

Future of cultural tourism for urban and regional destinations

Smart 
CulTour

Smart Cultural Tourism as a Driver of
Sustainable Development of European Regions

Deliverable
D2.2

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A bstract

This report serves as deliverable D2.2 of the SmartCulTour 'Horizon 2020' project (grant agreement number 870708). Its main objective is to sketch what the future of cultural tourism could look like.

Cultural tourism was until recently so popular that it became a threat to host cities like Dubrovnik, Venice and Barcelona, but it has heavily been affected by the disruption caused by COVID-19, despite having shown a strong resilience during earlier (almost) equally massive disruptive events like 9/11, the tsunami in South East Asia of 2004, or the economic crisis of 2008.

Looking towards the future of cultural tourism destination, the challenge is now to develop cultural tourism in a way that ensures an effective 'community resilience' and, at the same time, contributes to long-term sustainable development and heritage protection. This is particularly important in an increasingly *Volatile, Uncertain, Complex, and Ambiguous* (VUCA) environment. While the term VUCA originates from the military, it well describes the peculiarity of our present times, already before this world pandemic. To survive in such environment, cultural tourism destinations and cultural tourism operators have to better develop their abilities to deal with disruptive changes and unexpected situations and become more aligned with local interests.

This makes even more difficult to predict the future of tourism. Any speculation about the future of cultural tourism, any attempt to outline hypotheses about the evolution of cultural tourism destinations, is confronted with the speed and the complexity of changes happening in the current world. What happens in a country, in a region, in a city, often has significant consequences for individuals, economic operators and institutions located in other places.

Globalisation processes, experience and creative economy, digital technology evolution and changing perspectives on sustainable development have been identified as macro-trends that have been contributing to shape cultural tourism. Based on their influence on relevant cultural tourism stakeholders (such as cultural tourism demand, supply and governance actors), four possible scenarios have been sketched, identifying four different typologies of future cultural tourism.

The four typologies of future cultural tourism are described presenting the opportunities of each scenario, but also mentioning what the possible risks of a specific type of evolution are. The overall picture shows the urgency to redefine what constitutes success in cultural tourism, shifting from growth in the number of tourists to more sustainable objectives connected to the SDGs, the quality of cultural experiences, the quality of life and liveability of a destination, for both tourists and the local residents.

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01 Introduction

SmartCulTour (Smart Cultural Tourism as a Driver of Sustainable Development of European Regions) is a four-year project, funded by the European Union in the frame of Horizon 2020, grant agreement number 870708. The goal of SmartCulTour is to support regional development in all European regions with important tangible and intangible cultural assets, including those located in rural peripheries and the urban fringe, through sustainable cultural tourism (SmartCulTour 2020). Within SmartCulTour, deliverable D2.1 “Theoretical framework for cultural tourism in urban and regional destinations” aimed to provide the theoretical foundation of the project, by conceptualising key aspects that are relevant for the entire research process. Particularly, deliverable D2.1 defined cultural tourism as “a form of tourism in which visitors engage with heritage, local cultural and creative activities and the everyday cultural practices of host communities for the purpose of gaining mutual experiences of an educational, aesthetic, creative, emotional and/or entertaining nature” (Matteucci & Von Zumbusch 2020, p. 17).

SmartCulTour will address the role of cultural tourism in the sustainable development of resilient destinations, by means of innovative theoretical and applied research, thereby building on several past projects that were designed with the assistance of JPI Urban Europe, the EC, the Council of Europe, and UNESCO. In this regard, it is relevant to mention the definition of sustainable cultural tourism destination, also provided by SmartCulTour deliverable D2.1, where it is defined as: “a rural, urban or mixed geographical area in which various institutions, local community actors and culturally motivated visitors interact in a way that contributes to its resilience and the social, environmental and economic sustainability of local development processes for the benefit of all stakeholders, as well as to safeguarding and enhancing the diversity of local cultural resources for future generations” (Matteucci & Von Zumbusch 2020, p. 36).

This report constitutes the SmartCulTour deliverable D2.2, ‘Future of cultural tourism for urban and regional destinations’ and represents a step forward in providing the theoretical foundation for SmartCulTour. Building upon the contribution of D2.1, the report provides valuable insights and perspectives to achieve relevant goals of SmartCulTour – Work Package 2, namely elaborations on the future of cultural tourism, with an eye on participative governance and the sustainability and resilience of destinations and an outlook on typologies of future cultural tourism developments.

