fully discussed and broadly supported agenda. This was the case in Bruges (Belgium) which entered the WH list in different stages (its Beguinage in 1998; its Belfry in 1999; the whole historical center in 2000 and finally the Holy Blood Procession as Intangible WH in 2009). Up to that moment, Bruges was relying on an older Master Plan. A real Management Plan according to UNESCO recommendations was put together in 2012 only, fueled by conflicting visions and opinions by different stakeholder groups.

Tourism is seldom mentioned in the **2017** OGs. Appearing 8 times – which is already more than in the 1977 OGs – it is regarded as a potential development pressure which should be elaborated in the nomination file and monitored in the periodic reporting addressed to UNESCO. According to the German Practical Guide though, the issue has to be addressed, as well as strategies for sustainable use:

“the extent of tourism-related use a World Heritage site can tolerate, the necessary infrastructure to do so and limits to tourism development and marketing have to be determined. If a tourism concept or something similar for the site already exists, it should be outlined. Visitor guidance concepts should also be integrated early into both the master plan and the management plan” (Ringbeck, 2008, p.38) and “it is very important to have set up the necessary infrastructure to receive, host and guide large numbers of visitors. Existing tourism concepts should, within the framework of the management plan, be orientated toward attracting additional visitors, including foreign visitors (especially from the cultural and educational tourism sector) and developing further offers for tourists” (Ibid, p.48).

MANAGEMENT PLANS FOR WORLD HERITAGE SITES ASSESSED

While having a management system was made compulsory in 2005 and a MP asked for in 2008, a large number of sites do not have a formalized MP (Jansen-Verbeke, McKercher, 2010). In parallel, some sites which have MPs wind up considering them as obstacles for their development. Sometimes one decides to take measures that seem not to work in synergy with the preservation of the OUV, eventually leading them to renounce to their nomination (e.g. Dresden in Germany). Before studying the concrete example of Bruges (see documents on the platform), we will outline the strengths and weaknesses of having formalized MPs for WHS and unravel the implicit/unspoken managing dynamics stemming from WHS nomination.

As we mentioned earlier, the drafting of MPs is a formal tool but its structure and content can differ from site to site. Setting a norm in content would be incoherent with the broad range of categories of WHS and the variety of MSs. This highlights the freedom sites have in organizing strategies, defining priorities, adopting participatory approaches and distributing management competencies. For sure, comparing MSs and/or MPs created by different sites opens considerable opportunities for research and knowledge sharing on management trends, participatory methods, priorities for WHS, good and poor practices. This also facilitates the identification of paths to help sites with reaching their objectives, and ensures a coherent follow-up of activities. In a broader sense, MSs and MPs are tools that enable sites to integrate the conflicting logics explained in the previous chapters of the MOOC, such as environment and culture, preservation and promotion (Lusiani *et al.*, 2018) among composing elements and stakeholders and harmonize the activities and strategies already in place on the sites' properties.

Yet, those plans might be considered by some as an illusion, a concept too ideal to become a reality, ideas on paper drafted by experts far from practice and which could never be implemented as such (Lusiani *et al.*, 2018); or simply even never drafted because they are considered as an extra workload in a bureaucratic context (Jansen-Verbeke, McKercher, 2010) with a western approach to heritage management (Ripp & Rodwell, 2018). Indeed, a discordance or implementation gap might pop up between the contents of MPs and what can be seen in reality. In the case of WHS, this discordance between MPs and practice is not exceptional since it can be observed in the broader field of development and planning, while "implementation in practice [is] a universal concern" (Ripp & Rodwell, 2018, p. 251).

The most reported criticism of MPs regards their static character. Indeed, we saw that contrarily to MSs, MPs are expected to be stable for a certain period of time (5, 10 or even longer). Their main mission is to protect sites' OUV to the risk of impairing developments which are fueled by dynamics. Indeed, the eleventh article of the 1972 Convention bluntly considers "large-scale public or private projects or rapid urban or tourism-development projects" as specific dangers, while considering tourism as a threat (UNESCO, 1972, article 11.4). In the 2017 OG's the formulation changed and such large-scale projects are not directly mentioned, but referred to broadly as "human-made factors" (UNESCO, 2017, p.51). Any action taken, or strategy foreseen for the site "should ensure that their OUV, including the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity at the time of inscription are sustained or enhanced over time" (UNESCO, World Heritage Centre, 2017, paragraph 96), and this also applies to actions taken regarding the sustainable use of sites (UNESCO, World Heritage Centre, 2017, paragraph 119). To be certain that management is in line with that goal, "legislative and regulatory measures at national and local levels should assure the protection of the property from social, economic and other pressures or changes that might negatively impact the OUV, including the integrity and/or authenticity of the property" (UNESCO, World Heritage Centre, 2017, paragraph 98). Hence, even if UNESCO's vision on heritage management changed since 1972 as explained in the first two chapters of the first volume of our course, current guidelines might be unable to adapt to unforeseen events and to the changing aspirations of local populations regarding their heritage.

Academic literature and popular press have been raising these questions in the last decades. Marco D'Eramo coined the term 'Unescocide', assimilating nominations with "the kiss of death", that freezes sites (D'Eramo, 2014, p.47). Yet academic literature is lacking on the topic. D'Eramo argues that UNESCO would have been horrified by the Rome of the 16th and 17th century in view of the conservation of the heritage from Antiquity (D'Eramo, 2014). He bases his thoughts on the fact that traditional people will always dislike what is new, to the same title that the Eiffel tower was very much disliked by locals when it was built. By wanting to preserve the OUV of sites, management plans might block the way for further development: this is how cities like Barcelona, Xian or Quito may feel. The Dresden Elbe Valley is indeed the first WHS that renounced to its nomination. Building the Waldschlösschen bridge (needed for connection with neighboring cities and as a way to reduce congestion) went against its OUV and therefore the site lost its title of cultural landscape. The decision was taken following a consultation of citizens through a referendum. Jan Mücke, city councilman, stated "in a democracy, we cannot have a dictatorship of a minority that, acting out of culture or aesthetic grounds, thinks they know more than the overwhelming majority of citizens" (Eco, 2007). In some cases, the persistence to preserve is considered to favor the wishes of tourists to the detriment of locals. Cities, that were created to link people, end up divided in zones as an answer to tourist influx, and sometimes "die out, becoming the stuff of taxidermy, a mausoleum with dormitory suburbs attached" (D'Eramo, 2014; Gray, 2015, p.47-48). On the other hand, one cannot deny that (uncontrolled) use (e.g. Tourism) often has destructive effects on natural environments as well as on cultural heritage (tangible and intangible). Growth oriented activities (for development) is 'resource exploitative' while 'resource preservationism' might deny indeed the needs of local communities and, thus, a fundamental paradox pops up in terms of sustainability. Therefore Burns (2004) pleads for a '3th way' based on planning and management. This implies that one tries to find compromises, and build the future through ideas that rise from the inhabitants themselves (Janusz et al., 2017).

WAYS FORWARD

Those examples seem to point at the fact that the balance between preservation and (sustainable) development is not easy and has still to be found and integrated into management plans. Indeed, as flexible as those might be in terms of content integration, most research on the topic converges in advising for a greater consideration of territorial contexts in traditional management systems, and a redefinition of visitors' 'rights' (Janusz et al., 2017).

Some concrete solutions proposed so far include:

- To communicate better about tourism and WH in order to break myths such as "nomination increases dramatically tourism" and "tourism is only a danger for sites" (Jansen-Verbeke, McKercher, 2010);
- Expanding the body of knowledge in different contexts, including accounting conditions for sustainable development and then communicate findings to governments in order to integrate them in new policies/guidelines for

management (Jansen-Verbeke & McKercher, 2010, Jansen-Verbeke & Vanneste, 2018);

- This body of knowledge also includes research on the human factor as the key to stakeholder mediation, visitors' management and on local governance in specific contexts (Ripp & Rowell, 2018, p.251);
- To redefine the goal of drafting MPs and use them for example as tools "to significantly improve community engagement at local level and also to be aware of their limitations" (Ripp & Rowell, 2018, p.251).
- Extreme but worth to be considered: to create tourist-lands and heritage parks, reproducing the preserved heritage outside of the city or next to the original site, to allow tourists to experience, and touch reproductions without neither harming the site nor diminishing the quality of life of locals (Eco, 2007).

A good MS or MP allows the preservation of heritage through modern practices. It illustrates the delicate balance between preserving an artifact, in our case a building, site, landscape, while implementing new concepts for use, which in the end do not impair its quality, but rather improve it while respecting its original characteristics. It allows sharing the WHS and all kinds of heritage for that matter, with present and future generations, contributing to their identity or, at least, creating empathy while avoiding over-use and over-consumption by over-commodification. The (managed) visitor is not an enemy but an ally who can contribute to the conservation rather than to the destruction of the (W)HS (Magosse et al., 2008). Another paradox can develop between market appeal and robusticity (du Cros, 2001; McKercher & Ho, 2006). Some sites with a high market appeal (eventually fueled by their WH designation) can be (very) vulnerable from a cultural value and/or from a physical value perspective. In such cases the MS and/or MP have to channel its product value and/or its experiential value (activities) by creating indicators for assessment and preventive actions and rules of conduct. One of the components of visitors' conduct is the use of space. A MP can be very detailed in the way visitors can use space by creating routes that guide visitor flows and zones that regulate accessibility. Of course, this can be subject of additional strategic tourism planning as well. The same goes for the local community and external stakeholders (e.g. investors in tourism facilities such as accommodation). A MP makes clear, in quantitative and qualitative terms, what kind of building and commodification is allowed in the core zone and in the buffer zone. Again, this can be elaborated in other spatial planning documents that are (have to be) in conformity with the MS. The OGS leave it open and delimitation of the area is the only request (Vahtikari, 2017). In some cases, a conventional buffer zone is lacking but other measures are taken such as in Edinburgh where a skyline policy has been put in place (City of Edinburgh Council et al., s.d.). Inevitably, MSs and MPs are compromise documents that take into account the needs and wants of many stakeholders. Therefore, the participative approach (refer Edinburgh, Bruges etc.) is very important to create a firm and broad basis of support which avoids conflicts and implementation gaps.

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Chapter 3: Behavior and Satisfaction on World Heritage Sites

From the Value Creation for the Territory to Visitors' Behavior and Satisfaction

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SUMMARY

In order to reduce the negative externalities due to mass tourism and its uneconomic concentration in some centers or in some periods of the year, it would be appropriate to diversify the heritage cultural offer. A decisive role can be assumed by UNESCO World Heritage Sites (WHSs), which allow to promote new itineraries through the rich cultural heritage of peripheral and/or landscape areas or WHSs, supporting it with a system of information services aiming to communicate the value of these historical sites. To intercept and adequately satisfies an ever broader and more complex demand for knowledge, culture and heritage an investigation of heritage and cultural tourists' behavior and main determinants of their satisfaction is carried out. Specifically, a model to measure the visitors' satisfaction of a WHS is proposed, with the aim to redefine the components of the product offer and propose visitors a variety of possible combinations of multiple and various experiences to live.

CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM

Tourism can be considered one of the most relevant industries, with a global economic contribution of over 7.6 trillion U.S. dollars in 2016 (Statista, 2016) and a constant growth of tourist arrivals reaching 1.2 billion in 2016 (UNTWO, 2016). Within the tourism industry, culture and heritage represent the most successful sector (Altunel and Erkut, 2015; Huh, Uysal and McCleary, 2016). It significantly contributes to economic growth (OECD, 2009), and already in 2009 the OECD considers cultural and heritage sites as economic assets (OECD, 2009; Macbeth, Carson and Northcote, 2004). About 40% of international travels include culture and heritage as component of tourists' experience (Timothy and Boyd, 2003); in Europe, 60% of visitors are involved to experience diverse cultures and 30% of choices about travel destinations depend on the availability of heritage sites (EICR, 2004). Visitors are often interested in heritage sites to discover different and unique cultures, together with the identity of the host territory (Donohoe, 2012; Li, Wu and Cai, 2008).

In many countries, tourism strategy has focused on the importance of heritage sites and cultural heritage with the purpose of attracting increasingly potential visitors to a destination. Among them, the UNESCO World Heritage Sites have become distinctive and unique attractions as travel destination (Breakey, 2012). The UNESCO Centre recognizes each year as World Heritage places or intangible elements that have a universal value from the perspective of history or art, and publishes the List of World Heritage Sites (WHS), the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage, and the List of World Heritage in Danger. "Outstanding universal value means cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity" (UNESCO, 2013, p. 24). Therefore, inclusion in the list of World Heritage assures the recognition, preservation, and transmission to future generations of a specific place or an intangible element (Lopez-Guzman, Galvez and Muñoz-Fernández, 2018; Saipradist and Staiff, 2007). At the same time, in many cases designation of World Heritage Sites has the effect to promote not only protection of destinations but also their tourist development (Su and Wall, 2012). Therefore, cultural heritage sites, attracting a large number of potential tourists, developed both to conserve the heritage and to educate and amuse visitors (Donohoe, 2012).

Cultural and heritage elements are part of tourism cultural capital that attracts tourists to satisfy their cultural expectancies (Laws, 1998). As cultural heritage sites possess a relevant economic value and can be commoditized to become the most consumed tourism product, it is therefore possible to conceptualize tourism cultural capital, a new phenomenon in cultural tourism. Cultural capital represents the cultural endowment that can be managed for the profitable development of a specific place and indicates both tangible and less tangible characteristics (Macbeth, Carson and Northcote, 2004). The tangible cultural attributes include heritage and places, arts and crafts – i.e., historical buildings, ruins, castles, museums and handcrafts – and those with less tangible characteristics incorporate cultural norms and behavior, traditions and values, history and social diversity – i.e., festivals, food and culinary practices. Cultural capital includes what has been inherited from the past and what future generations will receive

from the current generation, and can be deemed to be the major contributor to social capital development (Grangsjö, 2003; Macbeth, Carson and Northcote, 2004; Vengesai, 2003).

The trend of tourist flows demonstrates that, in recent years, cultural tourism, although constantly increasing, has continued to settle on the common places consecrated by the geography of the great tours, with seasonal arrivals and tourist numbers and a substantial concentration in medium large centers. Places characterized by a cultural heritage of reduced quantity, limited fame and minor monumental value discount the effects of competitively weak strategies by acting on the same markets where large museums and renowned art cities operate with an already consolidated brand. It is becoming more and more urgent the need not only to increase cultural tourism, but also to spread it throughout the year and in different areas than the traditional circuits of large art cities.

A decisive role can be assumed by the UNESCO World Heritage Sites (WHSs). The effective policies of cultural heritage enhancement require to recognize the extraordinary potential inherent to the relationship of each WHS with its territory, so as to understand the multifaceted, original, and economic function of the art products, as well as of the values rooted in the cultural continuum among agriculture and food and wine, urban planning and landscape, far beyond any rigid disciplinary distinction. In doing so, however, it is necessary to avoid falling on the territory of values extraneous to it or, furthermore, of forcing into a simple asset and, therefore, into a marked and restrictive connotation, the wide range of values of which the territory is a bearer. In order to develop deep-rooted and long-lasting development paths, it is needed to focus on the systemic enhancement of the historical and cultural heritage and the multiplicity of productive resources of a territory, as components of a single integrated territorial marketing plan, with innovation and qualification of the “local culture for development” being equally competitive (Casini and Zucconi, 2003).

It follows that, in order to reduce the negative externalities due to the mass tourism and its uneconomic concentration in some centers or in some periods of the year, it would be appropriate to diversify the cultural offer. This purpose can be achieved by tracing and promoting new itineraries through the rich cultural heritage of peripheral and/or landscape areas or WHSs, supporting it with a system of information services aiming to communicate the value of these historical sites incorporated in the heritage as a territorially circumstantiated system. The focus should be on sites characterized by a cultural heritage of less monumental importance, but widespread, whose potential value is, in fact, conspicuous. The reason is based on the fact that, both public administrators and professionals – that are responsible of management of culture – and visitors’ – that have specific expectations and desires – are, sometimes, not aware of this value or do not attach it great importance (Cabasino and Trimarchi, 1997). In support of the development potential inherent to new and widespread tourist itineraries, there is also a growing demand for alternative tourism, “connected to the search for unique, authentic experiences, aimed at discovering the new, outside traditional and mass circuits” (Pencarelli, 2005).

