



Proceedings

Heritage

Tourism & Hospitality

International
Conference
2015

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ISBN 978-90-9029477-3

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Foreword

It is our pleasure to introduce this proceedings book that collects the papers presented at the international conference on Heritage, Tourism and Hospitality hosted by University of Amsterdam and Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and co-organized by Erasmus University and Elgin & Co. This event is to take place in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, between the 25th and 27th of November 2015. The conference aims at providing a forum for academicians and practitioners to share and discuss ideas and to identify the challenges that affect heritage tourism.

Heritage tourism, including the conservation, management and communication of the tangible and intangible assets in a community, may result in both positive and negative impacts. On the one hand, it may represent an important source of income to the community while helping reinforce the cultural identity and preserve the existing heritage. On the other hand, heritage tourism may also result in conflictuous development of the destinations leading to the destruction of heritage sites, and in the loss or damage of existing values and traditions. In order to ensure that the positive impacts prevail, all stakeholders need to work together and address the challenges that arise in the implementation of heritage tourism practices.

The articles in this proceedings book include a wide collection of both research studies and conceptual papers that address the topic from multi-disciplinary perspectives. Some of the issues discussed include identity and branding, heritage in the context of sustainable tourism development, challenges concerning the preservation and communication of heritage sites, partnerships and governance in the creation of heritage tourism. It is our hope that during the conference many and interrelated issues are identified and sound solutions to the problems will be posed.

We would like to express our gratitude to the members of the organizing committee, and particularly Karin Elgin- Nijhuis from Elgin & Co. who has spent countless hours putting this conference together. In her capacity as Chair of the Destination and Industry Committee, Karin has worked tirelessly to ensure that the conference is a practitioner-friendly event, in which scientific evidence is intermingled with best practices and experiences from around the world. We also thank the international scientific committee and the reviewers, who have worked to ensure the quality of the submitted papers. Additionally we would like to acknowledge the support of our sponsor and partners in ensuring the success of the conference.

This proceedings book contains high quality papers, research notes and abstracts from a cast of international re-searchers. We hope that you will enjoy and find this collection of use to broaden and deepen your understanding of the fascinating field of heritage tourism, concerned not only with the contemporary uses of our common past, but perhaps more importantly with making sense of where we are in an ever-changing world in which we must manage our interactions effectively.

| | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| Frank Go | Maria D. Avarez, | Rob van der Laarse | Linde Egberts |
| Erasmus University | Boğaziçi University | University of Amsterdam | Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam |
| Conference Chair | Conference Chair | Conference Chair | Conference Chair |

The Fez Medina Heritage, Tourism, and Resilience

Adam Abdullah

ABSTRACT

Morocco is geographically rather homogenous, but contains diverse cultural landscapes, including physical heritage assets. There are a total of 31 documented Medinas, or traditional Arab settlements, within Morocco, including the Fez el-Bali Medina. Moroccan Medinas have retained an authentic physical and experiential ambience over the centuries, an identity distinct from the dense urban landscape that often surrounds many of them. Although in some places dilapidated housing stock has been replaced by new constructions, renovation measures take into consideration the centuries of continuity in building techniques and ornamental styles so as not to encroach upon the stylistic traditions of the ancient city. This authenticity of ambience, away from the mechanized, mass produced developed world, also resonates with the vibrant social life of the old city. Spatial arrangements within the Medina are not merely utilitarian but shape personal and communal experience. The ever-eager locals look favorably upon foreign visitors, and tourists overcome linguistic obstacles in communication, bridging cultural inconsistencies, to the point that some of them even end up buying property within the Medina (Clarke, 2008).

But globalization is a strong dictating force for tourism planning. The denotation of a site as a tourism hotspot is as much dependent, if not more, upon fluctuating foreign tastes, as the inherent value of the asset itself. Consumer choices do favor certain ambiances and physical settings, and a standardization of even vernacular environments (e.g. by the provision of Wi-Fi inside old towns) seems to dictate which direction tourist destinations will eventually maneuver towards. Due to the recent pressures of global tourism, including the purchase of property within the Medina by foreigners, gentrification is becoming a common issue.

This paper will look at how the conservation of the Fez Medina has succeeded in maintaining an authentic physical, visual, and sensory ambience amidst these pressures, and how the inherent pluralism and traditional resilience of the Medina over the centuries can be extrapolated for sustainable tourism strategies for similar old cities.

An exaggerated importance given to overtly physical monuments at the cost of local authenticity can rapidly transform a distinct local ambience into just another superficial Disneyfied resort city with a cosmetic Vegas luster. This paradoxically makes the city less attractive to foreign visitors and thus negates the aim the city had set out to achieve, by making the city less representative of local culture (Smith, 2010). Fez, in Morocco, has been able to maintain a balance between catering to international tourists and conserving its local construction physical and social environment.

Keywords: Fez Medina; authenticity; resilience; conservation; heritage tourism

1. Introduction

Morocco is a developing Northwest African country, housing about 30 million. Although geographically homogenous, the country is home to diverse cultural landscapes. It contains 31 documented Medinas – traditional Arab settlements. The Medinas represent a continuity of tradition for both Islamic and pre-Islam North Africa. The Medinas today also form the essential basis for rapid urban growth, both of semi-developed Moroccan towns and of secondary cities contributing to the regional economy (Bigio, 2012).

Moroccan Medinas possess an identity distinct from the dense urban landscape that surrounds many of them. Most of the country's 31 documented Medinas have retained significant portions of their physical and intangible

experiential ambience over the centuries. Although in some places dilapidated housing stock has been replaced by new constructions, renovation measures take into consideration the centuries of continuity in building techniques and ornamental styles so as not to encroach upon revered stylistic traditions.

Medinas have historically been nodes specialized in particular sectors – a holy shrine, a commercial site, a traditional craft production center – that catered to regional or national demands. Even when providing a particular service to outsiders, a Medina is seldom solely dependent on external sources of revenue. Transcending a categorical urban utility, it is a self-sufficient community that can meet its residents' day to day needs from within itself, and only communicates with the surrounding city if a structural need arises.

Fez is the third largest city in Morocco, and is inhabited by about a million people. It is also one of the oldest imperial towns of Morocco. Right after its foundation in the early 9th century, it rose to prominence as a holy site and a trading hub, characterized by merchant lodges, warehouses, and funduqs. During the Marinid dynasty just three centuries later, the city was renowned for its intellectual and artistic endeavors, not just throughout the Islamic lands but also in Europe. The Marinids gifted the city some of its most significant public monuments, many of which stand to this day. These buildings represent the typical 9th-10th century Ibero-Moorish architectural styles and sensibilities which had seeped down into the African inland through Mediterranean trade routes.

Fez contains two Medinas: Fez el-Bali is the more ancient and larger in size of the two, and is acknowledged as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The Fez el-Bali Medina is also one of the world's largest pedestrian-only vehicle-free urban area. Because of its outstanding historic significance and its impressive social diversity, Fez has been referred to in modern times as the Athens of Africa and the Mecca of the West by contemporary travelers and travel writers.

Keeping these parameters in mind, the research question I intend to pose here is: to what extent has the Medina of Fez managed to retain its authentic character over the years; and what could be the possible reasons contributing to its continued prominence as a regional and international tourist attraction? To answer this question I will examine historical records on the Medina, and literature that focuses on sustainable heritage management. I will consult travel accounts penned down by historical as well as contemporary writers on the Fez Medina in particular. I plan also to look at formal institutional regulations that have shaped the conservation practices in the Medina since its significance as a historical asset first came to light.

There have been various attempts at the regeneration or conservation of historic old towns in the Islamic world, and some of them have failed miserably. Through a multi-faceted approach I intend to discover how the conservation of Fez has succeeded, and what we, as planners, designers, and historians, can learn from this particular case.

2. History of Fez

Islamic History and the Context of North Africa

Fez goes back to the early 9th century. The establishment of the city is attributed to Moulay Idriss II. Idriss II was the son and successor of Idriss I, founder of the Idrisid dynasty in Morocco, after he escaped Abbasid persecution in the eastern Muslim provinces. Idriss I claimed the Abbasids to be usurpers and sought legitimacy to the throne once in Morocco. He eventually won the allegiance of the religious Muslim population of Morocco by tracing his lineage back to the Holy Prophet (Bloom & Blair, 2002). The tracing of one's lineage back to the Prophet's family has been, throughout Islamic history, a common starting point for many dynasties that rose to power by appealing to the religious sentiments of the Muslim masses. It was in this approach of appealing to religious sentiment and winning over followers that the first political and religious affiliations and consequently the first conflicts between the various contemporaneous Muslim dynasties became evident: similar cases can be made for the Umayyads, the Abbasids, the Fatimids, and the short-lived Zaidi Imamate.

North Africa has been especially active in these political and religious upheavals. The sporadically populated belt above the Great Sahara desert, the "Maghreb" as it came to be known later across the Islamic world, shared a lot of geographical and social similarities to the early Arab nomadic lifestyle that helped nurture Islam in its nascent years: a wandering lifestyle, a warrior occupation, and trade routes and fairs (Carver, 1989). But it was

apparently given little regard during the struggles for dominance within the early Islamic dynasties whose focus remained on acquiring and retaining power in the center, ensuring a custodianship of the traditional trade routes across the Middle East. The Maghreb soon proved an independent, economically and politically rising power, away from the centrally administered Hejaz and Levantine regions; a banner under which a different kind of Islamic society swept to: these were not the average well-fed, contented and civilized citizens of the agricultural lands of Fertile Crescent or the Nile, but the rough living, battle hardened nomads of the harsh desert environment. They had learnt to adapt, improvise, and survive against odds. Perhaps the greatest North African feat was the Berber ibne Ziyad's conquest of the Iberian peninsula in a dramatic encounter in 711, an event that has been romanticized in literature and popular culture ever since.

Building typologies, customs, and even the dialect of Arabic in North Africa were all quite distinct from mainland Islamic provinces. The Fatimid dynasty (909-1171) which ruled Egypt and North Africa from their capital at Cairo established a culture marked with scientific logic and reason. Up till the Fatimid era, power had always been in the hands of Orthodox Sunni rulers. The Fatimid dynasty was the first significant Shi'a dynasty, and hence gathered immense support from citizens against the central Abbasid regime (Daftary, *A Short History of the Ismailis: Traditions of a Muslim Community*, 1998). Hence where societies were divided across geographic or climatic zones, such as in this case, they managed to assert a unique identity and amassed a group of supporters large enough to take on central provinces (Daftary, *The Isma'ilis: Their History and Doctrines*, 1990). Idriss I was no different in founding an independent Idrisid empire along North Africa's west coast.

The Founding of Fez

On the right bank of the Oued Fez River was a settlement for Arab families migrating from Andalusia during the late 8th century. Idriss II attempted to settle the incoming migrants from Tunisia by the left bank of the same river. In time, the twin colonies grew into one large trading town, the Fez el-Bali (Ancient Fez). Yusuf ibne Tashfin of the Almoravid dynasty brought together both the settlements by disassembling the smaller town walls and uniting them under as a single fortification with bastions and defensive towers in the late 11th century. Fez served as a military base from which the Almoravids launched offensive strikes against tribes of Northern Morocco. At one point armies from Fez also ventured into Andalusia to help the resident Muslim population against attacks by impassioned Christian hordes. Fez hence rose in prominence during this period in political and economic power as well as a symbol of prestige for both its ruler and the local residents. By the end of the 11th century, Fez supported a population of about half a million people from very diverse backgrounds – Berbers, Jews, Turks, Moors, African aborigines, Christians, and converts to Islam.

In 1274, Fez (Fez el-Bali) was captured by the Marinids under Yaqub ibne al-Marini. Yaqub built a royal complex close to the original city, which included a palace, public buildings, and courts. This newer part of Fez is today called the Fez el-Jadid (New Fez). It was more formally planned and organized spatially in contrast to the organic, labyrinthine spatial distribution in the Fez el-Bali. Both the Medinas were bestowed with impressive architectural gems under the Saadis during the 16th century. Fez was further strengthened with the addition of the North and South Towers (Burj Nord and Burj Sud) and the Tamdart fortress, also under the Saadis, which made it almost impenetrable to armies. In 1666, Rashid of the Alawis gave Fez further military defenses, and also added cultural buildings to the city (Tourneau & Terrasse, 2007).

Thus, through the first few centuries after its establishment, as the city rose in economic significance, a corresponding military significance was accorded to it by the current ruling dynasties, increasing its military capacities in both attack and defense. This trend continued until Fez was overtaken by the Ottomans in the 16th century.

Modern History – Ottomans and French Colonialism

Fez was officially an Ottoman town by 1579. The Ottomans realized the locational advantage of Fez: it was an inland military post sheltered from European fleets, yet a replenishing camp for troops and resources near Ottoman naval outposts. This was an added bonus for wanting to keep holding on to Fez even though it was so far

out from the Ottoman capital: the Ottomans wanted to form a land front against any possible invasions from the Portuguese or Spanish Empire. Ahmad al-Mansur of the Saadis regained Fez in the early 17th century. Fez continued as a modest trading town and changed hands quite a few times. It became a settlement independent of the Moroccan throne in 1790, but five years later was reinstated into the crown. Two major rebellions, first in 1819 and then in 1832, could not give the city permanent independence.

Seeing the constant struggle for power in Morocco, the French colonialists were quick to occupy several cities in 1911, and established a French Protectorate in 1912. Fez was designated a capital of this state, and remained so until 1925, when Rabat became the capital. The French gave a modern touch to the conventionally informal development of the city and its related urban services. There was an era of planned service provision and upgradation in order to receive higher revenues from the city in return. New residential areas were planned further away from the Medinas, introducing for the first time gridded blocks and wide roads in this part of the world, suiting the European settlers' taste for aesthetics and civic convenience. The "white towns" of Dar Dbibgh and Ain Haroun were set up in Fez as examples of ideal urban living and as visions for the future expansion of the Moroccan towns. The French also enacted legislation regarding conservation practices and the upkeep of deteriorating heritage within the Medinas (Holden, *When it Pays to be Medieval: Historic Preservation as a Colonial Policy in the Medina of Fez, 1912–1932*, 2006). This included the 1918 categorization of the Medinas (el-Bali and el-Jadid) as a historic monument and hence a legally protected site. Conservation regulations ensured it was not adversely affected by modern development. Fez soon began to take on a more touristic appeal as an outcome of these deliberate efforts. Streets and public spaces were visualized as possessing the potential to attract outsiders who would then spend on local services and products. The Bab Bou Jaloud, a famous monumental gate that stands to this day, was especially erected by the French in 1913, just after the Protectorate was declared. This was a gift to the Medina's residents from the French administration. It was a significant move, but not without a motive: the Bab was a typical triumphal arch, recreated as a horseshoe arch to reflect the Moorish culture of the region. When it came to the embellishment of the Bab 3 years later, the French chose to decorate it with green and blue geometric tiles to reflect the Islamic artistic principles already in place in the city since centuries (Porter, 2000). Hence it is both an assertive power icon and a contextually relevant, pacifying gift to the populace.

In these ways, the French worked towards creating a romanticized image of a North African settlement, a quintessential folkloric town frozen in time (Holden, *The Legacy of French Colonialism: Preservation in Morocco's Fez Medina*, 2008). But it was not merely cultural or aesthetic reasons that motivated them to conserve the Medina. The administration itself stated one of the primary reasons for the conservation efforts as retaining employment for the many traditional craftsmen that inhabited the Medina – which was basically an economic policy meant to curb any political instability arising from unemployment or poverty. The conservation was hence a kind of win-win situation for both the colonists and the local populace (Holden, *When it Pays to be Medieval: Historic Preservation as a Colonial Policy in the Medina of Fez, 1912–1932*, 2006).

Modern History – Post-Independence

Soon after Morocco's independence, focus shifted to centrally implemented planning and development policies for the sovereign nation under the new King. Fez continued with rapid physical and economic expansion; by 1982 the Medina housed 55% of the total Fez population (Troin, 1993). The city has been politically and socially active since its inception. Its locals share a unique sense of pride (Clarke, 2008). The residents have always been fiercely loyal to the Moroccan throne, most significantly during the colonial era. Consequently, the movement for the liberation of Morocco and reinstating of the King also traces its roots back to Fez (Bainbridge, Bing, Ranger, & Clammer, 2011). As a continuity of this tradition in the postmodern world of today, protests or strikes in Morocco usually spring up from Fez and it is also in here that they are most strongly observable.

Recently, Fez has seen increased capital flowing in as a result of heightened tourism. Additionally, foreigners have started buying property within the Medina – dilapidated houses which they then renovate into modern dwellings while retaining a physical character and an ornamental scheme based on traditional designs.

3. Urban morphology of the medina

The modern Fez consists of two Medinas – the Fez el-Bali and the Fez el-Jadid. The Fez el-Bali is larger and more complex than the latter, and is the primary focus for this paper.

The Fez el-Bali Medina features categorical town planning principles which were in practice at a time when most of Europe was recovering from the Dark Ages. Streets were laid out in regular organic patterns and were marked distinctly for navigation. These streets lacked the essential grid iron configuration so characteristic of most western cities, or even developing cities of the east. Though the street form is apparently random and incongruent to an external observer, it contains within it landmarks and navigational elements that aid local residents in traversing their neighborhood, thereby creating and experiencing long lasting collective memories. This labyrinthine street network is defined by high walls of the buildings on either side of the street, increasing the intimacy of the pedestrian experience. This also provides a sense of privacy to the houses on the other side of the walls. Privacy is a much respected principle when it comes to home design in Muslim communities. The high walls also make the alleys darker during the evening hours, but in the day they serve the essential function of protection from the blistering summer heat. The narrow, meandering alleys make movement of large groups inconvenient through the Medina, and allow only bicycles or basic equestrian traffic besides pedestrians.

Mosques are interspersed throughout the Medina. Larger mosques occupy more significant locations. They are surrounded by a courtyard space, with shops along the courtyard walls. The street network offers unexpected surprises for the first time wanderer: apparently dead-ended alleyways suddenly open up into cozy little courts sporting central fountains, with the musical rhythm of coppersmiths' hammers adding magic to the air (Bain-bridge, Bing, Ranger, & Clammer, 2011). The Medina presents an authentic visual and ambient representation of a medieval Islamic society frozen in time. A series of informal rest spots along the organic miscellany of streets can suddenly manifest itself along the pedestrian route – the equivalent of a grand, formally planned European plaza space. Within the Medina, such urban squares are smaller, more intimate, almost like communal court-yards: sometimes shaded by a tree, with several kiosks or shop counters, and ledges protruding from walls to serve as benches.

Fez as a UN WHS

The Fez Medina is regarded as an extensively conserved Arab-Islamic historic town. It has been acknowledged as a World Heritage Site (WHS) by UNESCO due to the impressive variety of building typologies within and the commendable degree of their preservation. The historic quarter contains architectural and ornamental elements and techniques that have survived and been improved through generations, and today stand as a testament to the longevity of tradition. According to the UNESCO regulations, the Medina meets the following criteria for it to be declared a WHS:

(ii) to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design

According to Criterion (ii), the Fez Medina is a living testimony to an impressive Mediterranean culture of commerce and urban morphology during the 12th to 15th centuries. It set precedents for contemporaneous North African coastal trading cities in its development of architectural prototypes suited to the climate and trading activities of the residents of Morocco as well as merchants from across the Sahara and the Mediterranean. The Medina also set the way for future development of Moroccan and North African cities, and other Muslim colonies in Andalucía and sub-Saharan Africa.

(v) to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change (UNESCO, 2005)

According to Criterion (v), the Medina has captured the essence of one of the earliest Islamic settlements, which still lingers on within the town's streets and spaces. It has continually documented the processes that mark the growth and evolution of a town from its humble beginnings through modern developments into the current era. Religious and political monuments from various eras are interspersed within the Medina's dense fabric, representing a continuity of Moroccan culture from the 9th through to the 20th centuries.

Problems in the Medina

Several recurrent issues are observable in the Medina; these issues are not unique to Fez alone, but can be observed across many of the Arab-Muslim old towns and indeed across European old towns as well. The primary problems include rapidly deteriorating building stocks, inefficient utilities, overloaded infrastructure leading to congestion, and accessibility issues. Also of note is the physical and economic isolation of the Medina's residents from activities in the city center, and city dwellers consequently viewing Medina residents as poor, uneducated, and less civilized (Bigio, 2012).

The new Moroccan kingdom was not as mindful of conservation practices and the need to restore the authentic ambience of the Medina as were the French colonists. Hence, after several decades of natural degradation, a considerable number of houses in the Medina fell into disrepair. It was fairly recently that the imperial authorities have started getting involved in the conservation of the Medina at a formal platform. Buildings are being repaired and degenerated facades being replastered (Bainbridge, Bing, Ranger, & Clammer, 2011). A UNESCO publication (Darles & Lagrange, 1996) highlights the general conservation practices in the Fez Medina with a focus on residential typologies that have been salvaged after years of neglect. It presents some recommendations regarding the appropriation techniques that should be applied when restoring or renovating old structures in the Medina for residential or commercial purposes.

4. Social aspects of the medina

Population Composition

In its early years, the majority of people inside the Fez Medina were refugees from adjacent Muslim regions like Tunisia and Andalucía. Each ethnic group had set up their specific residential clusters. These enclaves were not necessarily in conflict with one another, but functioned as markers within the organic urban fabric (Joanna, 2014). They helped give the Medina an air of heterogeneity from very early on. After the French took over, most of the local population in Fez, regardless of their economic or social standing, preferred living within the designated Medina (Holden, When it Pays to be Medieval: Historic Preservation as a Colonial Policy in the Medina of Fez, 1912–1932, 2006). After the French colonists left Morocco, the larger urban centers within the country were still predominantly “white” towns, and therefore scarcely inhabited by the locals. Local populations preferred to snuggle inside the comfort zones of their own Medinas which were situated at some distance from the modern, formally designed urban settlements. It was mostly European residents who lived in the urban centers of Morocco. With gradual urban sprawl and demographic growth, the Medinas and their corresponding urban settlements grew to embrace one another in dense urban conglomerations.

Demographically, the Medina is mostly inhabited by the urban poor. The World Bank report (Bigio, 2012) cites the population working as daily wage earners, self-employed businesses, and home-based workshops as 40%. White collar workers, commuting out of the Medina daily, represent only 6.3% of the residents. There is also a high number of unemployed or minimum wage earners. It is hence understandable that these residents do not possess the necessary resources to maintain or upgrade the historical heritage they call homes with their own funds.

Jews in Fez

The Jewish community has been a passive but valuable asset that has added to the diversity of the Medina ever since its foundation. Most of the Jews who settled into Fez during its early years came from Andalucía. They were spread out throughout the town in the beginning, not concentrated in a particular part of town. This way, their trade and craft was available to various local markets across the Medina. The largest Jewish residential quarter settlement was near the Qarawiyyin Mosque. They also had workshops in the vicinity. After Fez el-Jadid was founded during the Marinid dynasty, the Sultan managed to convince the Jews to relocate entirely to the new town, to a Mellah (neighborhood) designated exclusively for them right next to the imperial palace. This was an act that initiated the establishment of similar Jewish Mellahs in other cities all over Morocco. The Moroccan Sultans were self-proclaimed protectors of minorities, and this enhanced their particular image. Interestingly, there were some further advantages of having the Jewish quarter right next to the palace: the Sultan had skilled artisans and craftsmen right at his disposal wherever he needed to commission a large private or public project. Some of these were refugees escaping from the Spanish Inquisition, and were hence familiar with Andalusian elite culture: fashion, royal music, ornamental interior décor, fine dining, and the latest in silk garments. The Sultan benefited from their rich cultural sensibilities. Also, the Jews, through their skill at managing financial resources, played a significant role in the Moroccan overland trade with the Christian kingdoms of Europe, and so were economic assets for the Sultan (Ross, 2013). The Jews did not always use vernacular styles for their own houses; they followed spatial and ornamental vocabularies similar to the traditional Muslim ones (Miller, Bertagnin, & Gottreich, 2010).

Modes of Transport

Housing more than 156000 people, the Fez el-Bali Medina offers a different kind of transportation network, one that is based inherently on the recently propagated urban ideals of walkability, proximity, and accessibility. Streets as narrow as 2 feet at places make it impossible for most vehicular transport to enter and navigate through the Medina. These alleyways remain effective even as commuting technologies evolve. The only practical way of traversing this constricted, organic streetscape is either on foot or on equines. Even riding a bicycle is impractical, as many uninformed tourists find out (MNN, 2014). Equines have played a vital role in the development of mercantile activity within the Medina. Almost everything that comes into the Medina, is transported, consumed, exchanged, or discarded out of it, spends at least some time traveling on equine back (Davis & Frappier, 2000).

The Qarawiyyin University

The Qarawiyyin University was established in Fez through an endowment fund donated by a woman named Fatima al-Fihri, in 859. It is acknowledged as the “oldest continually operating university in the world” by the Guinness World Records Committee (GWR, 2014). The Qarawiyyin has an impressive alumni pool: al-Idrissi the cartographer, Maimonides the philosopher and expert on Torah jurisprudence, ibne Arabi the Sufi theorist, ibne Banna the astronomer and mathematician, ibne Khaldun, credited with compiling impressive historical accounts, and Leo Africanus the diplomat and geographer. During the Middle Ages, the Qarawiyyin was an institute of specialized learning renowned not just throughout the Islamic lands but also across the Mediterranean. There were hardly any popular institutes of higher learning in the European world during the 12th to 15th centuries, but there were several in the Muslim world: Jamia al-Azhar in Cairo, al-Zaytuna in Tunis, the Bait al-Hikma in Baghdad. It was not uncommon to find young European Christian men at these institutes.

Tourism

International tourism has increased in the Medina in the last few decades, due to the physical and cultural environment the Medina has to offer. Consequently, some foreign visitors do not merely return annually to the city, but have also bought properties inside the Medina. These properties are mostly dilapidated houses that the foreigners renovate with help from local craftsmen and store owners (Clarke, 2008). Apart from international tourists, some locals of Fez have also invested in the more decrepit buildings of the Medina and used their own resources to bring them back to life with authentic décor, lighting elements, and ornamentation schemes with traditional *zellij* tilework and fountain courtyards. Some of these are purely for personal accommodation, but others cater specifically to international tourists who prefer to stay in the heart of the city.

The trend of external hands purchasing property within the Medina might lead to gentrification. I see this as a positive venture that helps restore order and maintenance to a rapidly deteriorating heritage area. A few gentrified houses attract foreign visitors to the Medina, who in turn spend open-heartedly on the numerous food stalls, souvenir shops, and handicraft sellers inside the Medina. This is a mutually beneficial arrangement. Of course, it would not be very helpful if all or a majority of the old houses are converted into tourist lodges. That would create unprecedented crowds that the Medina would be unable to support. The thin line between economically viable conservation and sustainable tourism must be treaded lightly.

Fez Today

The Fez Medina offers a quaint charm to visitors with its narrow, meandering alleys; its semi covered bazaars offering respite from the heat while one browses through trinkets and souvenirs of all kinds; the alluring aromas emanating from its street food vendors; a number of small courtyard mosques densely woven into the organic fabric of the settlement; and the throngs of people brushing shoulders and exchanging greetings all day long, eyeing tourists with curiosity and amusement.

The Ville Nouvelle district is an upscale residential neighborhood in town. It contains the city's elite commercial activities and stands in sharp contrast to the more traditional Medina. The Villa Nouvelle gives some idea of how starkly different lifestyles can co-exist within the span of a few kilometers while still retaining a common identity.

When one analyzes the Fez Medina today, one does not look at each of its aspects in isolation. One can see multiple overlaying and dynamically interacting systems in harmony with each other. Like the physical systems that run the Medina, there are layers of history and tradition rubbing shoulders with the new advances of modern society. This can be observed as an equine transporter chatting merrily away on his cell phone as he takes down orders, or the silhouette of mud-colored rooftops dotted with satellite antennas. There is an active will to gel with the global consumerist culture, apparent in the dressing and fashion sensibilities of the youth of the Medina (Clarke, 2008).

