

Chapter 1

Spatial heritage and culture of the territory

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I. INTRODUCTION

One of the most significant spatial and cultural phenomena of our time is the importance we give to the concept of territorial heritage. This can be justified as the reaction to the culturally simplifying impact of globalisation. It can also be considered coherent with the discovery of its possibilities as an identifying factor, a potential development activity, an image accreditation element or an entrepreneurial line of business. It is a crucial tendency deriving from: the attention given to the various components of which it consists; its intrinsic wealth; the importance of the methodological innovations applied to its

study and interpretation; and the resonance of the debates, interests, contradictions and conflicts that surround it. It is a polysemic concept, open to new and changing classifications, geographically widespread and in a continuous process of changing values. Its consideration as a central theme in the analysis of the factors that transform space provides researchers in this topic with an attractive but complex question due to the theoretical and empirical interest that characterises it. This is why, when attempting to analyse its impact on contemporary territorial dynamics, the interpretations that abound are both numerous and balanced. Such interpretations abound through the observation of its materialisation within a panorama in which there is a mix of the possibilities associated with its wide perspectives and the balance (at the same time ambivalent, polemic and antagonistic) obtained through its use.

II. TERRITORIAL HERITAGE: PROFUSION AND AMBIVALENCE OF A STRATEGIC NOTION

If the demonstration of this complexity lies precisely in the importance of heritage as one of the main pillars upon which territorial analysis rests, then it is only fair to recognise how and under which premises the different elements it consists of have been present in an ever widening panorama, with the progressive incorporation of new components to define the meaning of a tendency clearly oriented towards the increasing heritage status of space. Thus, it makes sense to speak of «territorial heritage systems» when referring to the spatial meaning of the said phenomenon.

In order to understand how much it means, it is necessary to refer back to the guidelines that have defined the consideration of natural and historical reality as a set of elements susceptible to heritage status or, in other words, assumed and recognised in accordance with the parameters inherent in the idea of spatially recognisable and recoverable wealth. Thus, the proposed options have incessantly included new perspectives in line with the ratification of the fact that heritage represents an intellectual construction modelled by cultural, economic and social behaviour patterns which, over time, have transformed and organised a particular spatial reality (Ballart & Juan, 2001: 12); that is to say, a reality built on the basis of multiple objects, both material and immaterial, that society has to decipher and interpret through the messages that the said objects are capable of transmitting.

Rooted in the social awareness of the objects and places that have to be interpreted and assumed as manifestations, both tangible and intangible, of a valuable legacy in need of preservation, the sense of heritage in the spatial reality is built upon the links which, over time, societies establish with their territory. Hence the importance that should be assigned, as a wakeup call, to the qualified proclamations that, as well as stressing the cultural qualities and economic expectations, lay bare the numerous risks and dysfunctions that have to be faced (Manero, 2016: 195). In this sense, it would be useful to evoke the pioneering preoccupation and the clear systematisation of the objectives set out, in 1969, in the First European Conference of Ministers Responsible for the Safeguarding and Rehabilitation of Architectural Heritage (Fernández-Baca, 2011: 47); the wish expressed by UNESCO with the introduction of the concept of Biosphere Reserve in 1970; or the explicit firmness with which, in 1972, this very organism of the United Nations declared in its Convention (focusing on the «protection of world, cultural and natural heritage») that the two central ideas upon which awareness of heritage would have to be based were: on the one hand, an insistence on the seriousness of the risks of destruction «due not only to traditional causes of degradation, but also through the evolution of social and economic life, which increases the said traditional causes due to even more deadly phenomena of alteration and destruction»; and on the other, that which considers that «the degradation of a heritage asset constitutes a disastrous impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world». The Council of Europe repeatedly mentions this same awareness in promoting a series of fundamental documents and declarations, originating in the 1950s (European Cultural Convention, 1954). They crystallise the inspirational will of nations' legislations in pioneering texts with great transcendence, referring to the treatment of cultural heritage as a whole the world over. Examples of these documents include: the European Charter on Architectural Heritage (1975), the basis of the Declaration of Amsterdam of the same year, and the European Convention for Safeguarding Europe's Architectural Heritage, signed in Granada on October 3rd 1985 (Álvarez, 1999: 20), not forgetting the call for a «prudent management of cultural and natural heritage» made in the European Territorial Strategy (Potsdam, 1999) as one of its essential tenets, or the European Convention on Landscape (Florence, 2000).

On the basis of these foundations, and going beyond their testimonial or real character, it is not difficult to appreciate the degree of argumentative solidity that those approaches favourable

to the positions of defence, protection and recuperation of what we understand as sensitive assets can reach. At the same time, they are distinguished by a testimonial dimension affected by one's own experience and frequently questioned, upon observing the wide range of situations and tendencies in which the identification, treatment and management of our heritage operate. They are generic ideas which include the profuse and changing inventory of elements that can, justifiably so or not, be attributed to this condition. Their typology has increased considerably due to the growing number of objects that deserve such recognition. Essentially, it could be said that the consideration of heritage assets can be converted into an unstoppable process of diversification in which we have gone «from the monumental to the everyday, from the exceptional to the ordinary» (Gravari-Barvas, 2005: 11). In short, it is a tendency that coincides with the review of architecture's supremacy and thus of the monumental as the overriding criterion of the definition of heritage.