To intercept and adequately satisfy an ever-broader and more complex demand for knowledge, culture and heritage an analysis of the existing and potential tourism demand has to be accomplished. In doing so, marketing research has to investigate heritage and cultural tourists' behavior and main determinants of their satisfaction. Specifically, the distinct expectancies – i.e., expectations and desires – of the visitors' segments have to be investigated, with the aim to redefine the components of the product offer and propose them a variety of possible combinations of multiple and various experiences to live.

CHARACTERISTICS OF HERITAGE AND CULTURAL TOURISTS

Tourism consumption includes some peculiar characteristics that differentiate it from other categories of fruition experiences. Firstly, it has an intense emotional value, as visitors are greatly and, sometimes, enthusiastically involved in the fruition process thus displaying great expectancies – in terms of both expectations and desires – around the advantages they can benefit from. Secondly, tourists require to visit the territory or the site where the fruition process takes place, therefore changing the characteristics of the territory or the site themselves that become intrinsic elements of. Thirdly, the touristic offer has a multifactorial and compound character, as the consumption process include a variety of different tangible and intangible elements – such as accommodation, transports, food, leisure, environment, shopping – each of them can contribute – either positively or negatively – to the overall evaluation of the tourism experience (Chi and Qu, 2008; Vanhove, 2004).

Literature on cultural and heritage tourism have highlighted features, expansion, and management of cultural and heritage tourism, and has investigated socio-demographic, psychological and behavioral characteristics of cultural and heritage visitors. For example, Balcar and Pearce (1996) analyzed patterns of demand and carried out an evaluation of different elements of eight heritage sites in New Zealand. Other studies specified a common pattern of cultural and heritage visitors by considering their socio-demographic characteristics, such as age, gender, income, marital status, occupation, education or ethnic background (Silberberg, 1995). Moreover, market segmentation of tourists visiting an internationally well-known cultural festival have been investigated (Formica and Uysal, 1998).

Studying characteristics of heritage and cultural tourists, literature has focused on the definition of heritage visitors, with the aim to delineate whether all the visitors of a WHS can be considered heritage tourists, or only some of them (Nguyen and Cheung, 2014; Silberberg, 1995). For example, considering their interest and motivation, tourists can be categorized in four classes, and specifically: those unintentionally involved by cultural tourism, those with adjunct motivation by cultural tourism, those partially motivated by cultural tourism and those importantly motivated by cultural tourism (Silberberg, 1995). Other studies segmented tourists in three groups: visitors that do not believe heritage be a component of their personal perspective, those that believe heritage be a component of their personal perspective and those that believe heritage be a component of their personal perspective but they are not conscious of it (Poria, Butler and Airey, 2003). According to a different classification, tourists can be divided into five different categories: purposeful cultural tourists, sightseeing cultural tourists, causal

cultural tourists, incidental cultural tourists and serendipitous cultural tourists (McKercher and Du Cros, 2003; Nguyen and Cheung, 2014).

Considering behavioral, motivational, and demographic characteristics of cultural and heritage tourists a number of variables have been considered, specifically: age, gender, total household incomes, educational level, tourists' travel behavior characteristics included party in a group, past experience, length of stay, decision time taken to select a destination, and sources of information about the destination. It has been highlighted that tourists with an interest in visiting heritage or cultural sites (i.e., "heritage tourists") are more highly educated than the general public, have a higher average annual income than the general tourists, are more likely to be female than male, tend to be in older age, are inclined to spend more money and time while on holiday (Kerstetter, Confer, and Graefe, 2001; Silberberg, 1995). Other studies have examined socio-demographic variables of cultural and heritage tourists in Taiwan (Master and Prideaux, 2000), and in Italy, have accomplished an a posteriori market segmentation to investigate a yearly event, the Spoleto Festival, that combines internationally renowned cultural exhibitions with historical sites (Formica and Uysal, 1998). Besides tourists' demographic variables, individuals' travel characteristics (travel group types) and past experience with a destination have been examined, showing the link of the number of travels visitors have taken to the chosen destination and place attachment.

MAIN MOTIVES FOR WORLD HERITAGE SITES ATTENDANCE

The presence of a rich heritage recognized by UNESCO is undoubtedly of benefit to the host regions. The WH brand makes the site more famous and is associated with a series of benefits whose impact is generally positive, but it obliges to improve the resources and products aimed at the tourist and to segment the tourism offer. Tourist satisfaction, of course, depends on the ability to offer alternatives in terms of greater enjoyment, pleasure and gratification.

Indeed, this is in line with new demands for stimulating holiday addressed to the discovery of nature, history and culture of a place. WHS tourists also place particular attention on the atmosphere, evocativeness and human context of the visited places. They thus entail focusing on the attractive capacity of heritage, which consist of monuments, works of art, cultural traditions and past and present landscapes as a motive for interest in the past. The WHSs include also cultural attractions ranging from historical monuments to the urban and rural landscape identified within the local cultural heritage. Visits to WHSs are frequently associated with the demand for cultural heritage that allows the traveler to satisfy emotional and intellectual needs, in the search for culture, authenticity and education. The WHS meets the need for identity, a necessary antidote to the rapid changes driven by 'global' processes and a useful brake on the passage of time and history. The WH sites have a story to tell, though require adequate analytical methods and interpretative models to place them in their correct cultural and historical context.

To the tourists the varied WHSs seem like myths and legends. They may favor the perpetuation of modern society's "free time myth", which psychologists link to the myth of "Oedipus", understood as the research for one's identity, in physical contact with the

natural environment. Moreover, it can be connected to the “golden age”, in the sense of a return to one’s origins in the desire for authenticity, or to the myth of the “desert”, as an escape from all the chaotic and artificial elements of the urban landscape (Antonioli Corigliano, 1999).

WH cultural tourism generates flows associated with the new needs of society, increasingly anxious to combine physical well-being with the environmental context and attentive to regional assets. They encourage new and alternative types of tourism such as religious tourism, eco-tourism, slow tourism, food-and-wine tourism, wellness tourism and health tourism. The World’s intangible heritage of humanity takes to the tourists an active part in the cultural and economic dynamics of the community they are visiting. The new traveler desires a holiday that enables participatory interaction with local artistic expressions, cultural heritage and characteristic local products and facilitates contact with the residents and the creative flow of local culture; in other words, a holiday that enables involvement in authentic and genuine experiences. The WH sites also give special attention to the rural settlement, atmosphere, the suggestion evoked and the living environment of the places visited.

CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISTS’ SATISFACTION

Literature has shown that tourist satisfaction is deemed to be a relevant factor for the profitable management of a destination and expansion of the tourist industry, thus increasing the likelihood of the commercial success of a destination (Li, Wu and Cai, 2008; Patuelli, Mussoni and Candela, 2013; Torres and Kline, 2013). Business oriented cultural and heritage organizations have recently demonstrated a growing interest toward satisfaction and, in particular, to the total experience they provide visitors, which can include “leisure, culture, education and social interaction” (cf., de Rojas and Camarero, 2007).

Visitors’ satisfaction, which can be defined as “the degree to which one believes that an experience evokes positive feelings” (Rust and Oliver, 1994) influences the visitors’ fruition process, the consumption of products and services, the choice of destinations and the decision to revisit them (Kozark and Rimmington, 2000). It also generates a positive word-of-mouth, thus influencing loyalty and customer retention. In fact, visitors’ evaluation of the pleasure they obtained from a particular visit highlights whether or not they were satisfied with their visit. When tourists are satisfied with their travel experience, they will be likely to return to the destination, pass on good information and recommend others to visit it (Yoon and Uysal, 2005). Moreover, they also share a positive image of it with others thus contributing to create a positive image of the destination itself (Dhankhar and Singh, 2014). Besides the repurchasing attention travel, satisfaction also affects the willingness to pay more (Baker and Crompton, 2000; Bosque and Martín, 2008), and has a remarkable influence on evidencing the authenticity of a destination (Aksoy and Kiyici, 2011).

Several studies have investigated customer satisfaction, also in the tourism sector. For example, the expectation perception gap model (Parasuraman, Zeithaml, and Berry, 1985), the expectancy-disconfirmation theory (Oliver, 1980), and the performance-only model (Pizam, Neumann and Reichel, 1978) have been employed to evaluate tourist

satisfaction with specific tourism destinations. Other researchers have also considered the comparison of standards used in service quality and satisfaction, thus proving different measures of the considered constructs (Ekinci, Riley, and Chen, 2001; Liljander, 1994). Among satisfaction-based theories, one of the widest accepted approaches is the theory of expectancy-disconfirmation by Oliver's (1980). According to this model, customer satisfaction was considered as a post-purchase evaluation judgment (i.e., a positive psychological state) resulting from a discrepancy between expectations before the purchase of a good (product or service) and the performance experienced with its use (Oliver, 1997). Expectancy-disconfirmation theory thus sustains that consumers develop expectations about products' or services' performance prior to purchase or use.

Many studies have focused on customer satisfaction in tourism behavior research. For example, Pizam and Milman (1993) introduced the expectancy disconfirmation model (Oliver, 1980) into hospitality research, to consider the predictive power of visitors' satisfaction, while others (Barsky, 1992; Barsky and Labagh, 1992) launched the same model into lodging research. Some authors examined the factor structure of tourists' satisfaction with their destinations (Pizam, Neumann and Reichel, 1978; Rust, Zahorik, and Keininghan, 1996), showing that it is worth measuring the relative importance of each attribute of the destination, because visitor dis/satisfaction with one of the attributes also influence dis/satisfaction with the whole tourist destination.

Visitors differently perceive destination varying on the attributes of the destination itself, such as availability of facilities and opportunities offered, renown and novelty, quality of tourism services at a destination, and the kind of experience gained from it (Correia, Kozak and Ferradeira, 2013). Satisfaction, which is related to the tourists' expectations prior to taking their travel (Antón, Camararo and Laguna-Garzia, 2017), is determined by the overall experience, which includes aspects linked to the following four elements: leisure, culture, education and social interaction (Chen and Chen, 2010).

A number of studies have also examined cultural and heritage destination attributes able to satisfy tourists when they visited different destinations all over the world. For example, in a study conducted in Denmark the authors found that castles, gardens, museums, and historical buildings were the relevant elements when tourists made a choice to visit that country (Anderson, Prentice and Guerin, 1997). Another research examined the relevance of Thailand's heritage attractions to both international and domestic tourism, considering the relevance of traditional villages, monuments, museums, and temples, and an investigation of the national tourism agency's promotion of heritage (Peleggi, 1996). In China, it has been studied the influence of history, culture, traditional festivals, historical events, beautiful scenic heritage, historical sites, architecture, folk arts (music, dancing, craft work) and folk culture villages (Sofield and Li, 1998).

Heritage and cultural tourist destinations should carry out a systematic planning, execution and control of visitors' satisfaction levels and employ these as part of the appraisal criteria. The measurement of tourist satisfaction is relevant because it allows distinguishing the attributes of the destination perceived by visitors, discovering what positioning and image the destination communicates, with the purpose to foster and

maintain its preservation. As a matter of fact, the tourists' satisfaction influences the place occupied in consumers' mind and, consequently, their image and brand.

Customer satisfaction directly and positively influences loyalty (Chi and Qu, 2008), which relates to the visitors' future behavior and can be measured through both the intention to revisit and the recommendation to others (Antón, Camarero and Laguna-Garzia, 2017). Loyalty is a vital component in marketing strategies, as it can be deemed the best estimator of visitors' behavior (Chen and Chen, 2009). It is also related with positive word-of-mouth, as loyal visitors tend to share recommendation and communication with other people (Baker and Crompton, 2000). Specifically, it is possible to discriminate between two categories of loyalty: behavioral loyalty – expressed by a repeated fruition or consumption – and attitudinal loyalty – expressed by an attitude of recommending the tourist destination to others and returning to visit it in the future (Barroso, Martín and Martín, 2007; Oppermann, 2000).

A PROPOSED MODEL TO MEASURE HERITAGE AND CULTURAL TOURISTS' SATISFACTION

In literature, the most accepted approaches for measuring consumer satisfaction (Oliver, 1980, 1997) usually consider cognitive and affective factors influencing this construct thus neglecting emotional components. However, more recent marketing studies have highlighted the importance of the emotions in satisfaction formation (see, Oliver, 1993; Rodriguez and San Martin, 2008) and of the intangible side of the enjoyment of the service product compared to the objective quality of its performance.

The perceived performance subjectively understood by the consumer on the basis of both his/her mental schemata and personal goals – and not the objective ones – is able to decisively influence the intention to repeat consumption (Spreng, MacKenzie and Olshavsky, 1996; Spreng and Olshavsky, 1993). Moreover, perceived satisfaction does not derive from the simple use of a product/service or the performance resulting from the simple fruition but should be compared to the entire consumption experience. There is the need to consider that an increase or decrease in subjective well-being can be affected by each phase of the consumption experience to which it refers, namely, by the pre-purchase and post-purchase stages of consumption (Guido, Bassi and Peluso, 2010). The evaluation judgment is here considered not only in relation to the simple visit to a heritage cultural destination but also to all the aspects of visitor experience, which comprises, according to a consolidated model (Wilkie, 1994), the following phases: i) need recognition; ii) search of information, iii) evaluation of alternatives; iv) purchase decision; and v) post-purchase evaluation.

As individual decisions result not only by rational and coherent decision-making processes aimed to meet a need, aspects characterizing each phase of consumption or fruition can be related to unconscious and emotional dimensions of fruition (Addis, Holbrook, 2001). Therefore, to investigate visitors' satisfaction in its holistic, emotional and aesthetic as well as cognitive nature it is needed to enrich this model based on utilitarian and rational decisions with the hedonistic and emotional aspects proposed by the experiential approach. The proposed model (see Prete et al., 2018) to measure heritage cultural visitors is included in this chapter's activities.

THE SYSTEMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE TERRITORY

The communication and systemic organization of the resources of the territory in a widespread and culturally holistic structure can be effectively developed by the use of the themes – defined as possible thematic readings in key enhancement of a territory (CUEIM, 2006). The establishment of a system of physical cultural capital (by means of museums or not) with intangible cultural capital and naturalistic capital can be accomplished. By presenting the heritage through the organization of itineraries conceived as an itinerant exhibition with the cornerstones of museums, the themes would have all the advantages that exhibitions, experimentally, have compared to museums. Moreover, the related economic and organizational costs (including those related to the movement objects, such as authorizations, packaging, transport, and insurance, etc.) can be avoided, as well as, the museum does not need to be replaced (Cerquetti, 2010).

The definition of thematic territorial “concepts” would indeed be able to make the natural and cultural heritage easily perceivable and more attractive, directing the user in the understanding of the system of resources, as well as in the planning of fruition activities. Among the merits of the themes, it can be recognized the possibility of making explicit the “spirit of the place” (Caroli, 2003) or, still better, “the culture of the place”, in order to promote the dissemination, for current and potential users, of the awareness of the values that characterize the history and life in a given area. The definition of the theme of the experience becomes, therefore, a crucial element. To discuss an experience means to create a set of information that positions the territory, thanks to the WHS, both for tourists and economic operators (Pencarelli, 2005).

The basis of this valorization strategy is, of course, a careful analysis of all the local characteristics, directed to identify the typologies of resources, already rooted in the place, that have greater potential for development. Among these, the identity of WHS emerges in an incontrovertible manner. Moreover, the thematic issue, by proposing a model of multiple and variously modular territorial organization, has the merits of planning an integrated territorial plan (Conference of Regions, 1998; Primicerio, 1993). Indeed, it favors the use of heterogeneous and sectorial financial sources, through the progressive involvement of multiple and numerous actors and the progressive implementation of the organization in the system through both top-down and bottom-up processes. In particular, the thematic organization of territorial resources would allow the connection with more elements of the production chain of tourist interest (food and wineries, local crafts, farms, etc.), further increasing the economic development of the territory.