Chapter 2 of this report will introduce the reader to the complexity of elaborating on future scenarios of socio-economic phenomena such as tourism, due to the uncertain and dynamic features of current societies. This also offers the opportunity to further discuss the concept of resilience, already introduced in the SmartCulTour deliverable D2.1. Chapter 3 provides an overview on a practical example of the uncertainty of the moment we are living in, examining the implication of the Covid-19 pandemic on cultural tourism. Chapter 4 offers an overview on some of the most important macro-trends that are influencing cultural tourism and its development. Within Chapter 5, this analysis shifts to a more contextualised, destination-based level, providing examples taken from recent literature and discussing relevant perspectives on the elements that have been introduced in the previous chapters. By making use of all the insights and knowledge gathered, chapter 6 attempts at sketching possible scenarios for the future development of cultural tourism, identifying possible 'future typologies of cultural tourism'.

02 The future of cultural tourism in a VUCA environment

Among the objectives of SmartCulTour WP2, an important goal is to elaborate on the future of cultural tourism and cultural tourism destinations, with an eye on participative governance and the sustainability and resilience of destinations. Nevertheless, any form of elaboration concerning the future of cultural tourism entails a challenging interpretation of the past and most recent trends and developments that contributed to the evolution of this form of tourism, both as a professional practice and a socio-economic phenomenon. This requires a broad understanding of how several trends and forces have been contributing to shape the society and the world we live in, as tourism itself is largely connected and influenced by the way in which a society, in a wide sense, is changing and developing. Culture means traditions, heritages, local values and beliefs, and this makes even more critical the challenge of understanding how cultural tourism can respond to changing forces and how this might develop in the future.

2.1. The VUCA environment

Attempts to outline hypotheses about the future evolution of cultural tourism destinations need to take into account the speed, complexity and uncertainty of changes happening in the current world. An obvious uncertainty element in recent times has been the Covid-19 pandemic. However, such a pandemic also needs to be seen in a context in which technology-driven opportunities and challenges are continuously changing our societies and adding layers of complexity in a world that is progressively more interconnected and inter-dependent. What happens in a country, in a region, in a city, often has significant consequences for individuals, economic operators and institutions located in other places. Individuals, public and private institutions, even the political powers, are now operating in what has been named as a Volatile, Uncertain, Complex, and Ambiguous (VUCA) environment, in short, the '*VUCA environment*'.

The acronym VUCA has its origin in the military vocabulary, where it is used to describe an uncertain environment with threats at every step, a situation in which a conflict is almost impossible to predict (Minciu et al. 2020). Such situations are 'volatile' as they can constantly change, 'uncertain' as it's difficult to predict how they will evolve, 'complex' as they involve many factors and actors, and 'ambiguous' as they can be interpreted from different perspectives. The same concept has also been adopted in the business management domain, to define the characteristics of modern competitive markets in which businesses,

including tourism businesses, must compete (Minciu et al. 2020). Nevertheless, VUCA also increasingly describes the peculiarity of the current society, in which we carry on with our activities and in which several socio-economic phenomena take place, including tourism and, more specifically, cultural tourism. In order to survive and prosper in the current environment, cultural tourism destinations and cultural tourism operators need to learn how to deal with changes and unexpected situations causing situations of crisis, often brought by emergencies, disasters or disruptive innovations.

2.2. Disasters and emergencies

Disasters are defined by Prideaux et al. (2003, p. 478) as an “unpredictable catastrophic change that can normally only be responded to after the event, either by deploying contingency plans already in place or through reactive response”. According to the UN, a disaster can be defined as "a serious disruption of the functioning of a community or society involving widespread human, material, economic or environmental losses and impacts, which exceeds the ability of the affected community or society to cope with using its own resources" (UNOOSA 2020, p. 1). Although the definitions seem to neglect the importance and effectiveness of preventive actions put in place to prevent disasters, Cohen and Werker (2008) recognised how the level of preparedness, especially at governmental level, greatly determines the extent of suffering incurred by the affected population.

Although disasters often have a purely natural origin (e.g. earthquakes, flooding, wildfires, pandemics), sometimes they can result from the human interactions with a vulnerable natural environment (we can think of flooding of highly urbanised areas, wildfires caused by hazardous intentional or unintentional use of fire etc.). For instance, epidemic events such as SARS, Ebola, Zika and avian influenza can be considered as outcomes of anthropogenic impacts on ecosystems and biodiversity (Petersen et al., 2016; The World Bank, 2012). According to Pongsiri et al. (2009), Labonté et al. (2011), reported in Gössling et al. (2020), an increase in these man-induced disasters is due to factors like urbanization, overpopulation, highly industrialised food production and hypermobility. Also Park and Reisinger (2010) mentioned imprudent urbanization, industrialization and environmental change as factors that accelerate the occurrence of natural disasters around the world. One very prominent example of this acceleration is climate change, which can have even more dramatic consequences for marginalised communities, such as indigenous groups, as their survival itself depends on natural resources (Tompkins & Adger, 2004).