1. TOWARDS THE PRAGMATIC RECUPERATION OF THE POSSIBILITIES OFFERED BY THE HISTORICAL LEGACY AND THE HERITAGE DIMENSION OF LANDSCAPE VALUES

The tendency to give heritage status to spaces, which acquired considerable importance in the 1990s, reaching its apogee in the first two decades of this current century, makes perfect sense in a context in which the social, the economic and therefore the spatial, tend to become impregnated with the cultural. This gives rise to a certain interweaving where historic facts, pragmatically conceived for their great formative potential, their economic value and their dimension as a spectacle, reveal all their potential and can be used to give the selective memory a central position in the formation of cultural habits, which in turn prop up the pillars of the identities created towards utilitarian ends. This is how we witness, through a strategically calculated treatment of the possibilities offered by knowledge of the past, the consideration of cultural identity as the foundation upon which to articulate, through achieving the necessary coherence, the measures aimed at evaluating the management of memory through heritage, thus allowing it to be explained, interpreted and transmitted. This is the only way to understand the effect of the emergence of a new interpretation of the concept being discussed here on the discovery and rapid consolidation of other methods or categories, arising from this strong recuperative view of historic

tradition, in which «the concrete and the abstract, the material and the immaterial, the sacred and the profane» are intertwined (Di Meo, 1998: 60). They are all ingredients in an unpredictable vision of the concept, whose complex taxonomy cannot be understood without the plural nature of the claims, initiatives and interests that advocate such a direction.

This is what happens when looking at the attention given to the many elements that make up part of a territory's economic history and which would be difficult to interpret without the correct evocation of its socio-productive past. What stand out from these are those that concern communication routes, architecture or the remains of technology applied to industrialisation or commerce and the buildings that housed them at that time. The importance given to industrial and commercial heritage, understood as the very extensive catalogue of objects linked to manufacturing, transport or attention to the demand for goods, is clear evidence of how far we are willing to go to rescue from oblivion that which formed a substantial part of the evolution of a space and how it can be converted into a powerful argument to justify rehabilitation by virtue of the relation with the place in which it was rooted and to whose transformation it contributed (Casanelles, 1997: 198). Factories, mines, workers' homes, care services, machinery, railway installations and material, emblematic commercial establishments, port warehouses and storehouses... make up a broad heritage of movable and immovable property, understood primordially as a support for memory, as well as having an important instructive and educational effect.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, following on from the official recognition by UNESCO at the international conference of 1993 specifically dedicated to the subject, we saw the emergence of this both general and also very intense process of giving space heritage status, alongside the incorporation of a wide range of options within what is called immaterial cultural heritage. It is a faithful reflection of the importance given to the recognition of the anthropological dimension of culture and to the recovery of more or less consistent testimonies linked to the said recovered tradition. The promulgation in 2003, and approval in 2006, of the specific Convention, promoted by the Council of Europe, recommending their safeguarding, is brought to fruition in a disaggregated structure by means of a list made up of a wide sample of elements that give a good idea of the heterogeneous nature enclosed in such a denomination. Table 1 is an expressive example of this.

Table 1. Manifestations of Immaterial Heritage

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1. PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES, PROCESSES AND TECHNIQUES
 - 1.1. Technology and handling
 - 1.2. Construction of utensils and tools
 - 1.3. Production and use of traditional clothing
 - 1.4. Aesthetics, design, simbology and iconography
 - 1.5. Uses, destinations and social significance
 - 1.6. Knowledge and uses of the environmental and nature
 - 1.7. Place names
 - 1.8. Popular medicine and herbal medicine
 2. BELIEFS, RITUALS AND FESTIVE MANIFESTATIONS
 - 2.1. Cosmovisions
 - 2.2. Interaction between rural and urban ways of life
 - 2.3. Levels of identity, traditional peoples and countries, stereotyped identities
 - 2.4. Popular religiosity
 - 2.5. Witchcraft and superstitions
 - 2.6. Festive calendars and life cycle
 - 2.7. Historical recreations
 - 2.8. Musical expressions and ritual use (songs, dances, instruments)
 - 2.9. Traditional dances
 - 2.10. Rites, spectacles
 3. LANGUAGE AND ORAL FORMS OF EXPRESSION
 - 3.1. Modalities, speech and other peculiarities of language
 - 3.2. Oral tradition: myths, romances, stories, legends, songs, sayings, riddles...
 4. ORGANIZATIONS, NORMS AND SOCIAL PRACTICES
 - 4.1. Systems of justice (customary law)
 - 4.2. Systems of communal organizations
 - 4.3. Kinship and inheritance
 - 4.4. Fairs and markets
 - 4.5. Games and sports
 - 4.6. Migrations
 - 4.7. Transhumance
 5. FOOD
 - 5.1. Traditional gastronomy
 - 5.2. Domestic practices of conservation and food consumption
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Source: Adapted from Diaz Viana, L. *ARPA. XX Biennial of Art and Heritage*. Valladolid, 2016.

If we are to be coherent with the view favourable to recognising how much heritage status can contribute to the prestige of a territory, the consideration of the landscape as heritage cannot be disconnected from its context, given the relevance that everything related with the concept of landscape has for the granting of heritage status to spaces. Such a status is also concerned with the strengths and interpretative connotations that distinguish it as the revelation of a certain sense of space (the «landscape space», as pointed out by Besse [2011]), which is reaffirmed in the anthropological, cultural and territorial dimensions thanks to the considerable communicative potential that makes it what it is (Nogué & San Eugenio, 2011: 27). The fact is that the landscape as a totalising notion nowadays occupies a preminent position in the perspective of territorial policies, to the point where the considerations that are made about them constitute one of the determinant proofs concerning the rigour of the diagnoses and the quality of the interventions. This is consistent with the conviction that «the landscape also needs a policy» (Martinez de Pisón, 1983: 30), especially when, as Claval (1997: 112) pointed out, «the analysis of landscapes becomes one of the essential elements of the criticism of spatial order and of its cultural and social determinants». This idea is linked with the fact that landscape represents a basic component of the heritage dimension of space, as it integrates, and thus the recognition as «heritage landscapes», the natural and cultural elements into a whole in which the diversity of the perspectives from which they can be contemplated and analysed (affective, aesthetic and scientific [Droeven & *al.*, 2007]) operates as a factor of cohesion for the initiatives susceptible to being applied. This converts it into an indicator and a determinant objective of the idea of sustainability.