The Medina runs on its traditional crafts and industries to this day – tanneries, textiles, soap manufacturing, flourmills, and handicrafts (Joanna, 2014). The nine-day Festival of World Sacred Music is held annually in Fez every June, and pulls in musicians and performers, as well as audiences, from around the globe (Ross, 2013).

CONCLUSION

Globalization manifests itself as an inescapable phenomenon in today's world. How has the Medina managed to retain an air of authenticity despite the mounting pressures of regional growth and the mobilized logic of global capital that seeks to exploit the town's tourism potential to the maximum? When left to external planners or developers, conservation efforts are usually geared towards a generic form of upgradation, led inevitably by basic capitalistic concerns: generating profit from heritage. This can quickly lead to "Disneyfication" (Lawless, 1980) of old towns, causing them to lose their authentic charm. Conservation measures that bring around drastic changes in a neighborhood are also not very helpful in retaining the original resident population within the old

city (Smith, 2010), due to reasons of increased prices of service provision and the social imbalance created by newcomers.

The historical Islamic city is not merely a visual artefact in today's world. It is not a ticketed roller coaster experience primarily serving the Oriental fantasies of overland travelers. It is an active, living organism, and its primary focus is on accommodating its own residents and facilitating the transformation of their lifestyles gradually from traditional to modernistic, as the city embraces new regional policies for development (Radoine, 2008). These policies put pressure for development on such historic cities and centers in order to align them with national economic goals and income levels. Conservation is a significant attempt in this regard, but one that must be addressed in a holistic, sustainable way – one that requires minimal external monitoring and can progress through local knowledge and actions. I believe it is the duality, the harmonious coexistence, between old and new, between the tethering guidance of tradition and the aspirations to achieve modern values, that helps bind the Medina together in a cohesive, coherent symbiosis. Fez has been inhabited by a multitude of peoples, cultures, and languages over the centuries, each wave of new migrants adding to the richness and cultural diversity of the town. Of course, where it helps open up new horizons for the Medina, this process of heterogeneous ownership also allows some functional conflicts and physical disrepair. Traditional spatial layouts in ancient cities are rapidly degenerating and being assimilated into the modern mass-produced urban spatial configurations of today (Carver, 1989). Yet some societies have managed to retain their original physical and experiential ambience despite pressures of urban growth. Where the Medina's romance and charm fails to impress its local populace, it finds appreciative patrons from outside who help sustain the medieval ambience. And it is in this synchronous symbiosis that the city has managed to prevail against the onslaught of regional development pressures and the demands of global capital.

The answer lies in non-conventional conservation practices. Focus should not necessarily be on general "modernistic" interventions, but on attempting to discover the specific traits of a settlement and using a specific local skill or craft to upgrade the settlement, involving the local population (Boussaa, 2010). I believe the Fez Medina presents a decent example of fragmentary yet successful conservation measures – a combination of legislation, local involvement and foreign catalysts. Our goal as planners or conservationists is to ensure harmony between old and new parts of the town by generating links between physically heterogeneous spaces and by tying them together not in a hierarchical power relationship but in cooperative and collaborative horizontal bonds.

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Enhancing the Tourist Heritage Experience Through 'In – Situ', Customisable, 3D Printed Souvenirs

Constantia Anastasiadou, Samantha Vettese Forster and Lynsey Calder

ABSTRACT

This research set out to investigate whether technological innovations in design and the personalisation of tourist souvenirs through 3D printing, could offer opportunities to break away from stereotypically throwaway, low quality, mass manufactured products that souvenir consumption is often associated with. The study was undertaken within a historic environment in Stirling, Scotland, producing 3D printed souvenirs in situ and inviting visitors to comment on the finished item. The paper concludes by reflecting on the implications of the findings for heritage attractions in terms of sustainability, authenticity, intellectual property rights, engagement with technology and areas for future research.

1.Introduction

Most contemporary museums and galleries have 'gift shops' offering products that reflect and represent the collections or artefacts as 'souvenirs'.(Swanson and Timothy, 2012)Through the purchase of souvenirs, there is a chance to transform an intangible visitor experience within the museum or gallery into a tangible, solid memory of their engagement with the visited spaces and observed objects. (Collins-Kreiner and Zins, 2011).However, the mass market production of these souvenirs, through unsustainable, globalized manufacture, their disposability and their mixed up, interpretive styling (Errington , 1998) may actually detach the visitor from the actual heritage experience. Gift shop souvenirs are thus sometimes described as 'inauthentic' and 'homogenized' (Boorstin, 1961), 'commodified products', 'imitations', 'deceptions' (Greenwood, 1997), 'staged' (MacCannell, 1973), 'so-cially constructed interpretation of the genuineness of observable things' or 'mass standardisations oriented towards the export market' (MacCannell, 1989).Technological innovation such as 3D printing could reconfigure the connection between visitors, the places they visit and their consumption of souvenirs.

This project examined whether the attributes of 3D printing, which allow an element of direct personalisation in the making of souvenir artefacts, firstly to be more successful in creating memories of place and experience that are authentic to the visitor and secondly, to engage them in the creation of meaning and interpretation through a creative process. The research team undertook a pilot study, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council in collaboration with Historic Scotland, in Stirling Castle in July 2014, producing 3D printed souvenirs in situ. The researchers then used semi structured surveys and ethnographic observations to capture the public reaction to having the artefacts and souvenirs printed out for them as part of their tourist 'visiting' and 'souvenir buying' experience and their interest in personalisation. The different motivation and ways in which they con-sumed souvenirs also became apparent.

The findings from this initial study have shown that by involving visitors in the design of souvenirs, in this case simply by choosing colour and scale and seeing the pieces made in real-time, the visitor is transformed from consumer to co-designer and co-producer. Interaction with the real-time making of the 3D printed souvenir has the potential to turn an act of consumption into a personal, memorable experience.Through this emotional engagement in the production of the souvenir, visitors may assign more emotional value and attachment to the personalised objects they have created whilst at the same time engaging with the collections and artefacts of the visited gallery or museum in a variety of ways. The paper concludes on the implications of the findings for heritage retail's relationship with the museum and galleries it supports.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Definition of 'Souvenir'

For this project, 'souvenir' has been defined in the context of tourism rather than historical heirlooms or gifts given to mark birthdays, Easter or Christmas. It is also defined as something different from a 'memento' which are 'individually saved, non purchased objects that have personal meaning' (Gordon, 2004: 135).

The most illimitable, current research in the area of souvenirs and tourism has been undertaken by Swanson and Timothy (2012: 490) who defined souvenirs as 'an object through which something is remembered' and 'tangible symbolic reminders of an event or experience'. They define souvenirs as messengers of meaning; tradable commodities; commoditisation of handicrafts and as a supply and demand aspect of production and consumption.

Goss (2004), defined souvenirs as 'material and mental' and as 'substance and essence'. In contrast to this, van den Hoven and Eggen (2008) discussed souvenirs specifically around their 'memory cueing' characteristics, as objects that symbolise a relation between people, moments, feelings, phases, locations and situations; things which have emotional value and things with which someone can consciously evoke memories. By providing a material point of reference for a specific memory, souvenirs create, recreate and mediate a multi-sensory tourist experience (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005). Souvenirs have the ability to be 'tangible, magical, sentimental, cherished objects of memorable experience, intangible reminders and golden memories (McKercher & du Cros, 2002).

Gordon(2004: 135), stated that '*the universality of the souvenir can be understood in light of its underlying role or function. As an actual object it concretizes or makes tangible what was otherwise only an intangible state. Its physical presence helps locate, define and freeze in time a fleeting, transitory experience and bring back into ordinary experience something of the quality of an extraordinary experience.*' A souvenir is 'a means of mediating or transferring messages from one reality to another'(Collins-Kreiner and Zins, 2011: 19). The object acts, foremost, as a memory holder for the person, but goes beyond being a reminder. The souvenir also functions to express a person's individuality and sense of self, group conformity, creativity and aesthetic taste (Anderson & Littrell, 1996; Fairhurst, Costello, & Holmes, 2007; Littrell, 1990; Littrell et al., 1994).

2.2 Souvenirs and Authenticity

The concept of 'authenticity' appears to be significant in contemporary tourism theory. Torrabain and Aria (2013) suggest that with the advent of tourism, changes occurred in the functions and forms of artworks, and artisans began to change their crafts based largely on tourists' expectations of what souvenirs should be. In Littrell's research into souvenir artefacts (1990), authenticity was defined as genuine handicraft, product uniqueness, cultural and historical integrity, aesthetics, quality of workmanship, the artist's connection to the product and having produced it with his or her own hands. Go, Lee and Russo (2003) argue that the way tourism products are packaged, promoted and sold leads to harmful commercialization of destinations, product commoditisation and a disintegration of local cultures. Local artworks can be superseded by the best-selling artefacts produced in a 'Westernized' form as souvenirs (Turner and Ash, 1976). Souvenirs are often described as being 'cheap, insubstantial, mass-produced, kitsch' and tourists have a 'misguided preoccupation' with them (Lasusa, 2007). Most tourists accept commercialised objects as 'authentic', if they are convinced that these objects have 'tradi-tional' designs and have been made by members of an ethnic group, even if they have not (Cohen, 1988).Kopy-toff (1986) and Appadurai (1986) add that some producers of souvenir commodities restrict products to small, exclusive markets, making them hard to find and exclusive, in order to create perceptible uniqueness.

Heritage experiences happen through understanding and emotional engagement with the visited spaces and embedded culture. Devices such as 'limited productions' and raised prices can make even commodities seem

exceptional or believed to be 'local art' and may also elevate the perception of authenticity. This can have the effect of detaching the viewer from the heritage experience embedded in the actual cultural memento. Torrabain and Aria (2013) suggest that authenticity is subjectively based upon individual connection to an object, their social networks, preconceived notions and cultural biases. Thus, it is the personal relationship that is formed between the tourist/visitor and the souvenir that gives it authenticity. New technologies can create opportunities where the relationship between tourists and their souvenirs are reconfigured.

2.3 Souvenir personalisation

This research has considered the reasons why individuals may be attracted to customisation and personalisation, in the context of souvenirs. Adhe (2007 : 153) argued that, *'People actually need significant and personal items in order to grow the feeling of safety and familiarity in their everyday experiences. People need personal adornments in their environment in order to make spaces and products their own'. This singularization is an ever-lasting process; it lasts as long as the possession itself, and afterwards it continues in memories and in stories.'* According to Spek (2014: 1), 'personalisation allows the user to be presented with information based on his own preferences. It assumes that every user is unique. The term is often confused with customisation (allowing the user to customise), but is yet more powerful.'

A popular way of personalising souvenirs, either historically or in contemporary time, is through 'inscription'. When looking at the act of adding personalised text or 'inscription to an artefact, Silverstein and Urban (1996: 2) believe that this gives the object 'a decontextualized structure and meaning', so that the object stays important to the owner beyond their particular cultural experience. The added text work as 'building blocks or atoms of shared, transmittable culture', proving that the object owner was there, at a particular event and that this is 'set in stone' while the heritage site or event provision might change.

While customisation and personalisation might cause products to lose their exchange value, the significance of the products had true value to the participants (Adhe, 2007). In fact, Keinz and Steger's research (2009) showed that 'consumers are willing to pay a significant premium for these customized products relative to their comparable mass-produced counterparts' and this premium can be attributed not only to the superior fit with preferences that customized products provide, but also the sense of accomplishment consumers feel when they successfully complete the design process.

Personalization of souvenir objects, through 3D printing, offer opportunities for a different approach to manufacture and denotation. The personalization of the souvenirs, including size, colour, and material, through 3D printing technologies enables the visitors to create their own meaningful mementos of their visit. Héctor Serrano's 'Reduced Carbon Footprint Souvenirs' (Serrano, 2007) consist of a collection of souvenirs where the files are sent by e-mail and then 3D printed in a venue of the customers' choice. No transport or standard production methods are required so the object's carbon footprint is reduced to the minimum. In this way, the project questions the way objects are manufactured and new technologies are applied to propose alternative ways of reducing their impact on the environment. This project will become particularly applicable as 3D printers become smaller and more widely affordable and accessible.

Antej and Zavrl's researched, the role and usefulness of 3D printing in cultural heritage communication saying, *'monochrome or full colour 3D printed models in different scales are excellent pedagogical tools and with an added frame or pedestal they can become promotional gifts which are geometrically competent.'* (2011: 1) The production of personalised souvenirs would then enable self-mediation and self-interpretation of the museum objects and collections. Personalised souvenirs could then transform the consumption of heritage from passive to interactive and redefine the notions of uniqueness and authenticity by allowing for greater flexibility and creativity on the part of the visitors.

3. Research Design

The initial observational study took place in collaboration with Historic Scotland, in Stirling Castle. The research-ersproduced 3D printed souvenirs reminiscent of tourists' visit to the Castle in July and August 2014. These were unicorn heads – open access files downloaded from Thingiverse – based on unicorns forming part of Stirling Castle's branding. The souvenirs wereproduced in a variety of materials, colours and scales and were then made on an 'Ultimaker 2' portable 3Dprinter, set up within the castle next to one of the halls that formed part of a tour. The researchersinvited visitors to take part in the survey and then offered them a 3D printed unicorn at the end of the short survey.A pilot survey took place in situ to demonstrate the technology and processes involved with 3D printing,and to engage the public and staff with the design process of manufacturing a souvenir from start to finish using these technologies.



1 Example of display in Historic Scotland gift shop in Stirling Castle © DIGIMAKIT

A list of six closed answer questions were produced which were then slightly modified to reflectfeedback from the visitors after the initial pilot study. In total, 139 short surveys were completed by theresearchers over the course of four days on location- responses were also audio recorded to check foraccuracy. The printer was set up so that participants could see and hear the items being printed whilst theywere being interviewed. After the completion of the data collection process, the researchers also noted theirobservations of the visitors' engagement with the objects and their interactions with the printer in situ.



2 & 3. Examples of unicorn imagery in Stirling Castle © DIGIMAKIT



4. Location of display in Stirling Castle © DIGIMAKIT



5. 3D printer display at Stirling Castle © DIGIMAKIT



6. 3D printed 'give-away' unicorns © DIGIMAKIT

The participant sample achieved consisted of 75 females and 64 males. Respondents came from the UK(31%), with the USA (19%), Spain, Canada, France and Australia (6%) being the most popular. 90% of the participants had heard of 3D printing before through public media (The Big Bang Theory sitcom and the news story of the 3D printed gun were the most possible associations/references made). Several participants had seen or used 3D printers in their work environment (as designers, engineers, information technology and scientific research-ers)- others also mentioned the use of 3D printers within a medicine/prosthetics purpose or the construction of aeronautical parts. Some respondents explained that they had used 3D printers in their school or had a museum/festival science experience with the printers. Only two interviewees owned a 3D printer and one interviewee stated he was a prospective 3D printer buyer. A number of participants stressed that although they had heard of 3D printing, this was their first time they were seeing a 3D printer in action. Next, the findings are synthesized including respondents' comments and the researchers' personal reflections of the visitor engagement with 3D printing in situ.

4. Results

4.1 Pricing of 3D Printed Souvenirs

The participants were asked about how much they would be willing to pay for the souvenirs with the attributes outlined in the study. Most said they would pay more than for a standard souvenir, particularly if there was the opportunity to either customise or interact with the designing and making process.

| | |
|---|------------------------|
| <i>I suppose if it was customised I would be willing to pay maybe 10-20% more.</i> | <i>(Male, Denmark)</i> |
| <i>If it had the personalised quality, definitely more than a regular souvenir.</i> | <i>(Male, USA)</i> |
| <i>I'm not really a souvenir guy, but personalised gives you an extra option. If you could insert the personalised into the souvenir then that would be good.</i> | <i>(Male, Spain)</i> |
| <i>The experience itself is not as important. The personalisation would be much more interesting</i> | <i>(Female, USA)</i> |
| <i>Prepared to pay a bit more for the experience - unusual and unique.</i> | <i>(Female, USA)</i> |
| <i>More value, linking experience to the visit and the personalisation. It's educational.</i> | <i>(Female, UK)</i> |
| <i>Pay more for personalisation. Have a hand in the making. Seeing it produced at source is important. It's less tacky, more a souvenir as it's made there and not made in China.</i> | <i>(Male, UK)</i> |
| <i>I don't like souvenirs, I'd rather buy a book or a postcard, than a memento. Children would like it.</i> | <i>(Male, USA)</i> |

4.2 Engagement with 3D Printed Souvenir Production

An interesting observation from the project was that the interviewees and onlookers had a tangible interest in the 3D printing, souvenir making process. Having the 3D printer present and running appeared to add to the overall experience and added to the perceived value of the object. Researcher 1 observed 'people were very interested to watch the printer while it printed and some stood and watched for five minutes or longer without speaking at all. Many people pointed and tried to grab who they were with to also have a look. The general feeling was positive and engaged'. The table of responses reflect the visitors' views on the in situ display of the processes of 3D printing and the concept of being able to see an artefact, print and take home a souvenir of their visit.

| | |
|--|----------------------------|
| <i>Seeing it being printed - watching it in action with the software export, and a demonstration of what's happening becomes part of the experience</i> | <i>(Female, USA)</i> |
| <i>Difference is its made in front of you - not made in China</i> | <i>(Male, USA)</i> |
| <i>I think it would work for people like me who are a bit geeky. The process as well I'm interested in. I would say definitely for me it's important to see it in action</i> | <i>(Male, UK)</i> |
| <i>It's really clever, especially if you can see the items printed in front of you. It's so much cooler than those little coin machines.</i> | <i>(Male, USA)</i> |
| <i>I think it's a great idea, so you can say this is from here, and show people and see it being done.</i> | <i>(Female, USA)</i> |
| <i>See it happening makes it more significant, personalise it would be great, interactive process makes it more interesting, like a pressed coin.</i> | <i>(Female, Australia)</i> |
| <i>Fascinated by it, really neat idea. I saw that you were making it.</i> | <i>(Female, USA)</i> |

4.3 In-situ 3D Printed Souvenirs

Based on the observations and feedback from setting up the 3D printer and giving away the souvenirs, the researchers felt that the small memento of the visit had more meaning to the visitors than mere sentimentality. The immediacy of the experience was also one of the key attractions. This offered the recipient of the souvenir/memento a chance to have ownership and involvement suggesting that the process added to the memory of the visit. The responses in the table show the visitors' enhanced 'feelings' towards the object and concept.

| | |
|--|----------------------------|
| <i>Yes perhaps, I think maybe printing what you take a picture of, and location and date. I tend to buy useful souvenirs with a purpose like a tea towel or socks.</i> | <i>(Female, Brazil)</i> |
| <i>Yeah I was here where my sister was born in Stirling, one of the statues or something printed to take back.</i> | <i>(Female, Australia)</i> |
| <i>It would be fun, maybe on a ring, time is always a concern. Do it at start, pick it up when you leave maybe?</i> | <i>(Male, USA)</i> |
| <i>I like the date and time on the bangle, I think if you put it on the jewellery its more sentimental. It's the type of thing you buy as a gift.</i> | <i>(Female, UK)</i> |
| <i>I can have anything I want? My moments of Stirling castle today? Because when anyone comes here, it's what it means to them.</i> | <i>(Female, UK)</i> |
| <i>It would be fun, maybe on a ring. Time is always a concern. Do it at start, pick it up when you leave maybe?</i> | <i>(Male, USA)</i> |
| <i>Yes I like this, because it's a memory.</i> | <i>(Female, China)</i> |

4.4 Emotional Engagement with 3D Printed Souvenirs

The low cost, mass produced, inauthentic reputation often associated with souvenirs is challenged through the process of 3D printing. Although the object is still mass produced, it is authentic to the individual and unique as it was printed for that person. The emotional engagement with the souvenir produced was higher. There was also a higher intrinsic value because of the personal engagement with the souvenir and a unique relationship between object- place- person is being formed. In addition, 3D printing seems to give the satisfaction of crafting without the user requiring the full craft experience which would be more demanding in terms of skill and time. The responses reflect the participants' views around digital making and hand craft.

| | |
|---|-------------------------|
| <i>A good idea, I like the idea of scanning items and making what you like.</i> | <i>(Male, UK)</i> |
| <i>I don't know, I think it would be cool to make a ring or something like jewellery. It wouldn't be easy but it would be cool to see how it turned out.</i> | <i>(Female, Canada)</i> |
| <i>There's as many options as there are ideas. What you see when you go into a gift shop, you've seen before. This is 3d it gives it more realism, it's tangible and I like the fact you can personalise it.</i> | <i>(Male, UK)</i> |
| <i>It's insane, it's awesome, absolutely incredible. I've seen stuff like this is necklace form, it's so cool. I can feel the ridges, I guess it's how it's done... Being able to create something sounds cool.</i> | <i>(Female, USA)</i> |

5. Discussion

Generally, the concept, processes, exhibit and souvenirs had a positive response from the visitors and participants. Although some interviewees suggested that they would not be particularly interested in 3D printed, customised souvenirs, they however, did not pass on the opportunity to collect an item as a thank you token for their time and effort. Such behaviour would suggest that the opportunity to have a uniquely produced item could still change their opinion, if the souvenir was more to their taste. The researchers also noted a few instances where participants had tried to help themselves to the extra printed items that were on display to share with friends and family.

The way that 3D printing allows for individual, on the spot production of souvenirs also gave a special quality to the memento, meaning that each souvenir was completely unique. It had been made for each visitor at that moment in time, witnessed by them which seemed to give the small talisman even more meaning. One researcher observed that the value that even sceptical visitors felt was clear from their comments overheard when they walked away, with one saying 'this is your very own 3D printed unicorn, printed today at Stirling Castle, hardly anyone else in the world will have one of these'. Unlike previous research that suggested that the mass production of souvenirs led to a detachment of the visitor from the heritage experience, 3d printing allows for a mass produced but personalised experience that increases the subjective authenticity of the produced souvenir.

The findings suggest that the consumer experience with the souvenir could be enhanced through the use of innovative technologies but the aspects of cost, feel and look of the final souvenir, in addition to the context were important dimensions in the consideration of value and desirability of the 3D printed souvenir. 3D printed, in situ souvenir production offered the visitors a human – product interaction with an aesthetic experience, an emotional experience and an experience of making personal, 'authentic' meaning. The successes of the model reflects Desmet and Hekkert's (2007 : 57) research into products with 'experiential impact' which have 'the capacity to delight our sensory modalities, assign personality and expressive characteristics to a product and , through interaction, the user is able to assess the symbolic and symbolic significance of them.'

6. Conclusions

This study examined how 3D printing souvenirs in situ could enhance visitor engagement with the site. It also sought to investigate the public's emotional engagement with the souvenir of their visit. An unintended outcome of the study was that it was the real time printing of the souvenirs that most fully captured the imagination of the visitors rather than the souvenir objects themselves. In addition to this, most participants indicated a willingness to pay more for personalisation and the opportunity to customise objects they had seen during their visit. People were very interested to know the process of how the design was developed from historical artefact and image to becoming a 3D printed object. This reinforces the 'experiential' element of the 3D printing process and its ability to mediate the visitor's engagement with the place visited and the objects consumed.

The study also identified areas worthy of further investigation. In particular, the implications of 3D printing for intellectual property rights relating to heritage artefacts needs to be considered. Closely related to this is the complex issue of 'authenticity', where 3D printing might equate to trivialisation of the heritage and the memories and stories that these reflect. It could be that the opportunity to personalise might create more meaningful personal engagement with collections and exhibitions. The context of the museum, gallery or other visitor attraction could be significant in terms of the willingness of the individuals to personalise their souvenirs through 3D printing

Further implications exist in terms of sustainability. Previous research on souvenir had argued that souvenirs were mass produced and transported from great distances to the area of sale. In addition, unsold merchandise, planning of sales and storage of stock were other issues to be considered. Producing 3D printed souvenirs in situ or purchasing online and printing remotely at the visitor's preferred facility could offset the negative environmental effects of mass produced souvenirs. Finally, future research could consider the sustainability potential of 3D printed souvenirs in a variety of tourism and experience related contexts such as hotels, art galleries, airports and museums.

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Sustainability in Cultural Tourism Destinations: A Demand-Based Perspective

Begüm Aydın and Maria D. Alvarez

ABSTRACT

This study aims to create a model of sustainability from a demand-based perspective, in order to better comprehend how tourists perceive and communicate to other customers various sustainability attributes of a destination. The study takes on a qualitative approach, based on in-depth interviews to travel experts used to refine the conceptual model derived from the literature, followed by an analysis of the comments from tourists on Cusco, Peru, posted in the TripAdvisor web site during the last year. Thus, the research attempts to understand which sustainability attributes in cultural tourism destinations are most mentioned in these evaluations, and therefore may be considered as most visible and important for tourists. This information is essential in order to provide guidance to destinations wishing to better market their sustainability efforts to their current and potential customers. The research focuses on the case of Cusco, Peru, a mainstream cultural tourism destination that is currently trying to become more sustainable, in reaction to problems of exceeding capacity and environmental degradation, and which has invested on obtaining sustainability accreditation.

Keywords: Sustainability, Cultural tourism destination, demand-based perspective, Cusco.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors acknowledge the support to this study of Boğaziçi University Research Fund with Grant Number 9400.

Emerging technologies for cultural heritage: the “consumer’s” perspective

Nicola Bellini, Massimo Bergamasco, Marcello Carrozzino and Joelle Lagier

ABSTRACT

This paper is the result of cooperation between technologists and scholars of tourism marketing and analyses in an exploratory way the innovative impact of some emerging technologies in the field of cultural heritage. In particular, we refer to a “family” of technologies developed within one research group in Pisa (Italy): this allows to look at a consistent path of technological development, rooted in perceptual robotics research and based on the use of virtual environments. Three pilot projects were analyzed:

- the digitalization of a masterwork painting and the set-up of an immersive information system for the communication to the public;
- a Virtual Reality system where, thanks to haptic technology, visitors can interact with digital models of sculptures through the sense of touch;
- a non-interactive, semi-immersive Virtual Reality panoramic installation, reconstructing the first performance of Puccini’s opera “Turandot”.

Based on information available (including some preliminary reporting on the events where these technological solutions were implemented), we attempt to present a few hypotheses concerning the potential impact on the “consumer”. In particular two dimensions are explored: the “democratization” and the “biasing” effects.

Based on this, we describe the following research steps and some potential managerial implications.

Keywords: Virtual reality; Museums; Cultural Tourism

Introduction

This paper is the result of the joint work of scholars in engineering and scholars in marketing. Its aim is to analyze in an exploratory way the innovative impact of some emerging technologies in the field of cultural heritage, providing the visitor with different levels and features of interaction and immersion with regard to the work of art (Guerra, Moreira Pinto, and Beato 2015). In particular, we refer to a “family” of technologies developed within one research group in Pisa (Italy: <http://percro.sssup.it/marcello/page/vh/>): this allows to look at a consistent path of technological development, rooted in perceptual robotics research and based on the use of virtual environments and other digital techniques to reconstruct and preserve historical monuments and artifacts, with a variety of technological solutions, involving immersive environments and high-level user interaction (Carrozzino and Bergamasco 2010).

Three pilot projects were analyzed:

- the digitalization of a masterwork painting and the set-up of an immersive information system for the communication to the public;
- a Virtual Reality system where, thanks to haptic technology, visitors can interact with digital models of sculptures through the sense of touch, allowing also visually impaired users to access artworks;
- a non-interactive, semi-immersive Virtual Reality panoramic installation, reconstructing the unity of opera elements (acting, sounds and images).

Literature survey

Marketing literature has already investigated to some extent the role of new technologies in the field of culture

and tourism. Here we will look more specifically at the concepts of immersion and interaction of the visitor. In this context, concepts such as consumer experience (Bourgeon and Filser, 1995; Filser, 2002; Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982) and museum visit (Doering et al., 1999; N'Gary and Petr, 2012; Pallud and Monod, 2010; Walls et al., 2011) as well as interactivity (Adams et al., 2004; Dierking and Falk, 2000) were investigated in a variety of disciplines (Jarrier and Bourgeon, 2014).

The work of Doering et al. (1999) is mainly focused on museum visitor experience and identifies four types of experience: the experience of the object, the cognitive experience, the intimate experience and the social experience. Any tourist or cultural experience can also be categorized, according to Walls et al. (2011), along two axes: the extraordinary-ordinary axis and the cognitive-emotional axis.