According to this approach, therefore, the places and WHSs would acquire a strategic value and not the museums, which, instead, would take on an instrumental value, proposing itself as a physical, organizational and intellectual gateway to the territory symbolized by a landscape or by a site recognized worldwide. Against the increasing standardization of the places to which mass tourism moves, a WHS would become the ideal venue for the interpretation and communication of the worth of the territory as a repository of identity values, as well as territorial cornerstone for the cultural heritage policy, productive pole and management that binds itself in the urban and territorial

context. It involves not only museums, but also churches, theaters, libraries, and squares, according to the already known strategies of the “museum-square”, the “museum-compensation” and the “museum-network” (Dragoni, 2005).

More and more WHSs will have the task of re-establishing the link with the territory, becoming the cornerstone of much wider itineraries, as a hub for new tourist routes, much richer by capillarity and significance compared to the summary tracks of the great tourism. Therefore, they will be able to balance the distribution of flows in different places and for the whole year (Montella, 2006), with particular attention to “geographically close endogenous tourism, a harbinger of relevant and immediate social and economic benefits” (Montella, 2006, p. 359).

In fact, the strategic objective of an effective territorial marketing activity is not only the development of a key to understanding the territory according to the satisfaction of the expectations of its current and potential demand (Caroli, 2003), but also the identification and attraction of “those parts of the demand that are carriers of the most suitable resources for the process of sustainable economic development of the territory”. For the purpose of enhancing the cultural heritage far from the large art cities, the attention to tourists from neighboring areas, in fact, would allow the territory to express better its competitive potential.

PRODUCT AND PROCESS INNOVATION

In order to decongest the places that are overly frequented, passing from a concentration of cultural tourism on a few art centers to a polycentric distribution throughout the territory, an effective marketing action for the peripheral areas must intercept and adequately communicate the attracting factors of the territory (Cerquetti, 2007). To achieve this goal, in tune with the changed demand for culture, it is necessary to act on the quality of the information provided to tourists, which should concern not only the objects, but also the entire context of reference. “Multiple news, certain, understandable on the determinants of origin, on the subsequent events, on the changes in use, meaning and form that have taken place over the centuries and on the derivative current appearance of objects, complexes and contexts” (Montella, 2003). Thanks to the contribution of the new technologies, it would also be necessary to provide users with the possibility of autonomously constructing his own visits, diversifying the offer. This approach would make it possible to satisfy the right of citizenship to culture, increasing the cultural capital of a person in a manner that responds to the constitutional principles and objectives of the Charter on cultural tourism for the responsible management of fruition activities in sites of cultural relevance (ICOMOS, 1999). It pursues the strengthening of the cultural heritage conservation and management systems, in order to make the meaning of the heritage itself accessible to local and remote users. Alongside the necessary sustainability of tourism activities, or the need to eliminate or at least reduce to tolerance levels the numerous negative externalities that are too often found, the ICOMOS Charter sets out clearly the meritorious purposes of cultural tourism, as an activity which contributes to the production of value for the person.

At the same time, it is necessary to operate on the quantity of the cultural capital stock, integrating the great museums and, with the widespread heritage on the territory among which the WHSs emerge, capturing the value inherent to the shape of the landscape and the cities through continuous references between the territory and its own cultural heritage and belonging to the whole humanity. To do this, the network organization (Bagdadli, 2001) appears crucial to connect and share all the cultural assets placed on the same territory, especially in the European context, particularly rich in art and natural attractions. These forms of organization would then allow to establish “common purchasing centers” of goods and services, to establish common structures for the supply of instrumental services to the public, to create real “area staff” through agreements for the use of personnel in several places of culture and to carry out training and updating projects for personnel involved in cultural services. In fact, this indication leads to a network organization process characterized by a bottom-up logic.

MANAGERIAL IMPLICATIONS

To reduce the negative externalities due to mass tourism and its uneconomic concentration in some centers and, therefore, to respond to the changing demand for culture, it would be appropriate to diversify the cultural offer. This aim could be achieved by tracing and promoting new itineraries through the rich cultural heritage of the outlying areas, supporting it with a system of information services aimed at communicating the value of historical significance incorporated in the heritage as a territorially circumstantiated system.

The possible strategies illustrated above would guarantee, on the communication side, a full intellectual accessibility to the stock of material and intangible capital that is musealized and not musealized through the recovery of the heritage bond with the physical and historical contexts of reference, primarily with WHSs. The effective possibility of implementing the meritorious aims of the cultural sites would also allow exalting the distinctive peculiarities projecting them on the generality of the territory, according to its civil and economic development. On the managerial side, the proposed strategies represent an efficient possibility of implementing economies of scale in the museum environment, as also emphasized by the literature on the subject (Zan, 1999, 2003).

Future research will be able to grasp the further possibilities of development of complementary services related to the tourism-cultural offer, in particular those related to accommodation, catering and mobility (infrastructures, public transport, etc.), as well as the commercial valorization of agri-food products and artisans of an area, combining the aims and objectives of public subjects with market demands. The chain that leads to the creation of value for a territory, in fact, can not be only applied to some elements of the offer, but must include all the actors participating in its production, with the awareness of operating within a system in which not only the individual services, but also their interaction, contribute to the creation of the overall tourist experience.

CONCLUSIONS

When properly managed, cultural heritage elements – both tangible and intangible – can be advantageous and strongly contribute to innovation, economic growth, and sustainable development of tourist destinations (Macbeth, Carson and Northcote, 2004). By fostering visitors to spend more time at destinations (Vengesai, 2003), they can generate a chain of economic opportunities, such as developing employment, producing revenue, offering different and superior hospitality facilities, in addition to offering education and training. Thus, cultural capital has an essential role in the tourist industry (Grangsjö, 2003; Vengesai, 2003), and becomes a critical resource for positioning, strengthening, forming, developing and creating the identity of a specific territory (Li, Wu and Cai, 2008).

The tourist product tends to reconfigure itself as a “product-experience”, in which tourists, eager to articulate their holiday in a multi-dimensional and multi-thematic way, around multiple modules, play a more and more active role. However, the approach based on the economy of experiences should be declined according to the valorization of resources and local culture, paying particular attention to the contents and methods of providing information for the best user satisfaction. In this way, the tourist offer provided by visiting WHSs can become an experience of the global culture of the community that insists on all its various manifestations, thus avoiding the use of spectacle techniques that risk standardizing the offer on an asset that can trivialize the vast range of the value of a territory.

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Chapter 4: Historical Memories and Tourism on World Heritage Sites

Historical Memory and Social Reconstruction: the Role and Responsibilities of Tourism in World Heritages Sites

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SUMMARY

There is a dialectical and complex relationship between historical memory, heritage, tourism and host communities. Such a relationship is subject to tensions that materialize in narratives promoted by different social actors; they put into value identity and cultural constructions that show games of power and interests according to their social role. It is the task of tourism to give voice to the historical memory, respecting the tangible and intangible heritage, promoting an intercultural dialogue and developing an equitable social participation.

TWO DIFFERENT VISIONS OF REMEMBERING THE PAST: MEMORY AND HISTORY

Memory “has been a major preoccupation for social thinkers since the Greeks. Yet it was not until the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries that a distinctively social perspective on memory became prominent” (Olick & Robbins, 1998, p. 106). In fact, it started to be seen as a category for history in the XX and XXI centuries when historic memory began to be important as a testimony of the people who survived conflicts; it was seen as a justice act for the victims (Rueda Arenas, 2013). Although, the memory of conflicts is not the only studied today in the social sciences, it addresses also plural historical memories.

There are two different and contradictory aspects in the construction of the past: memory which is in constant evolution, susceptible to changes and appropriations, and history based on evidence and documents. Memory has always been criticized because of its continual change and subjectivity; opposed to history represented by objectivity and precision (Schwarzstein, 2001). In fact, “history is linear and privileges past and future; memory is cyclical and favors the present” (Hutton, 2015, p. xxv).

For Hutton (2015), memory cannot substitute history in any way, because the memory is in constant change, and depends on the needs of the present, and history depends solely on evidence. Memory and history are two opposite ways of knowing the past. For Katriel (1999) there are two orientations for this knowledge: the “memory orientation” is mythologizes the past to give it a sense in the present; while “historical orientation” is an exploration of the past viewed linearly understanding causes and consequences. According to Pierre Nora, memory is carried by living beings about a situation and fact that they lived.

“Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name. It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived” (Nora, 1989, p. 9)

It is important to differentiate between social memory and historical reconstruction: social memory is a direct testimony of an event; while historical reconstruction depends on evidence and traces. They are different, but they complement each other: the historical reconstruction gives shape and transcends social memory, and this last one can give guidelines and basis for the history (Katriel, 1999; Connerton, 2013).

For Pierre Nora (1984) memory is situated, not necessarily in a geographical space, but in places that can be material and concrete or abstract or intellectually constructed. Memory is also understood as “a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present;(…) Memory, insofar as it is affective and magical, only accommodates those facts that suit it; it nourishes recollections that may be out of focus or telescopic, global or detached, particular or symbolic-responsive to each avenue of conveyance or phenomenal screen, to every censorship or projection.” (Nora, 1989, p. 9)

Through memory, the symbolic truth is unraveled more than the historical reality, which entails to the reflection on the role of oblivion, exclusions or silences, as a way of choosing the symbolic truths that are unveiled by a collectivity or that were left subsumed from the collective memory. It is a matter of understanding the collective

memories as social practices that include processes, stories and representations of the past, that are accepted by a particular group.

Memory became important for social sciences since 1970, due to the violent past of certain communities (Martínez, 2013; Reyes, 2015). Sociology, philosophy, and psychology have improved in the understanding of recovery and divulgation of memory, based on periods of conflict, war and violence (Rueda Arenas, 2013). Researches have also helped to analyze how a society confronts the past and how the recent conflict can be narrated (Martínez, 2013). For Starostina (2015) the construction of narratives of wars is an intent to understand and give the possibility to transcend in societies: “war narratives become constructed as myths: myths promise to explain the existence of evil, individual suffering, and tragedy” (Starostina, 2015, p. xii).

MEMORY, IDENTITY AND TOURISM: MULTIPLE SENSES, COMPLEX RELATIONSHIPS

The acknowledgement of the past is also important for the construction of individual and group identities: “the community identities that have been emerging recently also need the support of history, in the form of a vivid memory and of a usable past that can lend legitimacy to their present-day existence” (Gyáni, 2008, p. 1199). Memory is linked to the experience of individuals and collectivities, although when it is not lived personally, it can also be transmitted to be part of social representations or shared narratives that forge differentiated identities (Villa and Barrera, 2017). For Nora “memory is by nature multiple and yet specific; collective, plural, and yet individual” (Nora, 1989, p. 10).

Memory is one of the forgers of identity, but it is also framed in power games; they are constructed from different perspectives that can structure national, ethnic, cultural, group or individual identities (Epstein, 2001, Zerubavel, 2003, Sorek, 2011, Reading, 2011 cited in Villa y Barrera, 2017).

The national identities have been characterized on five criteria:

“a proper name that defines the imagined community; a link with a historically defined territory; one or more elements that characterize and mark the shared culture (religion, language, etc.); shared collective and historical memories, which imply a common past and collective myths of origin; finally, rights, obligations, a regulated economy and mobility within territorial political limits” (Herranz and Basabé, 1999, cited in Villa and Barrera, 2017, p. 8).

On the other hand, ethnic identities are expressed in myths and lineages (Villa and Barrera, 2017, p.8), although, currently, these identities are multiple and fragmented in group and individual identities and, of course, society in general.

Memory is incorporated into tangible and intangible expressions that fulfill a mnemonic function of recording. It is associated with myths, songs and ritual paraphernalia; it is present in the expressed iconography through multiple cultural practices such as ceramics, painting, petroglyphs and pictographs; it is also part of maps, and calendars; as well as objects of tangible culture: fabrics and costumes. Also, in the cooking, music, and dance and in the ways of relating, combing, playing.

Historical memory is expressed through polyphonic narratives, with multiple enunciators such as the State, the media, the school, cultural organizations like museums, public places like squares, monuments, places of sociability and in a contemporary way, social networks. These elements are the carriers that reveal, fold and interstices that are unveiled or hidden according to social, political, or economic interests.

Some historical memory is valued by tourism: it can be localized, either in recognized heritage sites or in those places with a broad symbolic sense, lived on a daily basis by social groups. Such touristification of historical memory can be an instrument of collective action, materialized through narratives, routes and attractions, making them a space for reconciliation, visibility or in some cases producing the opposite effect minimizing and trivializing such memories: the memories of enslaved people, victims of war or conflict, or those who have been excluded.

VALORIZATION OF PATRIMONIAL SITES FOR TOURISM THROUGH HISTORICAL MEMORY: RESPONSIBLE USE OF THE PAST, CONSTRUCTION OF NARRATIVES AND CREATION OF TOURIST IMAGINARIES

Another element that promotes the collective construction of memory is the valuation of heritage sites; it fosters and consolidates processes of safeguarding, research and reappropriation of historical and social memory.

Heritage sites that represent communities, become promoters of local memory initiatives that establish a dialectical relationship with local population, as it is part of their cultural identity; and, it is an attraction with potential and real visitors.

The protection and safeguarding of the cultural heritage as well as the reconstruction and the re-signification of the historical memory, are facts that are contextualized in contemporary dynamics, where cultural diversity is present in the global policies as well as in national, regional, local or ethnic and minority groups. Tourism is also considered as a social, economic and cultural phenomenon deeply enrolled with communication technologies, social network and advances in ICT and in innovation concepts.

These heritage sites become reconfigured by the re-elaboration of memory, showing how cultural heritage is interpreted and used from generation to generation according to their systems of cultural and symbolic meanings. Meanwhile, tourism as an agent of management of cultural heritage, is assumed as a generator of economic resources useful for its sustainability. Nonetheless, the impact and transformations generated by the dynamics of growing tourism have influenced in the way in which the international community has responded through the review and re-elaboration of programs and policies. (Viejo-Rosé, 2011).

It can be concluded that the evolution of memory policies and their representation, take place in heritage sites. These sites are places created based on significant events in the history of humankind. Places like cities, historical centers, museums, monuments, housing constructions; as well as other patrimonialized spaces such as cemeteries, former concentration camps or places of worship and remembrance.

The desire to travel and visit cultural heritages also involves a matter of prestige. Tourism is a way to communicate values and receive symbolic and monetized values. This is how tourism has gone from being rejected, to be considered as part of global policies on cultural heritage, with processes of declarations of heritage and enhancement and use of historical, archaeological sites or territories that are relevant for their cultural and identity attributes.

Sites of wars, conflicts and, more recently, terrorism (as the most contemporary expression of violence) are also considered. Some consider that historical memory sites are violated by the so called dark tourism, which turns them into sites of postmodernity in which people negotiate economically with the reconstruction of significant and painful spaces. For others, the so called dark tourism is a gimmicky (Sánchez, 2017, P. 90).

The touristic use of places of remembrance, of tragedies, and death in patrimonialized scenarios and sites, creates controversies on what heritage must be shown, how it should be shown and if its rightful the conversion into touristic attraction. These postures argue the trivialization of the historical memory (Hartmann, 2005).

The arguments in favor, sustain that the fact that a tourist can experience, observe, listen, or keep a respectful silence of the historical memory for those who died and for future generations, can be highly positive. Tourism is seen as a powerful instrument of transmission, teaching, and assimilation of what this heritage communicates; high levels of understanding, respect, tolerance and responsibility for common history can be achieved, as argued in the well-known report, "Our Common Future" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1984).

In the current situation, the opening of these places to general public and tourism has to entail discourses with eloquent and tacit messages, capable of transcending the mere service of guidance and attractiveness.

The conflicts that are narrated today are increasingly distant from the experience of contemporary generations (Roigé, 2016, p.42), this is why the tourist, as an ephemeral visitor, demands a more responsible use of the past, based on the construction of narratives that humanize the protagonists, and transcend a flat narration of historical data. Here, the dividing line between tangible and intangible heritage is becoming increasingly tenuous.