The relations between landscape as a resource and local development, clearly visible in the strategies for encouraging experiential tourism, define the many externalities that surround it. This is very eloquent both from the conceptual perspective and with respect to the aspects concerning use, protection, management and planning embodied in the corresponding catalogues and directives; as well as for the most ideal model in the context of the economic-territorial transformations that affect it. If we understand landscape as «the part of the territory as it is perceived by the population and whose character is formed by the action of natural or human factors or both types at the same time and their interaction», then the importance of its consideration as a substantial component of territorial heritage, an idea which is the basis of its treatment as «cultural landscape» (Cruz & Español-

Echániz, 2009), resides above all in the specific allusions concerning the indicative aims of its planning and management, the instruments of protection conceived as such and, ultimately, the patterns that guide the political actions of the public authorities in their efforts to protect, manage and plan the landscape in the face of the threats and risks it is exposed to. The dimension introduced in 2015 by UNESCO favouring the creation of the World Geoparks Network clearly underlines the sense of the tendency towards the holistic conception of landscape in the form of substantive components of territorial heritage.

To conclude, the orientation of this process towards giving heritage status to space, because of the material or symbolic links that lock together the different categories upon which the construction of the heritage of a territory, considered as a whole, rest, appear to be institutionalised within the framework of the strategic orientations specifically related to conservation, defence and use. It is enough to point, as a clarifying example, to the panorama offered in Spain by the ample catalogue of National Plans conceived and created to this end. Since the approval of the first of these in 1990 (National Plan for the Cathedrals), a whole series of monographic Plans have seen the light in an accelerated sequence¹, encompassing the whole range of components, both thematic and functional, related with the notion of territorial heritage.

2. TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION SERVING THE KNOWLEDGE, PROMOTION AND PREVENTIVE CONSERVATION OF HERITAGE ASSETS: SENSIBILITIES, INSTRUMENTS AND INTERESTS AROUND THE NOTION OF «SMART HERITAGE»

The quantitative magnitude that heritage assets have reached takes on a new perspective when we realise that the discovery of the potential that defines them and the detection of the risks that threaten them can be optimised by the application of the scientific methods associated with the advances made in knowledge and with the

1. These are the National Plans referring to Industrial Heritage (2001); Abbeys, Monasteries and Convents (2004); Underwater Heritage (2007); Safeguarding the Immaterial Heritage (2011); Research into the Conservation of Cultural Heritage (2011); Defensive Architecture (2012); Cultural and Heritage Education (2012); the Cultural Landscape (2012); Traditional Architecture (2014); the Conservation of the Cultural Heritage of the 20th century (2014); Emergencies and Risk Management (2015); the Conservation of Photographic Heritage (2015).

operational aspect of information technologies. As part of this tendency in favour of technical, and therefore functional, rationalisation we have the integrated involvement of the different methods for treating, analysing and managing both the data corresponding to the specific resources considered and the environment in which they are present. Such a consideration is vital for any understanding of the relationships that occur between them (Ortega, 1998: 35).

Thus the notion of «smart resource», referring to heritage (understood from the perspective of the approaches that imply ascription to the principles of the society of information and knowledge), is ratified in line with the opportunities provided by the digital technologies as the basis of the methods incorporated into the renovation of the cultural codes, the new forms of expression, diffusion and consumption, the behaviour of the agents with decision-making initiative, and the improvement of the systems of governance, management and profitability (Combi, 2016: 5). The basic premise is that the connections between these aspects depend on the quality of the contents and the interventions, as well as guaranteeing the proper use of heritage assets in the most satisfactory, effective and hopefully profitable conditions (Basulto & Taboada, 2014). Also important is the will to impress upon the sector a notable qualitative advance, the manifestations of which reveal the ample range of possibilities provided by the innovative ways for managing and dealing with the information, and which is perceptible in several fundamental aspects.

First of all, the usefulness of the methods associated with the improvement in the scientific knowledge of the available resources through the cataloguing and inventory procedures is worth noting. This is enabled through the driving context of a global digital culture, whose effects have an extraordinary reach (Navarrete, 2013: 253 & ss.). The documentation and digitisation work, optimised by the Geographical Information Systems, stress their primordial value as the basis of everything concerned with the scientific information relating to cultural and natural heritage. It is also assigned a vital role in the effectiveness of the interventions and in the possibilities of transmitting them to society through the logical concatenation between knowledge, protection and conservation. This can also justify the setting up of a Digitalised Information System of Historical Heritage, capable of serving, on the one hand, the elaboration of rigorous diagnoses concerning the role they play within the territorial framework, and on the other, as a support for the working of an integrated information structure of the different institutions and organisms in the local and

regional sphere involved in the genesis of information concerning their respective heritage endowments, the situation such heritage is in at any given moment, and the options for use that may appear. In this sense, there is relevance in the use of the adjustments which, thanks to the NICTs, can be established with respect to tendencies in leisure demand, in so far as it is possible to control the risks inherent in the cyclical behaviour of the touristic product (Butler, 1980: 7).

