

**CULTURAL RESOURCES AND
THE TOURISMIFICATION OF TERRITORIES**
The tourism research agenda: navigating with a compass

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ABSTRACT

So far little attention has been paid to the territorial aspects of cultural heritage, dispersion patterns and clustering processes nor to the changes induced by tourism on the physical, economic and social environment. Studying the territorial cohesion of different elements of cultural heritage and the interdependency between tangible and intangible heritage assets brings us closer to an understanding of the cultural dynamics of a region or the place. The procedure is to identify the different characteristics of the cultural heritage elements and the driving forces in the process of tourismification.

*Three paradigms suggest that the conservation of both tangible and intangible heritage elements can give impulses to cultural activities and the development of a creative and productive environment. The capacity to capitalize on cultural resources, to support the process of identity building and eventually the creation of tourismscapes will diverge between types of regions and communities. The way regions (and nations) are valorizing and investing in cultural capital clearly makes the difference. The emerging gap between dynamic and less dynamic cultural regions, between emerging tourism destination and sleeping ones is not only based on the actual presence of monuments, museums or historical landscapes (**the hardware**), but more likely and increasingly on the marketing efforts, the narratives and the liveliness (**the software**). In addition the creativity with intangible heritage elements such as traditions imbedded in the local history and habitat will make the difference. Traditions find contemporary expressions in lifestyle, language, religion, music, folklore, and gastronomy and last but not least in events and festivities. It requires good organizational skills and professional know how to valorize these cultural resources.*

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

Above all, the research mission is to monitor the tourismification process; a key issue on the future research agenda.

KEYWORDS: *Cultural Heritage, Tourismification, Territorial Cohesion*

INTRODUCTION

The dynamics of change hold a most interesting challenge for researchers. The main issue is to identify the factors, the actors and the context variables behind the processes. As the world rushes into a global economy there is a growing awareness about the need to conserve and to revalorise parts of our heritage. Tourism itself is an active agent of change. Whenever a community or region chooses for tourism as one of its economic activities, this implies accepting changes and making choices about sharing some heritage resources with visitors, while leaving others as a privilege for the locals (*Murphy & Murphy, 2005*).

The objective of this paper is to scan the role of cultural resources as a driving force for local development and tourism, in particular (*Zouian, 2007*). As a rule, changes in tourism are identified by referring to economic parameters mainly, such as the growth of the number of tourism enterprises, employment rates, revenues, etc. A more holistic approach would also include environmental, morphological and functional parameters of change. Recently also the evolution of place images caught the attention of marketing researchers (*Govers, 2006, Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005*).

Numerous case studies have been published, many descriptions of how ‘things’ change under the influence of tourism activities, a process that has been referred to as ‘tourismification’ (*Jansen-Verbeke, 1998, 2003*). In particular, the spatial impacts of tourism have frequently been researched (*Miossec 1976 & al, Pearce 2001, Ashworth & Dietvorst, 1995, & al*)

Nevertheless, knowledge about the process of tourismification lacks a good understanding of the indicators, their interaction and dependency of a range of context variables such as history, demography, politics and policies. Changing patterns have been studied and mapped in different environments; in coastal areas and natural parks, on islands and in urban agglomerations, and lately also in rural areas. But the importance of territorial parameters, their coherence and supporting role in the local and regional identities were rarely studied, with exception of some case studies. What is now the research agenda beyond the stage of descriptive case studies?

In the wide spectrum of interesting research tracks, our focus is on the territorial expressions of cultural resources. The main hypothesis is that tourism is one way of capitalizing on cultural

resources in situ. However, the stage and the characteristics of tourismification depend on a number of factors. Can these be identified and measured?