Tourism as a source of creation and as a reproducer of imaginaries, affects the actions of human beings immerse in a networking logic that modifies the operation and outcomes in processes of production, experience, power, and culture (Castells, 2010, p.5). Ideas are modeled and transmitted through narrations and images that circulate through the internet. Photos, selfies, or inappropriate use of clothes are not banal aspects. The need to connect appropriately the receiver and the message emerge with strength.

Between codes of behavior and the art of storytelling, there is a responsibility in the use of communication of what these heritage sites of historical memory mean to society. The purpose must aim to create imaginaries mediated by ethics of tourism.

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Chapter 5: Religious Tourism

Religious Heritage: the Importance of the Intangible Dimension

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SUMMARY

The aim of this module is to describe the nature of immaterial heritage. Most usually, we think about intangible heritage as celebrations, know-how, worldviews and other such manifestations as defined in the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2003). There is another type of immaterial heritage that we, as visitors or managers, tend to forget – as it is hidden in plain sight: the intangible values of tangible heritage. That is, the history, celebrations, beliefs, food, music, etc. linked to a specific physical place (a castle, a square, a sculpture, etc.), which ultimately are its soul and endow it with meaning and significance within a specific community.

This module briefly reflects on this notion and ends with some initial considerations for site management and to ensure a smooth experience for all stakeholders sharing one same space (visitors, religious communities, city dwellers, etc.).

INTRODUCTION

The lists of World Heritage sites (tangible) and practices (intangible) include a significant number of elements connecting to religion and, generally speaking, the notion of the Sacred. Some of these sites are obviously linked to spirituality. Little justification is needed about the Jesuit Block and Estancias of Córdoba (Argentina), the rock-hewn Churches of Lalibela (Ethiopia), Sceilg Mhichíl (Republic of Ireland), the Bahá'i Holy Places in Haifa and Western Galilee (Israel) or the historic sanctuary of Machu Picchu (Peru). The latter already introduces us to the idea that the sacred is not related only to man-made structures, but also to cultural landscapes or pure natural areas. For example, Australia is considered a sacred ground by Aboriginal communities.

As Aulet (2012) compiles, in many occasions sacred spaces have been selected according to energetic phenomena such as certain atmospheric conditions, temperature and/or light changes, magnetic areas, underground water deposits or streams, volcanic areas, or simply due to the shape of the terrain (mountains, caves...). People are affected by these both in a physical and a psychological way. Virtually, all ancient religions have worshipped elements such as sites with water, caves and mountains, and, in many cultures, forests were the first “temples”. To mention one example, the oracular Oak of Dodona was closely related to Zeus, and the ultimate place to visit when the God seemed to be deaf to human prayers.

This view of natural areas has implications for tourism management at different levels: entrance policies, interpretation, shared use of space by different groups (devotees, pilgrims, religious communities, cultural tourists, other visitors, etc.). Sometimes the site may become one of the so-called contested spaces (Collins-Kreiner, 2008). Continuing with the example of Uluru, it was not prohibited for tourists to access the mountains (although Aboriginals would not do it themselves), yet it was recommended not to do it and, if they would climb, to observe a respectful behavior while in sacred ground. However, a final decision was made in 2017: the mountain, which received around 60,000 visitors per year, will not be accessible anymore until October 2019.

The third type of religious heritage we may consider are intangible practices: rituals, events and prayers, but also gastronomy (ways of preparing food or drink). These made up the core of religious beliefs as they make possible the contact of the believer with the sacred, the numinous. Beliefs themselves must also be included in this category, for it is the magico-religious worldview which endows ritual objects with function and meaning.

If we take masks as an example, these are used as ritual items in many cultures, used to perform in dances, rituals or theatre. In broad terms, they help the wearer of the mask to forgive his own self and to receive the spirit of whatever is embodied and represented in the mask: be it a God, an Ancestor, a force of the Natural World, etc. Ceremonies of worshipping, thanksgiving and divination, amongst other, occur during these events. Taking a more specific example from the Intangible World Heritage List, the ritual journeys during Alasita (La Paz, Bolivia) lasts two or three weeks, beginning at the end of January. The celebration starts with the search for miniatures associated with Ekeko (God of fertility), after which the miniatures are consecrated by means of different Andean and/or Catholic rituals. It is through these rituals that give a new meaning to the

figures: now they are capable of granting wishes. Afterwards, the celebration continues with other practices and rituals.

During these occasions such as the one described, the community of believers experience an intimate connection with the Sacred, even to a greater extent that it may happen in religious spaces during regular or private prayers. Thus, when alien visitors (such as tourists) are present, managers (tour guides, etc.) need to make them aware of expected behaviors and dress codes, as well as make them aware of the psychological carrying capacity. Otherwise, over time the practice may be corrupted and banalized, which often results in hosts-guests conflicts and in a loss of cultural diversity.

WHAT DOES “INTANGIBLE” MEAN?

Following what has been described above, the “intangible” dimension of heritage has a two-fold meaning.

On the one hand, it is the heart and soul of tangible heritage. What would become of a fortress without the history of its creation: what was it defending, what battles were fought there, etc.? Regarding religious heritage: in the Interpretation Chickasaw Cultural Center (United States) no burial objects (pottery, weapons, clothing...) are exhibited, but only reproductions of them. It is a decision of this group to do so: burial objects have a close association with their ancestors and putting them on display may affect their afterlife. This is clearly explained in the center, along with documents stating that they have taken legal and political action against those who have disturbed their burial mounds (Crous-Costa, Aulet, Kanaan, 2017).

This underlying idea is also valid for other types of heritage. For example, as Martorell (2003) notes, cultural routes (as per opposition to tourist routes) are “discovered” rather than created. Cultural routes must reflect the exchanges of people, goods, ideas, knowledge and values over a significant period of time since these have contributed to shape the architectural, artistic (tangible heritage) and social manifestations. In this sense, maybe the best-known examples of cultural routes labelled as World Heritage are the Silk Road (Eurasia) as well as the Qhapaq Ñan (Inca Trail, Pacific Coast of South America).

Monographic studies on different types of heritage abound. For example, Jigyasu (2014) discusses how intangible values of urban heritage are taken into account or forgotten when planning the renewal of old quarters.

On the other hand, practices and other intangible manifestations were first put under a definition by UNESCO in 2003. Today, UNESCO understands intangible heritage as follows:

While fragile, intangible cultural heritage is an important factor in maintaining cultural diversity in the face of growing globalization. An understanding of the intangible cultural heritage of different communities helps with intercultural dialogue and encourages mutual respect for other ways of life.

The importance of intangible cultural heritage is not the cultural manifestation itself but rather the wealth of knowledge and skills that is transmitted through it from one generation to the next. The social and economic value of this transmission of knowledge

is relevant for both minority groups and for mainstream social groups within a State, and it is as important for developing States as for developed ones.

Thus, it includes inherited living expressions such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and know-how and practices concerning Nature and the Universe. The celebrations and rituals during Alasita are an example of this. Other magico-religious or sacred practices that have been recognised as World Heritage include: yoga, Ramlila and the Vedic chanting (India); the performance of the Daredevils of Sassoun (Armenia) and the Secret Society of the Koredugaw (Mali), amongst other.

WHY IS THIS IMPORTANT IN TRAVEL AND TOURISM?

At this point, one may not have a clear idea about why the intangible dimension is important for tourists – and thus for tourism stakeholders. Several reasons could be summoned, but possibly the two main ones are mentioned below:

First, as it will be described in the next section, religious heritage actually comprises and explains (part of) the genius loci of a place and the character of the local communities, since, especially in ancient times and less industrialized societies, the sacred gaze permeates their whole worldview.

Second, inasmuch as tourism is capable of making travelers, fellow travelers and hosts connect to one another and to other realities, its ability to create settings for multicultural dialogue is undeniable – but also to make conflict arise if the contact is unsuccessful. The capacity of both visitors and tourism professionals (tour guides, journalists, etc.) to de-code behaviors and worldviews they find in destinations is of paramount importance to ensure that a real act of understanding takes place, instead of the consolidation of stereotypes. Moreover, worldviews are usually highly influenced by how a community relates itself to the sacred and by religion (even in cases where individuals are not aware of it).

INTANGIBLE RELIGIOUS HERITAGE

Many World Heritage Sites are part of the religious heritage of the communities to which they belong, either in the form of tangible spaces or of intangible values. In fact, it is estimated that about 20% of the elements enrolled in the list have some kind of religious or spiritual link with their communities, which is why the UNESCO Initiative on Heritage of Religious Interest was developed.

In the various initiatives undertaken by international organizations such as UNESCO or ICOMOS, the preservation and protection of the religious heritage also begins to be contemplated. The UNESCO initiative comprises several documents such as: ICCROM 2003 Forum on the conservation of Living Religious Heritage; 2005 ICOMOS General and Assembly resolution, 2011 ICOMOS General Assembly Resolution, UNESCO MAB / IUCN Guidelines for the Conservation and Management of Sacred Natural Sites, UNWTO, NARA Document on Authenticity, Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of the Places.

From this, it follows that religious heritage includes elements of the built heritage of different religious traditions, such as cathedrals, mosques, synagogues, among others. But it also considers those spaces with more clearly intangible values, such as some of the cultural landscapes or itineraries such as the Way of Saint James.

In addition, the list of World Intangible Heritage also includes (will be included in the future) elements that have a clear connection with the religious traditions. In the previous section, we have already mentioned some examples (Alasita, etc.).

But what does it mean that a site is regarded as a “holy place” or as being a part of the religious heritage of a community? The sacred spaces are those spaces that, in a way, allow to articulate the relationship between the community and religious practices, thus making possible the relationship between man and the transcendent, the divinity.

The word religion comes from the Latin word *religare* that means “to tie”. Traditional approaches to the concept of the sacred have been made from sociology (Durkheim being the best-known representative of this school), from phenomenology (with Otto as one of the main authors) and from hermeneutics and comparative history of religions (highlighting the work of Eliade) (Ries, 1989). A common feature in most authors is the difficulty in defining the term “sacred” since it is part of the field of experiences. So how do we know and communicate the sacred?

One of the great thinkers who worked on the concept of sacred from the perspective of the comparative history of religions was Mircea Eliade. Not only he was able to define the concept of sacred but also to find what is common in different traditions religious: what are the converging features of the sacred phenomenon.

The sacred can be perceived because it manifests itself as something totally different from the profane. The act of this manifestation of the sacred is known as hierophany. The history of religions is full of hierophanies. Although the number of religions is large, and these are different from each other, the phenomenon of the sacred is present in all of them, and with common features. The constructed sacred spaces appear as representations of these manifestations, or because in the place where they are located (the natural environment) is considered a manifestation of the divinity, or because in its construction the different symbolism of the sacred are reproduced.

There is a clear-cut differentiation between sacred and profane spaces (Durkheim, Eliade, Brace et al., Aulet). The sacred appears as a stable or ephemeral property of certain things (objects of worship), certain real human beings (priests), imagined beings (gods, spirits), certain animals (sacred cows), certain spaces (temples, holy places) and also certain times or times of the year (Holy Week, Ramadan). Then, there are not only sacred and profane spaces but also sacred and profane times, which are closely related (Aulet, 2012).

Although the original function of most sacred places is linked to religion and the connection with the transcendent, other functions have been developed in these spaces, which are related to new uses that are given in order to preserve and conserve these spaces.

Among these functions, mention should be made of tourism. For example, the conversion of monasteries into lodging spaces or the episcopal museums created from collections linked to the furniture heritage of the church (Crous, Aulet, Kanaan, 2017). So, nowadays, the original function of sacred heritage is not always the main one. This generates a myriad of situations that span from coexistence to conflict between the needs of devotees and pilgrims, and the expectations from tourists and visitors. Visits to a sacred site may have two purposes: worship in its original sense; or to visit physical monuments of collective memory (cultural tourism) (Riegl, 1987).

The development of tourist activity in these spaces can lead to transformations. This may generate tensions between different uses and profiles of visitors: sacred by devotees, aesthetic and commercialized by tourists (Kollas, 2004). Although visitors converge in the same place, their practices are different, and the resulting interposition of the site creates different realities (Bremen, 2006).

The tangible religious heritage is formed by those elements of furniture and buildings that make up the heritage of the church. This tangible heritage represents, in some way, the sacred space and reproduces, among others, all the symbolism of the sacred. This heritage also includes those objects of movable heritage, such as paintings, altarpieces, ornamentation, elements of the liturgy that are considered pieces of art, etc. The tangible religious heritage can represent at the same time, the interest in art, architecture or history beyond purely religious interest; and we can link it to motivations, but not exclusively, but in large part, lay people (cultural tourism, for example).

On the other hand, the intangible religious heritage is formed by rituals, cults and events, which take place in these sacred spaces. We could say that this heritage is a clear manifestation of the sacred time, of the devotion of the people towards a certain element, of the integration rituals that occur in these places. Therefore, we could associate these elements with the most strictly religious motivation.

Thus, the tensions between visitors and devotee can be aggravated or increased when intangible assets come into play. The intangible heritage of sacred spaces is made up of all those values and practices that give meaning to space, which allow “to relate” the sacred space with the sacred time and, at the same time, contribute to reinforce what is once before it has been called the “spirit of the place”. The sacred spaces must be read from the idea of a site located in space and time and that has a meaning for a group. This concept generates a strong sense of identity and belonging, which can lead to tension between different visitors.

Thus, following the recommendations of UNESCO:

“Understanding the continuing nature of religious and sacred heritage, having the capacity to protect its authenticity and integrity, including its particular spiritual significance, and sharing the knowledge of our common history, are the three pillars necessary for building mutual respect and dialogue between communities.

Today, the international community should define the appropriate measures to preserve the values of religious and sacred places, which form the foundation of our cultures, thereby aiming to prevent any gradual loss of our traditions.”

Regarding the management of sites that have a clear spiritual value for their communities, it is, therefore, necessary to take into account the preservation of these values and to find the appropriate mechanisms so that:

- Sacred values can be communicated and transmitted to all visitors;
- Make the visitors aware of the importance of respecting and behaving appropriately in these places;
- Do not interfere with the religious and/or spiritual practices of the local community;
- Do not over commercialize the spaces to make them more pleasant to tourists.

We need to find a balance in the uses of these spaces. The fact that they become tourist spaces does not mean that they have to lose their spiritual values and meanings, but that they may offer a highly significant experience for both devotees and pilgrims as well as for visitors and tourists. For more details in these aspects, please refer to the previous MOOC on tourism management at World Heritage Sites (specifically, the chapters about management, marketing and interpretation).

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Chapter 5: Religious Tourism

Heritage Experience and Understanding. An Analysis of Visitors' Opinions about an Attraction of the Religious Heritage

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SUMMARY¹

In this chapter, the case of tourism at the Basilica of Saint Paul Outside the Walls in Rome (Italy) is considered, to investigate the perception and understanding that visitors had of the tangible and intangible values related to the place. The Roman Basilica is a famous attraction of the Italian religious heritage rich in symbolism and intangible values, as well as a magnificent example of built heritage. Online Travel Reviews (OTRs) published on a platform for travel and tourism provided the data about visitors' experience. A sample of OTRs about Saint Paul was undergone an argumentative analysis, with the goal of unveiling the arguments that formed the opinion of visitors. Arguments are reasons to support opinions, which are based on cultural beliefs, previous knowledge and value premises. Thus, identifying and analyzing the arguments used by visitors allow to access their experience and to grasp their understanding and appraisal of the attraction, of its tangible and intangible values.

¹ This chapter is based on the following scientific papers:

De Ascaniis, S., and Cantoni, L. (2014). Artistic and religious experiences in online travel reviews about Saint Paul Outside the walls (Rome). Proceedings of ICOT 2013, International Conference on Tourism, Limassol, Cyprus, 5-8 June 2013, pp. 160-173.

De Ascaniis, S., and Cantoni, L. (2017). Online visit opinions about attractions of the religious heritage: an argumentative approach. *Church, Communication and Culture*, 2(2), pp. 179-202.