The astonishing advances achieved in the analysis of *big data*, in the infrastructures of Spatialized Data, in 3D printing, or in methods to evaluate a territory's hospitality capacity (essential for managing the landscape) (Galacho & Arrebola, 2013), are all highly significant and symbolise just how far the process of awareness is not only limited to the mere social appreciation of the available values, but also how it overlaps with an intervention programme capable of correcting the information gaps that may be detected. Thus we have the many possibilities that, in this sense, appear; for instance, from the setting up of certain well-tried courses of action such as that of an Integrated Information Network of Territorial Heritage, based on a structure that generates research, development and innovation in the sector, at the same time linked with the visualisation of the results through the corresponding information and formation services. In short, the creation of a documental platform enriched by scientific work enables the foundations to be laid for a rigorous and operational intervention policy. This is stimulated by the possibilities arising from technological development, which can offer important improvements in decision-making and thus in the quality of the interventions to be carried out.

Thus, there is an interesting connection between basic and applied research, operating from multi-technological and multidisciplinary platforms, managed from the public sphere but with the active participation of private initiatives. A good showcase of this was the seminar organised in 2014 by the Heritage Technology Centre, of the 'Santa María la Real' Foundation, in the town of Aguilar de Campoo (Palencia, Spain), in accordance with the objectives of the European Project *Smart Heritage Buildings (SHbuildings)*, coordinated by the same Foundation. Special emphasis was put on the effectiveness of the solutions for the surveillance and technological control of heritage buildings, cultural assets and historic centres or ensembles, while also stressing the importance of controlling damage to materials and structures through the setting up of networks of wireless sensors that allow control *on line* and in real time of the different structural and

environmental parameters and through techniques related to the improvement of security and energetic efficiency.

Essentially, we are speaking here of the aims associated with the setting up of a system to monitor heritage (Monitoring Heritage System or MHS), conceived as one of the essential pillars of «smart heritage». This is a task that the Foundation itself is developing through intervention programmes applied to Romanesque heritage at different sites (Romanesque North, Romanesque Zamora and Atlantic Romanesque). It is, in addition, a standardised technique that is also susceptible to being used in other fields, given its usefulness in making decisions and in improving the instruments of management. By way of example, we can also mention the goal of making Cáceres a Smart Heritage City, through the project assigned by the Spanish government in 2016. Similarly, fomented by inducements to innovate, the field is enriched with the consideration of the usefulness of the methods used to evaluate the scope and impact on emergency and risk situations (with noticeably higher levels of preoccupation), as well as that of the factors that endanger the quality and preventive conservation of heritage assets. Innovative fields of specialisation in the analysis of the factors that cause catastrophes (earthquakes, floods, fires...) have appeared in the scientific field with results that are worth noting. It is sufficient to address the plans for safeguarding heritage, overcoming the lack of attention this question has traditionally suffered. More specifically, we should mention the inspiring determination, as well as the methodological solidity, of the Management Plan for the Recuperation of the Cultural Heritage of Lorca, created as a result of the earthquake in 2011, four years before the Spanish Government's National Emergency and Risk Management Plan in Cultural Heritage.

However, such advances must recognise end users' increased awareness and the demands raised by them as the main justification for territorial heritage promotion, diffusion and commercialisation programmes. Thus, policies applied to the cultural and landscape elements aim to connect with the stimuli created by the expansion of a demand open to new recipients and encouraged by communications and the expansion of touristic circuits, further encouraged by the mobility provided by the motor vehicle and the inclusion of culture as an attractive part of collective trips, guided or theatrical tours of the centres of interpretation and cultural capitals. Thus, we can benefit from, or exploit, the possibilities provided by the virtual nature that digital technological innovation brings to facilitate the production, reproduction and distribution en masse of cultural products,

overcoming the perspective limited to the singular work that has traditionally defined the identification of the concept. The impact of outstanding examples of the provision for museums is clear, as is evidenced by the list of innovations resulting from initiatives that, in line with the very aims of the so-called inclusive museums, in which the tangible, the intangible and the e-tangible overlap (Navarrete & Mackenzie, 2016: 111), appear as integrating spaces of art, information, commerce and architecture (Rashid, 1999). It supposes, in conclusion, a redefinition of the exhibition space, also seen as teaching and learning laboratories, where the participation of the user, the protagonist of the experiential focus provided for the touristic enjoyment of the space, is ratified as one of the essential goals.

There is no doubt that the consideration of these tendencies cannot be understood without the formidable diversification that has taken place in the range of professional specialisations developed around heritage (territorial planners, project technicians, museum technicians, architectural restorers, conservationist restorers, restoration firms, experimental sciences applied to conservation, cultural managers, etc.). What is more, neither can it be explained without considering the support of interdisciplinary meetings and the emergence of a very active network of businesses interested in attending to the perspective of heritage as a multidimensional business strategy, which finds one of its most desired strategic axes in the diverse professionalization attracted to the sector.

III. THE IMPORTANCE OF HERITAGE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A TERRITORIAL CULTURE: A SCENARIO OF POSSIBILITIES AND CONTRADICTIONS

The intense changes and drives to which heritage has been subjected necessarily have an influence, and with notorious resonance, on the reconstitution of the territorial processes. The many components involved in its configuration, as well as the interactions between them, justify the scope of the effects caused in society, in the economy, and thus in the sphere in which heritage is spatially identified. Hence, its decisive influence on the construction of what must be understood as «territorial culture» (Manero, 2015: 146), a key notion that aims to define the set of behaviour patterns or emotional experiences that a community develops in its relationships with the spatial reality in which it moves and with which the community permanently interacts. Thus, the convenience of focusing attention on these two aspects which,

in my judgement, best allow us to understand these relationships: on the one hand, the importance of territorial heritage in making society more aware and in the formulation of their development expectations; while on the other hand, the meaning of the decision-taking processes that affect heritage management, logically framed within the broad lines of territorial planning policies.