The primary challenge is to mark the type of cultural resources that can support local or regional tourism development. The tourism potentials of cultural resources are most variable in terms of scale, aesthetics and accessibility, when looking at various monuments (castles, cathedrals, palaces, etc.), cityscapes or cultural landscapes. Categories such as industrial heritage, mining heritage in particular, might be very much present in the process of identity building but far more difficult to redesign for tourism uses. Although a single landmark can be strong enough to market a tourist destination, it is the actual and perceived tourism opportunity spectrum that will determine the degree of attraction of places and regions (*Butler & Woldbroetz, 1991*). As a consequence there is the need to analyze the interaction and coherence between the different core elements for heritage tourism but also with supporting facilities (such as accommodation, local transport, souvenir trade, restaurants, pubs, etc). An analytical model to study the territorial expressions of cultural resources will be introduced.

If we are to believe planners and politicians, the processes of conservation of cultural heritage and commoditization (for tourism activities) can be planned. This is in line with the views of Greffe about culture and local development. He introduced three paradigms to support his views (*Greffe, 2005*). When these assumptions are realistic we should be able to identify the potentials of specific cultural elements to become tourist attractions. Also the structural problems need to be recognized, such as new uses for 'special' heritage elements, such as industrial heritage sites and buildings. How little do we know about the genesis of cultural activities and the mutagenicity of cultural events? (*Jansen -Verbeke, 2004*).

The objective of this conceptual paper is to open a discourse on the role of cultural resources in the process of tourismification of territories. The empirical data resulting from an European project¹ are the main source of inspiration and interpretation (*ESPON, 2006*). This study focused on the role of cultural heritage in the regional dynamics of 27 European countries, and included a search for indicators to analyse the process of building cultural capital on heritage resources. Mapping the spatial expressions and effects of heritage assets in Europe and identifying territorial coherence (existing or potential) at the regional and local scale, is the innovative contribution of

¹ This paper is inspired by a recent European project: ESPON 1.3.3., 2006, '*The role and spatial effects of cultural heritage and identity*' in which the author was a partner. This project was carried out in 27 countries - by 12 universities.

this explorative study. The richness of the (new) datasets and the multitude of ‘interesting’ phenomena emerging from the EU mapping and spatial analyses surely open new research perspectives.

DECODING SYMPTOMS OF CHANGE

Many researchers, also in tourism, are trained to be critical and analytical, to concentrate on elements and to study systematically the very nature of interactions in a ‘system approach’ of the reality around us. As a rule, the skills to analyse patterns are well developed within the disciplinary framework of ‘geography and planning’ with its specific concepts, models and methods to measure and communicate. Identifying linear causality in a mainly static vision, has long been appreciated as good scientific thinking. However, to understand the dynamics of change and the effect of interactions, a systemic approach in a multi-dimensional perspective is required. The tourism system is an interdisciplinary study object, by definition. Every change, however small, in the composition of elements, actors and stakeholders can imbalance the ‘biotope’ of a tourist destination for better or for worse (*Rieucan & Lageiste, 2006*). In addition changes in the external environment are equally important to understand the internal dynamics of the tourism system.

Introducing the time dimension in tourism studies implies dealing with processes rather than with patterns. This has always been a challenge since tourism is not only a most complex phenomenon, but also a highly changeable industry. Tourism planners and marketers need to anticipate the impact of social and economic trends on environmental issues and technological revolutions. In addition tourism itself is a factor of change. However difficult, symptoms of tourismification need to be monitored in order to go for the best-fit management strategies for the future. (*Russo, 2002, Jansen-Verbeke & Lievois, 2004*).

The current debate is very much on tourism as a pro-active agent in the process of conservation and of building cultural identities for territories and their communities, versus tourism as a destroyer of the past, of the uniqueness and beauty of places and eventually undermining the driving forces behind travel and tourism (*Richards, 2007*). Researchers and planners have little impact neither on trends in the global economy and politics nor on the changing faces of the tourism world, but they do have a mission to try to understand the dynamics of change, to identify

the indicators and parameters and to monitor, in an interdisciplinary way, the various changes and simulate the chain of reactions.