INTRODUCTION

Thousands of people every year travel to visit sites of cultural interests and a wide part of these belong to religious traditions. Heritage sites of religious interest are, indeed, in some countries, even the most part of national heritage. UNESCO website reports that “approximately 20 percent of the properties inscribed on the World Heritage List have some sort of religious or spiritual connection. These properties to be found in most countries around the world constitute the largest single category on the List.”². Italy is an emblematic case, since over 90% of its cultural heritage is bound to the Christian tradition. Visitors to those sites, also if driven by different reasons than pilgrimage or worshipping, are introduced in the Christian tradition and its values.

In this chapter, the Basilica of Saint Paul Outside the Walls in Rome is considered. It belongs to the Christian tradition and is part of UNESCO World Heritage since 1980. Online Travel Reviews about the Basilica were analyzed, to see which aspects impressed visitors the most and why. Before presenting the case, the relationship among religion, tourism and culture is briefly outlined.

RELIGION, TOURISM AND CULTURE

The semantics of the word “culture” provides a conceptual base to understand the relation among religion, tourism, and culture itself, as shown in Figure 1. “The English word *culture* comes from the Latin word *cultūra*, which derives from the verb *colere* that means “to cultivate”. Namely, when the verb was referred to the land or the country, it meant to cultivate the soil (*agri-culture*), while when it was referred to human beings, it indicated the nurturing and education of the human intellect and its skills (*culture* in the most common sense). The past participle of the verb *colere* is *cultus*, translated into the English word *cult*, which illustrates the act of worshipping God. In its modern connotation, these different meanings are combined in the concept of *culture*: the methods employed to cultivate the soil developed over time according to the practices of different human communities; human intellect and skills need to be constantly cultivated with education and training in order to become civilized adults, exactly as plants need to be constantly nurtured to grow and bear fruit; the spiritual dimension deeply influences all the other aspects of human life.” (*Pilgrims in the Digital Age*, 2016, p. 5).

The three connotations implicated in the word culture can be traced in the definition that the World Tourism Organization gives of *cultural tourism*: “the movement of persons due to essentially cultural motivations as study travels, travels to festivals and other artistic events, visits to places and monuments, travels to explore the nature, the art, the folklore and the pilgrimages” (UNWTO). It is not difficult to believe, indeed, that many people travelling to a variety of sacred sites do not have primarily or even any religious purpose or aim at having an experience with the sacred, but choose the destination because of its cultural or heritage aspects (Pretillo & Lo Presti, 2009).

² <http://whc.unesco.org/en/religious-sacred-heritage/> (last visit: 17.01.2019).

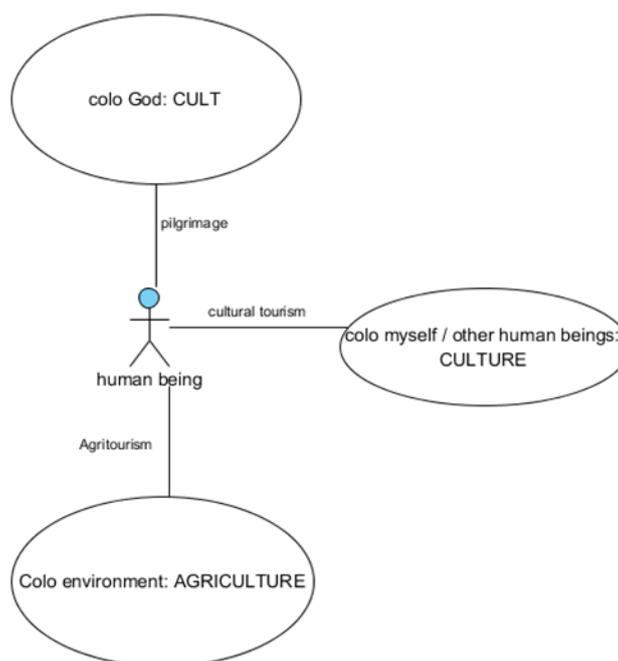


Figure 1. Semantic scope of the Latin verb “cōlo”. (Source: Pilgrims in the Digital Age: a Research Manifesto, 2016).

ARGUMENTATION IN ONLINE TRAVEL REVIEWS

Web 2.0 gives users several opportunities to voice their opinions and to share contents, which encompass a variety of media forms and types of websites and are commonly called User Generated Contents (UGC) (Cantoni & Tardini, 2010). Among the different forms in which content is shared online, Online Travel Reviews (OTR) are the prevalent form in the field of tourism (Xiang & Gretzel, 2010). They represent people’s wish to share their travel experiences online, recommending a tourism product or complaining about it. When reporting a travel experience, people do not just tell their stories nor do they only provide information about places and services, but make claims about those places and services and give reasons supporting their claims (De Ascaniis and Greco Morasso, 2011). OTR are, indeed, an *argumentative type of text*, where the opinions given are backed by values, beliefs, expectations about the very idea of travel and tourism. Analyzing OTR allows, thus, to get closer to people’s most personal experiences and better understand them. They also represent a valuable source of information for travel agencies and destination management organizations, in that they collect opinions of visitors, on this base adjusting or even differentiating the cultural promotion of the site and its communication (De Ascaniis and Cantoni, 2016).

Argumentation consists of a set of statements – called *arguments* and *counter-arguments* – put forward to justify or refute some other statement – called *standpoint*. A standpoint provides the position or opinion of a speaker/writer on an issue, and it can remain implicit in the discourse/text. An argument is the reason given to justify a standpoint, while a counter-argument is a reason given to refute that position or to refute the argument supporting that position. Arguments and counter-arguments can become standpoints themselves for further arguments.

Let's make now an example, analyzing a review taken from the corpus of OTR used for the case study.

"Powerfully Beautiful"

5/5 Reviewed January 17, 2013

*This church is unique for many reasons and well worth the effort it takes on to get there. First and most importantly, it is the resting place of St. Paul. One may pray in front of his tomb. Secondly there are mosaics of every sitting pope circling the transept. The cloisters are unique and beautiful as are the exhibits and reliquaries. While the church was rebuilt after a fire, it retains all the power and majesty of the original basilicas."*³

Standpoint: The Basilica of Saint Paul Outside the Walls is worth a visit.

Arg. 1: It is unique for many reasons.

Arg. 1.1: It is the resting place of St. Paul.

Arg. 1.2: There are mosaics of every sitting Pope circling the transept.

Arg. 1.3: The cloisters are unique and beautiful.

Arg. 1.4: The exhibits and reliquaries are unique and beautiful.

Arg. 2: The fact that it takes some effort to get there does not discourage a visit.

Counter-argument: The church is not original [it was rebuilt after a fire].

Rebuttal (i.e. an argument used to reject a counter-argument): It retains all the power and majesty of the original basilicas.

Some premises can be recognized in the argumentation above, which ground the standpoint to values, opinions and beliefs that are commonly accepted by visitors (Tardini, 2005). In the example above, there are at least three types of premises at play. The main argument (Argument 1) is grounded on the idea of *uniqueness*, which represents a value for the community of tourists. It is, in fact, a common belief of tourists that an attraction is worth a visit if it has something special, which distinguishes it from the many others that might be visited. The first subordinate argument (Argument 1.1) builds on the value that is granted to the burial place of a person by the community of people, for whom that person represents a *witness* or an icon: in this case, Saint Paul represents a witness for the community of people sharing Christian faith. Finally, the value of the *originality* of an attraction is exploited to add to the attractiveness of the church: even if the original Basilica was destroyed by a fire, it has been rebuilt in such a faithful way to retain "all the power and majesty of the original basilica". Originality represents, indeed, a value for visitors, which justifies the visiting choice of an attraction among others.

AN ANALYSIS OF OTRs ABOUT THE BASILICA OF SAINT PAUL OUTSIDE THE WALLS

Saint Paul Outside the Walls is Rome's largest patriarchal basilica after St Peter's in the Vatican. It is located at about 2 Km outside the Aurelian Walls surrounding Rome and is

³ https://www.tripadvisor.co.nz/ShowUserReviews-g187791-d198747-r150046769-Abbazia_di_San_Paolo_fuori_le_Mura-Rome_Lazio.html (last visit: 31.03.2017).

property of the Holy See, enjoying extraterritorial rights. It was founded over the burial place of Saint Paul, immediately after the Emperor Constantine issued the Edict of Milan in 313, which marked the end of the Christian persecutions and conferred on them freedom of worship, encouraging the construction of places of prayer. The actual Basilica has an imposing Byzantine structure, 131.66 metres long by 65 metres wide, rising to a height of 30 metres, comprising five naves, supported by 80 monolithic granite columns. Throughout the centuries many Popes restructured and embellished the Basilica with frescoes, mosaics, paintings and chapels. Famous is the series of papal portraits, which go round the top of the nave and the transept with 265 round mosaics. On the night of July 15th 1823 a terrible fire almost entirely destroyed the Basilica leaving hardly any of the structures and works of art intact, and most of the walls had to be rebuilt. The “new” Basilica was consecrated on December 10th 1854 by Pope Pius IX (1846-1876), on the occasion of the proclamation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

The Basilica has been designated as a National Monument by the Italian Government due to its artistic and aesthetic value and has been inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage list in 1980, together with the historic center of Rome. In the occasion of the 2000th anniversary of his birth, Pope Benedict XVI dedicated a special Jubilee year to the Apostle Paul, which started on June 28th 2008, and was officially closed on June 29th 2009. The Jubilee year attracted to the Basilica a number of pilgrims from all over the world.

Saint Paul’s Basilica is one of the most visited attractions in Rome: TripAdvisor (TA) ranks it among the first 10 out of 1’377 Sights & Landmarks in Rome. It has received on TA over 6’500 travel reviews in all languages (as of end of May 2019; almost 2’000 reviews for “Basilica Papale di San Paolo le Mura” and over 3’600 for “Abbazia di San Paolo Fuori le Mura”), the greatest majority of them assigning to it an excellent (over 80%) or very good (almost 20%) rate. Most of the reviews are in Italian language (over 1’300), followed by OTR in English language (over 2’100). In this research, a corpus of 800 OTR was collected, starting from the first one ever published by the platform, that is dated 2nd May 2007. The corpus comprised the first (chronologically) 400 reviews in the Italian language and 400 reviews in the English language; OTR were analyzed in their original language.

The corpus was analyzed to identify and classify the arguments given by visitors to support a visit recommendation to Saint Paul. An iterative *analytical procedure* was adopted, as shown in Figure 2. The first step was to identify the arguments of one review and classify them; then a second review was considered, classifying arguments according to the previously defined categories. If new types of arguments were found, new categories were created and added to the classification scheme. The second step was repeated until the *saturation level*, that is until no new category was found in the texts, but the existent categories were enough to categorize all the types of arguments retrieved. No unclassified residuals were left.

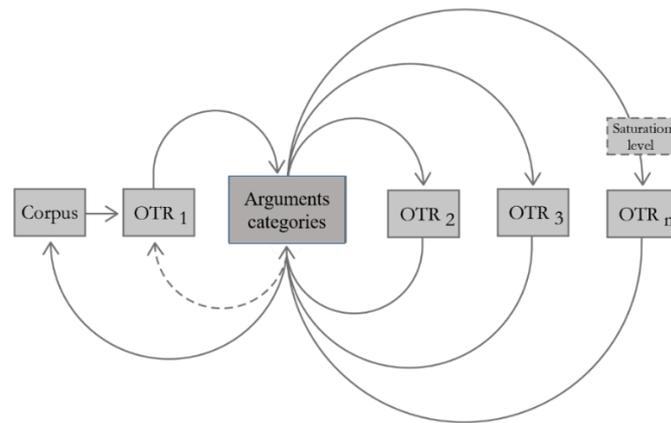


Figure 2. Iterative analytical procedure to classify arguments in OTR.

The corpus was annotated and analysed using a software, which also allowed compiling the frequency of keywords and to represent it through a word-cloud.

Figure 3 illustrates the taxonomy of arguments, as emerged from the analysis of the corpus. In what follows, a characterization of each argument type is given, and examples from the corpus are supplied.

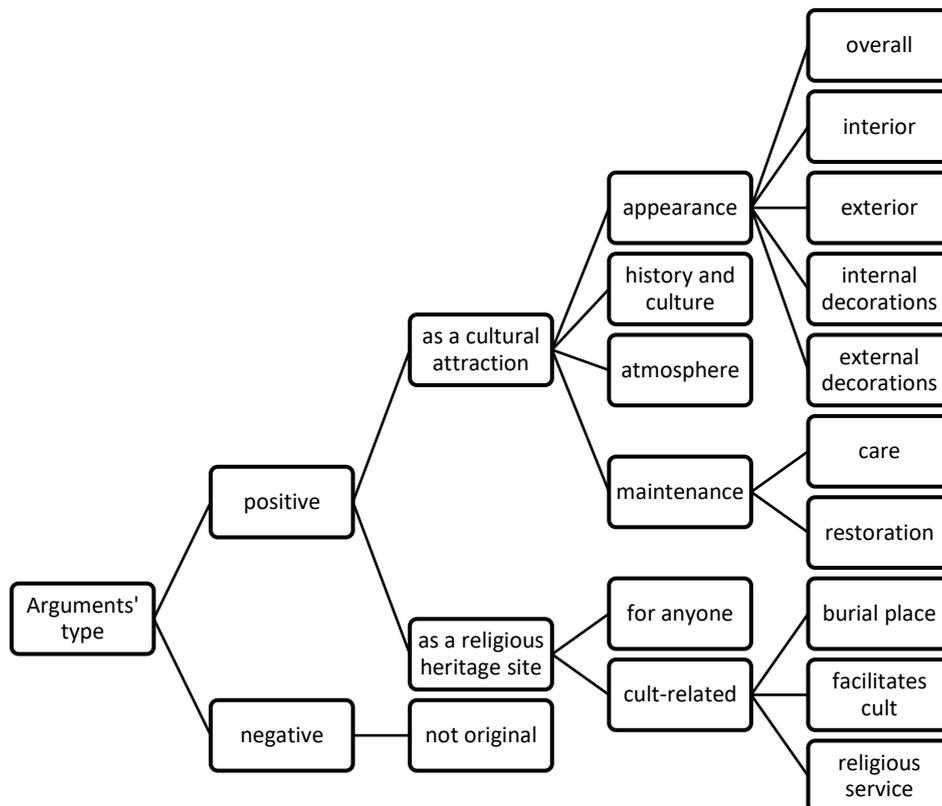


Figure 3. Taxonomy of arguments in OTR about an attraction of the religious heritage.

Only 25 OTR in the corpus assigned a rate of 3 out of 5 points to the attraction, while all the others assigned 4 or 5 points that means a 'very good' or 'excellent' rate. In fact, negative arguments were very rare and mostly related to the fact that the actual church

is not the original building but a reconstruction of it; they have not been classified because were not representative.

In the taxonomy, two groups of argument types supporting a visit can be distinguished:

1. arguments related to the Basilica of Saint Paul as a cultural attraction;
2. arguments related to the Basilica as a site of the religious heritage.

Types of arguments have to be intended as independent from the specific attraction, since they do not refer to singular elements of it, but rather to aspects that characterize cultural attractions as a type of touristic attractions.

In the first group of arguments type, the following ones can be distinguished:

- “appearance”, which refers to all those arguments that exploit aesthetic characteristics of the attraction, like architecture, decorations, works of art. Appearance arguments might more specifically refer to:
 - “overall appearance”, as in *“It is beautiful grand, opulent”*;
 - “interior”, as in *“The multiple chapels are unique”*;
 - “exterior”, as in *“The outside courtyard is inspiring and beautiful”*;
 - “internal decorations”, as in *“we were especially impressed with the portraits of every pope”*;
 - “external decorations”, as in *“The mosaics on the facade are amazing and beautiful when the sun shines on it in the afternoon”*;
- “history and culture”, when arguments are made about the historical significance of the church or about the cultural environment it belongs to, that is Christian and Italian culture, as in *“A great sense of historic perspective. So many remnants of the past”*;
- “atmosphere”, when the psychological mood and the feelings raised by the place are commented, as in *“St. Paul’s was an oasis of calm and peacefulness”*;
- “maintenance”, when the conditions of the Church are commented, in particular the cleanliness and order, and restoration interventions; thus, two sub-categories are
 - “care”, and
 - “restoration”.