Duke's research (2010), in turn, looks at the museum experience in a more holistic way more generally and leads to a reappraisal of previous findings. This approach is consistent with the definition given by O'Neill (2007) of the museum visitor experience, as a discovery experience leaving deep marks in their life experience and in their understanding of the world. This cannot be reduced to a simple list of acquired knowledge.

These complementary works allow us to consider more broadly the cognitive aspect of the visit of an exhibition. They do not tell us much, however, about the contribution and potential impact of interactive tools in this specific universe.

In recent years, marketing research has given increasing attention to the overall influence of new technologies on the experience. Candito and Miegé (2007) have analyzed the behavior of the public, particularly their body movements, during a visit to an exhibition incorporating participatory mechanisms by identifying five types of behaviors grouped into two broad categories: on the one hand, the players (zappers, curious and studious) and, on the other, the passive ones (opportunists and observers). This led to identify four theoretical dimensions of the museum experience: corporal, playful / recreational, aesthetic and immersive. Tsitoura (2010) also took into account the impact of interactivity on all the components of the museum experience. He points out that our interactive tools develop discussion, debate, meetings, social cohesion as well as cooperation (social dimension), experimentation (active dimension) and finally the increase of knowledge (cognitive dimension).

Dierking and Falk (2000) propose a conceptualization of interactive museum experience: the "Contextual Model of Learning". This model assumes that the learning that results from the museum experience is the result of the interaction of three visit contexts: personal, socio-cultural and physical. This interaction can take three possible forms: an interpersonal interaction, a symbolic interaction with the contents and a physical and spatial interaction with the interface.

The definition of interactivity given by the Smithsonian Institution is even broader: interactivity requires physical activity, stimulates the visitor intellectually and emotionally and relies on access to new technologies. Moreover, academic research has dealt with the classification of interactive tools in museology and in the information systems field (Adams et al 2004; Belaen, 2005; Collin-Lachaud and Passebois, 2006; Pallud, 2008 ; Stogner, 2009; Tsitoura, 2010). The work of N'Gary and Petr (2012) is especially noticeable as it highlights two main criteria: the degree of the tool's perceived interactivity and its nature (fixed vs. mobile).

Parallel works in museology, information and communication sciences, educational sciences, and more recently in marketing, were also interested in the impact of interactive tools and multimedia on museum visitor experience. In this context, Collin-Lachaud and Passebois (2006) state that new technologies, and namely interactive tools, help to give a certain atmosphere to an exhibition place. Interactive tools are in fact extremely rich mediation tools, implying both a human element (qualified personal contact) and a hardware component (written or multimedia accompanying the artwork). Moreover research has shown how this type of mediation impacts on the appreciation of the experience (Chazaud, 1997; Ben Asr et al., 2015).

Research from these areas sometimes provides conflicting results. E.g., a first research stream (Adams et al, 2004; Caro et al 2009) points out that the use of interactive devices by visitors (both adults and children) may divert the attention from the cultural object or may even hamper learning for those visitors that are less familiar with new technologies (Jovet, 2003; Mick and Fournier, 1998). To some authors, the phenomenon of virtual museums proceeds in parallel with the culture of fast food, of "disneylandization of culture" (Ballofet et al, 2014.).

However, other studies emphasize the fact that interactive tools facilitate the identification of the artworks by the public (Dierking et al., 2004). E.g., they highlight the existence of a significant positive correlation between the time spent within an exhibition or in front of an artwork and the understanding of its contents. In broadening

the approach to learning, Packer (2006) is thus interested in the inherently playful component of learning. Inter-active features make learning complex concepts by offering information for educational purposes but in a fun way (Joy and Sherry, 2003; Doray and Bibaud, 1999).

According to Adams (2004), interactive devices try to meet the expectations of visitors who do not seek only a technical interactivity, but also a social interactivity with other individuals. Heath and vom Lehn (2005) point out that the engagement of an individual with an interactive device during the visit is momentarily to the detriment of the connection with the other members of the group. Interactive devices that allow simultaneous access to several individuals, can avoid this effect of de-socialization. More recently, Pallud (2008) stressed the impact of audio-guides and interactive terminals on hedonic expectations.

Belaen (2005) confirmed, moreover, the existence of five types of possible responses to an immersive mu-seography, from its appropriation to its rejection by the public: resonance (full compliance with the devices), submersion ("drowning" of the individual in his emotions), critical distance, trivialization, rejection (when the individual thinks that technology prevents him to learn as much as desired).

Virtual Environments

Virtual Environments (VEs) are nowadays a mature technology. It is nowadays effectively used in specific sectors such as industry, medicine and design, because of its unique features in terms of immersion and interaction. *Immersion* can be defined as the *physical feeling* of being in a virtual space. Usually it is achieved by means of sensory interfaces, which "surround" the user. *Interaction* is related to the user's capability of modifying the environment and receiving a feedback to his/her actions. Both immersion and interaction concur to realize what is one of the main goals of a virtual experience: *presence*, i.e. the *belief* of actually being in a virtual space. Delivering a high sense of presence has been proven useful (Schuemie et al., 2001), not to maximize task performance *inside* the virtual environment but rather because it can better evoke the same reactions and emotions as a real experience. This has an obvious impact on strong emotional experiences, such as those related to art and culture, and, at the same time, a relevant effect on the transferability of the skills acquired in the VE *into* the real world and, consequently, on the efficacy of VEs used in learning contexts.

In recent years VE technologies have been arousing a great interest and enthusiasm also in the field of Cultural Heritage, particularly as an education, divulgation or storytelling tool, as information is not mediated by linguistic codes but conveyed mostly by sensory feedback and therefore easily understood even by non-specialized users. However, these virtual experiences are often confined to laboratories and research centers, with a limited availability to the public in cultural institutions, primarily museums, which are still striving to adequately exploit the potential of this appealing technology.

Carrozzino and Bergamasco (2010) suggest a classification based on the level of immersion and interaction provided by VR systems. On the horizontal axis systems are classified in increasing order of "naturalness" of interaction, while on the orthogonal axis systems are classified depending on the provided level of immersion, starting from desktop systems up to highly immersive systems. Systems located in the top-right sector are therefore able, in principle, to generate a high sense of presence and, consequently, a strong emotional response. In the following paragraphs we will present and discuss three exemplary VE installations hosted in museums, aimed at different purposes and with different technological solutions: an immersive information system; a fully immersive system; and a non-interactive, semi-immersive panoramic installation.

Simone Martini's Polyptich (<http://www.mnemosine-culturadigitale.it/#/applicazioni-multime-diali>)

a) Description

On the occasion of the restoration of Simone Martini's Polyptich in 2012, the National Museum of San Matteo in Pisa, the institution hosting the artwork, commissioned a technology-based tool for communication, involving immersive multimedia and interactive information access. Since the restoration works were planned to last more than two years, the Museum sought to find a solution to compensate for the absence of one of the most renowned pieces of its collection for such a long time. One of the requirements was therefore the use of a large

screen to be put in place of the painting (the Polyptich being a quite majestic artwork). The second requirement was to make the installation a container of information related to the artwork, to the artist and, not less importantly, to the restoration itself. Given that most of the available information was relevant only to researchers and scholars, another important requirement for the installation was to enable user interaction, in order to allow visitors to setup custom-tailored paths.

These requirements were addressed by designing an installation composed of a touch-screen console directly accessible by visitors and synchronized with a large screen on which a digital representation of the Polyptich was depicted in high resolution on a 1:1 scale. The console interface was structured on five main levels providing information about the artwork, the depicted characters, the technique, the diagnostic data and the restoration works. The selected information was presented on the console screen in the form of text descriptions, images, or movie clips. The large screen was devoted to more immersive content, such as 3D animations or the interactive exploration of the painting. Using the touch console it was indeed possible to pan/zoom the painting image and to watch the effects of this exploration on the big screen, making it possible to view details not visible to the naked eye.

b) Evaluation

The Museum deemed this experience meaningful and satisfactory. This solution allowed, in absence of the original painting, to see it in its entirety, offering at the same time the opportunity of expanding the perception of the artwork by means of a huge amount of structured information, otherwise impossible to retrieve without an expert guidance. The system is currently still active, side-to-side to the real artwork, albeit only in the touch console part.

The installation has been appreciated not only by visitors (Carrozzino 2014) but also by the specialists involved in the restoration, as they had the opportunity to evaluate complex diagnostic data with a visual approach. Moreover, the installation has become an important educational tool for the museum, which has been able to provide custom-tailored lectures stressing different aspects depending on the audience.

c) Replicability

Given the good reception of the installation, the same approach has been proposed in other contexts too, both to document other restorations (such as in the case of a work by Giorgio Vasari, hosted in the church of Santo Stefano dei Cavalieri in Pisa) or for museums exhibitions, either temporary ("The Colors of Popkov", held at the beginning of 2014 in the exhibition spaces of Ca' Foscari in Venice), or permanent, such as the one currently hosted at the GAMC Gallery in Viareggio, enabling the interactive access to the whole digital archive of the Gallery.

The Museum of Pure Form (<http://www.pureform.org>)

a) Description

Funded by the European Commission under the 5th Framework Programme, the Museum of Pure Form (MPF) aimed at exploring new paradigms of interaction with sculptural pieces of arts. In traditional museums visitors can only observe the exposed statues because, for security reasons, it is not allowed to touch them. However, using the haptic/tactile perception represents the most immediate way of interacting with physical objects. In the perception of sculptures, the mere observation by sight is therefore a limit, which prevents the observer from fully appreciating their artistic value and intrinsic beauty. Moreover, any fruition of artistic works is denied to blind and visually impaired users. Through VEs, the Museum of Pure Form aimed at giving to the physical perception of artistic forms the same essential role it had for the artist when creating them.

The use of haptic technologies allowed users to perceive suitable tactile stimuli able to simulate the hand while in contact with the digital copy of a real statue. Besides this, the realism of the virtual simulation was increased and integrated by the immersive visualization of digital models, giving users the real feel of touching the object being visualized and placed (co-located) in the space under their own hands.

A selected set of sculptures belonging to the collection of partner museums was digitally acquired to create a digital database of 3D artworks copies, constituting the core of a web-based computer network among partner museums and other European cultural institutions. Two specifically devised Haptic Interface systems, compos-

ing the MPF system, were validated in a CAVE¹ structure and installed in temporary exhibitions of partner museums. In PURE-FORM installations, visitors could navigate in 3D through a virtual museum, select a sculpture and interact with it by using the haptic interfaces to virtually touch it.

b) Evaluation

Most of the visitors in general found the experience of the haptic display amusing. Mean high judgments were also obtained for questions about the instructiveness of the experience, with a majority of positive judgments concerning the questions about “suggesting friends to visit” and “wanting similar devices in other museums” (Loscos et al., 2004).

c) Replicability

Several installations of the Museum of Pure Form have been realized in cultural heritage institutions across Europe. A permanent installation was opened at Museo dell'Opera Primaziale in Pisa, where the Museum of Pure Form was for the first time presented to the public. The Pure Form system was also exhibited at CGAC of Santiago de Compostela, where more than 400 users explored the potential of haptic interfaces. The exhibition of PURE-FORM at National Museum in Stockholm was arranged in connection with the larger exhibition “False and Genuine” featuring genuine works of art and different kinds of copies. As of 2015, PURE-FORM has been further showcased in other temporary installations in several European locations, among which the Mercati di Traiano in Rome, the GAMC Gallery in Viareggio (Italy) and the Museum of History of the Olympic Games in Olympia (Greece).

Turandot (<http://percro.sssup.it/ace/#Turandot>)

a) Description

Virtual experiences, albeit commonly focused on the visual feedback, are inherently multi-sensorial. Hearing is one of the most significant and important sensory modes in human perception and, for this reason, acoustic feedback is often present in many virtual environments related to cultural heritage. Sound has often a functional role for the specific experience, either to deliver essential information (e.g. the noise of an engine in a driving simulator, or the narration accompanying a virtual exploration of a site) or as a complementary detail (e.g. background music or environmental sounds). When virtual environments are used for the promotion of musical heritage, for either education or entertainment, music is not a means but *the* content to be communicated, and the underlying technology is at its service, using the appeal given by immersion and/or interaction in order to effectively convey it.

This was the starting point of the installation “Exploring the work of Galileo Chini: the sketches of Turandot”, exhibited in the context of an event lasting more than three months. The installation was based on a semi-immersive panoramic display system showing a virtual environment based on the reconstruction of the sets of the opera “Turandot” by Giacomo Puccini, as they appeared in the sketches created by Galileo Chini. The visualization system provided a dynamic overview of the sceneries through appropriate viewpoint animations, bringing users inside the scene. The temporal flow of the virtual reproduction of the sets was corresponding to the real one, in order to realize a sort of guided tour of the opera through the immersion in its environments, its music and its details.

The installation was completed by two additional projection surfaces, made of semi-transparent screens of smaller size, suspended at an appropriate distance from the panoramic screen and providing a holographic effect. These screens enable displaying footage of opera actors executing two of the most important arias from Turandot. This solution has allowed to reconstruct the unity of opera elements (acting, sound and images) These additional projection surfaces enhance the three-dimensional character of the system, since singers appear on plans physically distinct from the rear virtual set.

¹ A CAVE (acronym for “cave automatic virtual environment”) is an immersive visualization system, i.e. a small room where each wall is a projected screen.

b) Evaluation

The exhibition witnessed a good acceptance of this kind of installation. The lack of interaction was not considered a big issue, as it was counterbalanced by the possibility of gathering in small groups and discussing about the opera and this virtual representation as in a real theatre.

c) Replicability

The installation, on a smaller scale, was proposed again 8 years later in the context of the exhibition “Beyond the Perception”, held at the GAMC Gallery in Viareggio.

Hypotheses for further exploration

This section is based on some preliminary reporting on the events where these technological solutions were implemented. In fact, no systematic “customer satisfaction” analysis was performed and the main focus has been on technical feedbacks. Yet the researchers involved in the experiments did collect a large number of “scattered” pieces of evaluation that were shared with the other co-authors of this paper. On this basis two main hypotheses can be put forward and proposed for further exploration.

a) The democratization effect

A “democratization” effect may result from the greater accessibility to cultural heritage that these technologies make possible. However this effect may be constrained by two factors: the cost of devices and the barriers deriving by the technical complexity of the usage. Both factors are in fact decreasing their impact. Costs are rapidly diminishing (as it will be discussed later), but also technical complexity seems less and less relevant. As the baby-boom generations enter the elderly groups of our societies (having already widely experienced information technologies in their professional and personal life), the number of computer illiterate, that would be excluded from the new virtual experience, decreases (Styliani et al. 2009): age is no longer a limiting factor, even if younger generations are of course readier and more experienced.

The quick diffusion through the Internet and mobile devices speeds up this trend (Casemajor Loustau 2012; Kounavis, Kasimati, and Zamani 2012; Yovcheva, Buhalis, and Gatzidis 2012), especially in connection with the spreading of touch screens that nowadays make certain manipulations (e.g. pinching to zoom) very familiar and almost instinctive. As far as VEs are concerned, the most significant contribution comes from the diffusion of video games and from availability for home use of increasingly sophisticated systems (such as Microsoft X-Box, Sony Playstation, Nintendo Wii etc.) that allow a large number of customers to familiarize with concepts and gestures typical of VEs.

As a result the time of learning is becoming very short. In the case of a highly complex installation, such as the Museum of Pure Form, the time of learning (with the assistance of a dedicated person) is less than one minute. (To this, a time of physical adaptation of the feelings to the VE must be added, but this can hardly be compressed.) In the next future, we may expect that this familiarity will regard also other aspects of VEs, such as the touch feedback.

Furthermore, not all VEs require complex interactions. E.g., in the very “immersive” environment of the Turandot installation, the level of interaction was very low.

b) The biasing effect

A new “augmented” experience in the interaction with the artwork substitutes for or complementing the traditional one, and this may “re-authenticate” (Cohen and Cohen 2012) the experience in a significant way. The question is that it may also bias the visitor’s perception, as a result of the limited number of available reconstructions and interpretations provided to the user (Styliani et al. 2009). In other words, new technologies may “pre-package” and therefore limit the freedom of the visitor’s experience. To the extent technology does not limit the quantity of information, however, the problem is rather in the quantity and quality of the production of information that is compatible with the new devices. This may in turn become a policy objective, as governments may support and thus speed up such production of qualified contents.

A biasing effect may also result from the loss of socialization of the experience (Carrozzino and Bergamasco 2010), compared to the traditional pattern of visit that may happen in groups or anyway lead to some (even just emotional) interaction with other visitors admiring at the same time and in the same place the same work of art. This is an open issue. The use of headsets is in itself leading to isolation from the "real" context and highly constraining. Nonetheless VEs are by no means contradictory with interactions. In learning environments, e.g. in the medical sector, collaborative discussion is an inherent element of the new environment. "Caves" are technically predisposed for use by more than one individual. Yet there is still much to be done. One obvious way of development, already in place, is, of course, also the *remote* sharing of experience through social networks, by messaging, sending images etc. Ironically this is the time when in some European museums *selfies* are being prohibited...

Further research and possible managerial implications

The above-mentioned hypotheses will be tested in the near future in the occasion of the opening to the public of new VE systems in the field of cultural heritage. A detailed questionnaire will be proposed and in-depth inter-views will be performed on a limited sample of visitors. Based on previous experiences, we expect that a number of managerial implications may be articulated, around two main issues:

- the cost of the VE systems;
- and the relationship between the "real" and the "virtual" dimensions of the museum experience.

The cost issue includes both the cost of the technological tools and the availability of appropriate spaces for the innovative kind of interaction (Carrozzino and Bergamasco 2010). Today this is still an important barrier to further development, but its relevance may diminish quite rapidly. The cost of production of the VE tools decreases to the extent that parts and components are not to be built on purpose, but may be found on the market, usually from the videogame industry, and require only limited customization. This trend will be accelerated by the emergence of new companies and the introduction of a new generation of increasingly sophisticated products (like the "Rift" produced by Oculus VR, a company acquired by Facebook in March 2014 for US\$2 billion!). Also the increasing ability of users in dealing with VEs will help, as less R&D time will be devoted to design in search of "simplicity".

On the contrary, a serious threat to the cost effectiveness of investments in VEs may derive from the rapid obsolescence of devices. Museum visitors often face the disturbing feeling of dealing with devices that are inferior and older than the ones they own and use in their daily life. Apparently the only remedy might be that the quality of contents makes up for the obsolescence of the device.

An important cost factor is the dedicated space: a CAVE may be especially demanding in this respect. On the one hand, also these costs may be reduced as a consequence of technological innovations. E.g., more compact devices, including CAVEs, will be increasingly available. Headsets may make the availability of dedicated space less relevant. On the other hand, it is precisely through VE systems that some of the space problems of museums could find a solution. A large number of museums today are unable to show their entire collections and keep many artworks in storage places where the visitors cannot see them. VE can help in increasing the display capability.

A second set of issues concerns the possible physical separation of the new from the old kind of interaction. What are the implications of the possibility to create virtual and yet "authentic" (even if temporary) museums in distant places? Technologists warn about the fact that real and virtual experiences are not comparable, at least at the present state of the art. Consequently VEs must be designed as complementary to and fully integrated with the "real" visit to the artwork, i.e. "as 'digital reflections' of physical museums that do not exist per se, but act complementarily to become an extension of physical museums exhibition halls" (Styliani et al. 2009). Complementarity may work in different ways: by augmenting the amount of information available about real artworks; by allowing comparisons and links with other distant (or not displayed) artworks; by introducing a time dimension (i.e. visualizing the real artwork or monument or urban environment in different moments of their history).

Nonetheless, VEs allow spatial distance from the "real" artwork and seem to anticipate the idea museums "without walls" (following the vision of André Malraux (Schweibenz 2004)). One may question to what extent

this may be used to better spread the flows of visitors in highly congested museums. For sure the “fully virtual” exhibition may have a special meaning when seeing the real artwork is not possible, e.g. when the artwork is under restoration or in the context of cultural promotion in distant countries.

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Heritage conservation, urban development and tourism in China since 1949: a regime approach

Lingling Bi, Dominique Vanneste and Jan van der Borg

ABSTRACT

Heritage tourism has become the most widespread and remarkable, but at the same time the most debated form of tourism, particularly in the developing world where economic motives tend to overshadow its endeavor for heritage conservation. Set against a background of rapid urban and tourism development in the developing world, the interdependence and friction among heritage conservation, heritage tourism and urban development has become an issue of much academic interest and endeavor. Adopting a regime approach, the paper discusses the relation among heritage, tourism and urban development in China since 1949 and analyses the ways in which economy, policy and culture are embedded in the heritage regime and the resulting regime change as a result of their dynamics. In its attempt to answer the questions of 'what' and 'how', the paper hopes to provide a panoramic view of the relation among heritage conservation, heritage tourism and urban development, and the unique dialogism among them that underlines the appropriation and practice of heritage and tourism in China today.

Keywords: heritage conservation, tourism, urban development, regime, China

Introduction

Cities and towns in developing countries have gained growth momentum recent decades. This rapid and sometimes uncontrolled urban development process presents great pressure on urban built heritage (Oren et al. 2002, Timothy and Nyaupane 2009). Among the many links between heritage conservation and urban development, tourism has taken a central stage (Teo and Huang 1995). On the one hand, tourism is viewed as a useful tool to stimulate urban development (Robinson 2001, Munasinghe 2005, Nyaupane et al. 2006); on the other, heritage tourism constitutes a very popular and substantial part of the tourism industry (Di Giovine 2008).

As a matter of fact, tourism has become a major economic force driving urban development in the developing countries (Sinclair 1998, Milne and Ateljevic 2001) through either direct tourism revenues and job creations or indirect investment opportunities. To a lesser but increasingly important extent, tourism is highlighted for the social and cultural role played in urban development. The harness of cultural resources through tourism helps alleviate urban poverty on the one hand, and enhance life quality and create identity and social cohesion on the other, a shift from solely economic concern to overall development of local communities (Al-hagla 2010). Similar approaches have been proposed by Keiner (2005) and Tweed and Sutherland (2007), emphasizing the interrelation between sustainable urban development and sustainable cultural tourism through harnessing the cultural heritage resources in socially, culturally and economically sustainable way. However, reality is more complex than envisioned and there exists no single unified reality either, involving complex issues related to the perceived role of tourism in urban development, heritage commodification, heritage tourism management and governance, institutional capabilities, etc.

The paper explores the ways in which the relations among the three are perceived and practiced in China and the role of tourism in heritage conservation and urban development in particular. A regime approach is adopted to analyze the ways in which economy, policy and culture are embedded in the heritage regime and the resulting regime change as a result of their dynamics.

Theoretical Framework

The Regime Concept

The regime concept came to prominence in the 1980s, first in the field of international relations with the publication of the special issue of *International Organization* on international regimes in 1982, and later in urban studies with the publication of *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta 1946 – 1988* by Clarence Stone in 1989, although efforts in both fields were already made earlier (Keohane and Nye 1977, Haas 1980a, Haas 1980b, Young 1980, Fainstein et al. 1983, Elkin 1987). Since then, the concept has been applied in different issue areas, research disciplines, and contexts, at various scales, which have contributed to its further development (Inbar 1995, Stone 1998, Henig et al. 1999, Mossinghoff 1999-2000, Porter 2002, Burns 2003, Mason 2003, Stokke et al. 2005, Cullet 2007, Gjerde et al. 2008, Konrad et al. 2008, Edwards and Prins 2014).

Regime stability

A regime is relatively stable structure, with a distinctive policy agenda out of the conjunction of convergent expectations or common interests. But it neither implies that actors will always comply with the norms and rules (Young 1982), nor indicates uniformity or consensus over values, perceptions or practices. Tensions and frictions may emerge any time. In other words, the uniformity does not exclude negotiations or dynamics. And as explained below, it is the dynamics under uniformity that lead to cooperation among actors.

Regimes are formal or informal institutions that limit state behaviour to acceptable parameters. Regime members voluntarily accept limits to state sovereignty and regimes are islands of stability and predictability in an anarchical environment. There is an extensive literature on hegemonic leadership in regime creation but even hegemonic regimes usually include considerable negotiation and bargaining. (Maswood 2000, 358-359)

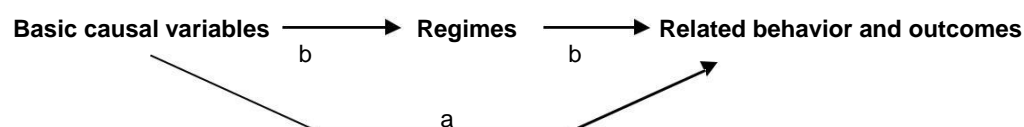
Regime (trans)formation

DiGaetano and Klemanski (1993) attribute regime (trans)formation to contexts, which could include the social, economic, political environments. For example, the change of the national and economic environment may lead to national heritage regime transformation. However, academics also begin to acknowledge the interaction among different scales. For example, the study of a specific national regime formation will necessarily involve the discussion of the regime at the supranational level, though may not consider it the basic causal factors.

As early as the start of the international regime analysis, three schools of thoughts have been identified: conventional structural, modified structural and Grotian (Krasner 1982).¹ According to Krasner (1982), supporters of a Grotian perspective accept regimes as 'a pervasive and significant phenomenon in the international system'; while those of a structural realist orientation regard regimes as 'a phenomenon whose presence cannot be assumed and whose existence requires careful explanation' (194). The major difference among the 3 schools of thoughts lies in the degree of regime significance, or institutionalism, the most debated issue in international regimes. All three acknowledge the basic causal factors at work, but they disagree on the extent that regime makes a difference: insignificant for conventional structuralism, moderately significant for modified structuralism and significant from the Grotian perspective. Most of the research adopts a middle position, the modified structural point of view, which acknowledges the significance of basic causal factors, but at the same time confirms that

1. Haggard and Simmons (1987) have identified four schools: structural, game-theoretic, functional, and cognitive, which correspond to what Krasner (1982) has formulated: conventional structural, modified structural, modified structural and Grotian in Krasner's (1982) formulation. Later on, Hasenclever et al. (1996) have summarized different schools of thoughts as realism, neoliberalism, and cognitivism with power-based, interest based and knowledge-based approaches respectively.

Figure 1 regime formation and regime significance



a. direct link between basic causal variables and related behavior

b. regime plays a role

(Source: Krasner 1982, 192)

regime does play a role. This position is the starting point of the current research.

Heritage Regime

Literature review

Drawing on these various approaches, the authors propose to explore the dynamics among heritage conservation, urban development and tourism from a 'heritage regime' perspective.

The international heritage regime discussion in academics touches upon UNESCO and its various conventions adopted (Maswood 2000, Forrest 2002, Musitelli 2002, Affolder 2007^a, 2007^b, Burns 2009, Rao 2010). However, most of them deal with heritage regime as a background without taking regime formation and analysis as the central issue. The rare exception is Maswood's (2000) discussion on how World Heritage Committee regime put the site Kakadu on, but later off, the list of site in danger in face of pressure from Australia. Maswood not only refers to concepts like regime maintenance, but makes a try in understanding the interactions between inter-national heritage regime and state. Another valuable contribution concerning international heritage regime and state interface is the publication *Heritage Regimes and the State* edited by German anthropologists Regina F. Bendix, Aditya Eggert and Arnika Peselmann. The book, as the title indicates, focuses on the interpretation and implementation of international heritage regimes at the national level.

Literature on the heritage regime at the national or local level is not as rich as at the international level. The most cited comes from Macintosh and Wilkinson (2012), who discuss Australian national heritage regime based on the new National Heritage List and identify its governance defect. The current work, taking the national heritage regime in China as its core, hopes to further contribute to its application at the national scale.