1. BETWEEN HERITAGE AS A SPATIAL-CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION FACTOR AND AN ECONOMIC RESOURCE

As for the interdependence between heritage, society and the environment, there can be no doubt about the former's decisive role in the creation of a collective intelligence forged from the elements of the heritage that define and feed it. Cultural and heritage space clearly intertwine, crystallising in a territorial system in which culture operates as a catalysing element of the socialisation process and strengthens the territorial and socio-economic structures. It is in this symbiotic relationship that the capacity the heritage legacy has for the creation and strengthening of sensibilities susceptible to consolidating a generative identity of a shared public space lies. This would be difficult to explain without paying due attention to the elements that make it possible and upon which the corresponding political dimension of the territorial ideology is built. The framework is thus conducive to the formation of a feeling of belonging and of community ownership, arising from the bond of affinity thanks to which «the social fabric falls within the historic continuity, as it constitutes solid cultural references» (Di Meo, 2000: 59). It also reinforces the value given to the perception of the population as the primordial argument on which to base the concept of landscape, as ratified in the first article of the aforementioned European Convention on Landscape.

Even so, it is not always a question of an easily forged feeling of emotional allegiance. In society, there may even arise positions which have a marked disaffection, indifference or rejection, as a result of a lack of knowledge or a need for clarification concerning the values intrinsic to the available asset. However, experience reveals how much overcoming the persistence of these attitudes depends on the degree of credibility offered by the initiatives that promote them, on the education transmitted concerning them and on the conviction of the usefulness that the heritage asset can offer to qualify the common imagination through an improvement in the representations and the affective relationships of the groups of humans dedicated to their

environment. When this happens, the ideal conditions may appear for the local population (or a representative or majority sector of it) to assume a principal role in the valuation of their heritage, rediscovered and interpreted as an endogenous resource capable of forming a community of culturally cohesive and intellectually motivated citizens thanks to the shared assimilation of their heritage values.

The cultural dimension conceived in this way is closely linked to the possibilities derived from territorial heritage being considered as a recoverable resource from the economic point of view². There is, in fact, a clear connection, faithfully reflected in the observed interactions between the strengthening of awareness of heritage and the use of its capacities as a factor encouraging development (Lladó, 2010: 35; Ashwort, 2013: 377; Quintana, 2016: 133). It is from this perspective, which has even managed to enshrine the pragmatic denomination of «cultural industries», that we must understand the usefulness of the creative possibilities inherent in the many possible economic effects of the cultural capital and the landscape, bringing together territorialised assets (among which we might include local productions, identified with their own brand name), and encouraging important externalities on the territory. Due to the added value they bring, as well as for the integration within the economic circuits that provide their insertion into the flow of tourism's supply and demand (Fernández Tabales & Santos Pavón, 1999: 121); the result of the union between the territorial identity that heritage provides and the consideration and treatment of its elements for the revaluation of space can be evaluated by means of the calculation methods designed for this purpose (Nypan, 2011: 80 & ss.), as well as, by association, their profitability through the returns produced.

For all that, it is also true that territorial heritage has certain particularities from the economic perspective that clearly differentiate it from other sets of assets, with more conventional values, in the organisational structure of the commercialisation processes. If we start from the question that primordially conditions the economic usefulness of heritage assets [«how to distribute scarce resources among alternative uses, so that the hoped for positive effects will be the highest possible» (Greffé, 1990: 4)]; it is evident that they will have many concurrent

2. The data offered by the report of the European Union concerning Tourism and Creative and Cultural Industries, referring specifically to Cultural Heritage, is very expressive. Referring to the year 2006, the return obtained reached 350,000 million Euros, providing eight million jobs (Nypan, 2011: 77)

or complementary uses, as we are dealing here with elements that are characterised, unlike what usually happens, by their condition as unique, irreplaceable, non-homogeneous and non-reproducible objects (Greffé, 1990: 70). These are specific traits to which we would have to add their relevance from the point of view of sustainability, understood from the long term perspective, while also respecting the preservation of their distinctive values and qualities. Thus, we find ourselves facing a panorama characterised by the special nature of the assets that form part of it, and whose scope is at the same time determined by the margin of initiative displayed by the network of agents that intervene in the definition of the strategic orientations in a decision-making context, which is in turn in a permanent process of adaptation.

2. MANAGEMENT CONDITIONED BY GREAT OPPORTUNITIES AND UNAVOIDABLE CHALLENGES...

In order to examine, in greater detail, the significance that heritage has from the spatial point of view, it is necessary to centre our attention on the tendencies that govern the forms of management applied from the different spheres with recognised competences. This aspect is essential for interventions related with Territorial Planning, and it could be said that its role has taken on an enormous transcendence, since the guidelines that are the basis of the organisation of territorial policies give this type of resource a key importance in complying with the objectives that define them. In principle, the dimension achieved by the analysed process is linked to the effects produced by the decentralisation of the power to make policy decisions, which find one of the preferred spheres of intervention precisely in the management of cultural and landscape values. The current legislation, reflected in a regulatory arsenal in continuous growth, clearly shows the strong presence of the institutions situated at regional and local levels of the administrative scale. Both these levels seem determined to strengthen their responsibilities as much as possible, thanks to the competences assigned to them and, thus, to the perceived advantages of the use of their heritage elements; elements they understand and manage, with one eye on the touristic profit, as endogenous resources rooted in the identity of the territory and in the projection of the notoriety of their image on a grand scale.