In the second group of argument types, the following ones can be distinguished:

- “for anyone”, when the site is presented as a place of interest for anyone despite his/her religious belief, as in *“This is a wonderful place even if you are not religious”*;
- “cult-related”, that are arguments where the dimension of cult and worshipping are stressed. Three subcategories might be distinguished:
 - “burial place”, as in *“First and most importantly, it is the resting place of St. Paul. One may pray in front of his tomb”*;
 - “facilitates cult”, as in *“Rarely am I moved by a religious location or building, but this basilica was different. It was deeply moving”*;
 - “religious service”, as in *“we loved [...] the confessor waiting for penitents”*.

In total, 1'270 arguments were codified, 545 in OTR in English language and 717 in OTR in Italian language. Table 1 reports the occurrence of each argument type in the corpus.

Argument type		Total
positive		1262
negative		8
Tot. arguments		1270
Positive argument types		
<i>as a cultural attraction</i>		
appearance		794
	<i>overall</i>	312
	<i>interior</i>	89
	<i>exterior</i>	126
	<i>internal decorations</i>	198
	<i>external decorations</i>	69
history and culture		77
atmosphere		99
maintenance		55
	<i>care</i>	36
	<i>restoration</i>	19
<i>as a religious heritage site</i>		
for anyone		16
cult-related		221
	<i>burial place</i>	126
	<i>facilitates cult</i>	80
	<i>religious service</i>	15
Tot. positive arguments		1262
Negative argument types		
not original		8

Table 1. Occurrence of argument types in the corpus of OTR about Saint Paul Outside the Walls.

The most used arguments to recommend a visit to Saint Paul concerned a) its aesthetic characteristics, and b) aspects related to the religious cult.

a) The Basilica is overall described with words praising its size and artistic beauty, as “maestosa” [majestic], “imponente” [imposing], “enorme” [enormous], “grand”, as shown by the word-cloud in Figure 4, which highlights the most frequent keywords in the argument type “overall appearance”. The artistic value of the Basilica is recognized in its internal as well as external features; visitors are particularly impressed by the internal decorations, especially the portraits of all Popes of the Catholic Church, the golden ceiling and the mosaics in the apse and in the external façade.



Figure 4. Keywords used to comment on the Basilica's overall appearance.

b) Figure 5 highlights the keywords used in the argument type “facilitates cult” in the overall corpus. The Basilica is recommended for a visit mainly because it facilitates cult thanks to its peaceful atmosphere, to its majesty and beauty that enlarge the spirit, and because it is the burial place of Saint Paul, thus represents a pilgrimage shrine for Christians but has a value also for non-Christians, because of the historic relevance of the apostle Paul. Figure 6 shows the keywords that are representative of the arguments in the corpus belonging to the category “cult-related”.



Figure 5. Keywords used to comment on the fact that the Basilica facilitates cult.



Figure 6. Keywords used in the arguments related to the religious cult.

The Basilica of Saint Paul is ‘off-the-beaten-track’, as it can be read in many reviews, because of its location out of Rome city center. For this reason, it is often left out of city tours and visited mostly by spontaneous or fortuitous tourists, thus it is usually not crowded. This aspect, added to its grandeur, the beauty of its art and the historical traces of the apostle Paul, contributes to create a “peaceful” and “intense” atmosphere, which allows meditation and spirit lifting. Figure 9 shows the keywords used in the

arguments type related to the atmosphere, which constitutes 7.8% of all the positive arguments, both for Italian and English reviews. Visitors also appreciated the elements of the Basilica, which speak of its story and of the culture it is bound to (6.1% of all positive arguments), like the relics of Christian Saints and martyrs and the museums with the ruins of the original Basilica.



Figure 7: Keywords used in the arguments related to the atmosphere in the Abbey.

CONCLUSION

The case presented in this chapter was conceived to provide MOOC learners with at least two types of contributions. The first one is related to the type of heritage site that was considered: the Basilica of Saint Paul Outside the Walls is part of the Italian religious heritage, and as such allowed to tackle the issue of visitors' experience and understanding of a tangible heritage rich in intangible values. The second type of contribution is of methodological nature. OTRs about the Basilica of Saint Paul were analyzed to identify the arguments given by visitors to recommend a visit. It was neither an analysis of the topics discussed in the reviews nor a classification of the sentiment expressed, but rather an analysis of the reasons provided to support a personal opinion on that heritage site. Arguments represent an act of reasoning that goes beyond emotions and grounds the judgement on experience, yet are driven by common beliefs, personal and cultural values.

The types of arguments put forward in OTRs depend on the type of tourism product (i.e. destination, attraction, accommodation, catering service, etc.) that is reviewed. The study presented in this chapter allowed to point out the types of arguments, which ground the opinions on a *cultural attraction*. Its attractiveness is mostly given to: the atmosphere it creates and which contributes to shape the tourism experience; aesthetical aspects of both the interior and the exterior of the attraction, as well as the harmony between the two of them; the care that is put in its maintenance, which is a symptom of the value it has for the host and which is passed to the visitor; the connection the attraction has with a culture and its past, which promotes a learning experience.

An attraction of the *religious heritage*, then, elicits some other specific arguments, which are related to the possibility to "cultivate God", thanks to material features that help the religious experience, like relics of witnesses of faith and religious services. Visitors to

attractions of the Christian heritage, then, often positively report about the fact that they are open to anyone despite their creed: accessibility to places of worship is a sign of the ecumenical/universal (hence “catholic”) character of the Church, and gives anyone an opportunity to learn about the Christian message.

It clearly emerges from the analysis of visitors’ arguments that the artistic beauty of the site might become a mediator of a spiritual experience, as it can be read in the following extracts:

“From the moments you set foot on the grounds, you are met with overwhelming beauty, art and spiritual inspiration.” (scrapbookmarie, 29.09.2012)

“San Paolo l’Apostolo delle Genti, ha a Roma una Basilica fuori le Mura Pontificie, meravigliosa ricca d’arte in stile bizantino, dove si respira aria di pace e di tranquillità dove la fede è appagata dagli affreschi e mosaici che adornano la Basilica.” [tr. Saint Paul, people’s apostle, has in Rome a church outside the Walls, which is wonderful, rich in Byzantine art, where there is a peaceful and serene atmosphere and where faith is satisfied with frescos and mosaics.] (dolly, 25.03.2013)

Furthermore, the analysis of the arguments used by visitors to report about a travel experience at a specific destination or attraction allows letting emerge the dominant perceived *touristic value* of that destination/attraction. In the case of Saint Paul Outside the Walls, the touristic value is given by the combination of a material feature, that is the magnificent architecture, with an aspect of the intangible heritage of the Christian tradition, that is worshipping an Apostle of faith at his burial place. The touristic value can be exploited by destination management organizations and tour operators to better promote the destination/attraction on the market, leveraging on its most appreciated aspects and diversifying the message per touristic segment.

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Chapter 6: Tourism in World Heritage Cities

World Heritage Cities Faced with the Challenge of Tourism

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SUMMARY

This chapter in two parts comments on the place that cities occupy in the World Heritage List and the evolution of the concept of urban heritage according to UNESCO (part 1).

It then addresses issues related to tourism and its management, as well as the new challenges facing World Heritage cities today (part 2).

INTRODUCTION

What do the historic centre of Avignon in France (8.2 ha), the old city of Lijiang in China (145 ha) and the modern city of Brasilia in Brazil, founded in the 20th century (11,268.92 ha) all have in common? Indeed, very few things on the morphological, urban or architectural levels. But all three are inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List because they have been recognized as being of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), thus giving them importance not only at a local or national level, but also on a global scale.

In 2018, 214 of the 1,092 properties on UNESCO's World Heritage List were cities or urban settlements⁴. This significant figure (approximately 20% of all inscribed properties) does not include ancient cities, archaeological sites or villages. Nor does it include cities that have one or more isolated sites inscribed on the World Heritage List (such as a cathedral or castle, for example).

Urban heritage is the most represented type of heritage on the World Heritage List. It includes cities or urban settlements that were formed in antiquity, in the Middle Ages, and even much more recently (under the industrial revolutions of the 19th century, or as *ex-nihilo* creations in the 20th century).

The number of cities inscribed on the World Heritage List has changed little over the years, although we can note a relative slowdown since the 2000s.

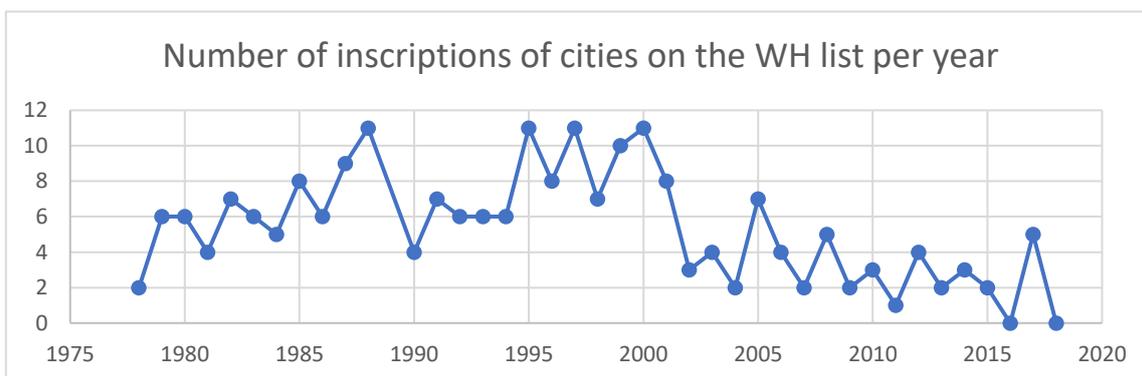


Figure 1. Number of inscriptions of cities on the World Heritage list per year.

⁴ The author arrived at this figure by taking into account only those cities in the full list of 1,092 sites in 2018 that continue to be inhabited (i.e., excluding archaeological cities) and those in which a large urban settlement has been inscribed (old historic centre or wider perimeter). This is why the total number is significantly lower than that given by other studies. Hendili (2016), for example, cites a UNESCO study that “reveals that 421 properties constitute urban heritage (188) or heritage within an urban context (233).”

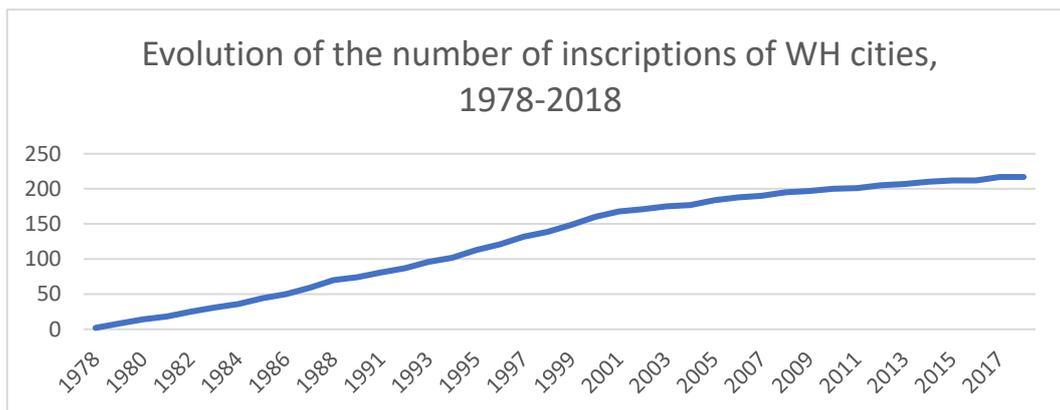


Figure 2. Evolution of the number of inscriptions of WH cities on the World Heritage List, 1978-2018.

The geographical distribution of cities on the World Heritage List is highly uneven. In 1991, in the study devoted to the 70 cities then inscribed on the World Heritage List, Legendre De Koninck (1991) noted that all of the cities were located along the Mediterranean, in Europe and in Latin America. In the second part of her 1996 study on World Heritage cities, the author noted that *“the extent of the distribution of World Heritage cities, which already encompassed four continents, has increased both in density and in geographical coverage. While it has obviously expanded in Latin America and Western, Central and Eastern Europe, it has especially been enriched by the first inscriptions in Southern Africa, South-East Asia and Japan”* (Legendre De Koninck, 1996:366). In 2018, however, despite the geographical diversification of the inscriptions, 12 cities were located in Africa (excluding North Africa)⁵, 25 in the Arab countries (including 13 in the Maghreb and Mashreq), 20 in Asia and the Pacific, 40 in Latin America and the Caribbean (including Mexico), and 117 in Europe and North America (including two in Canada and one in the United States).



Figure 3. World Heritage cities, 2017. (© M. Gravari-Barbas)

⁵ Here we are using UNESCO’s regional breakdown.



Figure 4. World Heritage cities in Europe, 2017. (© M. Gravari-Barbas)

Among the 117 World Heritage cities in Europe, high inequalities can also be noted, with very few cities in South-Eastern Europe, for example.

This group of UNESCO World Heritage cities is significantly different from the over 300 members of the Organization of World Heritage Cities. Founded on 8 September 1993 in Fez (Morocco), the OWHC connects with cities having on their territory one or more site(s) inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List (Russeil, 2016).

This chapter comments on the place that cities occupy in the World Heritage List and the evolution of the concept of urban heritage according to UNESCO. It then addresses issues related to tourism and its management, as well as the new challenges facing World Heritage cities today.

FROM HISTORIC CENTRES TO URBAN CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

The historic centre of Krakow and the city of Quito were among the very first sites inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1978, followed in 1979 by Historic Cairo, the Ancient City of Damascus, the Medina of Tunis, the old city of Dubrovnik, the historic centre of Split and Antigua Guatemala. The first inscriptions on the World Heritage List were marked by a European-centric approach to heritage and a strong differentiation between urban settlements recognized by a State authority and the rest of the built environment. The cities on the list were, especially before 1992, historic cities in Europe or Latin America, boasting a high quality of historical heritage. As with other types of properties, the cities inscribed on the World Heritage List represented “*the best of the best*” (Cameron, 2005), or the ‘urban wonders’ of the world.

It was mainly from the mid-1990s and within the context of the emergence of the concept of urban heritage (Choay, 1999) that inscriptions on UNESCO’s World Heritage

List began to reflect a more holistic understanding of heritage. This was the case, for example, of the city of Lyon in France, inscribed in 1998 (Russeil, 2004). While the initial proposal concerned only Old Lyon, following the traditionally dominant approach at that time, UNESCO experts concluded that the perimeter of the nomination should be widened. Indeed, they considered that Old Lyon alone did not have a sufficiently exceptional and universal character. They thus suggested including the area comprised by Old Lyon, the Presqu'île and the slopes of Croix-Rousse, a site covering more than 420 hectares. The originality and universal value of this site is based on the fact that it witnessed the development of the city for almost 2,000 years, up to the disappearance of the ramparts and the annexation of the suburbs during the 19th century. It is also a living site, which continues to evolve and bears traces of the different major phases of the urbanization of the city. Thus was born the *Historic Site of Lyon*, very different in concept from the site of *Old Lyon* initially proposed for inscription (Durand and Fourneyron, 2016).

More recently, following the introduction in 1992 of the concept of “cultural landscape”, urban heritage has undergone a real conceptual revolution, even though three urban (or urban-sized) sites were included in the list of 107 cultural landscapes in 2018. The first cultural landscape with an urban dimension to be included on the World Heritage List was the Jurisdiction of Saint-Emilion (in 1999), covering more than 7,800 hectares and including the town of Saint-Emilion. In 2004, the Dresden Elbe Valley [subsequently removed from the list in 2009 following the construction of the Waldschlösschen Bridge (Gaillard, 2015)], was the second property with an urban dimension to have been inscribed as a cultural landscape. But it is Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, inscribed in 2012, that best illustrates the evolution of urban heritage according to UNESCO. The perimeter of this “*exceptional urban setting*”, the result of “*a creative fusion between nature and culture*” (UNESCO), thus extends over more than 7,200 hectares [a perimeter that can be compared with those of the historic centres of the cities of Goiás (40 ha) or Diamantina (28 ha) in the same country]. This setting also encompasses “*the key natural elements that have shaped and inspired the development of the city*”, as well as the botanical gardens, Mount Corcovado, the hills around Guanabara Bay, and the vast landscapes along Copacabana Bay. In addition to the natural elements, the inscribed site also recognizes Rio de Janeiro as a source of inspiration for musicians, landscape architects and urban planners, thus including an intangible dimension in this heritage (Winter Ribeiro, 2013).