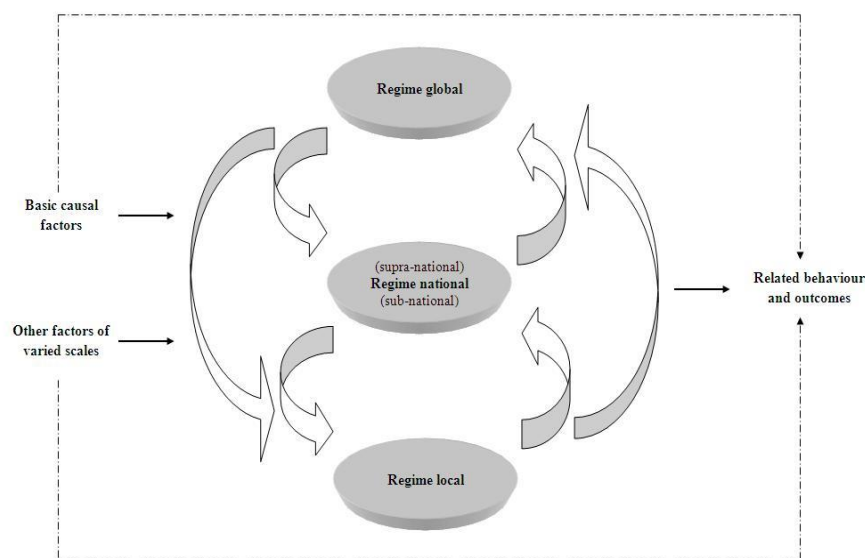
Heritage regime model

As discussed earlier, regime trans(formation) is conditioned by multiple forces, with the social-political-economic context constituting the most basic one. In China, the social-political-economic environment exhibits 3 distinctive periods since 1949, namely 1949-1978, 1978-2000, and 2000 onwards. The proposition is heritage conservation, urban development and tourism display relatively stable but distinctive relation in each period due to particular social settings. What are the causal factors at work that determine heritage regime (trans)formation? What features the current heritage regime in China? What relations exist among heritage conservation, urban development and tourism in each period? The authors believe that regime approach provides a useful framework to understand the evolutionary relations among the three elements.

The heritage regime model drawn from the regime framework provides an integrative perspective for addressing the heritage-tourism-development relation which features internal dynamics and undergoes changes in response to the changing social-economic-political contexts, internal processes and other external influences (Ploberger 2012). This frame argues for the interlocked spatial scales with the existence of mega-discourses on

the one hand, and the resistance and negotiation at the local scale on the other, by taking into account strategies, policies, and conflicts generated by the mega-discourses. Translated into the current research, the negotiations between international heritage regime and the heritage regime in China and between national and local dynamics among heritage conservation, urban development and tourism can be examined. This paper focuses mainly on regime (trans)formation out of the change of basic causal factors (broader social setting), arguing that three distinctive heritage regimes exist since 1949, where different relations among heritage conservation, urban development and tourism exist.

Figure 2: Heritage regime model



Societal Evolution since 1949

1949-1978: Political/Ideological Fervor in Mao's Era

In the early years, the new China was faced with very complex internal and external environment. Internationally, due to the ideological confrontation, there was a strong hostile sentiment from the western world towards this newly founded communist state; domestically, the country was in a state of paralysis after years of wars. Accordingly, two themes were on top of the agenda: political struggle and industrialization. Embraced with the legacy of its revolutionary past, the country exercised strong political control, which came to its peak in the Cultural Revolution movement. Against this backdrop, the past was not promoted but instead discarded as being considered old feudalist druff. In terms of development strategy, socialist industrialization was prioritized in order to achieve self-reliance and to establish sound social and economic order (Hiniker and Farace 1969). Envisioned as places of production, cities became the center of industrialization effort of state socialism and service center to agriculture for the provision of both machinery and techniques, and 'their future was no longer shaped by investment criteria which were based on cost-efficient allocational factors' (Andors 1978, 537). Many ex-treaty port cities were transformed from centers of consumption to centers of production. Cities as industrial center were given priority in limited resource allocation, often at the expense of agriculture and urban consumption. However, rapid urban expansion did not occur due to tight migration control, youth rustication movement in the first half of 1960s and Cultural Revolution (1966-1977) (Lin 2002).

1979-2000: Economic Priority in Deng's Era

'The Cultural Revolution was so great a disaster that it provoked an even more profound cultural revolution, pre-cisely the one that Mao intended to forestall (MacFarquhar and Schoenhals 2006, 3).' But this time, the political culture has been shifted to an economic one. China's reform and opening up set up a socialist market economy, accompanied by a process of decentralization, commercialization and privatization, and a series changes at varied levels (Wei 2001, Shen 2006).

In the previous redistributive economy, cities compete for state resource allocation; while in the market economy, cities are more autonomous in regulating their economy and therefore compete for resources in the marketplace. To build up their capacity, cities struggle to grow larger by expansion and agglomeration. Their quest is well responded at the state level through a series of measures, such as the annexation of suburban which further strengthened the territorial power of cities (Ma 2005) and the land reform which authorizes the paid transfer of use right for urban land while leaving state ownership intact (Yeh and Wu 1996, Lin and Ho 2003). These measures enable municipal governments to generate large amount of revenue through land leasing and renewal. As a result, cities are motivated in expansion and development. New high-rise buildings of residential or commercial use, infrastructure construction, and urban regeneration projects are flooding the cities, dramatically transforming China's urban landscape.

With cities being envisioned as main drivers of rapid urban development, the economic reform has shifted from an anti-urban to a pro-urban development strategy. Under great urban development momentum, the lack of human capital has brought about the relaxation of rural-urban migration. Since the economic reform in 1978, China has undergone significant urban development process, with the urbanization rate rising from 18% in 1978 to 37.04% in 2000 (Shen 2006). The new labor force undoubtedly has injected cities with new diversity and vitality, but at the same brought cities a series of new challenges, like the provision of public welfare, housing, transportation, economic polarization and labor market segmentation (Fan 2002)

2000 Onwards: Towards an Integrated Development Strategy

As advocated by Deng, economic development was the only hard truth. Undeniably, the market-oriented economic reform since 1978 has brought China to rapid socio-economic development in its pursuit of socialist modernizations (in the fields of industry, agriculture, national defense, and science and technology). However, along with the rapid economic development, the socio-cultural problems also became more acute. For example, the growth of the export-driven economy is at the expense of natural resources depletion and environmental deterioration. Therefore, two important shifts have been made with China approaching the new century: to change from an export-oriented economic growth model to a consumer society, and to develop the society on the basis of human need. In 2003, the concept 'scientific outlook on development' was proposed, which assumes a 'people-centered' approach to a comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable development. Cities are no longer considered solely center of production or an economic entity, but as an agglomeration of people. Social and cultural dimensions start to be considered together with economic development, which leads to the possible integration among heritage conservation, urban development and tourism. One example is the ruins park practice, which aims not only for conservation, but also for neighborhood regeneration and improvement of living environment via tourism. Though still heatedly debated, it symbolizes China's searching for a balanced relation among heritage conservation, urban development and tourism. Two decades of rapid economic development has brought China into good contact with the rest of the world. China now has been deeply involved in the globalization process and become one of the important players in the international arena. Further decentralization is required in the process, which has further promoted the local entrepreneurship (Ma 2005). The local governments act as an vital economic actor in the market, which on the one hand helps boost local economic development, but on the other might be detrimental to an integrated local development if still economy-driven. The local autonomy leaves room for its own interpretation and operation of nation policy and strategy. Therefore, though cultural heritage has been greatly promoted by the central state since the new century, the destruction of heritage for economic development or over-commercialization of heritage for tourism development are still practiced.

Heritage Conservation, Urban Development and Tourism Dynamics in the Three Heritage Regimes

Heritage Regimes

In general, the Maoist era exhibited a neglect of its past heritage. However, it doesn't mean that nothing progressed in the field. Shortly after liberation, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH). The first nation-wide survey of cultural relics was conducted in 1956 for inventories and conservation management and the Provisional Regulations for the Conservation and Management of Cultural Relics was promulgated in 1961. A few legal documents were issued in the period of 1950-1965. Since everything starts from scratch, the legal documents mainly cover regulatory measures on the protection of different types of *wenwu* and the national conservation units in terms of scale.² The protection of *wenwu* of revolutionary spirit and regulations concerning the export of *wenwu* are also on the agenda. In the period of 1966-1977, only 11 documents are issued, focusing on archaeological excavation management and rules on the export of *wenwu*, especially books (SACH 2009). Since not many legal documents available, even without a law on heritage, heritage was really at the mercy of administrative orders. The conservation efforts focused on the important enlisted *wenwu* at the national level - national heritage conservation units (Zhu 2002).

Since 1978 reform and opening up, China is back to the development track. There is a shift in looking at its own past. Unlike in Mao's era, many of its past was purposefully discarded, such as the demolition of the City Walls in many cities, which are considered as 'fortifications of an outdated feudal empire' (Whiteland and Gu 2007). The reform and opening up started to reevaluate its past. The first Law on the Protection of Cultural relics was issued by the State Council in 1982. More legal regulations were introduced since then. A study of the Law, as argued by Shepherd (2013), shows that heritage conservation serves to 'encourage a national consciousness, reflect socialist values, and aid with material development in the present' (17). In addition, China has moved towards international heritage discourse since 1980s, especially with its ratification of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1985 and its ICOMOS membership in 1993.

With a decade of economic foundation, China achieved a high economic growth in the 1990s with the enshrined doctrine of economic growth as the only hard truth. Accordingly, compared to the 1980s, less legal documents are issued in this period. Led by the economic development and modernization, China has witnessed mass destruction of cultural heritage, especially historic buildings, in the name of urbanization and urban renewal. According to Xie, a distinguished heritage specialist, throughout history heritage has been the most seriously damaged since around the 1990s (Zhen 2009). In addition, it's not only the forms that are lost but also peoples' memory. Spurred by the market economy, the already weak and vague cultural heritage awareness in the public is decreasing, which, together with the pursuit of a modern life, has contributed to the public's neglect to heritage conservation.

It's only since the new century that heritage protection is on the agenda, being aware of the great loss of its past heritage in the process of economic development on the one hand, and of the cultural soft power in promoting nationalism and gaining competitiveness (Lee 2008). The scope of protection is far extended. Apart from *wenwu* protection, the Conservation Regulations on Famous Cities, Towns and Villages of Historical and Cultural Value takes effect in 2008 and ensures a forceful protection of this broader scope. The concept of *wenhua yichan* is elaborated and the intangible cultural heritage is legally protected, which gradually leads to the promulgation of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Law in 2011.³ As shown in Graph 1, the legal documents published in the first decade has exceeded the total sum of the previous 5 decades. In addition, China has moved even closer to the world in the heritage field. The China Principles was promulgated in 2000 as a result of international collabora-

2. *Wenwu*, literally cultural objects, has been used since the Tang Dynasty (618-907), referring to relics from the past. It is still in use today interchangeably with *wenhua yichan* (literally cultural heritage) which was officially promoted in 2005.

3. Compared with *wenwu*, *wenhua yichan* denotes public involvement and heritage continuity. The shift signals not only a self-reflection, but also global-local negotiation on cultural heritage conceptualization in China.

tion among China ICOMOS, the Getty Conservation Institute and the Australian Heritage Commission. The document and the compiling process shows that China is working more actively and assertively with the rest of the world in heritage conservation collaboration (Sullivan 2001).

Heritage Conservation and Urban Development

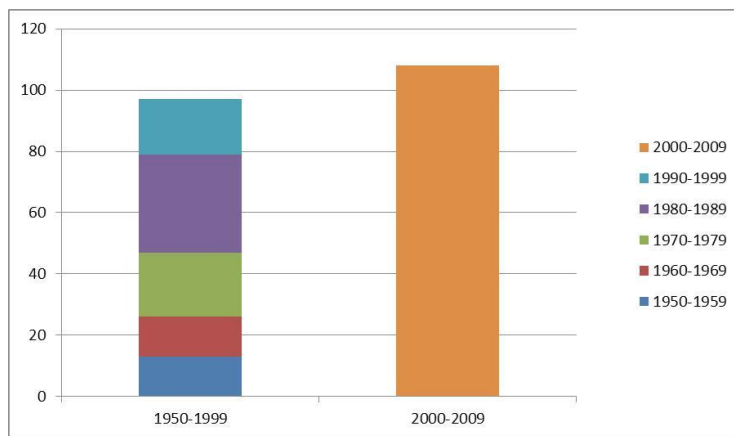
In the period of 1949-1978, though the tensions did exist, no close relation was identified between heritage conservation and urban development due to the lack of conservation awareness both from the government and among the public. The main theme in this period was political struggle. Due to the 'political color' inscribed on the past heritage, a symbolic of old feudalism, heritage protection was hardly an issue of national agenda. Under the ideology of political struggle and four modernizations, heritage was greatly threatened and severely damaged in urban construction process (Tang 2013).

The period of 1978-2000 saw the close relation and the intensification of conflicts between heritage conservation and urban development. Economic development took the place of political struggle since 1978. Two results were brought to heritage accordingly: the intense conflict between heritage conservation and economic development; and the acknowledgment of the importance of heritage as an economic tool. For the latter, due to the lack of legal formulation and elaboration, this recognition often resulted in the destruction of heritage at the name of economic construction, thus further intensifying the conflicts. Moving towards a socialist market economy, the administrative orders that once worked became less effective. Therefore, China endeavored to build up the legal system for heritage protection, which started with the protection of *wenwu*, and extended to cities, towns and villages, and then to the historic neighborhoods. The close relationship between heritage conservation and urban development was acknowledged with the rapid urban development process and legal measures were formulated and taken to tackle the issue.

Conservation started to be considered in a broader urban context since 1980s. In the Law on the Protection of Cultural Relics 1982, the protection of cities of great historical value is proposed, which signals the extension of conservation scope from individual buildings to the entire city. The Law also stipulates that the conservation measures of the national conservation units shall be integrated into urban planning, which for the first time brings conservation into urban planning domain. This idea is echoed in the 1984 City Planning Ordinance. In the Ordinance, the conservation planning for famous cities of historic value are proposed. It also stipulates that the protection of heritage of great historical and cultural value in the restoration and reconstruction of the old urban core shall be given full attention. In 1986, the concept of conservation area was formally proposed. Till then the three-level conservation scope has been realized, which was formally endorsed in the 2002 version Law on the Protection of Cultural Relics. However, interestingly, compared to the 1984 Ordinance, there is a lack of conservation consideration in the City Planning Act 1990. Throughout the Act, there is only one sentence in this regard: 'in city planning compilation, attention shall be paid to the protection of historic and cultural heritage, and urban and natural landscapes' (SCNPC 1990). Since 1994, Ministry of Construction and SACH started to compile the Conservation Planning Regulations for famous cities of historic value, but in vain. The Regulations was released till 2008. These may provide an explanation for Graph 1, where the legal documents released in the 1990s were even less than then 1980s and 1970s since seemingly heritage conservation was not given due consideration. All these factors account for the fact that heritage was most seriously destroyed in the 1990s throughout history (Zhen 2009). If to finish this causal relation, the economic focus and the intense conflicts of interest inherent in urban development to the detriment of cultural heritage in this period is supposed to be the answer.

After 2000, the internal and external environments work together to bring an integrative relation. In the global arena, cultural hybridization has brought nation states sensitivity to cultural identity and diversity. Culture becomes an important part of a country's competitiveness and tool of nationalism. As an important cultural resource, heritage's cultural value is redeveloped, especially in relation to social development via tourism. Since the new century, the Law on the Protection of Cultural Relics has been amended three times, and it is currently under revision. The current draft version shows a more integrated approach between heritage conservation and urban planning. As mentioned earlier, the Conservation Regulations on Famous Cities, Towns and Villages

Graph 1: Number of legal documents issued for cultural heritage protection at the national level



of Historical and Cultural Value was released in 2008, and since then famous cities, towns and villages, and historic neighborhoods to a lesser extent, are under legal protection. The rapid urban development process in China explains such a concern. However, it is foreseeable that this is still an urgent issue in the field of heritage conservation in the coming years (Gruber 2007).

Tourism Development and Its Role in between

1949-1978

In the first 3 decades of new China, tourism was not given due attention. For one thing, consumption was shadowed by the great desire of production. Second, interaction with the outside world was much restricted out of ideological consideration, thus international mobility under strict control. As noted by Richter (1989), 'travel to the PRC was forbidden by the United States and many other western governments. China reciprocated by generally denying entry to most foreigners'(24). The existing tourism is basically of two types, but none of which is of economic nature. One serves as a political tool to develop friendly relations and to promote state policies (Ryan, Gu and Meng 2009) and it is managed by Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The other type serves Chinese outside of Mainland China. The travel conditions were rather poor in terms of infrastructure, management, and service.

1978-2000

Tourism started to develop when China shifted from political struggle to economic reconstruction since the reform and opening up. Undoubtedly Deng Xiaoping is the most active promoter. As reported by Xiao (2006), Deng gave five talks that addressed tourism as a tool of economic development in a short period of 10 months. Under the suggestion of Deng, the first National Tourism Conference was held in 1979, focusing on the development of tourism in the light of foreign currency earning (Fan and Hu 2006, Xiao 2006). Tourism then is considered as a proper economic activity of its own right rather than affiliated to foreign policy. Tourism planning started to be made, although bearing little relation with economic planning at the beginning (Ryan, Gu and Meng 2009). Since the mid-1980s, tourism has been considered in the overall national development plan.

With the socio-economic development, domestic tourism started to boom in the 1990s and outbound tourism also started to develop, which was echoed by the relaxation of mobility regulations previously imposed. 1990s saw the most rapid development of mass tourism without being aware of its potential long-term impacts. By the end of 1998, 24 out of 31 provinces, autonomous regions and cities directly under the State Council had

tourism industry as one of their leading or pillar industries (He 1999). In this period, tourism's relation with urban development concerns mostly economic growth, generating revenue and job opportunities. Its relation with

heritage was more negatively felt due to poorly managed mass tourism and over-commercialization of heritage. The economic imperatives in both urban development and tourism development had made tourism's mediating role hardly possible in reality.

2000 onwards

China's embrace with the world goes deeper in the 21 century. Its further opening up to the outside world leads to more international tourism development from international business (Lew et al. 2003) on the one hand, and more cultural awareness and nationalism on the other. As a result, heritage tourism has constituted as the basis of the rapidly expanding tourism industry (Sofield and Li 1998). Rather than promoting the self to others like in the first 3 decades, Heritage tourism in the new century is promoting the self to oneself. In 2009, the National Tourism Administration and the Ministry of Culture jointly issued the Guide for the Integrated Development of Culture and Tourism. In line with this first policy document on cultural tourism, heritage consumption and heritage tourism development have been greatly promoted.⁴ The people-centered approach to development is translated in tourism, with tourism as a tool for local development and poverty reduction (Ryan, Gu and Meng 2009). In this sense, heritage tourism displays the potential for heritage protection under constant threat from urban development. At the same time, many heritage projects are integrated into local development via the lens of tourism. the most talked integration project would be the theme park practice. Daming Palace National Heritage Park in Xi'an was such an example. Daming Palace was once the imperial palace complex of the Tang Dynasty (618-907AD), but later damaged and burned down in wars. It has been protected by the state since 1961 and was turned into a heritage park in 2010. Concerning social benefit, it provides public space and improves the neighborhood environment. However, many other voices are also heard, like the gentrification of the area or the threat of the heritage out of over-commercialization. Nevertheless, the ruins park model is being practiced in many other cities. Through trial and error, China is searching its own way of balancing heritage conservation and all kinds of benefits, be it social, cultural and economic.

CONCLUSION

Set against a backdrop of rapid urban and tourism development in the developing world, the interdependence and friction among heritage conservation, heritage tourism and urban development has become an issue of much academic interest and endeavor. From a regime perspective, the paper disentangles the relation among the three by situating them within the political, economic and social systems.

Three distinctive periods are identified, featuring different relations among heritage conservation, urban development and tourism. In the first 3 decades of the new China, though frictions between heritage conservation and urban development did exist, it was not considered an issue for the past heritage was not duly valued. Tourism industry in the real sense did not exist in this period. The post-reform period saw the rapid urban development and tourism development. With economic growth being the only hard truth, heritage was greatly threatened in the process of urban development, although more conservation efforts were made compared to the previous regime. The economy-first logic had rendered the theoretically sounded mediating role of tourism hardly in place. Cultural development has become an important theme in China in the new century. The identification of the cultural and social value of heritage has greatly strengthened awareness and conservation efforts. In addition, the shift of development model from economic growth to integrated development also helps to rectify the commercial line of thinking. It is under such circumstances that the mediating role of tourism is made possible. The recent development of cultural industries since 2002 has also contributed to this cultural turn, but a double-edged sword for heritage conservation at the same time. It promotes cultural appreciation and conservation

4. 'Integrated Development of Culture and Tourism to a New Level,' Economic Daily, 1 January 2009, http://paper.ce.cn/jjrb/html/2009-11/01/content_85816.htm, in Chinese.

awareness, while at the same time prioritizes the economic value to the detriment of heritage conservation. In those waves of thoughts and practices, the question on how heritage and culture can find their own way out has to be addressed in this new century for China.

Heritage and heritage tourism are very complex phenomena. This becomes even truer when linked with urban development process, esp. in the developing countries. What has been discussed constitute only a small part of the complexity concerning the role of tourism between heritage conservation and urban development. More real case studies are needed for a better understanding and healthy management of the relations among the three.

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The effect of gastronomic heritage on visitors' decision making process: festivalscape as an antecedent of attitude

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Abstract

The study aims to develop a theory-based model in predicting behavioral tourists' intentions to revisit a destination which has in gastronomic heritage its principal reason of attraction. The paper underpins the idea that, in some context, general theories that have been employed to explain human behavior are not really completely adequate. Probably it is necessary to include specific factors derived from the context. In particular in the case of gastronomic heritage tourism, general theories must include the specific contextual elements necessary to take into account the specificity of the traditional food. Probably in that context the quality of that food, linked with the food-festivalscape, became a fundamental element of choice. Underpinning that idea, the study tests the appropriateness of model of Theory of Planned behaviour (TPB) and the disconfirmation theory in explaining gastronomic heritage tourism choices. The proposed model incorporates the contextual factor of food-festivalscape. The proposed research model is tested through an empirical survey conducted at a food-festival in Sant'Antonio Abate a small village near Naples (Italy). The food-festival was focused on tomatoes that is a typical cultivation in that area so that it is defined as "the red gold". A confirmatory factor analysis is conducted in order to assess reliability of multi-item scales. The overall model and constructs relationships are tested through a Structural Equation Model (SEM). The added value of the work lies in the attempt to contaminate the relatively "new" concept of festivalscape with the well-known model of TPB: in particular the path analysis carried out validates the hypothesis that festivalscape is an important antecedent of attitude. Such a result can be interpreted emphasizing the need to enhance the contextual aspect of festivals' location, as the distinctiveness of this kind of events lies in the ability to imbue the atmosphere with local culture.

1. Introduction

Among the numerous motivators influencing final tourists' choices, food and wine heritage plays a key role, progressively giving birth to an autonomous field of interest named *culinary tourism* (Hall & Mitchell, 2001; Hjalager & Richards, 2002; Long, 2004) which focuses no longer on simple food products' purchase, but particularly on the experience, the cultural assets and the background involved in it.

For this reason, specific events such as cultural and/or local festivals, which combine traditional foods and lifestyle of a certain population with the creation of a pervasive and unique consumption environment, are becoming one of the most widespread types of touristic attractions (Getz, 1991; Gursoy et al., 2004). Since festivals can be fully included in the category of services, to stress the importance of the provision of holistic experience in order to gain differentiation and visibility (Mason & Paggiaro, 2012), the term *festivalscape* (Lee et al., 2007) has been introduced.

Despite the large number of works investigating the concept in question, from the existing research a theoretical lack emerges. In fact, one can notice the presence of separated analyses on its impact on customer loyalty (Chen & Gursoy, 2001; Lee et al., 2007; Anil, 2012) and on its influence on consumers' behavior (Mason & Paggiaro, 2012; Song et al., 2012; Song et al., 2014), with the consequent omission of psychological features in the first case and of repurchase in the second one.

Therefore, to address this gap in literature, the aim of this paper is to propose a combined approach which extends TPB with *confirmation/disconfirmation theory*, accenting the peculiarities of both models and going beyond the only pre-delivery motivations to include also post-delivery behavior. This integration not only allows to

grasp a deeper insight of the phenomenon, but also permits to identify and directly link the centrality of human interactions (festivalscape) to behavioral intentions in the short term and to loyalty in the long run.

Current analysis examines, through the use of a Structural Equation Model (SEM), a food- festival organized in Sant'Antonio Abate, a small village near Naples, then collocated in a context- that of South Italy- equipped with a great natural, cultural and wine and food heritage in which the factor of festivalscape is often underesti-mate and not promoted in an appropriate way.

2. Festivalscape and consumer behavior theories: a literature review

2.1 Festivalscape

As an emblem of the abovementioned *shift* towards the immaterial aspect of consumption, occurred in manage-rial and marketing literature, in service marketing the notion of *servicescape* (Bitner, 1992, p.65) has been elabo-rated, referring to “the dimensions of the physical surroundings (of a service environment) that can be controlled by the firm to enhance (or constrain) employee and customer actions” (ivi). This theory pivots on the assumption that the environment of delivery strongly influences service quality, satisfaction and, in line with the focus of present work, consumer behavior. The servicescape is composed of three dimensions (ambient conditions; spa-tial layout and functionality; signs, symbols and artefacts), which affect customers' and employees' attitude.

This construct has been adopted by a series of studies applied to diverse contexts, such as banks (Reimer & Kuehn, 2005), retail settings (Wirtz et al., 2007), hospitals (Newman, 2007), to later be transformed into a more specific concept on the basis of the uniqueness of the single research background. Such a phenomenon is grad-ually resulted – as well as other conceptualisations like *winescape* (Peters, 1997), *shipscape* (Kwortnik, 2008) and *musicscape* (Oakes & North, 2008)- in *festivalscape* (Lee et al., 2008, p.57), that is “the general atmosphere experienced by festival patrons” (ivi).

Indeed, literature concerning servicescape in general is marked by a dichotomy that counterposes a restrict-ed approach, which focuses only on tangible elements of supply (from layout to design and decoration), to a ho-listic approach which enriches the perspective adding intangible elements (atmosphere and human relations).

In the first perspective, three main contributions can be included: Wakefield & Blodgett (1999), Lucas (2003) and Newman (2007). According to Wakefield and Blodgett (1999)- who conduct a study of customers' leisure activities at professional baseball games, football games, and in casinos-, “the tangible physical surroundings (building design, equipment and ambience) may more directly influence consumers' affective responses” (ibi-dem, p.52). In the same way, in an empirical research on casino environment, Lucas (2003) demonstrates that features such as cleanliness, seating comfort, interior décor and ambient conditions all produce a significant effect on users' satisfaction. Finally, Newman (2007) develops an exploratory and conceptual framework that delineates the dimensions of service environments, revealing that the legibility of the setting (e.g., clear signage and spatial appearance) influenced peoples' moods generally and their images of service providers.

The basic assumption of second view affirms that despite being defined independently, the dimensions of festivalscape are perceived by customers as a holistic pattern of interdependent stimuli. In particular, for Bitner (1992) servicescape is made not only of ambient conditions, spatial layout and functionality, but is particularly based on sign, symbol and artefacts involved in the interactions with suppliers. What is more, Baker et al. (1994) show that both ambient and social elements in the service environment provide cues that buyers use for their quality inferences.

Such a holistic pattern is entirely reflected in the festivalscape construct. In connecting material and incor-poreal dimensions, the notion introduced by Lee et al. (2008) constitutes a synthesis of the two viewpoints, put-ting together tangible factors of settings and the event atmosphere and including both functional and affective components of customers' perception (Darden & Babin, 1994). Furthermore, the notion perfectly conforms to the systemic logic herein espoused and to the proposition of a model that aspires to emphasize the psychological and interactional aspects of consumption (Tommasetti et al., 2015).

2.2 Attitude behavior models: the theory of planned behavior and the confirmation/disconfirmation theory

As previously stated, several attitude theories have been employed in tourism literature as a theoretical basis to test relationships including the variable of travelers' behavior (Lam & Hsu, 2004; Quintal et al., 2010; Hsu & Huang, 2012).

One of the most popular is the *theory of planned behavior* (TPB, Ajzen, 1985). The framework represents an extension of the *theory of reasoned action* (TRA, Azjen & Fishbein, 1980) which suggests that behavioral intention mediates the relationships between attitude, subjective norms and behavior (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Perugini & Bagozzi, 2001).