As an example, the attraction of 3-dimensional presentations of the past, in situ or relocated, the tremendous impact of cell phones and GPS systems on the tourist behaviour; the impact of these type of revolutions require new research tools (such as GIS), innovative analytical methods and above all new concepts of the tourism system (*Shoval & Isaacson, 2007*). Mental maps, expectations, virtual and real perceptions, actual experiences... we are moving onto in a new area of behavioural research. Apparently technological revolutions are accelerating, even faster than our capacity to understand their impact on daily life and on tourism (research) in particular.

The growing concern about the limits of acceptable change, induced or accelerated by tourism, is on the top of many political agenda. One example is the fact that in the context of a fast growing global cultural economy the perspective of an ubiquitous mining of cultural resources for tourist consumption tends to be seen as a threat (*Ashworth, 2006, Smith & Robinson, 2006*). The question rises whether this 'production' process can go on forever and everywhere, albeit under the label of 'creative tourism' (*Richards & Wilson, 2006*).

Surely material and tangible heritage elements are strong magnets for the so-called cultural tourists, but apparently the very concept of cultural tourism is eroding. Clear-cut definitions of cultural motives, cultural activities and cultural experiences are disappearing from the research designs, and to be replaced by? (*Richards 2007, Mckechner & du Cros 2002, Ashworth 2006*). Movable and intangible heritage elements such as arts, music, food, fashion, folklore, legends and stories are becoming the core business in a new and highly flexible tourism industry; footloose and easy to change the products, the events and the software (*Poria & al, 2003, Moreno & al., 2005, Picard & Robinson, 2006*). A negative attitude towards these changes does not make sense. What needs to be promoted is a state of alertness about the impact on tourism destinations and a learning attitude about the global forces driving this uprooting and displacement trend.

CAPACITY TO CAPITALIZE ON CULTURAL RESOURCES

Much has been written about the actual and expected role of heritage elements in a tourism-gear development and mainly in urban revitalisation projects; the problems, potentials, policies

and the critical success factors. The results of several descriptive case studies allow us to better understand the various impulses of heritage resources for the reinforcement of local identities and cultural tourism (*Gravari-Barbas & Violier, 2003*). Although every territory and site is unique and has its own history and identity, some general pattern seems to emerge; similar architectural renovation designs and standardised ‘beautification of public spaces and public pasts’ (*Ashworth & al. 2007*).

Which conclusions can be drawn on the changes induced by the emerging cultural economy, including tourism? Is there still creative space left for the tourism entrepreneurs and for the tourists?

Undeniably, the capacity to integrate cultural resources in the tourism development, in the process of identity building and place marketing and eventually in the creation of tourism landscapes diverges between types of regions and communities. The way regions or nations are evaluating and investing in cultural capital could explain many variations in the European map of tourist regions (*Hall & al, 2006*). This implies looking more closely at tangible heritage elements, their territorial expressions and impact.

The emerging gap between dynamic and less dynamic cultural regions is not only based on the actual presence of monuments, museums or historical landscapes, but perhaps even more on the liveliness and liveability of intangible heritage elements such as traditions imbedded in the agricultural or industrial history and habitat. These traditions find contemporary expressions in lifestyle, language, religion, music, folklore, gastronomy and last but not least events and festivities (*Picard & Robinson, 2006*). The question arises about the chances of destinations to enter into the competitive arena of cultural tourism markets, particularly in those cases where physical heritage assets are rare or missing. With footloose and intangible cultural resources mainly, the challenge lies even more in innovation and creativity.

In fact the cultural resources of a territory are much more than the accumulation of tangible assets to be conserved. Many intangible elements hold strong stimuli for the process of (re) building identities of places or regions. Understanding the dynamics of cultural tourism requires the identification of the cultural resources of the place and the people: their history, habitat, and heritage.

In addition the capacity to produce or reproduce a culture economy not only depends on the local expertise to organise and manage, but also, and increasingly, the capacity to get involved in an benefit from global networks. A major current challenge is to catch up with global trends and translate these into local or regional opportunities. Apparently the driving forces in the tourismification of cultural resources are also to be searched in the interaction with other economic forces and in the networks of decision-makers, politicians, public and private partners.