THE CONCEPT OF HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE

In 2005, the question of visual impact, raised at that time by the case of the Old City of Vienna (inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger since 2017), prompted the World Heritage Committee to request UNESCO to develop and have adopted by its governing bodies a new standard-setting instrument to address such concepts as “visual integrity” (Hendili, 2016:54; Gravari-Barbas, 2016). For the first time since 1976 for the built environment⁶, UNESCO adopted and made operational in 2011 a “*Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*” (UNESCO, 2011). This

⁶ Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas, UNESCO, 1976.

recommendation⁷ was made necessary following architectural interventions considered radical in certain World Heritage cities [Saint Petersburg⁸, London, Vienna (De Frantz, 2005), Liverpool (Rodwell, 2014a,b; Gaillard and Rodwell 2015) among others], and concerns all historic cities (Bandarin and van Oers, 2012). It defines the historic urban landscape as *“the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of ‘historic centre’ or ‘ensemble’ to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting”*. UNESCO promotes *“innovative approaches to preserving important cultural heritage and managing cities of historical significance”*. It therefore considers that *“in order to support the protection of natural and cultural heritage, emphasis needs to be put on the integration of historic urban area conservation, management and planning strategies into local development processes and urban planning, such as contemporary architecture and infrastructure development, for which the application of a landscape approach would help maintain urban identity”*.

The UNESCO recommendation invites Member States to integrate urban heritage conservation *“into general policy planning and practices and those related to the broader urban context”*, and suggests the development of various tools for civic participation, knowledge and planning, as well as regulatory systems and financial tools.

INSCRIPTION OF CITIES ON UNESCO’S WORLD HERITAGE LIST AND OTHER HERITAGE PROTECTION MEASURES

Listing as a UNESCO World Heritage Site does not create additional legal constraints on protection. But it does involve (and presupposes) the application of a whole arsenal of local and national protection measures, sometimes very complex in the case of urban sites. Thus, in Lyon⁹, several protection measures coexist across the area of the Historic Site of Lyon. These include protection perimeters around Lyon’s 174 historic monuments covering the entire UNESCO sector. Old Lyon benefits from protection under the Malraux Law (1962) for the protected areas, and as such from an Urban Conservation Plan (*Plan de Sauvegarde et de Mise en Valeur*, PSMV). The slopes of Croix-Rousse have been protected by an Architectural, Urban and Landscape Heritage Protection Zone (*Zone de Protection du Patrimoine Architectural et Urbain et Paysager*, ZPPAUP) since 1994¹⁰. Place Bellecour has been a classified site since 1941, while the historic centre of Lyon and the quays of the Saône are protected sites under the French

⁷ UNESCO’s recommendations are not subject to ratification and therefore enter into force upon signature. Unlike conventions, they are not binding on States, which are nevertheless invited to take them into account. In addition, they contribute to UNESCO’s corpus of doctrine and can therefore have an impact on decisions concerning inclusion in the World Heritage List.

⁸ At its 32nd session (Quebec City, 2008), the UNESCO World Heritage Committee expressed serious concern about the Gazprom Tower planned in the “Ohkta Centre” in Saint Petersburg, which could affect the outstanding universal value of this property inscribed on UNESCO’s World Heritage List. The Committee had considered the inscription of the property on the List of World Heritage in Danger.

⁹ <http://www.linflux.com/lyon-et-region/lyon-un-patrimoine-vivant-20-ans-dinscription-a-lunesco/>

¹⁰ Since 2016, the protected areas, the ZPPAUPs and the Areas of Promotion of Architecture and of Heritage (*Aires de mise en Valeur de l’Architecture et du Patrimoine*, AVAP) have become “exceptional heritage sites”.

Environment Code, inscribed in 1962 and 1979 respectively. Finally, a Local Urbanism Plan (*Plan Local d'Urbanisme*, PLU) completes these measures.

Inclusion on the List of World Heritage sites thus crowns a series of complex and overlapping mechanisms that guarantee the safeguarding and sustainability of the protected property prior to its inscription. It is undoubtedly this set of very restrictive measures, as well as several conflicts that have broken out in recent years between UNESCO and a number of cities (leading to the inscription of Vienna and Liverpool on the List of World Heritage in Danger, or to the removal of Dresden from the World Heritage List), that explain the accusation often levelled at UNESCO of placing the inscribed cities in a “glass case”.

INSCRIPTION ON THE UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE LIST: PLACING IN A “GLASS CASE”?

Several researchers have indeed criticized the effects of inscription on the World Heritage List. They have spoken of UNESCO’s “kiss of death” (Starin, 2008), of “UNESCOcide” (Barron, 2017), or even worse, of “Urbanicide” (d’Eramo, 2017:85). According to d’Eramo (2014), UNESCO commits “*in good faith and with the best of intentions, to conserving examples of heritage for the benefit of humanity*”, but the results of this conservation represent a death sentence for real urban life in the listed cities. “*It is devastating to witness the death throes of so many cities. Splendid, opulent, hectic, for centuries, sometimes millennia, they had survived the vicissitudes of history: war, pestilence, earthquakes. But now, one after another, they are withering, emptying, becoming reduced to theatrical backdrops against which a bloodless pantomime is staged. Where once life throbbed, and cantankerous humanity elbowed its way, pushing and shoving, now you will find only snack bars and stalls – all of them the same – selling ‘local specialities’: muslins, batiks, cottons, beach wraps, bracelets. What was once a living torrent, full of shouts and fury, is now safely enclosed in a travel brochure. The death sentence is delivered from an elegant building in Paris – Place Fontenoy, Seventh Arrondissement – after a long drawn-out bureaucratic process. The verdict is a label that cannot be removed – a brand, stamped on forever.*”¹¹

Indeed, in several cases the restoration of World Heritage cities has opted for “chronological fundamentalism”, “temporal fundamentalism”, or even restorations or reconstructions dictated by ideological and nationalist orientations. In the borough of Old Quebec, heritage has sometimes been carefully recreated even though it actually disappeared several centuries earlier. This is the case, for example, of the Royal Battery in the lower town of Old Quebec, rebuilt in 1979 on its original site and with all of its 1691 splendour, following the demolition of the Brochu Hotel constructed on this site at the beginning of the 20th century. The desire to recover the “ideal state” of the French city has thus led to the reconstruction of entire parts of Old Quebec (around Place Royale in particular) (Faure, 1992), to the detriment of the authenticity of the tangible heritage.

¹¹ Marco d’Eramo, *New Left Review* 88, July-August 2014.

UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE LISTING: A PRELUDE TO HYPER-TOURISMIFICATION?

The cities on the World Heritage List, very carefully restored and protected by an arsenal of legal and legislative tools, attract an increasing number of visitors – metropolitan, national and international – who tend to congregate in limited areas (sometimes just a few streets) which can thus be likened to “urban theatrical backdrops”.

Several historic urban areas on the UNESCO list, relatively small, centrally located and carefully restored, tend to be considered as urban museums. Without being systematic, there does exist a relationship between the conservation, aestheticization and artialization of the urban centres of World Heritage cities and the development of their single tourism function. Everyday shops and services are gradually being replaced by stores that are primarily aimed at tourists and visitors. The closure of these local shops is both the cause and the result of the departure of local inhabitants who choose to settle in the urban outskirts, outside the heritage protection perimeters, for several reasons: difficult access by car to historic centres, cramped housing that is complicated to adapt due to heritage protection measures, scarcity of public services, competition with functions capable of paying higher rents, etc.

Several heritage places are gradually losing their function and taking on a museum-like quality. A tension is thus created between the tangible heritage, often perfectly restored but sometimes only on the surface, and the intangible heritage (the life of the neighbourhood, urban functions) for which no protection measures exist. Thus, while the façades of the hammam in the Marais district of Paris have been protected and restored, the same does not hold true for its interiors and, *a fortiori*, for what the hammam represents as intangible heritage. Occupied since 2008 by a prêt-à-porter store, its role in the social life of the district is very different from when it housed its original function. Similarly, in most World Heritage cities, the scrupulous protection of built heritage, very carefully ensured thanks to *ad hoc* tools, permanently fixes the façades of everyday shops that have long disappeared never to return: the only trace of the former bakeries, fishmongers or butchers shops in these districts now transformed into museums are the original signs. Very few tools exist to protect the intangible aspects of urban heritage, including in UNESCO World Heritage cities.

Changes in residential, commercial and tertiary functions in several cities due to the action (real or presumed) of tourism have resulted in tensions and conflicts, mainly with local residents (Coldwell 2017; Colomb and Novy, 2016). Clearly, World Heritage urban centres are not tourist enclaves, and although the number of local inhabitants is decreasing, those who still reside there are committed to a certain quality of local urban life. The first reason why people choose to settle in Old Quebec is the beauty of the neighbourhood. However, the main problem for the inhabitants seems to be the lack of local shops (Dormaels, 2016). More generally, the preservation of the living environment is identified as one of the major problems of heritage cities, including those on the World Heritage List.

More generally again, the restoration and improvement of the historic buildings in the city centres listed by UNESCO bring about important functional changes. This is the case, for example, with Dubrovnik. Painstakingly restored after the destruction caused by the war in the former Yugoslavia, Dubrovnik has gradually evolved into a “city as a setting”

(and thus often serves as a backdrop for filming, including for the television series *Game of Thrones*). It is important to recall here that a project for the “successful” restoration of the built environment of World Heritage cities can be severely criticized in terms of its social impacts. Indeed, a vicious circle is established: the restoration of the built heritage contributes to the production of a desirable place for tourists; its enhancement and adaptation to tourism (signage, accessibility, interpretation, etc.) leads to increased tourist demand, which in turn tends to produce places more adapted to tourism. Tourism functions in certain cases as a “heritage producing machine”, on a worldwide scale... (Gravari-Barbas, 2018).

THE LINK BETWEEN OVERTOURISM AND INSCRIPTION ON THE WORLD HERITAGE LIST

The “overtourism” experienced by cities on the UNESCO World Heritage List often precedes their inscription. For other cities, however, the World Heritage label is increasingly perceived as a means of boosting tourist numbers through the recognition of their universal value and the media coverage that follows inscription (Bourdeau, Gravari-Barbas and Robinson, 2011, 2015, 2017; Gravari-Barbas and Jacquot, 2013).

Indeed, inscription on the World Heritage List functions as a “label” that is easily and globally recognized (the UNESCO “logo” is today as internationally well-known and recognized as the Olympic flag), and in this sense generates tourism benefits. As Jeff Morgan, Executive Director of the Global Heritage Fund, remarked (2006)¹², “*The minute it goes on the list, it goes into Lonely Planet, Fodor’s, Frommers*” and, since then, on TripAdvisor. It can also be noted that visitors are willing to pay significant sums for the privilege of visiting famous and very popular sites (Dixon, Pagiola and Agostini, 1998). The impacts on the reputation and image of the listed cities should also not be neglected (Mercier, 2010; Marcotte Pascale and Bourdeau Laurent, 2012).

Empirical studies tend to show that cities on the World Heritage List have experienced a substantial increase in the number of visitors following their inscription. This has been the case, for example, for the Episcopal City of Albi in France, which, with 1.3 million visitors in 2016¹³, calculates that numbers have increased fivefold since its inclusion in 2010. This is also the case of the modern city of Le Havre (France) that, since its inscription in 2005, has gradually succeeded in creating a “tourist product” (Gravari-Barbas, 2004).

However, studies and statistics providing sufficient methodological guarantees to seriously assess the impact of inscription on tourism (or its added value) are rare. Moreover, generalizing from case studies is an exercise that comprises several inherent flaws: the “World Heritage” category is one of (universal) values but not an economic “category” and, as mentioned in the introduction, the list of World Heritage cities presents situations that are too heterogeneous to make generalization possible.

However, it would seem that the UNESCO effect does have a real impact for sites that are already well integrated into international mobility systems. This corresponds to a heritage approach that is part of more “traditional” heritage typologies, in most cases

¹² Quoted in Kugel, Seth (2006), “Preservation: Sure, It’s a Good Thing, but...”, The New York Times, 15 January 2006.

¹³ Statistics provided by the City of Albi, 2016.

located near sunshine destinations and sites offering bathing and water activities, etc. Thus, the World Heritage label is more likely to have an impact in the case of a city with a major airport, located in a temperate zone, close to motorway networks, and next to old and consolidated tourist sites (Gravari-Barbas and Jacquot, 2008). Cruise stopover cities such as Cartagena de Indias (Colombia) have more opportunities to attract large numbers of tourists than other cities with a very rich heritage but located in the hinterland. Inclusion on the List is certainly a factor that is favourable to development, but it is neither necessary nor sufficient. Venice was a tourist city long before its inscription on the World Heritage List in 1987, and this has not had a significant impact on the city's global tourism attractiveness. But then, not all World Heritage cities are Venice...

FROM CONFLICT TO REGULATION

Conservation and restoration in most World Heritage cities has sometimes contributed to the creation of urban micro-areas mainly dedicated to tourism and leisure. In most cases, the protected area is limited and located within large metropolitan zones. The listed areas thus become a "playground" not only for international tourism, but also for metropolitan populations.

In most World Heritage cities, little is known about the characteristics of the populations that share and often compete for this urban heritage. The distinction that is generally made between *permanent residents* and *tourists* does not reflect the complexity of the people sharing the urban space. Tourists, secondary residents, day visitors, walkers, expatriate or transferred workers, immigrants, students, and regional or local residents all form (depending on the nature of each city) a group of users with different and even divergent interests. These populations experience the cities inscribed on the World Heritage List in different ways. They thus attribute different meanings to them and can be involved in them in an unequal way, including from an economic point of view.

Several conflicts that have broken out notably in the 2010s testify to these problems. Such World Heritage cities as Amsterdam, Florence, Rome and Venice have often been the theatre of these tensions or conflicts. Indeed, their inscription, and the very substantial arsenal of protection tools at their disposal, have not protected them any more than any other tourist city. "Overtourism" has been accused of increasing rental prices, gentrifying historic districts, driving out residents to make way for tourist accommodation rented for short periods through such platforms as Airbnb, and, more generally, of urban congestion or noise pollution. The term "tourism-phobia" has been widely discussed by the press since the summer of 2017, notably, when several anti-tourism demonstrations were organized in Barcelona, Venice and Amsterdam.

New tools have gradually been developed by several World Heritage cities to allow different populations to express themselves, to explore possible solutions and to regulate tourist numbers. An interesting example of a consultation tool is the *Table de concertation du Vieux-Québec*, implemented in 2012. This round table brings together about twenty local actors, representatives of the inhabitants, shopkeepers and local institutions (educational, hospital, cultural and hotel establishments, etc.) (Dormaels, 2016). The *Table de concertation du Vieux-Québec* gained permanent status in 2013, as

much for the results it had produced and which its organizers considered interesting, as for the role it plays as part of a desire to develop participatory management. This initiative is consistent with the application of UNESCO's *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*. After initiating several studies that have led to a better understanding of the reality of tourism in Old Quebec, the *Table de concertation* has undertaken a number of actions that are mainly aimed at addressing the problems identified.

In parallel with these consultation tools, new regulations are being put in place to ensure the habitability of old city centres by a permanent population. They are thus intended to curb the reduction in the size of housing (in order to encourage families to move into the area) or to reduce their vacancy. In Strasbourg, the regulations concerning the protected area now include a tax on housing that remains uninhabited for more than a year (Cassaz and Pelon, 2014). The measure aims to combat the abandonment or blocking of access to the upper floors of the buildings on the Grande île in the historic centre due to the commercial attractiveness of the ground floor, the only occupied spaces. In Brussels, the upper floors of the houses around the Grand Place had also been made totally inaccessible due to the location of the staircase being taken over for commercial use. A subsidy has been introduced by the city for work that would make it possible to recreate this access to the floors and thus encourage the use of the upper levels (Cordeiro, 2014).