Natural disasters and other human-driven events, such as terrorist attacks, political instability and conflicts can generate situations of emergency. According to Tsai et al. (2016), reporting the work of Sönmez et al. (1999) and Hystad and Keller (2008), the tourism industry should be prepared to face natural and human-driven situation of emergency, by adopting specific written policies and recovery plans. In this regard the European Union, the UN Development Group, and the World Bank have collaborated on the development of guides for conducting Post Disaster Needs Assessments (PDNA) and for preparing Disaster Recovery

Frameworks (DRF). Specific PDNA guidelines have been prepared for tourism and culture sectors¹.

Natural disasters, terrorist attacks, political instability or pandemic flu epidemics may also generate negative perceptions of a region and its ability to provide a safe environment to tourists (Haque & Haque 2018; Jallat & Shultz 2011). The duration and the impact of forest fires or floods, for example, not only influence tourism operations in the short term, but also the perception of a certain destination in the minds of tourists in the longer term (Hystad & Keller 2008). Disaster-affected areas may experience negative impacts, such as a damage to their image, a lack of confidence among potential visitors, a sharp decline in incomes due to the absence of tourism, leading to a slow recovery or even a permanent decline. In this scenario, the local community also suffers on different levels. In the first place, it indeed needs to deal with the direct safety consequences of a natural or man-made disaster and the related emergencies for tourists and residents, including the damage or loss of livelihoods. Cultural capacity and resources might also be affected, including loss of raw materials, handicrafts, tangible heritage but also intangible cultural heritage such as traditional craftsmanship, even including the disruption of the daily cultural and religious life of the community. In a somehow longer term, depending on how the local economy is dependent on tourism, it may suffer of indirect socio-economic consequences linked to loss of income, unemployment, etc.

Culture, traditions, local values, lifestyles, interpretations of political or religious views, can also be important factors to consider in regards of disaster and emergencies. On the one hand, rooted traditions and the contemporary way of living might create the conditions for the occurrence of disasters. The live-animal markets (wet markets) are part of the local traditions of some tropical and subtropical regions of the world, and they have been identified as initial sources of the outbreaks of H5N1 bird-influenza, SARS CoV epidemic (Webster, 2004) and the more recent Covid-19 pandemic (Wu et al., 2020). Similarly, the consumerist life-style of western societies has certainly a severe impact on the environment (e.g. the high carbon footprint of air travel) and contributes to climate change (Bothun, 2018). An extremist interpretation of political views or religious values might also set the scene for disasters, like terrorism attacks. On the other hand, both culture and tourism can be factors able to create unity and social cohesion in the aftermath of a disaster, helping a community to reset and re-start after a difficult period (Carrizosa & Neef 2018).

2.3. Disruptive innovations

The speed, complexity and uncertainty of changes happening in the current world are sometimes the result of *disruptive innovations*, which can completely change the environment in which economic operators or destinations compete. The concept of disruptive innovation was firstly introduced by Christensen (1997),

¹ GFDDR, WB, EU, and UN. *PDNA Culture, PDNA GUIDELINES VOLUME B*. Retrievable from https://gfdrr.org/sites/gfdrr/files/WB_UNDP_PDNA_Culture_FINAL.pdf.

GFDDR, WB, EU, and UN. *PDNA Tourism, PDNA GUIDELINES VOLUME B*. Retrievable from https://ec.europa.eu/fpi/sites/fpi/files/pdna/pdna_vol_b_en/pdna_vol_b_tourism.pdf

who defined it as a process in which new phenomena have the power to significantly re-shape the way in which a certain market function, mainly due to a new product or a different business model, that allows to offer a distinct sets of benefits (e.g. a lower price or a more engaging experience). While incremental innovations only include smaller modifications, disruptive innovations somehow change the rules of the game (Hall & Williams, 2008), often pushing or requiring a change in the suppliers way of operating. Guttentag (2015) explains how disruptive innovations might under-perform in the first stages of their introduction, initially attracting low-end users while offering benefits such as convenience or simplicity. As improvements take place, they might rapidly and increasingly appeal to the mainstream market and, by then, former leading companies may struggle to compete and face a crisis.