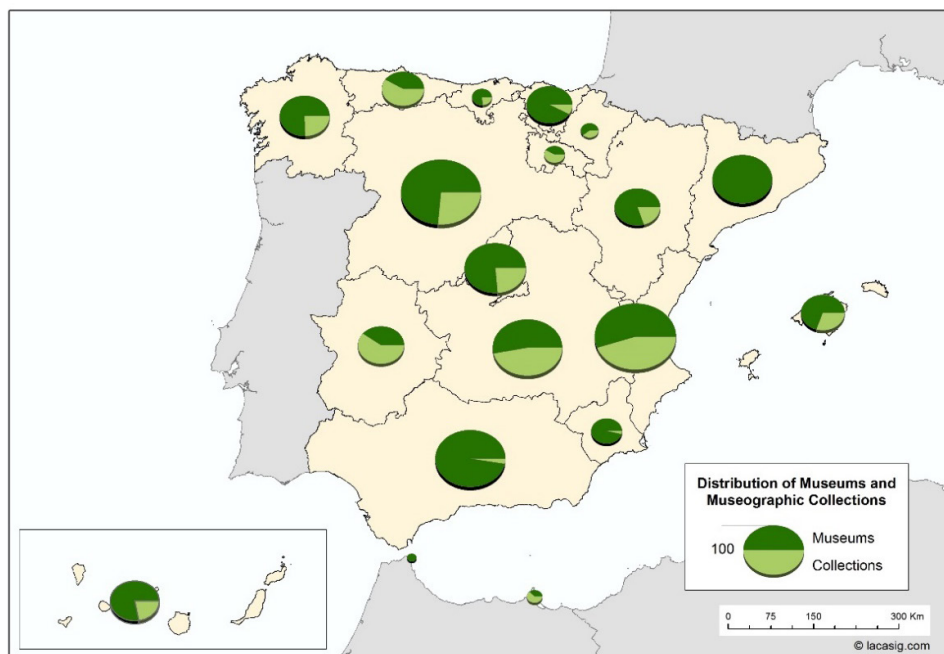
We are, therefore, experiencing an intensive and generalised process of raising cultural awareness within the territory, which explicitly manifests itself in important interventions, even though these

manifestations have differing and therefore contrasted geographical significance. Of these, a relevant position must be given to the concept of the Museum and the memorial exhibitions, including the «thematic years», as one of the essential elements in the conservation of assets and the ordered and coherent transmission of knowledge. The proliferation of museums, to which both private and public initiatives have contributed so much, opening up diverse forms of collaboration between the two spheres and giving greater importance to the Foundations promoted by the large financial groups and individuals, has set the dominant tone, representing one of the most astonishing phenomena in the evolution of the activity which is the subject of this article. «Museums have become an industry», stated García Vega (2016), on reminding us that «between 2000 and 2014, more museums were built than in the previous two centuries».

The concrete allusion to Spain is revealing, when we can see (Table 2 and Figure 1) that at the end of 2016, the Directory elaborated by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport yields a total of 1,539 installations dedicated to exhibiting objects related with the cultural heritage, of which 1,110 refer to museums per se, and the rest to museum collections. All of Spain's Autonomous Communities (headed by Castile & Leon, Valencia and Catalonia in number of museums), as well as a long list of Town and City Councils of all sizes, are present in this series, which can be broken down into a variegated sample of thematic directions, representative of the particular characteristics of the environment in which they are housed, of the capacity for initiative and the determination displayed by those responsible in the regional and local spheres. What should also be stressed, above all, is the high degree of recognition given to the work of museums, where «narrative art», supported by the efficient transmission of images, is turning into the principal claim concerning spatial personality that we wish to highlight.

Table 2 & Figure 1. Museums and Museum Collections in Spain's Autonomous Communities

Autonomous Communities	Museums	Museum Collections	Total
Andalucía	156	4	160
Aragón	54	13	67
Asturias	24	33	57
Baleares	43	19	62
Canarias	61	17	78
Cantabria	10	3	13
Castilla y León	153	55	208
Castilla-La Mancha	83	74	157
Cataluña	115	1	116
Ceuta	3	–	3
Extremadura	28	41	69
Galicia	61	20	81
Madrid	94	29	123
Melilla	3	5	8
Murcia	30	1	31
Navarra	6	4	10
País Vasco	63	5	68
Rioja, La	6	8	14
Valencia	117	97	214
Total	1,110	429	1,539



Source: Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture & Sport: *Directory of Museums & Collections*. 2016.

However, beyond the proactive approach that inspires them, the way of conceiving them, their capacity of attraction, the visiting tendencies, the life cycles that affect them or the evaluation that particularly, and with a view to the future, these endowments to the service of the depositing, conservation and transmission of the assets that nurture them may deserve; their relevance in the formation of territorial culture within the environment in which they are installed and developed, does not, in principle, seem questionable. Nevertheless, due to their size, location and contents, while the experiences are as varied as they are open to debate and critical reflection, there can be no doubt that the effects they generally provoke provide rhyme and reason to the plural scope of their impact. This can be appreciated in three aspects which must be pointed out: in the museum's function as a technically conceived and conditioned precinct for the adequate preservation of memory, often related to the desire to avoid the abandoning or forgetting of facts and elements that are worthy of being retained in our memory; in their role as an element of identification of the place, from whose tradition the museum is nurtured with a will to preserve; and in their influence, from the city planning point of

view, whether through the rehabilitation of pre-existing buildings or the construction of buildings which are purpose built and designed. We should not forget what this represents from the perspective of the changes introduced in the configuration of the urban space, due to the individualisation of points of reference targeted as spaces for social life linked to the, sometimes very ambitious, cultural wager. The stable embodiment of this type of exhibition, through permanent collections or temporary exhibitions, gives rise to notable induced effects that bring evident benefits in the strengthening of the territorial culture, in so far as the museums bring the landscape closer through the objects they house and the symbolic values that can be extracted from them (Hertzog, 2004: 365), while this spatial-functional dimension shows evident nuances and contrasts, depending on the scale.