Strict new regulations have also been implemented in several tourist cities, including those on the World Heritage List, to control short-term tourist rentals. In Strasbourg, out of 313 furnished tourist accommodation listings in the urban community in 2014 (Cassaz and Pelon, 2014), some 208 were registered with the postal code 67000 corresponding to the city's central areas. Since 2011, it is estimated that 150 new furnished tourist accommodations are created each year in Strasbourg. Cities are now introducing local regulations limiting the short-term rental of accommodation not declared as tourist accommodation to just a few days a year. In Paris, a private individual can rent his or her main residence up to a maximum of 120 days a year (i.e., 4 months a year or 10 days a month on average) to a visiting clientele, without requiring authorization and without changing the use of the property, and regardless of the municipality in which the accommodation is located. In Amsterdam, the rental of the same apartment is limited to 60 days per year, and in the borough of Old Quebec to only 30 days.

Several other regulations have been enacted in different cities to manage tourism in various high-traffic areas. In Florence, it is now prohibited to picnic in the street, notably in the square in front of the Cathedral, the steps of which are watered to prevent tourists from sitting down. In Rome, the law prohibits eating near fountains or drinking in the street (Gravari-Barbas, 2017). In 2018, Venice introduced a 20,000-person *numerus clausus* for access to St. Mark's Square to attend the opening ceremony of the Carnival. A *numerus clausus* has also been established in Dubrovnik. Concerned about the authenticity of the citadel, included on the World Heritage List in 1979, UNESCO threatened to inscribe Dubrovnik on the List of World Heritage in Danger and suggested limiting the number of visitors to 8,000 per day. The municipality has actually reduced numbers to 4,000 by notably limiting the volume of cruise passengers thanks to

negotiations with the Cruise Lines International Association (CLIA) for a better management of boat arrivals.

CONCLUSION

Inscription on the World Heritage List reflects a new understanding of urban heritage, going well beyond the concept of “historic centre” that characterized the inscriptions of the years 1970-1990. Thus, the inscription of the historic Port City of Levuka (Fiji) in 2013, “*a rare example of a late colonial port town that was influenced in its development by the indigenous community which continued to outnumber the European settlers*” (UNESCO), places more emphasis on “*the important interchange of human values and cultural contact that took place as part of the process of European maritime expansion over the 19th century*” (criterion ii) and on “*the adaptation of European naval powers to a specific oceanic social, cultural and topographic environment*” (criterion iv) than on the intrinsic nature of the architecture in question.

This is also the case of “*Kulangsu, a historic international settlement*”, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2017 as an “*important window for Sino-foreign exchanges*” between the Chinese Empire and the world, after its designation as an international settlement in 1903 (UNESCO).

The evolution of the type of properties influences tourism issues and tourism management, *a priori* different in larger areas, characterized less by the precious nature of a tangible medieval or Renaissance heritage than by the processes that prevailed in the formation of this heritage, or even by the taking into account of its intangible nature (Brumann, 2016). But inscription on the World Heritage List is not always free of tensions or aporias. While it is based on a complex set of legal tools protecting the tangibility of the heritage, very few tools and mechanisms exist today in the context of capitalist economies to ensure the protection of intangible heritage and, more generally, the quality of life of the local populations.

Inscription on the World Heritage List nevertheless functions as a “virtuous” mechanism that encourages local actors to co-produce the local governance tools necessary for the increasingly complex management of the property. Initiatives such as the CLUB (*Comité Local UNESCO Bordelais*, Local UNESCO Bordeaux Committee) (Callais and Jeanmonod, 2012-2014-2016) or the *Table de concertation du Vieux-Québec* are representative of the new governance that is being set up locally among tourism, culture and urban planning stakeholders.

The follow-up of the measures taken locally in several UNESCO World Heritage cities over recent years and in the context of an increase in tourism considered locally excessive shows that cities, in consultation with UNESCO, have the capacity to become actors in their tourism development. The recent proliferation of local regulations (for short-term tourist rentals, the use of public spaces, and even tourist behavioural codes), tends to demonstrate that while local authorities are currently facing a problem of unprecedented magnitude, they also have the capacity to invent and implement new solutions.

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She is the director of the UNESCO Chair “Tourism, Culture, Development” of Paris 1- Sorbonne University and the coordinator of the UNITWIN network of the same name, comprising more than 25 top level universities all around the World.

She is invited professor in different Universities in Europe, the States and Latin America. She is the author of several books and papers related to Tourism, Culture and Heritage.

Since 2017 she is Vice-Provost for International Relations in Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University.

LORENZO CANTONI (CO-COORDINATOR OF THE MOOC)



Lorenzo Cantoni graduated in Philosophy and holds a PhD in Education and Linguistics. He is full professor at the USI – Università della Svizzera italiana (Lugano, Switzerland), Faculty of Communication Sciences, where he is director of the Institute for Communication Technologies. Lorenzo Cantoni is scientific director of the laboratories webatelier.net, NewMinE Lab: New Media in Education Lab, and eLab: eLearning Lab. His research interests are where communication, education and new media overlap, ranging from computer mediated communication to usability, from eLearning to eTourism and digital Fashion, from ICT4D to eGovernment.

He is chair-holder of the UNESCO chair in ICT to develop and promote sustainable tourism in World Heritage Site; and President of IFITT – International Federation for IT in Travel and Tourism.

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Silvia Aulet, Ph.D. is professor at the Faculty of Tourism of the University of Girona teaching in the Degree of Tourism, in the Master of Cultural Tourism and in the Erasmus Mundus in Tourism Management. Her research line is cultural tourism and in this field, she has focused her research in two areas; pilgrimage and religious tourism and food tourism. A part from different publications on these topics, she is member of the Editorial Board of the International Journal on Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage, the Unitwin UNESCO Chair "Culture Tourism and Development, the Chair in Gastronomy, Culture and Tourism Calonge-Sant Antoni from de University of Girona and she is member of the committee of the 3rd Biannual Catalan Cuisine Congress. She has carried several research studies both as academic researcher and as a consultant. She has participated in several European Projects. Currently she cooperates with different institutions related to religious tourism, such as Montserrat Monastery.

ALEKSANDRA BREZOVEC



Aleksandra Brezovec, PhD, is an Associate Professor and Vice Dean of at the Faculty of Tourism Studies, University of Primorska, Slovenia. Her teaching and research is focused on tourism communication and marketing. She has worked on several international research projects in the field of cultural tourism and destination development. She is a member of UNWTO Panel of Tourism Experts, a member of ECREA - European association of communication researchers, and the editor of *Academica Turistica – Tourism and Innovation Journal*.

ŽANA ČIVRE



Žana Čivre, PhD, is an Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Tourism Studies – Turistica at the University of Primorska. She completed her PhD studies in the field of marketing at the Faculty of Economics at the University of Ljubljana. She has been involved in the teaching process for the marketing and management courses. Her research primarily focuses on the field of consumer behavior in tourism with the focus on consumer psychology.

NEUS CROUS COSTA



Neus Crous-Costa, M.S. M.S. in Tourism Planning and Management (specializing in cultural tourism). Lecturer in the Faculty of Tourism in the University of Girona, she also works as freelance coordinating and delivering training courses for tourist professionals and participates in on-line courses as organizer, lecturer and mentor, the latest ones being “Food bridges: the culture of wine in the Mediterranean and the culture of tea in China” (MiriadaX, organizer) and “Aboriginal worldviews and education” (Coursera, former mentor). Her research interests include interpretation and narratives in tourism, tourism as a force for dialogue and peace, traveler’s experience and armchair tourism. She participates in a number of extra academic activities, such as Kindlab collaborative research project, contribute to online data repositories and volunteers regularly in a number of cultural organizations. She has recently started her PhD in the field of tourism and humanities as a source of innovation for the industry.

SILVIA DE ASCANIIS



Silvia is a senior researcher and lecturer at Università della Svizzera italiana - USI, Lugano (Switzerland), Faculty of Communication Sciences. She is the coordinator of the UNESCO Chair "in ICT to develop and promote sustainable tourism in World Heritage Sites" (<http://www.unescochair.usi.ch>).

She got a PhD in Communication Sciences with a thesis about pragmatic and argumentative features of Online Travel Reviews ([freely accessible here](#)).

Her scientific activities are mainly related to the following topics: the role and impact of ICT in cultural tourism, religious tourism and pilgrimage; the use of ICT to communicate and promote Heritage.

In 2015-2016, she led the initiative "Faces4Heritage", launched by the U.S. Government to challenge violent Extremism and awarded among the best social media campaigns worldwide: www.faces4heritage.org.

She was instructor of the Massive Online Open Course (MOOC) "eTourism: Communication Perspectives", the first MOOC in eTourism, launched by USI in October 2015 (https://mooc.usi.ch/courses/course-v1:USI+eTourism01+2018_SP/about).

She was Executive Director of the doctoral school Cross-Field (February 2013 - September 2015), and coordinator of the doctoral school [Argupolis](#) (February 2013 - April 2015), both of them supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF).

LAURA FUENTES-MORALEDA



Laura Fuentes has a PhD in Social Sciences from UNWTO and Nebrija University. She is Vice director at the Tourism Studies Centre (CETUR) in Rey Juan Carlos University. In addition, she is lecturer of Tourism Market Analysis, Tourist Product Marketing and Tourism Planning at Rey Juan Carlos University, both for undergraduate and postgraduate levels. In the past fifteen years, her professional activity has been linked to the field of tourism destination management, and she has contributed to activities related to development and gender projects in tourist destinations in European and Latin American countries, while working with domestic agencies, public and private.

PAMELA PALMI



Pamela Palmi (Ph.D) is Associate Professor of Organization at the University of Salento, Department of Economic Sciences. She has been researcher in Organization at University of Bologna and visiting scholar at University of Salzburg and Esade University in Barcelona. Her main research interests are focused on cultural and creative industries and change management processes. On these topics she has published books, book chapters, and several scholarly papers in national and international academic journal.

As expert of Cultural institutions, she was appointed by the Italian Ministry of Culture in the board auditors of the following Foundations: Opera Theater of Roma, Petruzzelli Theater of Bari, Triennale of Milano, Design Museum of Milano.

MARIE PERMINGEAT



Marie Permingeat is a researcher intern at the University of Leuven (KU Leuven), Department of Earth & Environmental Sciences, Division of Geography & Tourism. She is involved in the design and edition of the eight chapter of the MOOC "Tourism Management at UNESCO World Heritage Sites". She graduated from the Erasmus Mundus Master in Sustainable Territorial Development in 2017. Her main research interest topics are: cultural heritage as a lever for sustainable development, laboratories and models for sustainable livelihood (LEADER approach, UNESCO MAB program), territorial Development, local governance and empowerment, and environmental education versus historical know-how on natural capital.

MARIA IRENE PRETE



Maria Irene Prete is Assistant Professor of Business Management at the University of Salento (Lecce, Italy), and Adjunct Professor of Heritage Marketing at the same university. She holds a PhD in Economic and Quantitative Methods for Market Analysis from the University of Salento and a MSc in Management from the Paris XII University, Paris (France). She has been visiting scholar at the Queen Mary – University of London (UK) and lecturer in different seminars on the topic of Marketing, Place Marketing, Heritage Marketing and Political Marketing at the University of Salento, University "La Sapienza" (Rome), LUISS University, and other public institutions. M. Irene Prete has published in numerous referred journals and has contributed in several national and international conferences.

EDNA ROZO



Edna Rozo, Dean in Tourism and Hotel Management Faculty – Universidad Externado de Colombia. Graduated in Hotel and Tourism Management at Universidad Externado de Colombia (Bogotá, Colombia). Holds Master degrees in Cultural Tourism Management (Cañada Blanch Foundation, Valencia España); Tourism (SIST, Roma); and Regional and Local Development Management and Planning (Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia). Currently, she is PhD candidate in Social Studies. Research interests: tourism social imaginary, tourism planning and sustainable tourism. Chief editor of Turismo y Sociedad journal.

NANCY RÓCIO RUEDA-ESTEBAN



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CLARA INÉS SÁNCHEZ ARCINIEGAS



Clara Inés Sánchez Arciniegas is professor and researcher at the Faculty of Hotel and Tourism Management (Externado de Colombia University), where she is in charge of the academic space Cultural Heritage. Graduated in Hotel and Tourism Management at Externado de Colombia University at Bogotá (Colombia), holds three Master Degree, one in Cultural Policies and development (Girona University and Unesco), and two other in Cultural Management. Currently she is PhD candidate in Political Studies. Clara Inés Sánchez is a consultant in tourism policies, cultural and heritage tourism and sustainable tourism development at national and international level, mainly for public sector and international agencies. Her research interests are how to reconcile sustainable tourism development in multicultural and multi-ethnic states and is reviewing issues around tourism flows in conflict situations and the role of social networks. She is a member of the Board of Directors of Icomos - Colombia, where discussion forums are organized around the protection and safeguarding of cultural heritage and its development factors. She has been National Director of Quality and Sustainable Tourism in Colombia at the Viceministry of Tourism, delegated as Viceminister of Turismo and Member of the National Council of Patrimony (Colombia), from 2007-2015.

ANNA TRONO



Anna Trono, provided with national scientific qualification in a full professor in Geography, is associate professor of Political and Economic Geography at the Department of Cultural Heritage, University of Salento (Lecce, Italy). She is director of the Laboratory of Geography at the same Department, where she teaches Political and Economic Geography at the bachelor courses and Geography of Tourism and Geography of Cultural and Environmental Heritage at the Master degree of History of Arts and Cultural Heritage.

She studies strong and weak areas of the EU, regional development policies and issues of local development and has conducted research into the protection and promotion of cultural and environmental heritage for sustainable tourism. She has published numerous essays and books on these themes, many of which in connection with large-scale projects involving local and regional organisations and other universities in Italy and elsewhere, under the aegis of European Union research programs.

As chief scientist or other component of work groups, she is actively involved in the preparation and management of numerous national and international research projects and in the organisation of international workshops and conferences on religious tourism and cultural heritage.

Member of the Steering Committee of the IGU Commission on Geography of Governance, she is also delegate for the University of Salento of Unesco Unitwin - Network "Culture-Tourism-Development" and president of the International Cultural Association "Viator Study Center. Research and Development of Vie Francigene and Historical Mediterranean Routes".

DOMINIQUE VANNESTE



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Her main research interests and lecturing topics are: Economic geography (regional development, networking and location factors), Historical geography (relationship between landscape, heritage, identity and conservation) and Tourism (sustainable tourism and governance, heritage tourism, geo-tourism). Her research approach combines these elements looking at tourism and heritage as a lever for local and regional development and the role of stakeholders in general and networks in particular. As for heritage, she is particularly interested in the spatial component of sites (structure, appearance, use, organization, encounters of hosts and guests, visitors and locals) and therefore in the sense of place.

MARTA LUCÍA VÉLEZ RIVAS



Linked as a Teacher-Researcher in the Faculty of Tourism and Hotel Business Administration of the Externado de Colombia University, since 2006 and in tourism projects since 2002. Topics of reflection: relationship between tourism, heritage and imaginaries; the relationships of alterity in tourism; memory, life stories and tourism. Projects in tourism with emphasis on culture and social participation. Anthropologist from the National University of Colombia, with studies at the Master's degree of History, at the same university. PhD Candidate in Social Studies, at Externado University of Colombia.

MARIA DOLORS VIDAL CASELLAS



Dolors Vidal-Casellas is PhD in Art History. She is interested in the planning and management of cultural tourism. She started different Masters Programs such as the Master in Communication and Art Critic or the Master in Cultural Tourism, both at the University of Girona. She teaches in the Tourism Degree and the Master in Cultural Tourism of the University of Girona. She is director of the "Laboratori Multidisciplinar de Recerca en Turisme" (Laboratory of Multidisciplinary Research in Tourism). She

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PETRA ZABUKOVEC BARUCA



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UNESCO UNITWIN Network “Culture Tourism and Development” created this MOOC to share their members’ knowledge and expertise on World Heritage Sites. You will be able to learn about a great variety of themes and experience different cultures just a click away from home!

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