Due to the innovative and game-changer character of digital technologies, disruptive innovations are often driven and made possible by them. For instance, the rise of Online Travel Agencies (OTAs) contributed to a significant decline in the number of traditional travel agencies (Guttentag, 2015). The increasing popularity of online platforms that allow peer-to-peer accommodation rentals (e.g. Airbnb) disrupted the scenario in which hotels compete in the market of tourism accommodations (Guttentag, 2015) and might influence the way in which tourists interpret and consume cultural experiences (e.g. the possible impact of the *Airbnb experiences*). At the same time, virtual reality and augmented reality are now providing new opportunities to offer and experience cultural contents, with an increasing potential to disrupt the way in which those contents have been experienced so far.

Meged and Zillinger (2018) described how online and offline social networks contributed to the rise of the so called 'free guided tours', which are tours that are offered for free and usually finish with voluntary tips requested at the end of the tour itself, and based on how valuable each visitor considers the experience they had. Free guided tours silently appeared in the market, but they rapidly showed an exponential growth. They disrupted the market, the commonly used business models, the traditional industry structure, acting as real game-changers in the field of guided tours, and ultimately in the field of cultural tourism. This just represents an additional example of how cultural tourism destinations might be affected by disruptive innovations and how the environment in which cultural service providers operate can rapidly change. In this setting, cultural tourism providers need to be fast and effective in reacting to disruptive innovations, seizing new opportunities. While it is impossible to predict which disruptive innovation will affect the future of cultural tourism, every speculation about any future scenario certainly needs to consider the role played by potential disruptive innovations in the evolution of cultural tourism.

2.4. VUCA environment and resilience

Emergencies and disasters, sometimes also disruptive innovations, might shake and break the delicate equilibrium that connects global and local sustainability of the tourism industry (Hirudayaraj & Sparkman, 2019). However, operating in a VUCA environment can also stimulate businesses and institutions to

implement more flexible and sustainable practices, as they may recognise the urgency to build up useful skills to prevent or recover from future disruptions (Andres & Marcucci 2020). The complexity and speed of disruptive events require a high level of reactivity and adaptation by all the stakeholders of a cultural tourism destination, such as business organizations, local community, and the different levels of political power. As stated by Andres and Marcucci (2020), disruptive events often exceed the capacity and capability of individual actors. An effective response to a disruptive event requires a strong and wide collaboration between the network of partners, when existing. In a cultural tourism destination, this entails a coordinated and collaborative response involving the variety of the stakeholders at destination level.

The economic and societal challenges caused by increasingly unstable and volatile conditions boosted the pursuit of new theoretical paradigms able to stimulate new perspectives on these challenges. As a result, the concept of *resilience* started to be explored, and its original meaning has been adjusted and re-interpreted in a wide range of contexts. For this reason, there are several interpretations of the concept of resilience and there is not a unique, universally accepted, definition. Jones and Comfort (2020, p. 2) mentioned that in common language “resilience is seen as the ability to withstand or to bounce back from adversity and disruption”. They also recall how the concept of resilience was firstly introduced by physical scientists, then used in the ecological field (Davoudi et al. 2012). It was finally applied in the domain of social sciences and public policy when global threats such as economic crisis, climate change and international terrorism brought the attention on the responsive capacities of places and social systems (MacKinnon & Derickson 2013). Among others, Adger (2000, p. 347) defines social resilience as “the ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political and environmental change”. According to Tsao and Ni (2016, p. 83), “a system’s resilience represents its ability to return to its original state after a disturbance as well as its capacity to maintain a certain degree of structure and function during a disturbance”.

Based on a review of the existing literature, Tsao and Ni (2016) identifies three relevant factors connected to resilience:

- Stability (also known as buffering capacity), which is a ‘threshold concept’ that refers to the stressor that a system can withstand before it changes or crashes;
- Recovery (also known as rebound capacity), which is the ability to return to an original state when a place/system faces change or stressors; in this case, resilience emphasizes the time needed to recover, and places/systems that practice recovery can return to their pre-disaster states within a short time frame;
- Transformation (also known as creation capacity), which often refers to social resilience and emphasizes the place’s response to change and its capacity to use different strategies to create new development opportunities.

2.4.1. Resilience and tourism destinations

Citing the European Futures Tourism Institute, Jones and Comfort (2020) describe the tourism industry as continuously in motion, mentioning elements such as changing lifestyles and tourist behaviour, technologies such as virtual reality, terrorism, climate adaptation, the changing perspectives regarding sustainability, the adoption of new business models and innovative forms of value creation. Therefore, it becomes crucial to be resilient, meaning to react and possibly anticipate these developments. Moreover, Twining-Ward et al. (2017, para. 3) argued that resilience is “not only how to build back better, but also how to build resilience into the everyday management of tourism, how to be better prepared, how to manage a crisis, and how to ensure greater shared economic and social benefits from tourism in the region”.