In this context susceptible to the reinforcing of the organised exhibition of memory within a space, we should mention those that represent new, ambitious museum initiatives (the Museum of Art, Architecture and Technology in Lisbon, the Munch Museum in Oslo, the new headquarters of the Whitney Museum in New York or the Viking Museum in Aarhus), the remodelling or extensions carried out in some of the most emblematic museums in the world (the Louvre in Paris, the Tate Modern in London, the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, the Metropolitan in New York, the SFMOMA in San Francisco, the Prado in Madrid, the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the Palace Museum in Beijing, the National Anthropology Museum in Mexico, etc....), or the resonance of those situated in cities where the museum initiative, due to its singularity, attains great international renown (the Guggenheim of Bilbao, the Museum of Human Evolution in Burgos, or the Picasso Museum in Malaga, to mention but a few representative Spanish examples). They are revealing testimonies, in any case, to their condition of cultural icons, powerful «flagships» according to Smyth (1994), that strengthen the brand image of the city they are situated in and of which they form a part, without forgetting the mark they make as determining factors for ambitious plans of urban transformation, often with notable speculative effects and functional rearrangement. Special mention should also be made of the mark left on the aesthetic of the city by the spectacular buildings destined to house cultural events related with musical interpretation, which are also a reflection of the architectural creativity when faced with the challenges of acoustic engineering. The construction of large auditoriums (Hamburg, Paris, Rome, San Sebastian, Madrid, Valencia, Valladolid...) define the sense

of a renewed form of cultural heritage in the cities which, without diminishing the extra costs that are often incurred, marks a pattern coherent with the abovementioned guidelines.

Furthermore, as a reflection on the interesting contrasts or exceptions introduced by scale, it would seem pertinent to stir scientific awareness on the lower levels of the spatial hierarchy, to consider what happens in the small municipalities, mostly in the rural world. Succinctly, it could be said that it is at this level where the determination displayed by those in charge can clearly be perceived, as they try to tune in to a global tendency which they also wish to participate in. Thus they appear as initiatives that arise from the opportunity provided by having a resource that deserves recognition and curiosity because of the visitor potential underlying the possibilities that come with unrestricted mobility and also take advantage of the wide range of options created by the segmentation of the tourist offer and market. With different levels of interest and quality, their proliferation must be understood as the result of an explicit desire to incorporate the disperse heritage into the repertory of resources that can potentially boost local development, while at the same time trying to channel the institutional incentives in their favour to financially back up the said strategy and maintain the attraction of heritage elements which would otherwise be relegated to oblivion or irreversible destruction. Although the manifestations are numerous, firsthand knowledge qualifies me to say what this phenomenon represents, with more or less accuracy, through experiences that offer enlightening conclusions. They are those that can be extracted, by way of significant examples, from the Royal Miners' Hospital of San Rafael in Almadén (Ciudad Real), the Museum of the Arriería Maragata «Ventura Alonso» in Santiagomillas (León), the Ethnographic Museum «Joaquin Diaz» in Urueña (Valladolid), the Mining and Metalworking Museum in Sabero (León), the Ethnographic Museum of the Four Pasiego Rivers in Espinosa de los Monteros (Burgos), the Ghega Museum about the impressive Alpine railway in Semmering (Austria), or the Centre dedicated to the memory and work of Vincent Van Gogh in Auvers-sur-Oise, in the Ile de France region. Closely linked to the territory, they all have common traits concerning the effort made, the originality of the proposals, the quality of the manifestations offered and the connection with the landscape from which they arise and with which they are identified.

Beyond what these references in themselves mean, the value assigned to the projection of the heritage on the part of initiatives

carried out in this type of municipality also addresses the deployment of interventions favourable to the formation of economies of scale, configured on the basis of the relationships, the diffusion effects and the synergies that may arise in spaces interested in taking advantage of those elements, whether they are similar or complementary, which are susceptible to facilitating the approximation or even the confluence of strategies, which in turn may lead to the configuration of cultural networks and itineraries capable of widening their perspectives when facing demand. Interterritorial cooperation is a powerful seed that can create common initiatives when carried out with a shared will, as well as being sensitive to the lessons that shared experiences brings. Such cooperation is another option worthy of attention that is easily perceivable in such scenarios (cross-border spaces, rural shires...), where awareness of what heritage means has enabled chronic resistance to distance or mutual indifference to be overcome, thus correcting the very limitations of the structural fragmentation that characterises them. The ideas provided by the «poles of the heritage economy» in France are extremely eloquent. In force since their official approval in 1994, with the aim of «integrating heritage with the local economy», their virtuality consists in the possibilities of putting development projects into practice through the local agents' capacity for initiative based on a network made up of associations of municipalities in sparsely populated rural areas (Virassamy, C., 2002).

3. A PANORAMA OF OSTENSIBLE CONTRADICTIONS: BETWEEN TRIVIALISED HERITAGE, THE SPECULATIVE VISION AND STATES OF ABANDONMENT

As counterpoint to the above, it would seem obvious that when the panorama offered by the situation in which the management of territorial heritage now finds itself is analysed, it is not possible to avoid those aspects which contribute to explaining a reality with many contradictions that noticeably qualify the triumphalist or simplistic vision with which it is sometimes viewed. Marked by a process in which the desire for intensive valuation and the will to preserve coexist with the dependence on the financial resources that make it possible, the observed facts demonstrate the limitations the analysed process suffers from, in both its material manifestation and from the geographical point of view. Focusing on the most important, they can be succinctly set out as three fundamental aspects.