The first dimension, *attitude*, refers to the beliefs and to the set of subjects' positive or negative feelings associated with performing a specific behavior (Ajzen, 1991). The second one, *subjective norm* is the perceived social pressure to engage or not to engage in a concrete activity, presumably determined by the normative beliefs concerning the expectations of important referents (Ajzen, 1991).

To resolve the limitations of TRA model, in TPB the concept of *perceived behavioral control* (PBC) is introduced, pointing out that behaviors are grounded not only on personal attitudes and social pressures but also on a sense of control (Ajzen, 1991; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). This construct is added to include users' perceptions of their ability to accomplish a certain action, thus contemplating the extent to which potential buyers have complete control over their conduct.

This scheme provides a robust theoretical basis for testing whether attitudes are indeed related to intent to carry out a particular act of consumption, which itself should be linked to actual and possible future actions.

Nevertheless, considering the fulfilment of behavior as the final step of the scheme, TPB does not account for the entire process of purchase that, after users' final choices, ends with the contingent intention of re-purchase. So, in line with the purpose of this paper of incorporating the marketing construct of *loyalty* in order to individuate the festivalscape's drivers facilitating visitors' revisiting, TPB is integrated with *expectation/confirmation theory* (ECT, Oliver, 1980).

This paradigm is widely used in *consumer behavior* literature to study consumer satisfaction, post-purchase behavior (repurchase, complaining, etc.) and service marketing in general (Oliver, 1980, 1993; Anderson & Sullivan 1993).

The process by which consumers reach repurchase intentions in an ECT framework is explained in five stages (Oliver, 1980). First, users build an initial expectation of a specific product or service prior to delivery and secondly they accept and enjoy that product or service, forming perceptions about the performance. Third, they compare this impression and evaluation to their original expectation, establishing the extent to which it is confirmed. Then, customers develop a given level of satisfaction, based on their confirmation level and finally satisfied consumers generate a repurchase intention, while dissatisfied consumers suspend subsequent consumption.

In conclusion, seeing as this paper aims at investigating the direct effect of festivalscape on tourists' attitude and the indirect relationship with revisiting intention (afterwards with loyalty), the two models examined allow to understand how individuals manage their decision making process and how their overall judgement on festival experience could drive to reiteration of buying.

3. Research model and hypotheses

As formerly discussed, the empirical research conducted in this context proposes a contamination of the construct of festivalscape with some of the most important models of consumer behavior (TPB e ECT).

Specifically, it will be studied the existence of a direct relationship between festivalscape attributes, formalized by Lee et al. (2008), and users' general attitude toward the food and wine festival in question (TPB) and of an indirect relation with revisiting intention (ECT). It will be also tested the direct influence of attitude toward festival, subjective norms and perceived behavior control (TPB) on revisiting intention and the indirect connection with loyalty. Lastly, it will be tested the capability of PCB to predict loyalty (fig. 1).

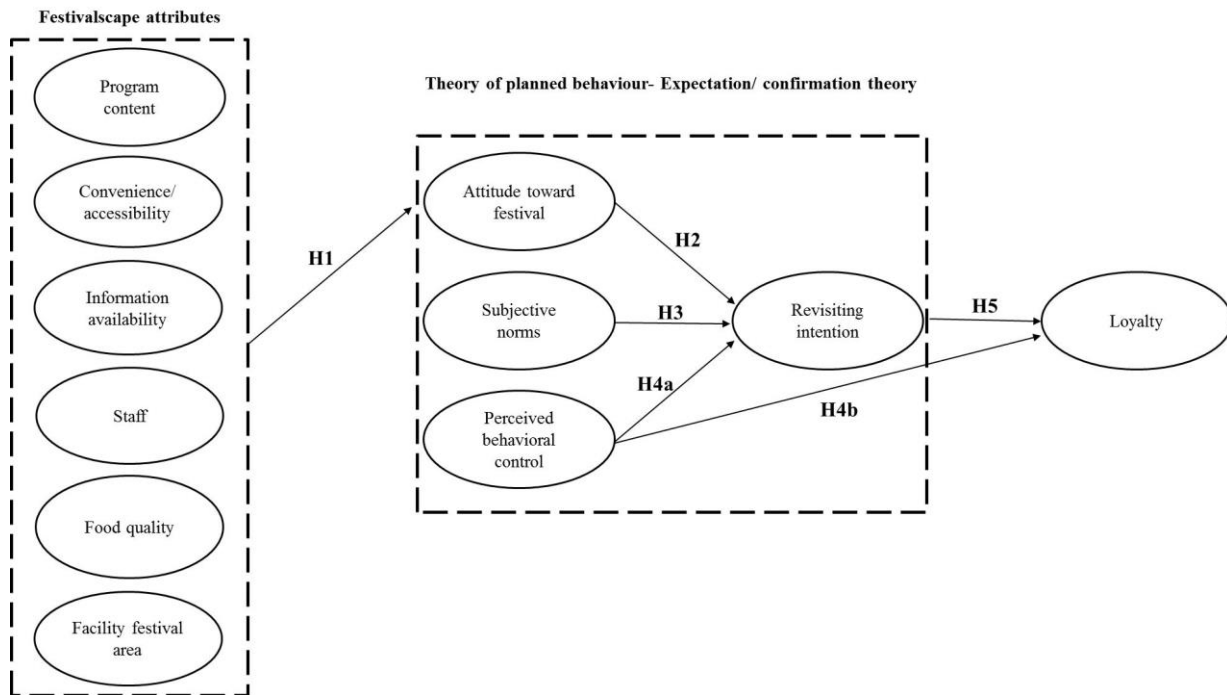


Fig. 1- Research model and hypotheses

Consistently with the assumptions proposed in literature review, festivalscape is operationalized through the measurement scale elaborated by Lee et al. (2008) which divide the construct into seven sub- categories. The dimensions- with the exception of *souvenirs*- are adjusted to the field of food and wine festival and transformed into the following variables: 1) program content; 2) convenience/ accessibility; 3) information availability; 4) staff; 5) food quality; 6) facility festival area. Then, these attributes are related to the attitude construct deriving from TPB.

The connection between servicescape and consumers attitude has been inspected until now in disparate research areas. In the *musicscape*, for example, Morin et al. (2007) measure the influence of the quality of music on servicescape attitude, which then exercises direct and provider-mediated effects on service outcomes. Moreover, in the *healthscape*, James & Lynne (1995) explore the role of facilities and physical environment on consumer attitudes, satisfaction, quality assessments and behaviors. Finally, in *winescape* literature, Thomas et al. (2010) develop the measurement scale for a winescape construct which has an indirect effect on attitude mediated by motivations. Consequently, the first hypothesis affirms:

H1 *Festivalscape attributes influence visitors' attitude toward festival*

In line with TPB (Ajzen, 1991), it can be affirmed that users' attitude affects their behavioral intention, such as their willingness to revisit.

Through a behavioral model including variables of destination image, attitude, motivation, satisfaction and future behavior, Lee et al., (2008) show that tourist attitude directly affects satisfaction and indirectly affects future behavior. Also Huang (2007) found a positive (but mediated by motivations, past travel experience and revisit intention) link between attitude and revisiting intention.

At last, Thomas et al. (2010) show the effects that attitude towards a destination directly exerts on revisit intentions. Thus, in the light of the aforementioned empirical verifications and of the theoretical basis herein embraced, it follows that:

H2 *Visitors' attitude toward festival has an effect on revisiting intention*

One of the main assumptions of TPB is that individuals' subjective norms have an impact on customers' behavioral intention such as their willingness to revisit.

Starting from this general hypothesis, various empirical research (Lam & Hsu, 2006; Li, 2014) has inspected this link. For instance, Han & Kim (2010) extend TPB to more comprehensively explain the formation of customers' intention to revisit a green hotel and at the same time Quintal et al. (2015) suggest that subjective norms positively influence revisit intention.

Relative to touristic field, Han et al.'s (2010) study of eco-friendly resorts reports that subjective norms variable positively correlates with intention to visit the resorts in the future. Therefore:

H3 Subjective norm has a relationship with revisiting intention

According to the TPB, customers' perceived behavioral control reinforces their desire, behavioral intention and actual behavior (Perugini & Bagozzi, 2001).

Through an empirical research based on SEM, Li (2014) demonstrates that the variable in question has a significant influence on revisit intention with customer's value as mediator variable. Further, Sparks (2007) reveals that perceived behavioral control produces a positive impact on potential wine tourists' intention to take a wine holiday, whereas Sparks & Pan (2009), Quintal et al. (2010) and Quintal et al. (2015) observe a favorable effect of PBC on tourists' intention to revisit a destination. Then, this study posits the following hypothesis:

H4a Perceived behavioral control is related to revisiting intention

Concerning an individual's perceived ease or difficulty in performing a particular behavior, PBC is commonly understood in literature as a switching cost (Jones et al., 2000; Patterson & Smith, 2003).

Exploring the relationship between perceived service quality, service loyalty and switching costs, De Ruyter et al. (1998) establish that in industries characterized by relatively low switching costs, customers will be less loyal as compared to service industries with relatively high switching costs. So, as confirmed also by Lee et al. (2008) and Yang & Peterson (2004) the level of this kind of costs for consumers may influence loyalty.

Besides, Sumaedi et al. (2015) investigate the simultaneous effect of subjective norm, perceived behavioral control and trust on patient loyalty in a healthcare service institution in Indonesia. Thus:

H4b Perceived behavioral control influence loyalty

Since loyalty can be intended as buyers' fidelity to a certain product or service, presumably it can be determined by revisiting intention. In fact, Hsu et al. (2006), in a study based on SEM on online customer loyalty, observe that the structure relationship between behavior intention and loyalty is significant.

In order to provide a distinct understanding of hotel customers' loyalty-formation process, Petrick & Backman (2001) probe an extended version of Oliver's (1997) model identifying a link between intention and loyalty. In conclusion, Supphellen & Nysveen's (2001) research reveals that intentions to revisit aids in the explanation of golf travelers' loyalty. For this reason, it is lastly hypothesized that:

H5 Revisiting intention has an effect on loyalty

4. Methodology

All constructs in this study were measured with multiple items, as recommended by Churchill (1979) and Kline (2005). A preliminary list of measuring items was generated after an extensive review of the literature pertaining to the theories of human behavior, including TPB and the concept of festivalscapes. A pretest was conducted with 10 festival attendees who had visited the festival and 5 graduate students majoring in tourism management. Items identified as ambiguous were reworded for clarity. The final list of measurement items reported in tab. 2 is adapted from previous study. In particular, local festivalscape measurement items have been derived

| Description | | N. | % |
|---------------------|---------|-----|--------|
| Sample | | 177 | |
| Gender | Female | 88 | 49,70% |
| | Male | 89 | 50,30% |
| | Total | 177 | |
| Age | 18-25 | 75 | 42,37% |
| | 26-35 | 42 | 23,73% |
| | 36-45 | 34 | 19,21% |
| | 46-55 | 20 | 11,30% |
| | >55 | 6 | 3,39% |
| | Total | 177 | |
| Status | Single | 104 | 58,80% |
| | Married | 73 | 41,20% |
| | Total | 177 | |
| | | | |
| Previous experience | 1-2 | 28 | 15,82% |
| | 3-4 | 106 | 59,89% |
| | 5-6 | 40 | 22,60% |
| | >6 | 3 | 1,69% |
| | Total | 177 | |

Tab. 1 – Sample Summary Characteristics

adjusting and merging the scale proposed by Lee et al. (2008), Mason & Paggiaro (2012), Quintal et al. (2015). For all constructs, a seven-point Likert scale was adopted, ranging from 1 (“strongly disagree”) to 7 (“strongly agree”), with the exception of the dimension of attitude, which was measured with a semantic bi-polar scale.

An on-site intercept survey was conducted among the visitors of the Sant’Antonio Abate “Oro Rosso” local festival, focused on the typical cultivation of tomatoes and on food traditions of the whole geographic area. Inside the festival, one can taste various traditional dishes that have as main ingredient tomato and rediscover scents, colors and typicality due to the various exhibitions of vintage industrial machinery and tools, watch live the preparation of peeled, as well as in the past every family did, and enjoy the festival air created from shows and popular music.

The survey was conducted by four field researchers between July 3 and July 9, 2015 in Sant’Antonio Abate. A self-administered questionnaire was distributed only to those who agreed to respond to the survey. The field researchers contacted 254 visitors, of which 206 participated in the survey, representing a response rate of 81.1%. 28 of distributed questionnaires were incomplete and thus eliminated from the study. As a result, 177 questionnaires were accepted for the purpose of final analysis with the sample characteristics’ reported in tab. 1

In order to test research hypotheses in the proposed model (see Fig. 1), a structural equation modeling (SEM) was run using SPSS and Amos 22. As a first step, an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was executed to identify the underlying structure of festivalscape’s latent variables and purify measured indicators of constructs (see appendix 1). As second step, the two-stage testing procedure recommended by Anderson & Gerbing (1988) was adopted. In the first stage, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) estimated the measurement model and in the second stage, hypothetical relationships among the constructs were identified in the structure model.

5. Results

5.1 Measurement model

A Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) has been performed to assess reliability, convergent validity and discriminant validity for the six measured constructs.

Table 2 shows the Cronbach alpha values generated by the CFA in estimating the reliability of the multi-item scales: attitude with 0.885, subjective norms with 0.872, perceived behavioral control with 0.767, loyalty with 0.956, revisiting intention with 0.879 and festivalscape with 0.662. All of these alpha coefficients were above the cutoff point of 0.7, indicating an acceptable level of reliability for each construct (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994), with the exception of festivalscape which is above 0.6, representing anyway an acceptable level in the case of an explorative analysis.

The measurement model derived from the CFA showed acceptable levels in almost all fit indices (see Table 2) with χ^2/df equal to 2.102, SRMR equal to 0.0556, CFI equal to 0.941, NNFI equal to 0.924, RMSEA equal to 0.079.

As illustrated in table 3, each average variance extracted (AVE) value is above 0.5 which is an indication that convergent validity was not an issue (Garbarino & Johnson, 1999).

The AVE from each construct is greater than the variance shared between the construct and the others in the model, which demonstrates satisfactory discriminant validity. In table 3 the correlation matrix for all constructs is reported. Diagonals are the square root of AVEs. In all cases, the square root of AVE is larger than the correlation of that construct with all other constructs in the model, which indicates satisfactory discriminant validity.

5.2 Structural model (path analysis)

With satisfactory results in the measurement model, the structural model was assessed to test the relationship among constructs. The goodness of fit measures were used to assess the overall structural model fit. As indicated by the results of the study, the fit indices for the proposed model were acceptable with χ^2/df equal to 2.228, SRMR equal to 0.0769, CFI equal to 0.931, NNFI equal to 0.915, RMSEA equal to 0.084. In addition, the explained variance was 29% for attitude, 56% for revisiting intention and 57% for loyalty.

A summary of study results, including path coefficients and explained variances, is presented in table 4.

According to the study results, four of the five proposed hypothesis were supported. Research results related to H1, which states that festivalscape attributes influence positively visitors' attitude toward festival, were significant (path coefficient = 0.542; $p < 0.001$).

Also, all predictor variables, except perceived behavioral control (PBC), were statistically significant in predicting revisiting intention, as proved by the values of attitude (path coefficient = 0.531; $p < 0.001$) and subjective norms (path coefficient = 0.192; $p < 0.05$). H2 and H3 were also supported.

However, perceived behavioral control was not statistically significant in predicting revisiting intention (path coefficient = 0.086; $t = 1.407$); thus, H4a was not supported.

Finally, other hypotheses related to loyalty were tested. The relationship between perceived behavioral control and loyalty was not statistically significant (path coefficient = -0.0114; $t = 1.921$) in predicting loyalty, while the relationship between revisiting intention and loyalty was statistically significant (path coefficient = 0.772; $p < 0.01$); thus H4b was rejected and H5 was supported.

Overall, two constructs (AT and SN) play an essential role in clarifying the formation of the festival visitors' revisiting intention and revisiting intention is a fundamental antecedent of loyalty.

Additionally, the festivalscape is a significant and direct predictors of attitude which indirectly influenced revisiting intention. The findings imply that this construct plays an important role in influencing visitors' attitude toward attending the festival, which in turn influences their intention to revisit the festival itself.

| Latent Variable | Measurement items | Factor Loading (standardized) | T-value | α di Cronbach | | |
|------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|---------|------------------|-------|-------|
| Attitude | My attitude towards this festival is: | | | 0,885 | | |
| | (1) Dissatisfaction, (7) Satisfaction | 0,787 | 12,644 | | | |
| | (1) Unenjoyable, (7) Enjoyable | 0,911 | | | | |
| | (1) Negative, (7) Positive | 0,75 | 11,807 | | | |
| | (1) Disfavor, (7) Favor | 0,672 | 9,941 | | | |
| | Indicate how much you agree on following affirmations (1= strongly disagree; 7= strongly agree): | | | | | |
| | Friends/ family recommended me to take part in this festival | 0,764 | 5,992 | | | |
| | I came to this festival because it is known to friends/ family | 0,779 | 6,048 | | | |
| Subjective Norm | Friends/ family think that I should have come to this festival | 0,788 | 10,73 | 0,872 | | |
| | I take part in this festival because family/ friends expressed positive judgements on it | 0,713 | *** | | | |
| | Coming to this festival has been completely under my control | 0,788 | *** | | | |
| | Nothing prevents me from coming to this festival | 0,79 | 14,018 | | | |
| Perceived Behavioral Control | | | | 0,767 | | |
| Loyalty | I will be glad to encourage friends/ family to come to this festival | 0,941 | *** | 0,956 | | |
| | I will recommend anyone who asks for advice to take part in this festival | 0,929 | 23,45 | | | |
| | I will recommend friends/ family to take part in this festival | 0,942 | 24,572 | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| Revisiting Intention | Totally probable, improbable | 0,824 | *** | 0,879 | | |
| | Impossible, Possible | 0,933 | 14,948 | | | |
| | Totally sure, Totally unsure | 0,799 | 12,3 | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| Festivalscape | | | | 0,662 | | |
| | Food (see factor analysis in appendix 1) | 0,614 | *** | | | |
| | Promo (see factor analysis in appendix 1) | 0,807 | 5,644 | | | |
| C2 | Df | c2/Df | SRMR | NNFI | CFI | RMSEA |
| 248.028 | 118 | 2.102 | 0.0556 | 0.924 | 0.941 | 0.079 |

Tab. 2 – Results of confirmatory factor analysis and fit indices for measurement model

| | LOY | SCAPE | ATT | SN | PBC | REV | AVE |
|-------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------|
| LOY | 0,937 | | | | | | 0,879 |
| SCAPE | 0,577 | 0,717 | | | | | 0,514 |
| ATT | 0,661 | 0,474 | 0,785 | | | | 0,616 |
| SN | 0,457 | 0,409 | 0,378 | 0,762 | | | 0,580 |
| PBC | 0,036 | -0,015 | 0,280 | -0,099 | 0,789 | | 0,623 |
| REV | 0,717 | 0,578 | 0,729 | 0,397 | 0,200 | 0,854 | 0,729 |

Tab 3 – Correlation of latent construct (bolded diagonal are square roots of AVE)

| | Structural Paths | Standardized Path Coefficients | T-Value | Hypothesis supported |
|-----|---|--------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| H1 | Festivalscape → (+) Attitude ($R^2=0.294$) | 0.542 | 5.103*** | Yes |
| H2 | Attitude → (+) Revisiting intention ($R^2=0.563$) | 0.531 | 5.767*** | Yes |
| H3 | Subjective norms → (+) Revisiting intention ($R^2=0.563$) | 0.192 | 2.873** | Yes |
| H4a | Perceived Behavioral Control → (+) Revisiting intention ($R^2=0.563$) | 0.086 | 1.407 n.s. | No |
| H4b | Perceived Behavioral Control → (+) Loyalty ($R^2=0.569$) | -0.114 | -1.921 n.s. | No |
| H5 | Revisiting Intention → (+) Loyalty ($R^2=0.569$) | 0.772 | 10.562*** | Yes |

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; n.s. non significant

Tab 4 – Standardized path coefficients and t-value for structural model

6. Discussion and managerial implications

In order to fill the gap arisen from festivalscape literature, the present paper pursues a dual purpose: on the one hand, it proposes an integrated approach incorporating festivalscape's attributes measurement into the classic theories of consumer behaviour; on the other hand, it expands the focus of traditional research on festival visitors' attitude including *expectation/confirmation theory* (Oliver, 1980).

So, the added value of this work lies in the attempt to contaminate the relatively "new" concept of festivalscape with the well-known model of theory of planned behavior through the introduction of the concept of travelers' revisiting intention and in so doing involving the dimension of loyalty. The configuration of such a model leads to the elaboration of a festival visitors' decision-making framework for directly predicting tourists' revisiting behavior and indirectly predicting loyalty.

In terms of theoretical implications, introducing the operationalisation of festivalscape to the TPB scale enriches the body of festivalscape research (Lee et al., 2008; Masson & Paggiaro, 2012; Anil, 2012; Quintal et al., 2015), extending current understanding of the role festivals' attributes play in shaping consumers' attitude and revisiting intention. In addition, going beyond the simple behavior intention resolves the incompleteness of previous studies in which only the mere *repeat visitation* is tested (Chen & Gursoy, 2001). These works, in fact, exclude loyalty or make it correspond to re-purchase behavior, thus considering only behavioural aspect and not contemplating the so-called *preference loyalty* (De Ruyter et al., 1998), the component relative to patronage, herein duly evaluated.

Relative to a more pragmatic managerial perspective, the identification of festivalscape tourists' decision process can be applied in concrete business context, helping managers to identify the factors which predispose to revisit a festival, so providing them with strategies for attracting visitors, for establishing durable relations with customers, especially in small rural areas, and for the overall enhancement of performances.

Besides, the operationalization of various components of festivalscape is also useful to guide managers toward a systemic management of the organization (Pels et al., 2014), taking into account psychological and behavioural aspects in the elaboration of strategies tool for a better management of the process itself.

Concerning the results of the empirical research herein conducted, this study confirms that- as hypothesized-food and wine events visitors' intention is only indirectly affected by physical and contextual features of a destination and directly determined by a psychological sphere involved in consumption. This assumption underlines the abovementioned significance of cognitive dimension in explaining festival outcomes, thus demonstrating that visitors initially judge local festivals on the basis of environmental characteristics and then that these opinions generate consequent intentions.

The path analysis carried out in this context validates the first hypothesis, based on the substantial effect (being the relationship characterized by one of the highest path coefficient) that festivalscape exercises on attitude. A similar result is in line with the above-quoted research on visitors' behavior demonstrating that the various type of servicescape are antecedents of attitude.

Such a result can only be interpreted emphasizing the need to enhance the contextual aspect of festivals' location, as the distinctiveness of this kind of events lies in the ability to imbue the atmosphere with local culture. For this reason, festival managers should not only provide captivating cultural programs, effective facilities and food of high quality but also pay attention to the total service experience.

Moreover, among the antecedents of revisiting intention (attitude towards festival, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control), attitude exerts the most significant impact, which is consistent with other studies (Quintal et al., 2015), whereas the relationship between PBC and revisiting intention is not significant. Subjective norms also produce a positive (but slightly inferior) effect on intention to revisit a certain festival, leaving a component of uncertainty in consumer behaviour, since it is a complex psychological variable not easily controllable by the researcher.

The first result underlines the relevance of tourists' attitude in mediating relationships between the festivalscape attributes and visitors' behavioural intention. This stresses the hedonic nature of culinary tourism experience, which moves to the background the qualitative factors of a destination in favour of emotional reactions created in users by the holistic experience of consumption. Further, the positive effect subjective norms have on willingness to revisit validates the relevance of both constructs in the TPB model (Quintal et al., 2010; Sparks, 2007).

In addition, the insignificant relationship between the perceived behavioural control and revisiting intention and between perceived behavioural control and loyalty is also remarkable, being PBC known as an antecedent to behavioral intention (Ajzen & Madden, 1986; Park & Petrick, 2009). In truth, according to Ajzen & Madden (1986), PBC includes both internal factors, such as knowledge and planning, and external factors, such as time and opportunity: this distinction has gradually faded away, probably due to the simplistic association of the construct with switching costs, which has limited the scope of the items identified in literature to represent the concept. Therefore, future studies should employ different or broader definitions of PBC.

Finally, the existence of a robust link between revisiting intention and loyalty, already abundantly validated in literature, places emphasis on the necessity on the part of managers to stimulate word of mouth, using especially online instruments to intercept changing needs of specific groups of consumers. In facts, marketing tactics such as promotional tools that focuses on reminding the visitors their previous visits by evoking past memories (for instance photo contests on social network) can act as motivations to revisit the destination.

7. Limitations, future research and conclusion

This paper supports the argument that festivalscape directly predicts consumers attitude and indirectly predicts customers' loyalty. However, the results presented in previous paragraph should be cautiously interpreted because of the limitations of this research. Thus, to overcome these lacks and to cross-validate the findings from different directions, future research is needed.

Firstly, data from current study were collected from only one particular kind of festival in a confined geographic area. Since nature-based festivals have expanded rapidly, cross-cultural studies with different geographical

locations would also be useful to generalize the results to a wider population. Besides, it would be interesting to expand the research to other events or to apply it to other types of tourism.

In the second place, even if in this context festivalscape is considered as a global concept, it may be worth-while to investigate every single attribute separately, assuring in this way a more detailed analysis. At the same time, this specification can allow to pinpoint exactly what specific features of festivalscape influence customers' attitude, in order to address manager to work on the component in question.

Thirdly, further research could extend the model herein adopted, including other variables intended to examine in depth the intention formation process.

A first additional crucial construct can be in this sense satisfaction, which in numerous research (Gotlieb et al., 1994; Liao et al., 2007; Lee et al., 2008) is deemed as a consequent of and an antecedent of loyalty. In fact, festivalscape attributes can be conceived as drivers designed to increase satisfaction, related to the single trans-action in the short run, and then loyalty, in the long run. To avoid a gap between the two elements, destination manager should raise quality and competitiveness of the offering (pre and post- delivery, efficacy of facilities and transport, natural resources management, organization of cultural and artistic events). Encouraging event managers to supervise the degree of satisfaction deriving from individual perception of festivalscape's characteristics, the insertion of this variable can help to distinguish features leading to satisfied or to dissatisfied users permitting to improve the more efficient areas and to relaunch the inefficient ones, developing strategies of customers' retention.

In addition, as consequences of festivalscape attributes, concepts such as perceived value (Chen & Chen, 2010) and image (Andreassen & Lindestad, 1998) can be involved in the model.

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Appraisal process, emotional reactions and behavioural in-tention for heritage tourists: a self-regulation approach

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Abstract

Current study aims at developing a theory-based model for predicting behavioral tourists' intentions to revisit a cultural heritage destination. The paper underpins the idea that in defining heritage tourists' behavior certain self-regulatory processes intervene. Generally, the self-regulatory mechanism encompasses the following phases: appraisal; emotional reaction; coping responses. Supporting the above-mentioned assumption, the study tries to link the Self- Regulation approach (Bagozzi, 1992) in explaining heritage tourists' intention formation to revisit or recommend the archaeological site.

The proposed research model is tested through an empirical survey conducted at the archaeological site of Pompeii (Italy) on a sample of tourists that have completed the visit of the site. A confirmatory factor analysis is conducted in order to assess reliability of multi-item scales. The overall model and the relationships among the constructs are tested through a Structural Equation Model (SEM). According to the results of the research, it is possible to note that image has a strong and substantially equal effect in influencing evaluative satisfaction and emotional satisfaction. At the same time, evaluative satisfaction is stronger correlated with loyalty than emotional satisfaction, suggesting that experiential aspects of the visit play a fundamental role in influencing tourist behavior. The main limitation of the work is probably represented by the population of the sample: it could be unrepresentative of all geographical touristic regions. The paper helps firms, practitioners and politician to better manage cultural heritage destinations and to enable effective and efficient behaviours within contexts with multiple actors.