Hartman (2016) offers an original framework to discuss resilience, introducing the concept of complex adaptive system (CAS) applied to tourism areas. Building on contributions from other scholars, the author firstly reminds how tourism areas can be seen as ‘cohesive systems’ of interrelated products, sectors and institutions, in which it can be recognised the existence of elements and agents, carrying out actions that are tied very closely to other elements, agents and their actions (Axelrod & Cohen 2000; Ma & Hassink 2013). According to Hartman (2016), Farrell and Twining-Ward (2004) and McDonald (2009), tourism areas can actually be considered ‘complex’ systems, as interactions between system’s elements generate a circular cause-and-effect consequence, so that “a change in the first component is fed back via its effects on the other components to the first component itself” (Heylighen 2001, p. 10), resulting in a complex volatile environment that is constantly changing. In such dynamic circumstances, tourism stakeholders will try to improve their situations by implementing adaptive mechanisms, such as adjusting, changing or developing their strategies. For example, a museum, reacting to a change in the market preferences, might design a new type of visitor experience. Eventually, all actors will seek adaptation to a changed environment, building up resilience skills, within complex adaptive systems.

Hartman (2016) reminds how a system is not only affected by what happens within the system itself. An adaptation mechanism generated within a system can trigger a response and generate an adaptation mechanism in another. In a globalised world, different tourism systems interact, and what happens in a destination might have relevant impacts on other destinations’ systems. Moreover, tourism development is also shaped by several other economic, ecological, socio-cultural, political-institutional and socio-technical systems (e.g. climate change). Therefore, tourism systems are constantly involved in a continuous process of adaptation to respond to and anticipate changes (e.g. rise of sharing economy, climate change, overtourism, Covid-19 pandemic, etc.) that can challenge systems’ structures, functions, identities and practices of agents within those systems (Hartman 2020).

A similar approach has been described by Heslinga et al. (2017) in the context of resilience of socio-

ecological systems. This approach suggests that subsystems within socio-ecological systems are constantly interacting and reacting to each other, while being influenced also by external factors. In the specific case of tourism development, the considered sub-systems are tourism and landscape (interpreted in a broad sense, therefore also including heritage and cultural resources), which are co-evolving through a sequence of impacts and reactions, generating an unpredictable path of evolution within a changing and dynamic environment (Figure 1), requiring a resilience-oriented approach by all the stakeholders, supported by a flexible and inclusive governance system.

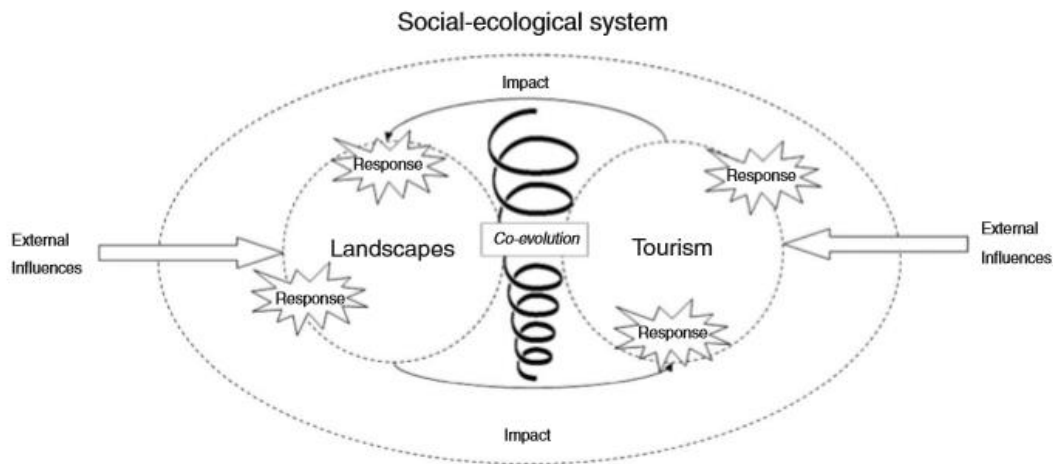


Fig 1. Co-evolutionary tourism landscape systems (Heslinga et al. 2017)

Therefore, in light of unstable and volatile conditions such as the ones described by a VUCA environment, the mentioned contributions frame resilience as an unavoidable challenge for tourism destinations. They represent dynamic systems, “always in a state of becoming, engaging in a persistent process of renewal and reorganisation to maintain or improve their performance” (Hartman 2016, p. 309). Hartman (2016) assigns a key role to the concept of “diversity” in the resilience of tourism areas. Based on Hartman's work, we can outline few conditional aspects that help making cultural tourism destinations more resilient:

- Enhancing diversity is crucial: cultural tourism destinations should aim to offer a diverse range of businesses, products and cultural experiences. This will help the destination to be more resilient in the (very likely) case the demand will suddenly change their preferences;
- Pursuing a balanced level of diversity: an excess of diversity in the cultural offer might result in uncoordinated development, fragmentation of the offer, confusion for visitors in regards to the cultural identity of the local community, limited synergies among stakeholders, ineffective visibility on international markets. On the other side, as said, a low degree of diversity may result in uniform or monothematic places, vulnerable and not resilient in case of changing visitor demands;
- Governing diversity, meaning that the governance of the cultural tourism destination should ensure

a certain degree of cohesion and compatibility among the cultural offers, but still being able to facilitate competition to generate innovation and a certain level of diversity in terms of types of business and the cultural experiences they offer. Governance is also crucial to monitor and respond appropriately when the cultural tourism destination is becoming too specialised and uniform or too diverse and fragmented.

2.4.2. Local community resilience

Within the framework outlined by the VUCA environment and the complex adaptive systems (CAS), the local communities also represent a vulnerable agent of the system. They might suffer from direct consequences of unexpected events, changes, crises and disasters with material loss, safety and health consequences, impacts on the socio-cultural fabric of the community, loss of jobs and incomes etc. In case of emergencies, crisis and disasters, local governments might not always be in the position of providing immediate assistance, support and guidance towards an immediate path of adaptation. Moreover, the resources governments might have to support and implement an adaptation path can be limited. Therefore, recent attention has focused on how to support communities to help themselves, how to make communities resilient to crisis, disaster or unexpected changes.

Similarly to the broader concept of resilience, a uniform consensus has not been reached on what community resilience is and how it should be defined, leading to mixed definitions appearing in the scientific literature, policies and practice. This confusion can be troubling, as a blurred definition of community resilience also affects how we might attempt to measure and enhance it. Recent studies focused on the definition of community resilience as an ongoing process of change and adaptation (Patel et al. 2017); although many of them are rather focused on community resilience in the context of disaster recovery. Cox and Perry (2011, p. 396) defined community resilience as “a reflection of people’s shared and unique capacities to manage and adaptively respond to the extraordinary demands on resources and the losses associated with disasters”. In a review paper on community resilience, Norris et al. (2008, p. 131) defined community resilience as “a process linking a set of networked adaptive capacities to a positive trajectory of functioning and adaptation in constituent populations after a disturbance”. Furthermore, in a recent literature review on resilience, Castleden et al. (2011, p. 370) described community resilience as “a capability (or process) of a community adapting and functioning in the face of disturbance”. Others have defined community resilience more as a network of features of a community, such as: “household relationships, levels of education and literacy, employment-seeking behaviours, social support networks, ability to seek support services, sense of communal safety and hope, and physical security measures” (Ahmed et al. n.d., p. 393). More broadly, Pfefferbaum et al. (2015, p. 241) presented resilience “as an attribute (e.g., ability, capacity), a process, and/or an outcome associated with successful adaptation to, and recovery from adversity” and that “differs depending on context and purpose”.

Considering the scope of this study, the definition provided by Magis (2010, p. 402) is of particular interest, seeing community resilience as “the existence, development and engagement of community resources by community members to thrive in an environment characterised by change, uncertainty, unpredictability, and surprise. Members of resilient communities intentionally develop personal and collective capacity that they engage to respond to and influence change, to sustain and renew the community, and to develop new trajectories for the communities' future”.

Patel et al. (2017) carried out a comprehensive literature review on community resilience. Although their work was mostly focused on disaster-related resilience, they have been able to identify several elements that are important to build up community resilience. Some of them can be considered significant also for the local communities of cultural tourism destinations:

- Local knowledge: the knowledge and understanding of its own strengths and vulnerabilities increases the resilience of a community as, in case of disruptions, individuals are already informed about significant elements that the community can leverage to implement adaptive mechanism. Training and education represent an important tool to improve local knowledge;
- Community network and relationships: community resilience is higher when its members are well connected (forming a proper social network) and form a cohesive whole. Trust and shared values can strengthen community network and build up community resilience, as in case of disruptions it will be easier to share knowledge and create synergies necessary to efficiently implement adaptive mechanisms;
- Communication: in order to improve local knowledge and create a community network, an effective communication is necessary. In emergency scenarios, crisis communication can provide up-to-date information to community members about the ongoing impact and relief efforts. Nevertheless, strategic communication narrative can also be useful to create cohesion in the community as a whole and increase community resilience;
- Governance: effectiveness and efficiency of governance infrastructure and services have a great impact on supporting the implementation of an adaptive mechanism by the local community. Nevertheless, participation and representation of the local community in strategic planning concerning adaptive mechanisms is also considered important;
- Mental outlook: the mental outlook of a community is crucial in shaping the willingness and ability of community members to carry on and implement adaptive mechanisms in front of disruptions and uncertainties. In this sense, adaptability can also be defined as the ability and willingness to change after a disruption, while accepting that things might be different than before. If adaptability is embraced by the local community, it will contribute to make the community itself more resilient.