First of all, the critical recognition of what an exacerbated propensity towards the hyper creation of heritage status means is not irrelevant. The intention of such a propensity is often to overstate the mobilisation of the representations and identity strategies, which is the result of another tendency to consolidate the society of culture and performance as merchandise, which leads to an excessive proliferation of proposals and initiatives of a tenuous quality as cultural phenomena. This can lead to a misrepresentation or trivialisation of the concept as a result of the obsessive search for a commercial brand name and the discovery of forced or wilful references that dilute the consistency of the alleged heritage in an ill-assorted amalgam, often ephemeral, of elements with scarce value that are difficult to justify as heritage assets.

On the other hand, the revealing manifestations of the impact caused by, often lavish, urban rehabilitation or regeneration programmes do not go unnoticed either. They are usually linked to gentrification strategies of the historic centres and are prone to speculative behaviour, which results in excess costs. They are conceived as an ambitious cultural bias in some cases and as an apparent bias in others; they modify the value that a particular asset or set of assets possesses as a social space, as well as accentuating the processes that favour segregation, with the consequent hollowing out of the very content of heritage spaces (Álvarez Mora, 2016). Such operations are commonly associated with problems that involve a change in use of the building with the risk of alteration that this would suppose in the «balance between functionality and preservation of the cultural values» (Moreno de Barreda, 1997: 225).

Thirdly, we have the wake up call that awareness of situations of abandonment, ruin or extinction of many heritage assets brings. Nevertheless, their importance in the history of the place and the culture of the territory forged around them is vital. The factors and responsibilities that explain this process of depreciation are varied in nature. Whether it be through the fact of occupying a marginal position in investment programmes, or through technical difficulties involved in its recuperation, negligence or delays in the application of a protected status, the absence of alternative and economically viable functional uses, conflicts connected with the asset's ownership, effects derived from depopulation, or its location far from more attractive itineraries, the casuistry is multiple and has many recurrent and interwoven motivations at the time of justifying the postponement suffered. Although none of the great categories that make up the territorial heritage are free from this risk, it is a demonstrated fact

that the greatest threats fall upon the landscapes and buildings with a historical value. The impacts that endanger the quality of the landscape due to the different types of pressure or neglect to which they are subjected are well known and studied (Mata, 2006: 17; Martínez de Pisón, 2009). Therefore, special care must be taken over the worrying situation faced by the architectural heritage, the most representative and commonest testimony of the deterioration of our heritage. The examples in this sense are many and omnipresent in built-up areas, replete with situations of abandonment that continue over time without any sporadic attempts to recover them or proposals with incentives favouring a new functionality (as is the sorry case of the impressive Hospital of Simón Ruiz, in Medina del Campo (Valladolid)) being able to come to fruition, beyond the social pressure and demonstrations that sporadically occur around them. In this context, particularly worrying is the serious deterioration of the architectural and landscape elements that symbolise the historical legacy in the rural areas, that is to say, the material and immaterial heritage of an agricultural nature arising from the territory's ethnological or ethnographic tradition, founded in the popular legacy which, for the most part, is undervalued and unprotected in Spanish legislation. Therefore, they are vulnerable to interventions that often bring their impoverishment, destruction and disappearance (Valbuena, 1998; Herrera, 2015: 325). In this sense, recuperating the principles and objectives that, in 2012, inspired the creation of the Letter from Baeza on Agrarian Heritage, sponsored by the International University of Andalucía, stating the need for their legal recognition, would suppose, apart from a necessary wake-up call, an important step in raising awareness in favour of, among other demands, the «suitability and viability of the already installed mechanisms for other groups of properties, above all urban ones, which are undisputed (as well as accepted by the citizens) by the heritage doctrine: the regulation and, above all, prohibition of uses, with respect to the urban structure, in this case territorial (plots, roads, payments, etc.), control of visual contamination, tax benefits, etc.».

IV. EPILOGUE: THE NEED FOR A SOLID, SCIENTIFICALLY WELL SUPPORTED, TERRITORIAL CULTURE AS A GUARANTEE TO SAFEGUARD TERRITORIAL HERITAGE

It is clear that a good knowledge of territorial heritage, analysed and interpreted «as a process and as experience» (Ashworth, 2013: 367), not only allows us to discover the value of the testimonies left

us by the past and by natural evolution, but also the scope of the strategies that societies adopt through their practices, relations and behaviour with respect to the heritage elements perceived as a reality inseparable from its historic personality, the characteristics of its environmental frame and, in short, from its cultural identity. Around this idea, it is possible to interpret the meaning of the strong bonds between territorial heritage and territorial culture, starting from the principle that the consciously sensitive assimilation of the heritage fact brings with it responsibilities and commitments concerning the degree of identification and recognition of what heritage means as an argument for cultural motivation, a shared element of identity and a resource susceptible to being taken advantage of and managed in such a way that its recovery does not imply diminishing the authenticity provided by its survival over time. Given the complexity of the concept, whose contents have not ceased to become more and more diverse, as well as the many strategic options that exist, the strengthening of territorial culture, based on the scientific, technological and methodological advances and on the necessary critical posture against threats, becomes a necessity, fed by the quality of the diagnoses, the promotion of education and the application of the criteria associated with a prospective vision that enables the continuity of heritage values, neutralising the contradictions and the risks to which they are subjected.

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