1. Introduction

The economic national growth is affected by several elements, including tourism that represents one of the main factors of this phenomenon. In 2011, the tourism sector (domestic and international) contributed almost 5300 billion EUR to the global economy (World Travel and Tourism Council - WTTC). In particular, according to WTTC, in 2014 in Italy the total contribution of travel and tourism was 10% of Gross domestic product (GDP) and almost 5% of total employment.

In recent years, the link between tourism and heritage conservation is growing up (The Federal-Provincial-Territorial, FPT, 2012). Many authors (Bonet, 2003; Cooke and Lazzaretti, 2008; Dritsakis, 2004) claim that tourism destinations with typical cultural or natural elements constitute one of the chief attractions for international tourists. The growing phenomenon of tourists who travel directed toward experiencing the heritage of a city, region, state or country is called heritage tourism (Taylor, 2001). This kind of travel enables tourists to learn about, and be surrounded by, local customs, traditions, history and culture.

The World Heritage Centre of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), shows that the total number of World Heritage Sites (WHSs) has risen constantly. The WHSs include three kinds of sites: cultural, natural and mixed sites.

According to the world heritage list (UNESCO), Italy is the first country in the world to possess the majority of WHSs but not also the most popular country for tourism. This is probably due to the fact that the presence of WHSs produces a positive effect on international tourism, but it is not enough to obtain the increase of inter-national tourists' arrivals and consequently tourism expenditure, hereby benefiting from the economies of the destination countries.

Among the causes generating the inbound of new tourists and the intention to revisit a cultural heritage site, the interpersonal influence and the word-of-mouth (WOM) play a chief role (Litvin et al. 2008). Interpersonal influence and word-of-mouth, generally ranked as the most important information source when a consumer is making a purchase decision, are especially important in the tourism industry, whose intangible products are difficult to evaluate prior to their consumption (Litvin et al. 2008). Over the past few years, interpersonal influence and WOM are considered tightly related to customer loyalty, interpreted in turn as a variable able to explain customer retention (Pritchard and Howard, 1997).

Based on *self-regulation theory* (SRT, Bagozzi, 1992) this study wants to investigate the appraisal process, emotional reaction and behavioral intention that bring the loyalty towards a heritage site, focusing on the behavioral intention that brings a tourist to revisit it in the future.

The study wants to help management in heritage tourism field and researchers to find antecedents of customer loyalty in its pursuit of heritage tourists' retention and long-term profitability.

Among the many Italian cultural and natural sites (such as Venice and its Lagoon, Amalfitana Coast, The Trulli of Alberobello, The Dolomites) it has been chosen to investigate tourists' intention to reiterate the visit of one of the most impressive WHSs: Pompeii ruins.

The paper is structured as follow: the second section starts from a systematic literature review on heritage tourism (Yale, 1991; Poria et al. 2003), followed by the attitude behavior model chosen to frame our topic: Self Regulation Theory (Bagozzi, 1992). In the third section, based on the presented theories, it is exposed the research model and its hypotheses. In the fourth section it is presented the methodology. In the fifth section are shown the results. Then are presented the implications, the conclusion and the limitations of the work.

2. Heritage tourism and attitude theories: theoretical background

2.1 Heritage tourism

Heritage tourism, or Cultural heritage tourism, is a branch of tourism directed towards experiencing the arts, heritage, and special character of a place (National Endowment for the Arts 2011).

The concept is defined by The National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States as "traveling to experience the places, artifacts and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past" (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2014).

In fact, heritage tourism occurs when participation in a cultural or heritage activity is a significant factor for traveling. Heritage tourism also includes performing arts, (like theatre, dance, music), visual arts and crafts, festivals, museums and cultural centers, and historic sites and interpretive centers.

Heritage tourism is considered as one of the most significant and diverse phenomena of modern-age tourism. It has demonstrated an openness to continuous innovation and to the creation of new products, in line with the demands for new experiences on the part of tourists and with the evolution of cultural management research (World Tourism Organization, 2012).

In the Heritage tourism, in fact, are integrated tangible heritage that includes real components, such as the physical evidence of culture heritage and concern the management of tourism, and intangible heritage, that represents the emotional components expressed by continuing cultural practices, knowledge, and living experiences in the heritage sites (Munjeri, 2004).

Tangible heritage is linked to a practical perspective, identifying the cultural tourist and measuring the scope of the cultural tourism activity (McKercher and Cros, 2002). From this point of view heritage tourism brings a lot of advantages from many point of views: economic, social, environmental. From the economic point of view, heritage tourism helps to diversify economies and improves quality-of-life for local residents (Museum Association of Arizona et al. 2000), bringing in new money, generating tax revenues (Ontario Ministry of Tourism, 2009) and supporting local business (FPT, 2012). From a social point of view, heritage tourism enhances the community's image and pride, encouraging community beautification and creating opportunities for healthy community relationships and partnerships (Tarlow, 2011). Lastly, from an environmental point of view, heritage tourism contributes to a culture of preservation.

The intangible heritage, focusing on a strong emotional component, indicates the nature and the meaning of the cultural tourism experience and creates experiences for visitors attracted to history, preservation, and the cultural arts, which can then also be enjoyed by residents.

Based on these two aspects of heritage tourism (tangible, linked to cognitive elements, and intangible, linked to emotional elements) it is expected that tourists' idea and opinion about a heritage site, and consequently the image and satisfaction towards an heritage site, is in turn composed by a cognitive and emotional part.

Moreover, because of its intangible nature, heritage constitutes a subjective component because of its direct relationship with a collective social memory, "a combination of recollections recognized by a given group" (Flores, 1995). Therefore, it is not a surprise that emotional component tightly affects people perception: some-times, individuals construct "subjective social reality" and this subjective construction affects their behavior more than objective input (Bless et al. 2004). For this reason, it is important to hold under control not only cognitive factors but also subjective and emotional factors that influence tourists' loyalty. This is in line to a systemic logic in which there is the proposition of a model that aspires to emphasize the psychological and interactional aspects of consumption (Tommasetti et al., 2015).

2.2 Appraisal process, emotional reactions and behavioural intention

In 1992, Bagozzi presents *self-regulation theory* (SRT), a theory generally used within health management to control impulses or to manage short-term desires.

SRT derives from the Theory of planned behavior (or TPB), introduced in 1985 by Ajzen to explain behaviors not "completely" under volitional control. The TPB, in fact, states that behavior explained refers not to action to-tally under volitional governance but rather to actions subject to the interference of internal and external forces.

Based on TPB, SRT argues that attitudes and subjective norms are not sufficient determinants of behavioral intentions, and that intentions are not a sufficient impetus for concrete actions. Bagozzi (1992) states that to explain the real process that brings to action, it is needed to introduce the role of cognitive and emotional components. Bagozzi's attitude theory posits that appraisal processes generate emotional reactions which then influence an individual's behaviors, depicting cognitive, appraisal, and emotional response and behavior as occurring in a sequential process.

Underpinning this idea, and on the base of above-mentioned considerations about heritage tourism, self-regulation approach is considered the most appropriate framework to explain the proposed model (see paragraph 3).

While Bagozzi (1992) affirms that this process happens before the real conduct, in this work it is posited that the theory can be applicable also during the action.

Following the basic structure of the theory that contemplates three dimensions, appraisal process of past or ongoing or anticipated events (cognitive knowledge), emotional reaction (affective outcomes) and coping response (behavioral framework), it has been reformulated the attitude theory and postulated the research model discussed in the following section.

3. Research model and hypotheses

Although there are many studies which connect the variables of destination image and satisfaction to loyalty (Chi and Qu, 2008; Assaker and Hallak, 2013; Ramseook-Munhurrin et al., 2015), a literature gap about their relationship emerges, since it seems that the constructs have not been thoroughly investigated in heritage tourism field.

The research model investigates these constructs applying them to the heritage tourism field and introducing the contamination of these variables with the SRT.

The following model hypothesizes that cognitive knowledge (interpreted here as destination image) has a positive effect on the emotional and evaluative satisfaction, which in turn affect the loyalty towards a heritage site. In other words, tourist satisfaction is an intervening variable that mediates the relationship between destination image and behavioral intentions (Chi and Qu, 2008).

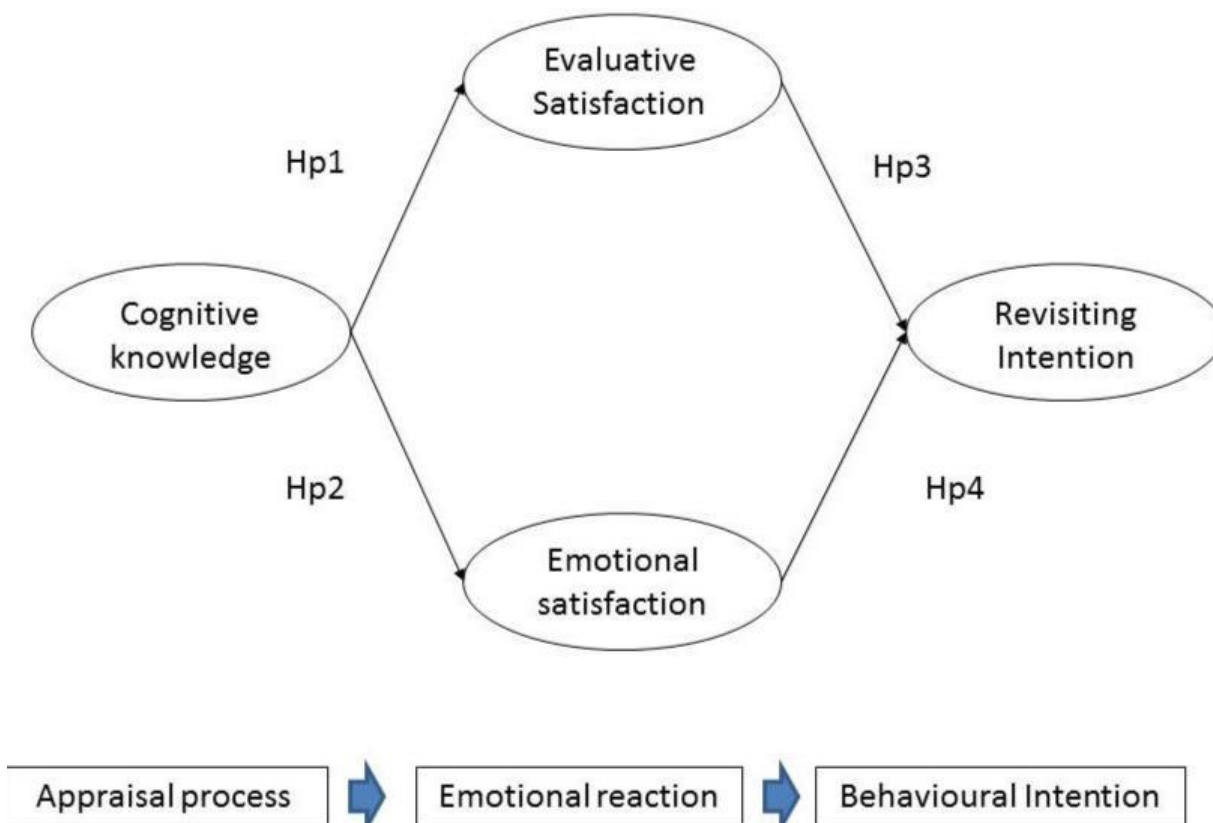


Fig. 1- Research model and hypotheses

Bagozzi's attitude theory posits that every behavioral intention is guided by both cognitive and emotional elements, following this SRT logical steps: appraisal influences emotional reaction that has an impact on coping responses.

The research framework in question posits that the intention to revisit a heritage site is guided by the destination image (appraisal/cognitive knowledge) which in turn affects evaluative and emotional satisfaction (emotional reaction).

Destination image, a tourist's general impression of a destination, is defined by Assaker and Hallak (2013) as the "sum of beliefs, ideals and impressions" that a visitor has toward a certain place. Destination image takes place in tourists' mind including knowledge, feelings and global impressions about a destination (Bramwell and Rawding, 1996; San Martin and Rodrigues Del Bosque, 2008), hence taking into account emotional and evaluative elements.

Many empirical works support the positive impact of destination image on the overall tourist satisfaction (Chi and Qu, 2008; Assaker and Hallak, 2013; Ramseook-Munhurrin et al., 2014). Since tourism satisfaction is affected by both cognitive elements (i.e. expectations and disconfirmation), called evaluative satisfaction (Westbrook & Oliver, 1991), and affective elements (i.e. emotions), called emotional satisfaction (Oliver, 1996), the following hypothesis can be proposed:

H1: Cognitive knowledge is positively related to evaluative satisfaction.

H2: Cognitive knowledge is positively related to emotional satisfaction.

Many studies are also conducted to link the concept of satisfaction to that of loyalty. In the past years, customer loyalty was considered as a mediating factor in explaining customer retention (Pritchard and Howard, 1997) and it was linked to the likelihood to provide references and publicity through the word-of-mouth of returning cus-

tomers (Bowen and Shoemaker, 1998). Nowadays destination loyalty has become a critical part of destination marketing and management research, due to the increasing competition and the recognition of the importance of loyal visitors. In recent years, satisfaction has been extensively examined in the literature to predict tourist loyalty. The intention to recommend a destination to other people is positively influenced by satisfaction (Chen and Chen, 2010; Chi and Qu, 2008). Based on this conclusion, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H3. Evaluative satisfaction is positively related to destination loyalty

As mentioned above, satisfaction is also made up by an emotional part, in fact Oliver et al. (1997) found that positive emotions lead to higher levels of customer satisfaction and increased repurchase intentions. Moreover, Liljander and Strandvik (1997) revealed a direct relationship between emotions and customer loyalty behavior. Similarly, in the tourism field, Yuksel et al. (2010) affirm that positive emotional and cognitive bonds with a place may have an effect on individuals' evaluations of a destination and on their loyalty to the place. The influence of emotional satisfaction on behavior intention is also confirmed in tourism field (Mason and Paggiaro, 2012). Based on these assumptions, the following hypothesis is advanced:

H4.. Emotional satisfaction is positively related to destination loyalty.

4. Methodology

To build the measurement scales, the methodology proposed by Churchill (1979) was adopted and adapted to the context of the study. A preliminary list of measuring items was generated after a review of the literature pertaining to the self-regulation approach and to the concepts of image, evaluative satisfaction, emotional satisfaction and loyalty. A pretest was conducted with 20 students attending the course of tourism management at University of Salerno. Items identified as ambiguous were reworded for clarity.

Table 2 shows the items used to measure the different scales, which were translated into the languages of the study's sample population (Italian). English items were used for foreign visitors. In particular, emotional and evaluative satisfaction measurement items have been derived adapting, adjusting and merging the scale proposed by Mason and Paggiaro (2012) and Martin-Ruiz et al. (2010). Loyalty measurement items have been derived adapting the scale proposed by Lam and Hsu (2006), whereas image measurement items have been derived adapting the scale proposed by Petrick (2002). For all constructs, a seven-point Likert scale was adopted, ranging from 1 ("strongly disagree") to 7 ("strongly agree"), with the exception of the evaluative satisfaction, which was measured with a semantic bi-polar scale.

An on-site intercept survey was conducted among the visitors of the Pompei ruins archeological site to appraise tourists' loyalty and their intentions to revisit. In 1997, Pompeii ruins are inscribed in the UNESCO because they provide a complete and vivid picture of society and daily life at a specific moment in the past, which is without parallel anywhere in the world.

Pompeii is chosen for two main reasons: the first one is its ability to combine both the tangible and the in-tangible sides of a heritage site. The second one is the growing curiosity of tourists, still alive nowadays in every part of the world.

The survey was conducted by three field researchers between august 1st and September 20th, 2015. A self-administered questionnaire was distributed only to those who agreed to respond to the survey. The field researchers contacted 340 visitors, among which 303 participated in the survey, representing a response rate of 89.11%. 35 of distributed questionnaires were incomplete: because none of the variables presents a level of missing values above 8%, it has been decided to treat missing values replacing them with the mean of the distribution. As a result, 303 questionnaires were accepted for the purpose of final analysis with the sample characteristics' reported in tab. 1.

In order to test research hypotheses in the proposed model (see Fig. 1), a structural equation modeling (SEM) was run using SPSS and Amos 22. As a first step, an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was executed to purify satisfaction measurement scale (see appendix 1 for exploratory factor analysis results). As second step, the two-stage

| Description | | N. | % |
|--------------------------------------|---------|-----|--------|
| Sample | | 303 | |
| Gender | Female | 153 | 50,50% |
| | Male | 150 | 49,50% |
| | Total | 303 | |
| | < 18 | 4 | 1,32% |
| Age | 18-25 | 34 | 11,22% |
| | 26-35 | 73 | 24,09% |
| | 36-45 | 116 | 38,28% |
| | 46-55 | 58 | 19,14% |
| | >55 | 18 | 5,94% |
| | Total | 303 | |
| | | | |
| Status | Single | 136 | 44,90% |
| | Married | 167 | 55,10% |
| | Total | 303 | |
| | | | |
| Nationality | Ita | 186 | 61,40% |
| | Eur | 77 | 25,40% |
| | Other | 40 | 13,20% |
| | Total | 303 | |
| Previous Experience in Pompeii ruins | Yes | 56 | 19,4% |
| | No | 244 | 80,5% |
| | Total | 303 | |

Tab. 1 – Sample Summary Characteristics

testing procedure recommended by Anderson and Gerbing (1988) was adopted. In the first stage, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) estimated the measurement model and in the second stage, hypothetical relationships among the constructs were identified in the structure model.

5. Results

5.1 Measurement model

A Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) has been performed to assess reliability, convergent validity and discriminant validity for the six measured constructs.

Table 2 shows the Cronbach alpha values generated by the CFA in estimating the reliability of the multi-item scales: image with 0.769, evaluative satisfaction with 0.844, emotional satisfaction with 0.679 and loyalty with 0.876. All of these alpha coefficients were above the cutoff point of 0.7, indicating an acceptable level of reliability for each construct (Nunnally and Bernstein, 1994), with the exception of emotional satisfaction which is above 0.6, representing anyway an acceptable level in the case of an explorative analysis.

The measurement model derived from the CFA shows excellent levels in all selected fit indices (see Table 2) with χ^2/df equal to 2.086, SRMR equal to 0.0404, CFI equal to 0.973, NNFI equal to 0.959, RMSEA equal to 0.060 with

| Latent Variable | Measurement items | Factor Loading (standardized) | T-value | Cronbach α | | |
|--|--|-------------------------------|---------|------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Evaluative Satisfaction | The archaeological site of Pompeii : | | | 0,844 | | |
| | (1) has a poor arranged path (2) has a well arranged path | 0,656 | 10,845 | | | |
| | (1) has not useful (from a learning point of view) artefacts (2) has useful (from a learning point of view) artefacts | 0,734 | 12,302 | | | |
| | (1) has artefacts poorly preserved (2) has artefacts well preserved | 0,817 | 13,672 | | | |
| | (1) has very few things to see (2) has a lot of things to see | 0,781 | *** | | | |
| Loyalty | | | | 0,876 | | |
| | The likelihood that I will revisit Pompeii ruins in the next 2 years is very high | 0,882 | 14,345 | | | |
| | I will revisit Pompei ruins | 0,894 | *** | | | |
| Emotional satisfaction | | | | 0,679 | | |
| | Thinking about the visit of Pompeii ruins gives me a sense of joy | 0,685 | 8,545 | | | |
| | I feel a pleasant feeling when I think about the visit of Pompeii ruins | 0,752 | *** | | | |
| Cognitive Knowledge (interpreted as Image) | | | | 0,769 | | |
| | has a good reputation | 0,707 | *** | | | |
| | is well respected | 0,821 | 11,369 | | | |
| | has status | 0,666 | 9,997 | | | |
| C2 | Df | c2/Df | SRMR | NNFI | CFI | RMSEA |
| 77.144 | 37 | 2,086 | 0,0404 | 0.959 | 0.973 | 0.06 (p-close: 0.180) |

Tab. 2 – Results of confirmatory factor analysis and fit indices for measurement model

a p-close equal to 0.180.

As illustrated in table 3, each average variance extracted (AVE) value is above 0.5, which is an indication that convergent validity was not an issue (Garbarino and Johnson, 1999).

The AVE from each construct is greater than the variance shared between the construct and the others in the model, which demonstrates satisfactory discriminant validity. In table 3, the correlation matrix for all constructs is reported. Diagonals are the square root of AVEs, which in every case is larger than the correlation of a certain construct with all other constructs in the model, indicating satisfactory discriminant validity.

5.2 Structural model (path analysis)

With such significant results in the measurement model, the structural model was assessed to test the relationship among constructs. The goodness of fit measures were used to assess the overall structural model fit. As indicated by the results of the study, the fit indices for the proposed model were excellent with χ^2/df equal

| | Loy | Evaluat_Sat | Cogn. Knowl. | Emo_Sat | CR | AVE |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| Loy | 0,888 | | | | 0,882 | 0,789 |
| Evaluat_Sat | 0,593 | 0,749 | | | 0,836 | 0,562 |
| Cogn. Knowl. | 0,548 | 0,611 | 0,734 | | 0,777 | 0,539 |
| Emo_Sat | 0,491 | 0,611 | 0,671 | 0,719 | 0,681 | 0,517 |

Tab 3 – Correlation of latent construct (bolded diagonal are square roots of AVE)

| | Structural Paths | Standardized Path Coefficients | T-Value | Hypothesis supported |
|----|---|--------------------------------|----------|----------------------|
| H1 | Cogn. Know. → (+) Evaluative satisfaction ($R^2=0.389$) | 0.624 | 8.028... | Yes |
| H2 | Cogn. Know. → (+) Emotional satisfaction ($R^2=0.483$) | 0.695 | 7.959... | Yes |
| H3 | Evaluative satisfaction → (+) Loyalty ($R^2=0.403$) | 0.446 | 5.121... | Yes |
| H4 | Emotional satisfaction → (+) Loyalty ($R^2=0.403$) | 0.255 | 2.798... | Yes |

... $p < 0.01$;

Tab 4 – Standardized path coefficients and t-value for structural model

to 2.205 ($\chi^2_{38df}=83.773$, SRMR equal to 0.0446, CFI equal to 0.969, NNFI equal to 0.955, RMSEA equal to 0.063 (pclose= 0.113). In addition, the explained variance was 48.3% for emotional satisfaction, 38.9 % for evaluative satisfaction and 40.3% for loyalty.

A summary of study results, including path coefficients and explained variances, is presented in table 4.

According to the study results, all the proposed hypothesis were supported. Research results related to H1, which states that image positively influences evaluative satisfaction, were significant (path coefficient = 0.624; $p < 0.001$).

Image is also a good predictor variable of emotional satisfaction, as proved by the path coefficient (0.695; $p < 0.001$).

Both types of satisfaction (evaluative and emotional) are directly and substantially positively correlated with loyalty. In particular, with path coefficient of 0.446 ($p < 0.001$) and of 0.225 ($p < 0.001$), respectively also H3 and H4 were supported.

Overall, it is possible to note that image has a strong and substantially equal effect in influencing evaluative satisfaction and emotional satisfaction. On the contrary, evaluative satisfaction is stronger correlated with loyalty than emotional satisfaction, suggesting that experiential aspects of the visit play a fundamental role in influencing tourist behavior.

6. Conclusion, implications and limitations

This paper investigates the appraisal process, emotional reaction and behavioral intention that encourage a tourist to revisit a heritage site. Based on the self-regulation theory (Bagozzi 1992), this study explored the relationships among destination image, tourists satisfaction and destination loyalty.

The research, conducted in Italy, is interesting for public manager in heritage tourism field as Italy is the country that holds the largest number of sites included in the list of UNESCO World Heritage (51 sites), but it isn't the most popular country for tourism. So it is important to gain better understanding of international tourists' perceptions of destination image, to comprehend if both evaluative and emotional satisfaction affect destina-

tion loyalty and what drives loyalty. The purpose of this study was to develop a conceptual model for destination loyalty and to validate its structure on one of the main Italian WHSs: Pompei ruins.

In terms of theoretical implications, the proposed theoretical framework enables the enrichment of management literature for two main reasons.

The first reason is that the proposition of an integrated perspective including SRT enriches the body of heritage tourism research (Leask and Fyall, 2006). The introduction of the idea that the revisiting intention derives from self-regulation processes represents an innovative approach to heritage tourism.

The second reason is that the validation of the proposed model, having confirmed each hypothesis, allows to state that destination image, evaluative and emotional satisfaction are antecedents of destination loyalty in heritage tourism. Particularly, the confirmed relation between emotional satisfaction and destination loyalty highlights the importance of emotional aspects in the heritage tourism field.

In terms of pragmatic implications, the identification of the antecedents and of the processes that bring to tourists' loyalty allows to suggest innovative forms of policy-making in terms of intangible heritage management related to tourism.

More specifically, the overall model can help firms, practitioners and politicians to better manage cultural heritage destinations and to enable effective and efficient behaviors within contexts with multiple actors. These tested relationships are useful to the governance of heritage tourism, as they permit decision makers to develop strategic choices and optimal policies to promote a heritage site. Moreover, one can hypothesize to develop and to implement successful marketing campaigns in order to attract tourists of heritage sites, focusing on emotional aspects.

About the limitations of the work, it is possible to identify as the main limitation the population of the sample. The study, in fact, only focuses on a single Italian heritage site, Pompeii ruins, so it could be unrepresentative of all geographical touristic regions. Therefore, future research replicating this study involving tourists of other destinations could increase global understanding of this relevant research concept.

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Sitography

World Travel and Tourism Council, www.wttc.org

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Appendix 1

Explorative Factor Analysis, Principal Component Analysis, Varimax rotation

| | Factor | |
|--|-------------------------|------------------------|
| | Evaluative Satisfaction | Emotional Satisfaction |
| The archaeological site of Pompeii : | | |
| (1) has not useful (from a learning point of view) artefacts (2) has useful (from a learning point of view) artefacts | ,855 | |
| (1) has very few things to see (2) has a lot of things to see | ,819 | |
| (1) has artefacts poorly preserved (2) has artefacts well preserved | ,802 | |
| (1) has a poor arranged path (2) has a well arranged path | ,717 | |
| Thinking about the visit of Pompeii ruins gives me a sense of joy | | ,877 |
| I feel a pleasant feeling when I think about the visit of Pompeii ruins | | ,807 |
| Explained Variance: | 44,19% | 27,07% |

KMO = 0,805

Communication of cycling-tourists

In what way are bicycle experiences shared and what role does heritage have in these experiences

Merijn den Boer

ABSTRACT

More cyclists discover new area by bike on international long-distance routes.¹ This growth in cycling-journeys forms for heritage institutions an opportunity.² An opportunity to increase the number of visitors and to embed local heritage in a broader context of places, landscapes and activities.³ Cycling tourists that tour through several countries are an important part of this opportunity, as research on cycling tourism has shown that these cycling tourists have a special interest for cultural heritage.⁴ Research indicates that the reason for failing is the omitting of institutions to incorporate cycling tourists in the organisation of international long-distance routes.⁵ Most organisers have for example failed to undertake a preliminary tourist-demand study or an evaluation of tourist satisfaction.⁶ A collaboration where both parties are able to influence the experience of the international routes could be seen as a solution. A meaningful experience could be reached sooner when cycling tourists experience a tour based on their personal preferences and needs. Yet we lack insight in how cyclists plan and experience their long-distance cycling tours, let alone how they share these with others.

This paper tries to get more insight in the communication and values of cycling tourists who plan and ride a tour through several countries. This will be done by analysing reviews, blogs and reports of international cycling routes. The focus will be on the role of heritage in these reports. These analyses should answer question on the contribution and the importance of heritage to the experience. It should also give insight in the ways these experiences are shared. Do cycling tourists use magazines, blogs or social media? And how are these experiences represented? Is that by text, photography, maps, videos or art-work? Analysing the reports is at the same time a way to find out what positive and negative comments are made on the current routes. Before discussing the results of these analyses, the views on cycling routes in literature will be discussed first. These views will be presented in twofold: the expectations of the heritage institutions and the analysed needs of cycling tourists till now. A comparison between the two could give an insight in the differences between the wishes of cycling tourists and the views from top-down on these demands.