Throughout this chapter, we have discussed the role of resilience and some implications concerning

tourism destinations' resilience and community resilience, within the volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous (VUCA) context in which cultural tourism is evolving. Further, considering its dramatic impact on the tourism industry and on cultural tourism destinations, the next chapter attends to the lessons learned from a practical manifestation of the VUCA environment, such as the Covid-19 pandemic. We will look at its impact on cultural tourism, as well as the additional challenges that it has posed (and is still posing) to the future of cultural tourism.

03 Disruptions in cultural tourism: the case of Covid-19

At the time of writing this report (April-September, 2020), many scientific articles have already started to appear discussing the actual impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on tourism (see for example, Gössling, Scott & Hall, 2020; Tremblay-Huet, 2020), while many other practice-oriented initiatives took shape quite soon after the outbreak. Among the few initiatives worth mentioning, NEMO² launched a survey³ in April 2020 addressed to museum professionals around the world, to assess and monitor the impact of Covid-19 on museums and on their staff⁴. In addition, many reports have been produced (by OECD and UNESCO⁵, for example) analysing what is happening, what can be further expected and what the future to come after this crisis will look like. This in particular seems to depend on the means available to overcome this emergency,

² Network of European Museum Organisations (<https://www.ne-mo.org/>)

³ <https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSc-IM7kzT-iKMx1Oy18NU6rCkjiTVOmc3YFw3mPMGIJbBGUWw/viewform>

⁴ <https://uk.icom.museum/icom-survey-museums-museum-professionals-and-covid-19/>

⁵ References to UNESCO's initiatives in response to the Covid-19 pandemic:

Organisation of a virtual meeting on URBAN SOLUTIONS: LEARNING FROM CITIES' RESPONSES TO COVID-19, including a special session on "Transformative City Tourism". The report of the meeting is retrievable from: https://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/ucp_meeting_report_.pdf

UNESCO platform on living heritage and the COVID-19 pandemic: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/news/unesco-launches-platform-on-living-heritage-and-the-covid-19-pandemic-13263>

The platform where experiences related to ICH during the pandemic were shared and collected is accessible at this link: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/living-heritage-experiences-and-the-covid-19-pandemic-01123>

UNESCO's global movement - ResiliArt

A global effort to support artists and ensure access to culture for all: <https://en.unesco.org/news/resiliart-artists-and-creativity-beyond-crisis>

WH Sites' managers report on Covid-19: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/news/2101/>

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL IMPACTS OF COVID-19 ON AFRICA. UNESCO Responses (Executive summary). Retrievable from: https://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/stand_alone_executive_summary_fin.pdf

Interesting insights into the socio-cultural implications of COVID-19 have also been provided by Professor Fethi Mansouri, UNESCO Chairholder for Cultural Diversity and Social Justice at Deakin University, Melbourne (Australia) and UNITWIN Convenor for Inter-religious Dialogue and Intercultural Understanding. The article is retrievable from: <https://en.unesco.org/news/socio-cultural-implications-covid-19>

whether governmental support is available and who can benefit from it. As we have seen in the past months, this support has been granted to many public cultural institutions but also to many multinational companies such as Booking.com, KLM, Lufthansa, Brussels Airlines, Boeing.

While the current outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic has had severe impacts on the worldwide economy across sectors in dramatic ways, as Table 1 below shows, the disruption caused by Covid-19 particularly affected the cultural and creative sectors and the tourism industry, according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)⁶. Tourism greatly suffers from the measures taken to contain the spread of the infection, like the social distancing and restricted mobility (Gössling, Scott & Hall, 2020), to the point that many cities have shifted from a state of overtourism to one of non-tourism (Gössling, Scott & Hall, 2020). An example of this shift from overtourism to lower numbers of visiting tourists is represented by the city of Venice as discussed further under 3.1 where the postponement of some international cultural tourism events like the Architecture Biennale has impaired the tourism season.