In this stage of the research, the key issue is to identify relevant indicators of cultural resources that actually function as catalysts in the process of change. From a wide range of case studies Xavier Greffe concluded that there are at least three paradigms leading to a better understanding of these processes. (*Greffe, 2005*)

THE 'ATTRACTION PARADIGM'

The most visible impact of cultural heritage on territorial identity lies in its potential as a resource for the development of tourism products, not for export, but for importing tourists. This explains the many references to the role of cultural heritage in the tourism dynamics of places and regions (*Jansen-Verbeke & al. 2005*).

Cultural resources are not tourist products *sui generis*, but only after a transformation process induced by internal initiatives, the local tourism ambitions, and external forces in the global tourism market. However the attempts to sharpen the definitions of cultural tourism and to define this tourism market segment have not yet been very successful. One reason is that the traditional view on the supply-demand dichotomy seems no longer adequate, nor appropriate for the 'cultural experience market'. Apparently this axis is too simplistic to involve and explain the different dimensions of cultural tourism. 'Tourism is about stepping beyond a production – consumption dichotomy' (*Ateljevic, 2000*).

This is just one dimension of the worldwide discrepancy in views regarding the tourism vocation of cultural heritage. In fact culture is not a market similar to tourism because it relies on engagements rather than on investments, because the objectives of conservation and a visitor function are not often compatible, because the values and the time perspectives of both sectors

and their stakeholders diverge. However deep the gap was between culture and tourism in terms of values and symbolism, the gap is now being bridged! (*Shackley, 2006*)

Obviously the presence of several built heritage elements in an area allows destination marketers to select and highlight attractive landmarks and to strategically develop icons. This is assumed to be a critical success factor in the tourism-scaping of places; reaching out for the tourist market with ‘beautified images and stories of the past’. This can be a single attraction (a tower, a cathedral, a palace, a bridge, etc) or a cityscape with various and complementary tourist magnets, physically and functionally well integrated in an attractive tourist opportunity spectrum (TOS) such as the Alhambra in Granada, the historical center of Prague or waterfront developments in numerous harbor and river cities all over Europe.

In fact, the dynamics of ‘attractive places’ tend to become more dependent on the creation of new prestige projects of ‘architectural design’ such as the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, the Millenium dome in Greenwich-London and conference or event halls in many places (*Plaza, 2000*). The short life span (or TPLC) of this type of attractions has already been signaled as a point of concern. Usually these modern icons go hand in hand with a remarkable expansion of cultural activities such as museums, concert halls, art galleries, event halls, etc. (*Fladmark, 2000*). It cannot be denied that landmarks and icons have become strong structural elements in the mental map of visitors and also in their actual time-space use in tourist destinations (*Lievois, 2007, Lew & al., 2004*).

THE ‘DISSIMINATION PARADIGM’

The second paradigm about the process of capitalizing on cultural resources refers to idea that the presence of a number of cultural heritage elements offers favourable conditions for the creation of new cultural goods and services, even empowers the forces to explore new cultural goods that can be ‘sold’ outside the territory. Cultural assets are also seen as a social capital, incentives for social integration and above all as business opportunities. This is linked with capacity building in terms of transmitting local know-how and proceeding from production to marketing. Even an explanation for the distinct creativity in valorising USP can result from this paradigm.