Cycling tourism in Literature

Cyclists' demands

According to previous papers there are a number of reasons people undertake a bicycle tour. A returning reason is the escape of the daily routine. It could be considered as an antidote to the fast pace of this daily routine as

¹ Moulin and Boniface (2001), p. 239.

² Dickinson (2011), p. 282; Fullagar (2012), p. 175; Moulin and Boniface (2001), p. 239.

³ Laarse (2005), p. 16; Moulin and Boniface (2001), p. 237.

⁴ Dickinson (2011), p. 285; Fullagar (2012), p. 175; Gonzalez (2013), p. 16; Moulin and Boniface (2001), p. 237.

⁵ Moulin and Boniface (2001), p. 248.

⁶ Moulin and Boniface (2001), p. 248.

Dickinson notice in his article *Slow Travel Issues*.⁷ Rube Gonzalez refers to this opposite of daily life as a search for isolation to find the time to overthink and evaluate life.⁸ In cases of a pilgrimage he adds the religious reason of the trip, which results in overthinking life according to religious beliefs.⁹

The slowness of a bicycle tour also provides time to focus more on landscape, culture and interaction with other tourists and the host population.¹⁰ By travelling slowly people are negotiating with the place and the environment.¹¹ Tourists feel more connected with the place and should therefore have more interest in heritage.¹²

A characteristic of bicycle tourist is the control they want over the route.¹³ There are many choices to be made when cycling an international long-distance route. These choices range from riding through a rural or built environment to sleeping in a remote village or in a popular city. Cyclists want to make these choices based on their preferences. To satisfy their own preferences, they want control.

Benefits for heritage

Developing cycling tourism can be more than pleasing cycling tourists. It provides opportunities for heritage institutions to increase the visitors and income.¹⁴ They see these routes as an excellent way to inform the people about cultural heritage.¹⁵ Institutions see cycling-tourists as an important target group, because cycling tourists differ from other tourists in the spreading of their expenses during the trip.¹⁶ For cyclists spread their expenses along the route, which results in an even spreading of income.¹⁷ Therefore more remote places could also benefit from tourism.¹⁸ Cycling tourism could result in a better distribution of attention, income and visitors for heritage. The routes could also function as a network: by cycling routes remote places can be connected with popular places.¹⁹ These connections can improve the collaboration between these places, where weaker places could benefit from the facilities of surrounding cities. Weaker places that are struggling to preserve heritage can be supported in protecting and redeveloping heritage through these collaborations.²⁰ The networks should function as a driving force for social, economic and cultural development.²¹ This network should also be seen as a means to cross borders to create a shared identity and more unity between countries.²²

⁷ Dickinson (2011), p. 282

⁸ Gonzalez (2013), p. 16

9 G p. 16; Lumsdon (2011), p. 265; Molz (2009), p. 283.

10 o 11 Molz (2009) in Dickinson (2011), p. 285; Gonzalez (2013), p. 16; Lumsdon (2011), p. 265; Molz (2009), p. 283.

z 12 Dickinson (2011), p. 285; Gonzalez (2013), p. 16; Larsen and Guiver (2013), p. 979.

a 13 Dickinson (2011), p. 285; Lumsdon (2011), p. 274

l 14 Moulin and Boniface (2001), p. 237; Piket (2012), p. 115;

e 15 Laarse (2005), p. 16; Moulin and Boniface (2001), p. 237.

z 16 Piket (2012), p. 115.

(17 Piket (2012), p. 115.

2 18 Moulin and Boniface (2001), p. 239; Piket (2012), p. 115.

0 19 Moulin and Boniface (2001), p. 239.

1 20 Moulin and Boniface (2001), p. 239.

3 Moulin and Boniface (2001), p. 239.

) Grabow (2010), p. 92, 110; Moulin and Boniface (2001), p. 237.

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Image 1. Eurovelo Routes, 2011, www.eurovelo.com

Analysing communication of cyclists

Method of analysing

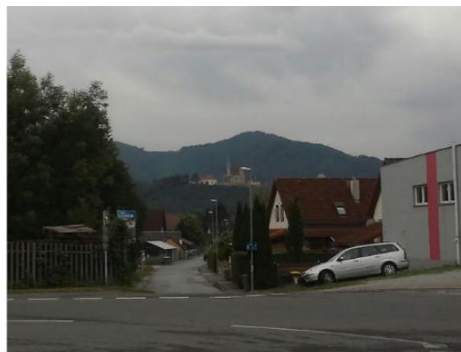
Searching for reports of cycling tours to analyse, started with the organisation of EuroVelo. There are fourteen EuroVelo routes which connect the whole European continent (see Image 1). Searching on names of these routes or destinations, made it possible to find reports that described the experience on these cycling routes. Next to finding blogs, it also gave understanding of how cyclists name their blogs. Due to the repetition in the names different parts of the name could be identified. Three parts are most frequently used. These parts were their own name, their destination or route name and the activity. Most often cyclists would use at least one of these three parts to name their blog. Due to little variation the search for blogs was simplified.

The blogs needed to meet requirements to be useful for the analysis. A requirement was that the report was by a cyclist that made a tour that crossed multiple countries or had to be a part of a longer route. These cyclists could follow popular routes to destinations like Santiago de Compostella or Rome. Or ride a route that has been set out on their own. Also they shouldn't be participating in a race, as the focus will be on the race rather than on landscape, culture or heritage. Most of the reports that met the requirements were of trips where the cyclists reached a distance of 2000 to 3000 kilometres. Also cyclists who undertake these trips in several times were included. These cyclists would often reach a 1000 kilometres each time.

After filtering the useful routes the consistency needed to meet the requirements. Reports that stopped before finishing the tour weren't accepted. As well as reports where the cyclists would use the media to almost exclusively let their family know that they were safe and in good health. When a clear and consistent description of the route misses the report has no value for the analysis.



Image 2. Ben Depp, Borrowed Time, 2009,
www.theridejournal.com Issue 4



(Image 3 - 4, Slot, Langs de Mur, 2015)

The residual blogs were analysed on what type of tools they used to visualize their trip. Was that by text, photos, videos, artwork or maps? Another important part of the analysis was the search for interests of the cyclists. By keeping track of the most discussed subjects it is possible to make an estimation what the interests of the cyclists are. Also the reason to undertake the trip has an important part in this. The preparation of the tour has also been surveyed on several factors. Did they for example train physically for the route or did they study the culture? And most importantly the way they set out the route was being tracked. Also statistical point like age, gender and overnight accommodation were being tracked.

Format

When reviewing reports about cycle tours two categories can be distinguished. One category consists of a range of posts that can be considered as a diary. The other category is a filtered description of the whole tour. The diary-like posts, which consists of text accompanied by photos and an occasional map, are to be found on individual blogs or social media and have a repetitive character. The repetitive character is formed by the daily description of weather, distance and overnight accommodation. The filtered stories are found in magazines, both online and hardcopy. They contain stories from people all over the world and are more theme based. Every writer chooses a theme. These themes could be physical, culinary, landscape or heritage. Both description give a clear view of a bicycle tour. But there is a difference in quality and target audience. The diary-posts are of a lower quality due to the everyday update. Which results in excess of repetition and therefore makes it hard for the reader to maintain interest in the stories. The target-audience is therefore limited to family and relatives. The filtered-stories are of a higher quality, because they've taken more time to consider what they want to tell their audience. It has filtered the repetition of description of weather and distance. Therefore there is better focus on which is important and interesting. As a result the filtered-stories are suitable for a greater audience. The higher quality is also noticeable in the artwork and photos between magazines (see Image 2) and blogs (see Image 3-4). There has been more editing and selecting, which increases the quality.

Heritage in blogs

International cycling routes go along many forms of heritage. Cyclists on these routes ride along churches, build-ings and landscapes that could be considered heritage. They arrive in villages with traditional festivals. Even the road that they ride on can in some cases be considered heritage. For a cyclists on a long distance route it is hard to not see the heritage. However this does not mean that it is perceived as heritage. Heritage institutions want to increase their visitors plus income and want to spread their information more. To attribute to these goals cyclists need to have more interaction with heritage than just seeing. To reach the goals of heritage institutions, heritage should be an important part of the experience of a long distance route. Cyclists do need to experience or under-stand the historic significance of heritage. If not, heritage institutions have failed to create this or experience or there is a lack of real interest by cyclists.

Weather, physical endurance and encounters with locals or fellow travellers take up more space in the reports than built heritage. The small part of the report that is focused on heritage are superficial descriptions. Usually only the outside of built heritage gets attention. Churches and bridges receive the most positive attention. Beau-tiful, astonishing or impressive are terms that are used to describe the aesthetics and grand scale of built heri-tage. Due to these superficial descriptions it can be regarded that built heritage does not form a determinative factor in the experience.

Descriptions of roads, landscapes and local customs also lack the experience of heritage. Descriptions of land-scape are focused on aesthetics rather than the history or formation of the landscape. The mountains receive the most attention as they stay impressive and fascinating according to the cyclists. A returning exception are land-scapes that are formed by wars. Cycling tourists do seem to have a high level of interest for war landscapes that can be found in northern France or alongside the former Iron Curtain. These profound changes in the landscape tend to draw more attention, even when cycling tourist are on a pilgrimage. Though the landscape is mainly ad-mired for the beauty and grand scale of mountains, rivers and lakes.

To regard heritage as determinative for the experience the report should contain a description of history or an ar-chitectural style. Or a description of the importance of heritage. Only a few describe the heritage in these terms. The best example is a description of the Cathedral of the Notre Dame of Chartres by two cyclists on their way to Santiago de Compostela: From far away you notice the beautiful towers, but from the inside it is truly amazing. From the available documentation we understand that this cathedral has been a Christian pilgrimage site for centuries. This cathedral is now a monument for culture, history and art.²³

However most cycling tourist only interact with heritage when driving alongside it. There is no time taken to fully experience the heritage. Especially entering the inside of built heritage is seen as an obstacle. Cycling tourists notice this and describe it in their report. One cyclists calls himself a philistine as he considers entering a muse-um not worth it, because of the obstacle of entering and parking his bike.²⁴ As an excuse he uses that he would enjoy the square in front of the museum more. The obstacle of entering also consists in leaving luggage without supervision. This obstacle is less of a problem when travelling together, as cyclists could enter buildings sep-arately. However this is still not regarded as ideal. Next to the obstacles of entering and parking bicycle tourist on international long-distance routes, cycling tourist have the need to continue. As reaching the next stop is perhaps the most important task of the day.

So stopping for heritage is seen as an obstacle. Though more experienced cyclist do seem to find the time to stop for heritage. Also In the progress of the tour people start to focus and try to experience the heritage at a more intense level. With the end destination as heritage climax. Images and reports multiply in the final days. It could be concluded there is more attention for heritage at the destination rather than alongside the route.

Heritage objects are thus broadly admired for their beauty, but they are not always admired for their historic significance.

Preparation

As described earlier the strength of the experience of heritage tends to get stronger as the trip continues. During a cycle tour tourists stop more for heritage near the end-destination and start to be more interested in background

stories. However this does not mean that when riding on a short piece of the route, tourist can't reach the same intensity of experience. The preparation for the trip is also influential on this experience. A small number of cycling tourists prepare the tour in a more detailed way. They search for information about the countries they will cross. Landscape, cultural heritage and local customs are being studied. Due to this detailed preparation tourists seem to reach the intensity level of experience faster. The majority however follows the defined routes by institutions or travel agencies. Their preparation is limited to packaging and choosing their overnight accommodation. In these cases the intensity level of experience is reached at a later moment. There can distinguish two versions: a slow learning course and a speed course. Experiencing is thus possible on a long distance tour, as well as on a part of the tour. This does not mean that there aren't differences in the experience, because the experience is defined by multiple factors.

Age and Gender

The people who undertake a bicycle tour to the common destinations like Santiago de Compostela or Rome have passed the age of 40. People near the age of 60 tend to undertake these trips more often. There is no clear distinction of which age group from 40 upwards has more interest in heritage. There is however a clear distinction with younger generations. Younger generations tend to undertake more extreme trips, which are more focused on harder to reach destinations or terrain. In these groups there is an interest for heritage, but the physical experience and the challenge the landscape forms are more interesting to them. These unknown terrains, asks for specialist bikes which is also a returning subject in these reports.

When comparing the numbers of men and women who undertake an international cycling route it becomes clear that the majority on international cycling routes is men (see Table 1). When comparing to women, the man is represented twice as much on international cycling routes. They undertake these trips mostly alone, but in some cases they are joined by a friend or son. Most often they are joined by a woman. That the majority of international bicycle tourists is men, doesn't mean that women aren't well represented. With more than a third, the women are well presented on the international routes. Most often they accompany their partner or family, but a few under-take a tour on their own. In the cases where women accompany their partner, they take the lead in updating the blog or social media.

| | Percentage | Men in total | Women in total |
|---------------------------|------------|--------------|----------------|
| Man | 43,10% | 66% | 34% |
| Man Duo | 6,20% | | |
| Man with Kid(s) | 1,50% | | |
| Man and Woman | 30,80% | | |
| Man and Woman with kid(s) | 7,70% | | |
| Woman | 10,80% | | |

Positive and negative remarks

There seems to be a fine line between a positive report and a negative report on aspects of the tour. Landscapes

are often described as an important part of the experience. Crossing a mountain range is for cycling tourist something special. But an excess of a mountainous landscape makes a tour too challenging and therefore decreases

the joy and the energy to focus on other aspects of the tour. An unchallenging route is however not the solution. Long stretches of landscape or a flat route alongside a river are a welcome change to a more hilly landscape, but starts to bore quickly. Therefore the route should be varied.

Meeting fellow cycling tourists are also an important part of the experience. But here too is a fine line. When the cyclists is joined by large groups of fellow cyclist it seems to decrease the specialness of the trip. The same goes for the sleeping in the large dorms on pilgrimage routes. Joining fellow travellers is an important part of the experience. But due to the business of these dorms it is too big an experience for some. This fine line is important to keep in mind when trying to increase visitors.

Next to these aspect, which can turn positive or negative, there are some clear remarks. A clear positive remark is often made when there are special facilities for cycling tourists. These facilities could be small in the form of a discount for a museum or church. Or more radical facilities like a specified path for cyclists. Which increases safety and a more relaxed way of riding, which could give more attention to the scenery.

A clear negative remark are changes in the function of cultural heritage. Changes of function are an interruption of the experience. A computer-store in a former church, is for example a reason to avoid the church. Even if this church offers a stamp for pilgrims. Also roads with heavy traffic decreases the enjoyment and experience of the tour.

Comparison

Earlier reports and notions have a decent level of the needs and wishes of cycling-tourists on international long-distance routes. However making nuances could alter the needed actions to improve cycling routes along heritage. In earlier papers it is often stated that cycling tourist have an interest in heritage.²⁵ There is indeed an interest in heritage, but it isn't the first interest. Heritage comes after the human encounters, the landscape and physical challenge. Often obstacles, like entering and bike parking, keep cyclists from truly experiencing heritage. Heritage is therefore more appreciated for its scenery than for its historic significance.

Another view is that cycling tourism will improve the spreading of the incomes and attention over a larger area.²⁶ The majority of cycling tourists however hesitates in visiting and experiencing the heritage along the route. Heritage near the end is more visited. So if the cultural heritage along the route lack specialness it will most often not benefit from the cycling tourists.

Another remark is that cycling tourists want to have control over the route.²⁷ This research has shown that most people tend to stick to the original route or a route from a travel agency. If along the route cyclists get notice of an object or event they would like to visit, they take the liberty to alter the route. So the control of the route is not needed in the planning of the trip.

Conclusion

Out of the analysis it can be concluded that the interest of cycling tourists on long distance routes is lower than previously described. Obstacles seem to overrule the interest of cyclists. Therefore cyclists will see heritage more as a part of scenery rather than understand the significance of the heritage.

This also jeopardizes the proposed benefit of an even spreading of income and attention for heritage. The analysis shows that there is more attention for heritage near the end destination, than for heritage earlier in the route. Heritage in rural landscapes or remote places miss out on an increase of attention, when the obstacles are greater than the interest.

To persuade cyclist to get off their bike heritage institutions need to make heritage more inviting. This can be done by spreading information earlier on in the route. Maybe even during the preparation of the tour. Another possibility is to persuade cyclists with special facilities for cyclists. As the analysis has shown special facilities are highly appreciated. Discounts or parking facilities for cyclists could lower the obstacles. With lowered obstacles heritage could still benefit from cycling tourists, despite the lower interest of long-distance cycling tourist in heritage than expected.

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The culture and creative industries and tourism. How intersectoral is local cultural development in Italy?

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ABSTRACT

In contemporary society culture has become a value generating and innovative activity. Place specific processes – the agglomeration of businesses that specialize in the cultural and creative industries and the transversal linkages that develop within and across sectors, in particular tourism – are key to this generation and innovation. Shedding some light on this place specific agglomeration dynamic, so far largely neglected, may increase the awareness of public policy makers and business actors and therefore the effectiveness of their intersectoral policies and market decisions in driving local development. Cross-disciplinary perspectives, approaches and methodologies have been applied at the inter-municipal level in Italy to examine whether and how culture, creative industries and tourism concentrate and cluster. Local development in Italy still requires more than traditional tourism policies and / or the marketing of tourism and cultural heritage. The promotion of innovations and synergies between tourism, the cultural and creative sectors, and other sectors is fundamental to the development of a creative atmosphere as a driver of sustainable and competitive local development.

Keywords: Culture and creative industries; tourism; agglomeration; specialization; Local Labour System; intersectoral cultural development; Italy.

1. Introduction

Contemporary society's shift towards the symbolic economy (Zukin, 1995) has transformed culture into a value generating and innovative activity (Castells, 2004; Hall, 2004; Hutton, 2009; Scott, 2010). Value generation follows a number of culture-led development paths (Della Lucia, 2014): the culture and creative industries (KEA, 2006; Santagata, 2009); non-cultural sectors and productive clusters for which culture is an immaterial input that gives meaning to products and brands (Papadopoulos, 2002; Cooke & Lazzeretti, 2008); culture tourism and creative tourism (Richards & Wilson 2007); the enhancement of human capital and social identity and co-hesion through the use of cultural artefacts (Florida, 2002; Tavano Blessi, Tremblay, Sandri, & Pilati, 2012). Cross-fertilization processes within and between these culture-led development paths and between them and other sectors may innovate traditional development models and their outputs, as well as creating new business models and entrepreneurship through the injection of creativity and knowledge into local economies and societies. Culture is therefore at the heart of European, national and local development programs to regenerate and reposition territories by fostering their economic and social recovery (European Commission, 2010; CSES 2010; Sacco, 2012).

The value generation and innovation potential of culture relies on the agglomeration of firms and individuals working in the cultural and creative industries and the transversal linkages they can develop within economies and societies (Scott, 2006). A number of different place specific factors play a part in defining the nature and pervasiveness of local development dynamics, including the tangible and intangible local cultural heritage – both artistic-cultural and professional-productive (Hall, 2004; Scott, 2006), the strength of social capital linkages within and between society and economy (Go, Trunfio, & Della Lucia, 2013), actual and emerging scenarios (Dwyer, Edwards, Mistilis, Roman, & Scott, 2009) and innovative policy-making (Della Lucia & Franch, 2014; Della Lucia, 2015). *Culture-led regeneration* occurs when culture is the driver of local development and/or transformation through a number of culture-based and/or culture-led processes (Della Lucia & Franch, 2014). The notions of *Culture 3.0* (Sacco, 2011) and *creative atmosphere* (Bertacchini & Santagata, 2012) explain how this

potential pervasiveness of culture in place development and renewal results from a combination of cultural endowment and social capital (intrinsic conditions) and policies and strategies in place in local contexts (explicit conditions).

This paper contributes to this emerging research topic positioned at the intersection of many different knowledge domains and draws on cross-disciplinary perspectives, approaches and methodologies to examine the extent of intersectorality in local cultural development in Italy. The most recent literature and empirical analysis on *culture-led regeneration* (Della Lucia & Franch, 2014; Della Lucia, Trunfio, & Go, 2015) and *creative atmosphere* (Bertacchini & Santagata, 2012) is combined with the established body of empirical research on industrial districts (Sforzi & Lorenzini, 2002) in order to analyse culture-based specializations in Italian local systems and whether and how the culture and creative industries and tourism cluster. The main research questions are: to what extent do Italian culture-led development paths converge/coincide with cultural tourism, which is the most widespread Italian stereotype? Is any innovative culture-led development actually taking place? Is there any interaction between tourism and other cultural and non-cultural chains? The first part of the paper combines the debate on culture-led regeneration and the *creative atmosphere*; the second analyses culture-led specialization within local Italian systems and the relationships between these specializations. The conclusions sketch the managerial implications of this preliminary exploratory study.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Culture-led urban regeneration. Opportunities and challenges

Regeneration has been defined as the transformation of a place that has shown symptoms of marginalization (economic, environmental, social and cultural) and decline caused by failures or weaknesses in its drivers of development (Impact 08, 2007). The models chosen to incorporate culture into a regeneration process affect the nature and range of culture-based and/or cultural-led transformation (DCMS, 2004; Langen & García, 2009). Culture-led regeneration is the model in which culture – often with a high public profile – is the engine of wide-spread transformation which catalyses the requalification of urban areas, the development of infrastructure and services, the animation of places with new attractions and the attraction of investment, human resource and visitor flows, thus enhancing the standard of living for both residents and visitors.

The more pervasive it is, the more culture-led regeneration provides a tangible (structures, systems, services) and intangible (symbols, values, social capital) legacy, which mark the local development process over time. Changes in local identity and image are undoubtedly the most important legacy (García, 2005); they may either retain a continuity with the past, or be strikingly different (Della Lucia & Franch, 2014; Della Lucia *et al.*, 2015). Capturing value through local heritage can maintain a strong link with an authentic sense of place; however sometimes this sense may be too weak or even non-existent, and so unable to face the challenges of emerging scenarios (Dwyer *et al.*, 2009). For these reasons, many policies foster value creation through investment in a number of catalysts that complement cultural heritage with consumption-led and experience-based cultural activities and attractions – flexible in targeting markets and effective in innovating a territory's image and position (Trueman, Cook, & Cornelius, 2008; Zenker, 2009). Iconic building and events are currently among the main cultural catalysts serving these purposes (Hall, 1994; Getz, 2008) and tourism is often seen as one of the most important drivers for the creation and capturing of value through these tools (Richards, 2013). Their development has, however, also led to complaints about the loss of authenticity and serial reproduction of local landscapes and the latter's transformation into aestheticized places of consumption (Smith, 2007).

The reconciling of tradition and innovation through participatory and inclusive development processes is crucial to sustainable and successful culture-led regeneration (Della Lucia & Franch, 2014). The need for this balance also applies to the image-making, positioning and branding processes based on local identity which put territories enduringly on the global map (Govers & Go, 2009).

2.2 From culture-led regeneration to the creation of a creative atmosphere

A creative atmosphere (Bertacchini & Santagata, 2012) may be an output of a successful culture-led regeneration/development process; the atmosphere then feeds the process itself, thus establishing a virtuous cycle. Developing the idea of creative field introduced by Scott (2010), the creative atmosphere theory is an analytical framework for understanding and measuring the role of cultural and creative industries in local development. The theory is applicable to any society, irrespective of time and place – from Periclean Athens to Renaissance Florence to contemporary New York City or Shanghai.

A creative atmosphere in a community is produced by an intense flow of ideas and information – on products, styles, art forms, consumer needs, technological innovation, business models, and industrial design. This concentration, and the interactions between workers and entrepreneurs that give rise to it, can be considered key factors in the extraction, sharing and enhancing of the creativity embedded in all the chains and phases of producing goods and services with high cultural and symbolic value (Currid, 2007, Tavano Blessi *et al.*, 2012). Culture factories – key hubs and players in the cultural economy like publishers, fashion firms, large museums, movie and music producers, etc. (Hutton, 2009; Cohendet, Grandadama, & Simon 2010); local systems of small and medium-sized cultural industries – the backbone of the cultural economy and potential cultural districts (Lazzeretti, 2004) and micro-business services – small independent production companies and service providers that support both intangible and tangible components of cultural production (NESTA, 2009; Boyle, Slay, & Stephens, 2010) all contribute to the creation of a creative atmosphere. The coexistence of specialized and complementary cultural producers, and their related labour markets, also generates positive local externalities which, in turn, increase the sustainability of local development and competitiveness.

3. Case study and research methodology

In Italy policies around cultural resources have usually led to traditional development models based on cultural tourism and local products; complementarities with research and innovation, education and social inclusion policies and hybridizations between culture and traditional sectors have either been ignored or insufficiently promoted. There is still no national strategy for the development of cultural and creative sectors; competitive Italian strategic sectors (fashion and design) are not recognized as creative industries and their links to cultural industries and tourism are not fully understood (Sacco, 2012). A case study on culture-led specializations in local systems that examines the Italian situation should therefore be of considerable interest.

Culture-based specializations in local Italian systems have been analysed by extending well-established quantitative methodologies used in empirical research on industrial districts (Istat, 1997; Sforzi & Lorenzini, 2002). The adaptations previously introduced in their application to local development driven by tourism (Boix & Capone, 2004; Della Lucia, Franch, & Martini, 2007) and the cultural and creative industries (Lazzeretti, Boix, & Capone, 2008) have been further adapted. For example, the territorial units of analysis used in these studies have been updated (Local Labour Systems identified using 2001 Census data) and the classification of the culture and creative industries based on the English model coined by the English Department for Culture, Media and Sport has been changed (DCMS, 2001).

Given the inter-municipal level of analysis of the methodology applied to industrial district, the territorial units adopted are the Local Labour Systems (LLSs), aggregates of neighbouring municipalities identified through the daily home-work-home trips of the resident population (irrespective of work type) recorded by the National Institution of Statistics (Istat) during the most recent general Census of Population and Housing (2011) published in December 2014. The assumption underlying the inter-municipal level of analysis is that the places where a population lives and works may be considered a proxy of the context where most social and economic relationships take place. LLSs are thus more appropriate geographical areas than the traditional administrative units of analysis (municipality, province, region) when analysing phenomena connected to local development (actual social and economic interactions), whatever an area's driving sector(s) (manufacturing, tourism, culture and creative industries). In the last Census the method for the construction and identification of Italian LLSs was changed in order to comply with the principles and methodologies applied by the European Institute of Statistics (Eurostat)

to identify Labour Market Areas harmonized at the European level. The methodology can therefore also be applied in other European countries and the results accurately compared.

The study method was divided into two phases. The first identified LLSs specialized in the cultural and creative industries and the intensity of their specialization. Given the specific local nature of these industries, the Italian model of the economy of culture introduced by Santagata (2009) was used to identify the sectors in each industry. Since the 12 sectors of this three-pillar model – cultural heritage, material culture and the content and information industry – have an extremely close, highly interactive, connection with tourism, this last has been integrated into the model. Table 1 shows the sectoral composition of the model adapted to this analysis.

The LLS's specializations were calculated using indices (LQ) that measure the number of employees in the culture and tourism economy – both as a whole and for its four main components – relative to the national average. An LLS is specialized when at least one of the corresponding five indices is greater than one. The intensity of specialization was classified on a scale of five quartiles. The data source on employees is the Istat's statistical register of active local enterprise units for the year 2012 (Asia-local units), the most up-to-date national survey

Table 1. The Italian model of the culture and tourism economy

| <i>Culture and tourism economy. Components</i> | | <i>Sectors</i> |
|--|---|--|
| <i>A</i> | <i>Cultural Heritage</i> | <i>Museums.</i> |
| | | <i>Architecture</i> |
| | | <i>Performing Arts (music, theatre, dance and opera)</i> |
| | | <i>Contemporary Arts and Photography</i> |
| <i>B</i> | <i>Material Culture Industry</i> | <i>Fashion and Textiles</i> |
| | | <i>Wine&Food</i> |
| | | <i>Industrial design and Arts&Crafts</i> |
| <i>C</i> | <i>Content and Information Industry</i> | <i>Movies</i> |
| | | <i>TV and Radio</i> |
| | | <i>Publishing</i> |
| | | <i>Software</i> |
| | | <i>Advertising and Communication</i> |
| <i>D</i> | <i>Tourism</i> | <i>Hospitality</i> |
| | | <i>Travel Agencies and Tour Operators</i> |
| | | <i>Sports and Entertainment</i> |

Source: Adaptation of the Italian model of the economy of culture (Santagata, 2009)

available. The number of employees in the local enterprise units of the cultural, creative and tourist sectors active in the Italian municipalities – disaggregated at the fifth digit of the Italian classification of economic activity (ATECO 2007) (152 sectors in total), were re-aggregated taking into account the current municipal composition of Italian LLSs (2011).