This credo from Xavier Greffe is based on the study of many urban plans and projects; some with most favorable starting conditions, such as the presence of a rich heritage - tangible- and some

times reinforced by the intangible; the traditions, stories, legends, authors, music, etc. Some cities, or urbanized areas, are in a much less attractive position, such as postindustrial sites, and far away from the mayor tourist routes. But he believes in the power of creation, on condition that there are incentives for creativity and leadership. Obviously, these views on cultural heritage as an incubator for new activities and on a cultural turn marking the (re) vitalisation of the cultural economy need more empirical support (*Debbage & Ioannides, 2004*)

THE 'TERRITORIAL' PARADIGM

This paradigm has been studied in detail, at different scale levels and in various case studies. In fact a most important objective of the ESPON project was the spatial analysis of territorial expressions of cultural resources and activities, in view of local, regional or national development. One of the challenges of a spatial approach to cultural dynamics is the understanding of territorial cohesion between the different elements and eventually also a synergy between tangible and intangible cultural resources. It should be possible to trace the relevant factors in the dynamics of the cultural economy, starting with a spatial analysis of the patterns of cultural heritage elements. Although the study of location patterns seems basic and hardly innovative, it is a necessary first step in the interpretation of territorial dynamics such as for instance, clustering processes. The two characteristics of a cultural good - constantly shifting production and uncertainty - can be resolved through geographic concentration or clustering. The cluster then appears as a place where the levers of exogenous and of endogenous growth come into play. The principles of clustering have been studied from various perspectives, such as the industrial activity, retail trade, and lately also in tourism (*Murphy & Murphy 2005*).

The basic dynamics of cultural and creative districts lay in the proximity of heritage elements, cultural facilities and activities. This offers advantages for cultural production, whereby customers, human resources, costs and risks can be shared. It has been proven that a geographic concentration offers favourable conditions for synergism between different attractions and activities. The presence of 'hot spots for tourists' plays an important role in the strategic place-region marketing. Waterfront areas (examples all over!), museum quarters (Wien- Rotterdam-Bonn & al.) cultural routes (eg. the Baroque route in Hungary, 2005) are all well known examples of successful networking.

Physical and functional networks improve the business opportunities and the development of strategic alliances, inter- or intra- sectoral. Surely the clustering of tourism activities has shown a number of advantages, mainly in terms of destination management and marketing and eventually as an objective of visitor management planning. At different scale levels, territorial clusters can be or can become functional hubs in the network of stakeholders, and physical core areas in the tourism landscapes (*Jansen-Verbeke & Lievois, 2004*)

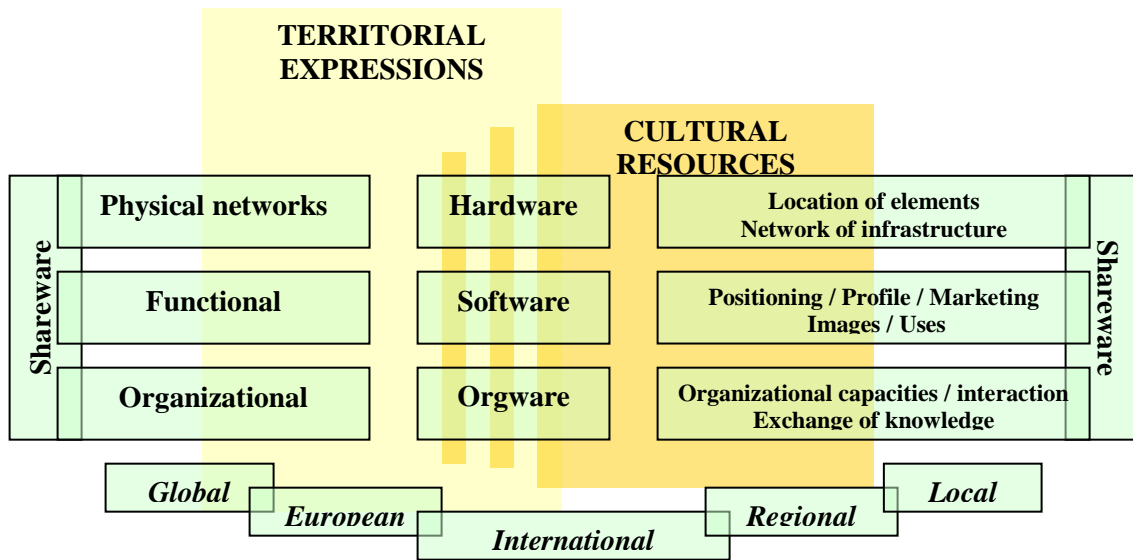
TERRITORIAL COHESION OF CULTURAL RESOURCES

The inventory of cultural heritage elements in a well-defined territory is just a stepping stone (see categories in Appendix 1). It is no longer a matter of mapping the concentration or spread of cultural assets and describing the regional differences only, but to scan the dynamics induced by the physical presence of cultural heritage elements (*Graham & al., 2000*). The model below (fig.1) is an attempt to draw a framework including the various components, the different scales of the networks and thus identify the possible interdependency of elements. In the search to understand more about territorial coherence, this is an analytical tool allowing catching some key components of the dynamics.

A number of case studies carried out at different scale levels and in different geographical contexts allow analyzing empirically the concept of territorial cohesion². Much attention is paid to the clustering trends and this also in relation to the networks and linkages. Physical connections (a road, a path, a waterway) between places or areas of cultural interest can become a generic factor in the cultural network. Also symbolic networks between tangible and intangible elements, when supported by partnerships and alliances, have proven their strength for tourism marketing.

² The presentation of the paper will include some results of case studies.

Fig.1. An analysis model for territorial cohesion



The concept of *hardware* can be used to refer to the tourism infrastructure, the site characteristics the immovable heritage elements, the morphology and architecture of the built environment, the grass-rooted cultural resources. In many cases the 'hardware' includes the core elements of the tourist opportunity spectrum. As a rule, these element of the tourist attraction are not easily relocated and by definition the a heavy cost for the public stakeholders in terms of conservation, up-keeping and beautification.

The *software* of cultural resources in the tourist destination is flexible, changes over time and fashion trends are sensitive to innovations in communication; the interpretation, the stories, the marketing. Investements in imagineering can be strategically adapted to the (changing) target groups of investors and visitors; also to compete with destinations offering similar tourism opportunities and experiences.

As mentioned before, much creativity is required to obtain or consolidate a competitive position in the market of cultural tourism. A most critical success factors lies in the organizational capacity of a destination (*the orgware*). The drive and expertise to implement efficient public private partnerships in the tourism related issues might be the most crucial one.

A most crucial aspect of territorial cohesion lies in the interaction between the different elements of culture, tourism, public amenities, etc. One way of structuring the analysis is to screen systematically the different cells of the matrix which should include all localised elements of the urban tourism system. (see fig.2.)

Fig. 2. Intra-Regional Dynamics

Interaction	Monument	Landscape	Museum	Cultural Event	Cultural Facility	Cultural Activity
Monument						
Landscape						
Museum						
Cultural Event						
Cultural Facility						
Cultural Activity						
HOT SPOTS						

In order to study the internal dynamics in a multidimensional way and using concepts such as synergy and clustering, both quantitative and qualitative data are required. Several examples of this empirical approach can be introduced. However, in many case studies the lack of valid and comparable data and the weakness of many definitions in the field of cultural elements are serious handicaps.

Just some examples of defining intra regional dynamics: the number of museums in a specific district is relevant (to be weighed by surface?) and even more the percentage of museums housed in a monumental building or site as opposed to the newly built museums.

Looking at the various tourist / non-tourist uses of monuments will also allow to asses the tourism potentials of the area; this is both a quantitative and qualitative exercise. One of the objectives of this matrix approach is to identify the hot spots in the tourist destination in terms of intensity of tourism uses and activities (physical parameters) and the impact of ‘hot spots’ as symbolic icons for the destination (based on attitude scores)

A COMPASS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH?

The fact that cultural tourism is one of the largest and fastest growing segments of global tourism explains the many demonstrations of creativity in developing cultural resources into tourist

products. The success stories illustrate to what extent the definition of cultural tourism has become blurred. Multiple forms of tourism are now easily labelled as 'cultural' (Richards, 2000). The more tourism is being dominated by global forces, the higher the need to emphasise the uniqueness of territories, to demonstrate and argue the differences between places, regions and communities. Despite the fact that tourism has become a market of experiences in which location characteristics and the sense of place hardly play a role (the placelessness new tourism), there are strong arguments to study how images of landscapes, history and traditions have marked, coloured and structured the tourist maps. (*Richards & Wilson, 2006*).