The second phase of the research analysed whether and how culture and creative industries and tourism cluster in local Italian systems. The only units of analysis were the Italian LLSs specialized in the culture and tourism economy as a whole. The statistical techniques of Principal Component Analysis (PCA) and Cluster Analysis (CA) were combined to identify to what extent the various culture and tourism economy components coexist in local systems and to identify the groups of local systems which demonstrate similar patterns of culture and tourism economy component clustering. These techniques were applied to the composition ratios of the index of the specialized LLSs to assess the various contributions made by the components of cultural heritage, material culture, the content and information industry and tourism to the overall specialization of the LLSs.

4. Main results

Two sets of results are drawn from the above analysis: first, a map of culture-based and tourism-based specializations within local Italian systems, and the systems' specialization levels in these sectors; second, the cluster-ing of culture and creative industries and tourism at a local level.

4.1 Italian local system specialization in the cultural and creative sectors and tourism

In Italy the cultural and creative industries (16%) and tourism (2%) employ 18% of the workforce in local enter-prise units, a total of almost 3 million people. 60% of these are employed in the material culture sector – the biggest, due to the leading role of the food sector (39%); the numbers employed in the content and information industries (16%), cultural heritage (13%) and tourism (11%) are almost the same.

Table 2. Italian local system specialization in the cultural and creative sectors and tourism

| | LLS | | Specialized LLS | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|------|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|----|----|-----|-----|------|-----|
| | N. | % | A | % | B | % | C | % | D | % | ABCD | % |
| Italy | 611 | 100% | 140 | 23% | 388 | 64% | 39 | 6% | 251 | 41% | 306 | 50% |

A = Cultural Heritage; B= Material Culture; C = Content and Information Industry; D = Tourism; ABCD = economy of culture and tourism as a whole

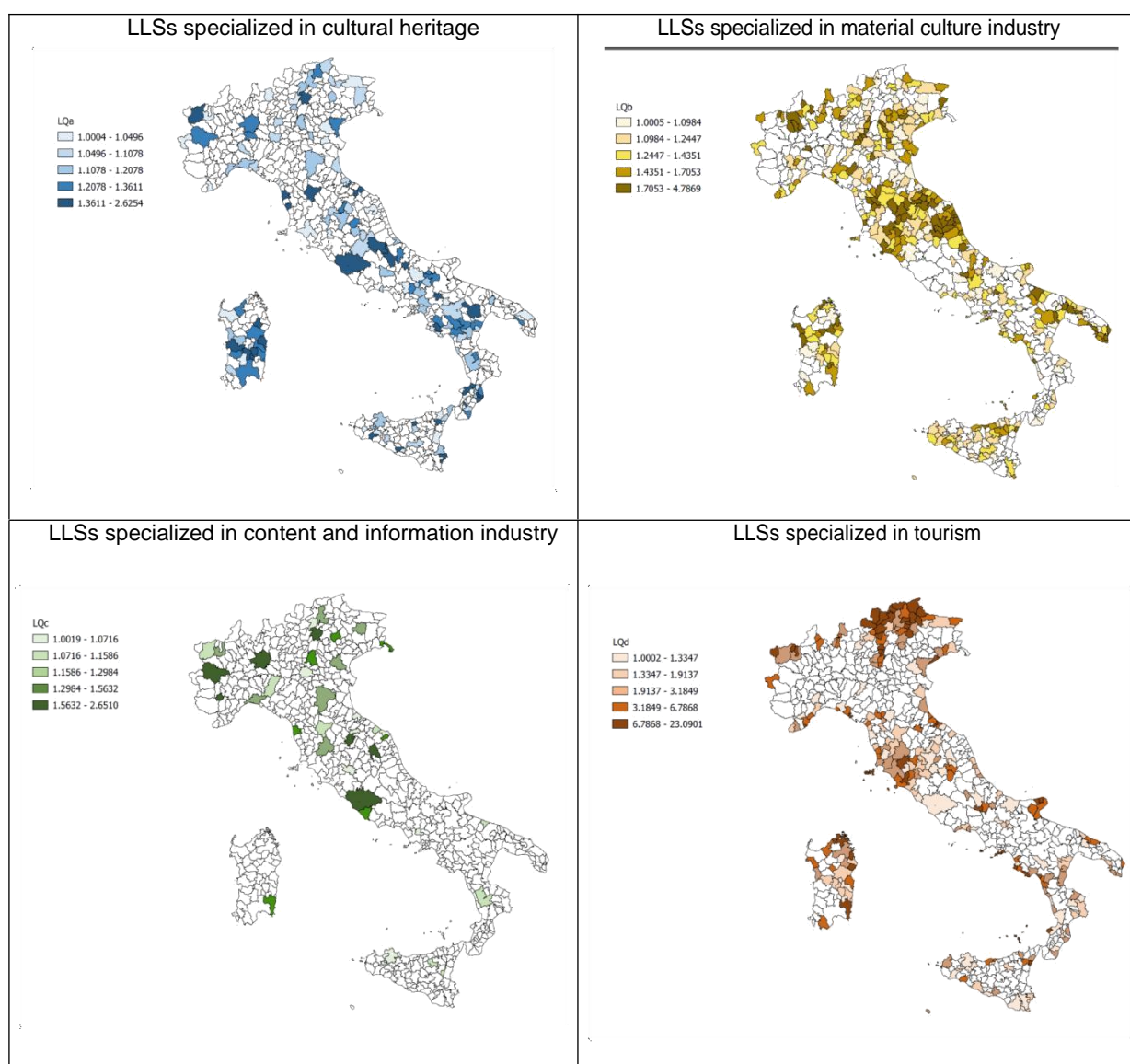
Of the 611 Italian LLSs, 306 (50%) specialize in one or more sectors of the culture and tourism economy (Table 2).

The largest LLS group (64%) specializes in material culture – with the food sector playing a leading role, its high-est levels of specialization are equal to almost five times the national average, concentrated in the centre (main-ly Tuscany, Umbria, Marche) and north (Veneto) of the country. The LLSs specialized in tourism are the second largest group (41%), show the highest levels of specialization (between 6 and 23 times the national average) and are located mainly in the north-eastern (Trentino Alto Adige) and western Alps (Valle d'Aosta), and on the north-ern and eastern coasts of Sardinia. Despite Italy's rich artistic and cultural heritage, the LLSs specialized in cul-tural heritage are only 23% of the total, spread throughout the country. These results, however, underestimate real levels of specialization, since the analysis does not include the employees of public (cultural) institutions or private associations, which are, in Italy, an important segment of this cultural offer (for example public national museums). Finally, the group of LLSs specialized in the content and information industries is the smallest (6%), and usually coincides with the systems of medium-sized and large cities (Turin, Milan, Bologna, Florence, Rome). The PCA detected a negative relationship between tourism and the cultural and creative industries as a whole

– local development tends to be mono-vocational in systems where there is a strong tourist specialization. A strong positive relationship emerges between the cultural heritage industry and the content and information industry, and between both of these and tourism. Based on these reports, the AC identified three main clusters of specialized LLSs which present similar paths of culture-led development (Table 2). The number and geographical distribution of local Italian systems specialized in traditional cultural sectors con-firm that local production (food sector) and artistic-cultural heritage continue to be important local development assets which are typically exploited through policies focused on cultural tourism and Food&Wine (Sacco, 2012). However, culture-led development is driven by the creative industries in some systems, unsurprisingly, given the importance of the Italian cultural and creative industry in Europe, both in terms of GDP and of employment,

and the strong international position that some of these sectors, such as fashion and design, enjoy (Santagata, 2009; Unioncamere & Symbola, 2011).

Figure 1. The mapping of culture-based and tourism-based specializations within local Italian systems.



4.2 How intersectoral is cultural and tourism development in Italian local systems?

In terms of spatial coexistence, the PCA detected a negative relationship between tourism and the cultural and creative industries as a whole. In contrast, a strong positive relationship emerges between the cultural heritage and content and information industries, and, marginally, between them and tourism. Based on these relationships, the CA identified three main clusters of LLSs with similar culture and tourism based local development characteristics (Table 3). The largest cluster (Cluster 3), which includes nearly 50% of LLSs, consists of systems whose local development is diversified in many culture-related sectors, in particular traditional cultural sectors (museums, archives, performing arts, etc.), new cultural sectors (music, movies, TV, publishing) and creative sectors (ICT, advertising, communication). In these systems, the sizes of which vary, tourism may also play a role. The city of Trento – which is experimenting with the combining of highly specialized knowledge and technology sectors with emerging specializations in publishing, film and cultural and creative tourism – is a good example of such a system (Della Lucia, 2014, 2015).

The second largest cluster (Cluster 1), which includes about 37% of LLSs, is composed of systems where tourism is the main driver of local development. These systems typically include small and medium-sized cities, which are well known both for cultural and other types of tourism (sea, mountain, lake, food&wine, thermal baths, etc.). This result is partly determined by the methodological choice to allocate traditional services that cut across different types of tourism (accommodation, tourist intermediation, entertainment and sports) within the tourism component. The smallest cluster (Cluster 2) includes the remaining 18% of the LLSs, where the sectors connected to material culture are the driver of local development. Many of these systems are productive clusters, famous nationally and internationally for their specialization in the typical *made-in-Italy* sectors (fashion, textile, industrial design and creative crafts).

Table 3. The coexistence of cultural, creative and tourist sectors in Italian local systems

| Cluster | LLS | | Example |
|--|-----|-------|--|
| | N | % | |
| Cluster 1 Tourism | 149 | 36,8% | Courmayeu, Desenzano Del Garda, Badia, Canazei, Riva Del Garda, Finale Ligure, Ravenna, Riccione, Montalcino, Assisi, Gaeta, Amalfi, Otranto, Tropea, Taormina, Bosa, Santa Teresa Gallura |
| Cluster 2 Material Culture | 71 | 17,5% | Biella, Castel Goffredo, Arzignano, Thiene, Comacchio, Arezzo, Prato, Barletta, Bronte, Montebelluna, Valenza |
| Cluster 3 Cultural Heritage and Contents and Information Industry | 185 | 45,7% | Mantova, Vicenza, Foligno, Perugia, Pesaro, Roma, Torre Del Greco, Matera, Oristano, Iglesias, Caltagirone, Padova, Trento, Firenze, Pisa |

5. Discussion

This investigation into Italian local systems' specialization in core components of the culture and tourism economy, and into the clustering propensity of these sectors, provides a comprehensive picture of the economic development based on the industries analysed. The estimations provided by these analyses are a crucial first step for any further qualitative or quantitative analysis of the interactions among these sectors.

The study reveals that most local systems are still strongly specialized in (cultural) tourism, highlighting the continued importance of traditional local development paths based on local cultural endowment (cultural heritage/ resources and local products). However, there are positive signs of diversification and innovation, in culture-led development paths related to specializations in the typical *made-in-Italy* sectors, which are among the most dynamic Italian creative industries, and in the agglomeration of traditional and new cultural sectors with creative sectors.

These results can also be interpreted as the fulfilment of a necessary condition for the *creative atmosphere* of a place to emerge. Local concentrations of employment and enterprise in certain cultural activities undoubtedly allow for the creation of connections and networks between and among different actors, who are, themselves, central to the production of an atmosphere conducive to local development. However, this condition alone may not be sufficient to stimulate such dynamics. The development of a creative atmosphere requires that actual interpersonal and intersectoral interactions occur within and between cultural and creative industries, and between them and other sectors, tourism in particular. The results of this analysis do not answer these research questions, but can be interpreted as a first attempt to shed some light on the linkages and connections among sectors, because these potential connections are most likely to occur where traditional cultural heritage activities and cultural and creative sectors cluster. This result is more likely to be produced in the main urban areas due to the high density of population and talents and the proximity of creative individuals and enterprises which can be expected to allow for linkages and cross-fertilization between firms and sectors. In contrast, the independent paths followed by material culture sectors and tourism show that there is ample room for improving the competitiveness of these important drivers of the Italian economy within the framework of *creative atmosphere* development.

6. Conclusions, limits and future research

This paper deals with the culture and creative industries and tourism as engines for local development and renewal, a topical issue in local development and managerial studies and of great interest to policy makers and managers. Although the recent idea that economic competitiveness and sustainable development crucially depend on the concentration and interaction between cultural and creative activities has been increasingly accepted in the literature, empirical studies are still rare, sector specific and mainly based on qualitative micro-case studies.

Our analysis overcomes this narrow perspective by building on the growing body of literature on, and the empirical analysis of, culture-led local development and integrating them with the extant body of knowledge on industrial districts. This results in a quantitative analysis based on the widest currently accepted and country specific definition of cultural and creative industries – including tourism, carried out at a country level (Italy) in inter-municipal local systems, as crucial spatial units for the investigation of phenomena related to local development. The analysis included tourism, the material culture industries (industrial design, art and craft, fashion, the taste industry), the content and media industries (publishing, film, television, advertising and software) and those sectors related to cultural heritage promotion (museums and monuments services, performing arts, architecture, contemporary arts and photography). Local Italian systems are shown still to more than traditional tourism policies and / or the marketing of tourism and cultural heritage. The promotion of innovations and synergies between tourism, the cultural and creative sectors, and other sectors is fundamental to the development of a creative atmosphere as a driver of sustainable and competitive local development. While they accept the notion that cultural and creative activities are nationally and internationally recognized as pivotal for local development and regeneration, the actors in the tourism-driven development of many Italian local systems seem not to be creating strong linkages with culture and creative sectors, e.g. with the material culture industries which are the drivers of development based on the *made in Italy* sectors. This is clearly a lost opportunity, particularly if we assume that the general competitiveness of the country could be considerably increased through the fostering of *creative atmospheres* that stimulate the inclusion of economic and non-economic players, producing spill-over effects and complementarities between industries.

Although this study is exploratory and quantitative, its preliminary insights can be used to increase awareness of public policy makers and business actors and therefore the effectiveness of their intersectoral policies and market decisions in driving local development. However, many limitations remain to be overcome. The quantitative analysis should be carefully checked and complemented with qualitative or quantitative analyses of the relationships and forms of collaboration actually in place between and among cultural and creative sectors and tourism. A network analysis would help to detect and understand these interactions, by measuring the nature and intensity of the relationships between the points of the relevant networks.

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Cultural legacy and urban regeneration: where are the spaces for heritage hybridization through stakeholder engagement?

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ABSTRACT

The question of how cities can capitalize on cultural legacy through culture-led urban regeneration processes has not yet been fully answered, although both academics and policy makers recognize that such processes undoubtedly offer opportunities of development. Institutions, city managers and operators have a long way to go before they start to hybridize their unique cultural legacies through the culture, creative, and other, sectors to foster sustainable and innovative urban development and improve urban competitiveness. Place specific conditions affect these processes. This multiple case study analysis focused on three small and medium-sized Italian cities tries to shed some light on the patchy Italian cultural scene. The three cities have all had different experiences of culture-led regeneration projects: in Pompei, public patronage, i.e. unproductive public investment; in Trento, public-driven value creation; in Lecce, the enhancement of socio-economic value and innovation driven by stakeholder engagement. These insights tell us more about how cultural legacy and innovations in urban regeneration processes can be synthesized by finding an appropriate balance between the engagement of public institutions and stakeholders. Heritage hybridization and stakeholder engagement are also levers which can be used to change and manage urban regeneration paths and lead to an extensive, community based hybridization of cultural legacy, while maintaining close links with a city's identity – past and present. Although exploratory, the paper provides glimpses of possible cultural and creative scenarios from which academics and policy makers can draw inspiration, facilitating experimental labs of creativity and knowledge.

Keywords: cultural legacy; urban regeneration; heritage hybridization; stakeholder engagement; public patronage; socio-cultural urban innovation

1. INTRODUCTION

The strategic role of culture as a driver of urban and regional regeneration and development has finally become part of the political and theoretical debate – ten years ago, this role was still largely ignored (KEA, 2006). Culture plays a strategic part in European, national and regional regeneration plans (KEA, 2006, 2009; European Commission, 2010; CSES, 2010) and cultural catalysts and infrastructure are among the main tools used to foster both economic and social development and innovation and cohesion. Cities are the local contexts in which these processes most frequently occur. The literature also includes culture in the 'new orthodoxy' to enhance the competitive advantage of cities and considers culture-driven urban regeneration to be the engine of a new urban entrepreneurialism (Miles & Paddison, 2005). The shift of post-industrial societies towards the symbolic economy (Zukin, 1995) over the last ten years has accelerated the repositioning of culture in the value chain for the development of new, culture-based approaches to place and urban regeneration (Castells, 2004; Hall, 2004; Lazzeretti, 2004; Lazzeretti, Boix, & Capone, 2008; Hutton, 2009; Sacco, 2011, 2012; Scott, 2010; Richards, 2013; Della Lucia & Franch, 2014; Sacco, Ferilli, & Tavano Blessi (2014; Della Lucia, Trunfio, & Go, 2015).

The empirical evidence, however, shows that it cannot be assumed that culture-led regeneration processes will always be successful. Some positive European experiences (Plaza & Haarich, 2010) have to be set against others

which have been far from win-win games, and have failed to foster socio-cultural development (Ettlinger, 2009; Sacco, Ferilli, & Tavano Blessi, 2013; Go & Trunfio, 2014; Sacco *et al.*, 2014). Understanding whether and how to build on cultural legacy and to hybridize it to create and capture value through different culture-led regeneration processes is a topical issue in local development and managerial studies and of great interest to policy makers and managers who wish to design and implement sustainable and innovative urban development futures.

Italy needs to address the challenge of innovating its cultural legacy as it has all that is required to foster cross-fertilization within and among the culture and creative sectors, and between them and other sectors, tourism in particular. Italy has a rich cultural endowment; one of the largest cultural and creative industries in Europe, and world famous manufacturing sectors (made-in-Italy) whose value as creative sectors has not yet been recognized (Santagata, 2009; Unioncamere & Symbola, 2011). Although large art cities and smaller urban centres can continue to extract value from their cultural legacy through traditional cultural tourism and/or enogastronomic tourism, (ONT, 2009; TCI, 2009; BIT, 2010), they would also benefit from complementarities and hybridizations with the culture and creative chains (Sacco, 2012).

The paper contributes to this debate by drawing on the most recent literature and empirical analysis on culture-led urban regeneration (Della Lucia & Franch, 2014; Della Lucia *et al.*, 2015) to design a preliminary framework in which cultural legacy and innovations in urban regeneration processes can be synthesized by finding an appropriate balance between the engagement of public institutions and stakeholders. A multiple case study design focused on the culture-led regeneration processes of three small and medium-sized Italian cities (Pompeii, Trento and Lecce) is used to investigate these issues. The main questions that drive the analysis are: how can cities capitalize cultural legacy to enhance the sustainability of culture-led regeneration processes within emerging scenarios? How can cultural heritage be hybridized? How can this hybridization best be exploited to foster socio-cultural innovations? Which stakeholders should play a role in these processes and what should their roles be?

The first part of the paper frames the theoretical debate on culture-led regeneration, outlining the opportunities and challenges involved; the second part builds on this framework to design and carry out the comparative case study analysis. A matrix within which to interpret the degree of innovation of culture-led regeneration processes and the roles of the actors promoting them is developed from the discussion of the case study results. The conclusion sketches the theoretical and practical implications of the study, its limitations and the further research towards which it points.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Culture-led urban regeneration between cultural legacy exploitation and heritage hybridization

The models and approaches chosen to incorporate cultural activity into a regeneration process (DCMS, 2004) will affect consequent urban transformation (Langen and García, 2009). Culture-led urban regeneration occurs when culture produces an extensive structural, socio-economic and symbolic change in the urban fabric. This contrasts with both the *cultural regeneration model* and the *culture and regeneration model*, in which the role of culture is less prevalent. The nature and scale of this transformation can be interpreted within the Culture 1.0 to Culture 2.0 to Culture 3.0 evolution paradigm (Sacco, 2011), which has transformed culture from a domain which absorbs public resources devoted to it for the benefit of society as a whole (Culture 1.0) to a value generating activity. Culture 2.0 – the culture industries and the creativity-intensive non-cultural industries (architecture, fashion, design, advertising) – and emergent Culture 3.0 – transversal linkages throughout economies and societies, fostered by culture-led creativity – are the drivers of this shift.

A city's history, cultural capital, creative industries and local atmosphere define the tangible and intangible (artistic-cultural and professional-productive) cultural endowments, which it can leverage to create and capture urban value while maintaining a strong link with an authentic sense of place (Hall, 2004; Scott, 2006). However, the exploitation of urban legacy may not suffice to face the challenges defined by the combination of globalization, ICT revolution and the experience economy, which is reshaping the cultural sphere and determining new

power relationships (Sacco *et al.*, 2014). These levers push cities to reconcile the local and global dimensions of culture (Lazzeretti, 2004), thus putting themselves at the heart of complex internal and external networks. These divergent forces may mean that culture-led urban transformation is marked by continuity with urban heritage resources and traditional forms of production (cultural legacy), and/or by profound change driven by external agendas. Innovative policy-making is thus required to complement the strengths of a city's legacy, overcoming its weaknesses or even making up for its absence (Della Lucia & Franch, 2014; Della Lucia *et al.*, 2015). Iconic buildings and events are currently among the most important cultural catalysts available to urban policy makers to innovate heritage. The plethora of consumption-led and experience-based cultural activities that these cultural catalysts provide increases the vibrancy of cities by attracting creative people and lifestyles to them, targets markets flexibly with thematic strategies and is effective in image-making and brand building/positioning (Roche, 1992; Evans, 2003; Richards & Wilson, 2006; Getz, 2008, 2010; Trueman, Cook, & Cornelius, 2008). Their development, which often requires sizable public investment, may also entail the risk of serial reproduction and the loss of a city's authenticity (Smith, 2007).

The reconciling of past/tradition and future/innovation is crucial to sustainable and successful culture-led regeneration (Della Lucia & Franch, 2014). Participatory and inclusive development processes that put the concept of city legacy centre stage are fundamental to this reconciliation and entail a balance between public-driven processes and stakeholder engagement. Recently, a number of cities have been experimenting with mixed processes of culture-led urban regeneration through the hybridization of their cultural legacy with the culture and creative, and other, industries (Della Lucia & Franch, 2014). These processes, dubbed smart specializations (Smart Specialization Platform, 2012), create the conditions in which the value of an urban context is enhanced through the injection of creativity and knowledge into the local economy, while remaining entirely in keeping with the city's past.

2.2 Innovating urban tourism through heritage hybridization

Urban tourism is often seen as one of the most important drivers of the creation and capturing of value through culture-led regeneration processes, whether marked by continuity with urban heritage (Richards, 2013) – traditional cultural tourism – or profound change driven by external agendas (Klingmann, 2007; Ockman & Fraust, 2007; Getz, 2008) – event tourism, iconic building tourism and architourism. The “cloning” of innovative urban tourism forms by following exogenous prescriptions and copying ideas from other cities through “policy tourism” has led to the tourism commodification phenomenon criticized as “McGuggenization” (McNeill, 2000), “Dubai-sation” (Al Rabadya, 2012), “festivalization” (Quinn, 2006) and “eventification” (Jakob, 2012).

Creative tourism is one of the most important manifestations of smart specializations in urban contexts (Richards, 2011, 2013; OECD, 2014). This heritage hybridization builds on contemporary creativity, innovation and intangible content to meet local communities' needs for cultural and creative expression and contemporary visitors' demands for meaning and authentic experience (OECD, 2014). Although it still only accounts for a small part of cultural tourism, creative tourism may encourage a shift from mass cultural tourism and the serial reproduction of culture (Richards, Wilson, 2006) to new, place specific tourism models based on intangible culture and local creativity.

A city's ability to transform its intangible endowment into a tourist offer that has a distinctive symbolic value thus becomes crucial for urban competitiveness, as does its capacity to use these products to attract sustainable segments of cultural tourism (Franch *et al.*, 2008; OECD, 2009). Developing creative tourism forms – including creative strategies, creative spaces and events (Richards & Wilson, 2006) – involves collaboration with a wide, dispersed value network rather than with a narrow value chain. The functions, roles and responsibilities of both cultural and non-cultural industries must be identified in order to develop forms of tourism that harness creative, experiential attractions and festivals; this understanding of the relationship between urban systems and businesses is necessary – though often overlooked in the literature – to comprehend the functioning of the symbolic economy. Innovative policy approaches mobilized around a strong urban vision are thus needed to create and capture a value proposition by hybridizing creativity and tourism (OECD, 2014); here the craftsmanship and artistry embedded in Italy's heritage play a very significant role.

3. Case study and research methodology

The synthesis of cultural legacy and innovation in urban regeneration processes by balancing the role of public institutions and stakeholder engagement is analyzed through an exploratory multiple-case study (Yin, 2003) which focuses on three cities. This case study design is very effective when the phenomenon being studied is complex and relatively unexplored and the intention is to provide preliminary insights into new phenomena in context (Creswell, 2007).

The cases are small and medium-sized cities (urban level) within a single country (national level), Italy (Xiao & Smith, 2006). Italy, with its rich heritage resources (13,000 libraries, 4,500 museums and monuments, 50,000 archaeological and architectural sites and 51 UNESCO sites (Grossi, 2015) – the role of which in shaping national identity and brand image is crucial – and its powerful cultural and creative industries, should make culture and creativity central to its national and local development strategies (Sacco, 2012). However, Italian urban policies have usually produced traditional development models based mainly on cultural restoration projects, the introduction of managerial tools in big public cultural organizations (national museums) and value generation through conventional heritage-based cultural tourism and local products. Institutions, city managers and operators are still sceptical about the need to hybridize cultural legacies with the creative economy (CSES, 2010; Sacco, 2011). This means that many cities have a long way to go before they start to capitalize efficiently on unique cultural legacies to improve urban competitiveness. The exceptions to this pattern are mostly large or medium-sized cities which have significant artistic-cultural heritage resources and have implemented urban culture-led regeneration projects based on the innovation of their cultural legacy and the related offer.

The Italian cities of Pompei, Trento and Lecce were selected to provide preliminary insights into the extent to which cultural legacies and innovations in urban regeneration processes have been combined, and the role of different stakeholders in fostering these processes. Both the methodological choice of cases and the issues investigated drew on appropriate sources of case study methodology (Yin, 2003; Xiao, & Smith, 2006; Baxter & Jack, 2008).

These three cities were selected because of their heterogeneity in terms of socio-cultural context, cultural legacy, existent projects of cultural-led urban regeneration, the involvement of primary stakeholders, visitors to the main cultural catalysts and tourist presences. Fruitful comparisons can therefore be drawn between their experiences.

4. Results

4.1 The city of Pompei

The city of Pompei (pop. 25.397) – located in the Campania region of south-west Italy – is the second most visited site in the country (more than 2.6 million annual visitors) after the archaeological circuit of Rome – the Colosseum, the Roman Forum and the Palatine hill (MIBACT, 2015).

Although the site is one of Italy's most important cultural catalysts, it represents an emblematic paradox. The state, which has invested heavily in site safety and restoration (105 million Euro, Grande Progetto Pompei DL n. 34/2011), has failed to enhance the value of the cultural legacy for the municipality, local entrepreneurs and local development. The site has not fostered the socio-economic development of the city: local tourists represent only 4% of total visitors (almost 101,000 in 2014 (Istat, 2015), spend only one night in the municipality and- in the Campania region family expenditure on culture is quite low – 54 Euro per month (Grossi, 2015). International tour operators, cruise liners and the neighbouring destinations of Sorrento, Naples, Capri, in contrast, are benefiting from the value created by the public-driven culture-led regeneration of the site. In short, public investment in the site is still economically unproductive, and has failed to harness the value of this unique cultural legacy to foster social and economic urban development.