A new dilemma (if one?) between grassroots and placelessness of tourism attractions largely explains the current rush for product innovation in tourism. In fact the interpretation of culture, the link with the environmental setting and the staged experience is questionable and sometimes even disconnected. Particularly in the market of cultural tourism the connotation with education comes in as a new and strong argument. The tendency of cultural entrepreneurs and tourism marketers to over-emphasise the historical components, to stage heritage experiences as tourist attractions seems to fit well in this cultural turn of tourism.

However, the overload of nostalgia and commercial interpretations of history, the vulgarisation of heritage inspired products (the souvenir industry), feeds a growing antagonism to the tourismification of cultural resources. The cultural assault on history holds risks of economic imbalance but also of undesirable morphological changes in the urban or rural landscape and social disruption in the touristscape. It appears to be most difficult to intervene or to stop this process of mutation of the cultural resources on which the tourist business is based. Discrepancy in views arises when different social groups place different valuations on conserved buildings and areas and hold different views on the blessing of tourism.

Taking into account these more fundamental and ethical issues of tourismification, in combination with an empirically based understanding of the process and multidimensional impacts, certainly merits a high priority on the future research agenda.

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5640 words

APPENDIX 1. CATEGORIES OF CULTURAL HERITAGE (ESPON 2006)

A	A			TANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE
A	A	1		CULTURAL HERITAGE SITES
A	A	1	1	MONUMENTS AND SITES
A	A	1	2	RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS
A	A	1	3	ARCHITECTURAL ENSEMBLES
A	A	1	4	ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES
A	A	1	5	HISTORIC TOWNSCAPES
A	A	1	6	INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE
A	A	2		MAN-MADE SITES WITH SPECIFIC SIGNIFICANCE (HISTORICAL IDENTITY)
A	A	2	1	PARKS AND GARDENS
A	A	2	2	PLACES OF MEMORY
A	A	2	3	SIGHTS
A	A	3		MOVABLE CULTURAL HERITAGE
A	A	3	1	MUSEUM AND GALLERY COLLECTIONS
B	B			INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE
B	B	1		RELIGIONS, AND MORE SPECIFICALLY THE SHARE OF FOLLOWERS OF ANY GIVEN RELIGION OR CULT IN A REGION

B	B	2		ETHNIC GROUPS AND MINORITIES WHICH ARE PRESENT IN A TERRITORY
B	B	3		LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS SPOKEN
B	B	4		REGISTERED INTANGIBLE HERITAGE ASSETS (CELEBRATIONS, TRADITIONS, EXPRESSIONS OF POPULAR CULTURE AND IDENTITY), AS DEFINED BY THE UNESCO CONVENTION ON INTANGIBLE HERITAGE
B	B	5		CULTURAL MANIFESTATIONS AND EVENTS
C	C			CULTURAL HERITAGE ENTITIES (LANDSCAPES)
C	C	1		SITES CONTAINING SEVERAL OR ALL ABOVE MENTIONED CATEGORIES (CULTURAL LANDSCAPES?)
C	C	2		CULTURAL ROUTES
C	C	3		CLUSTERS OF CULTURE-BASED PRODUCTS (AS DEFINED BY SANTAGATA 2003)
D	D			PLACES FOR CULTURAL EXPRESSION, ORGANISATION AND FURTHERING
D	D	1		THEATRES, OPERAS, MUSICAL VENUES, CINEMAS
D	D	2		HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS, LIBRARIES
D	D	3		NATIONAL AND REGIONAL ARCHIVES
D	D	4		CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS (ASSOCIATIONS)
D	D	5		JOBS IN CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

about 5500 words