Table 1. Effects of the Covid-19 pandemic on SMEs worldwide (adapted from Sacco, 2020)

Country	Effects of Covid-19 (as of April 2020)
China	1/3 of SMEs has cash to cover only fixed expenses and for 1 month
Germany	About 1/3 SMEs expect a decline of 10% turnover in 2020
Italy	About 1/3 SMEs expect a decline of 15% turnover. Tourism is among the most affected sectors
Japan	39% SMEs declare supply chain disruptions
Korea	42% SMEs can not survive longer than 3 months, 70% longer than 6 months due to factory closing in China.
USA	70% survived SMEs declare supply chain disruptions

Gössling, Scott & Hall (2020) see rather dark clouds over the future of tourism: while previous crises and disruptions have shown the resilience of the sector (e.g., the terrorist attacks in the US on 9/11 2001 or the tsunami in the Philippines in 2004, which have not inhibited the recovery of tourism activities after a while), these authors believe that Covid-19 will have a much devastating impact on tourism activities and destinations. Yet, this crisis can arguably have a transformative effect as well and turn tourism into a more sustainable sector if the disruption does not undermine the efforts to reach the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Notably, the on-going crisis offers a window of opportunity to rethink the tourism sector and devise more sustainable solutions. Examples of this approach and of its possible solutions will be presented and discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

However, transforming tourism into a more sustainable sector almost requires a Copernican revolution. Until now, the success of a tourism activity or destination has mainly been defined in terms of growth in tourists/visitors by most major tourist organisations (UNWTO, ICAO, CLIA, WTTC), by adopting the so-called global volume growth model for tourism (Gössling, Scott & Hall, 2020). Such model has been put to test

⁶ <http://www.oecd.org/cfe/leed/culture-webinars.htm>

even by the most recent crises (like the financial crisis of 2008), though not being able to replace it with an adequate alternative. According to these authors, this model reflects the interests of “industries represented by ICAO, CLIA, or WTTC, the platform economy (e.g. Booking.com and AirBnB), aircraft manufacturers such as Boeing and Airbus, national DMOs, and individual large tourism corporation”. This may explain the intrinsic difficulty to replace it. However, if this pandemic did something well, it was to, it was to show once more the fallacy of such a growth model. The fallacy of the growth model was already clear with the appearance of local resistance against tourism and with the destruction of local resources. Not only has Covid-19 put tourism growth on halt, but it has also thwarted many DMOs' initiatives to slow down tourism growth to now supporting the economy via the deployment of stimulus packages. Many tourism-dependent destinations still wish to get back to quick growth, even though growth in numbers should not be the driving principle for tourism, as discussed in detail in Section 4.4.2. In fact, as stated by former UNWTO Secretary General, Taleb Rifai, “Growth is not the enemy; it’s how we manage it that counts” (UNWTO, 2017). Therefore, the tourism sector should be more aligned with the SDGs, for example by promoting domestic tourism and more resilient destinations (Gössling, Scott & Hall, 2020), or, more radically, by redefining the ‘right to tourism’, enshrined in Article 10 of the 2017 UNWTO’s Framework Convention on Tourism Ethics (Tremblay-Huet, 2020).

Nevertheless, it remains difficult to predict the future of tourism and make estimates on the consequences of this crisis on tourist activities, as this pandemic is not yet clearly understood. The first predictions on a decline of tourist activities made the by UNWTO (2020) had to be revised several times because they were inaccurate and underestimated the phenomenon (Gössling, Scott & Hall, 2020). The restrictions on travel adopted by many countries, at least in Europe, due to the closing of the national borders, severely affected the tourism sector causing the loss of many jobs directly or indirectly related to this industry. Similarly, the postponement or cancellation of cultural activities and events due to the physical distancing measures imposed by the governments caused the disruption of the cultural life of communities and put at risk the viability of certain forms of intangible cultural heritage (ICH).

Indeed, it is not clear yet whether the recovery of travel since the start of June (with the reopening of the borders in most European countries) has really given a boost to tourism during the summer months, as the pandemic is still on-going. Some evidence seems to suggest so, though. For instance, Flanders has seen a significant rise in domestic bookings during the summer months, although this was not fully making up for the losses incurred in March-May, while international visits remained far below the numbers of one year ago. This has also caused a shift among destinations, with the art cities (which mainly attract foreign tourists) not having recovered during summer months, while some more rural destinations experiencing increased demand thanks to the fact that domestic visitors focused more on green regions.

The American Enterprise Institute (2020) indicates that most countries have just entered phase two along the roadmap to recovery, which consists of the initial restarting of activities, including tourism (Gössling, Scott & Hall, 2020). Reaching phase 4, when most nonpharmaceutical interventions (NPIs) will be lifted and each country will be ready to face a possible new pandemic, is still a long way to go.

3.1. The impact of Covid-19 on the cultural industries

What the Covid-19 crisis has clearly revealed is the crucial role that culture and creativity play for European societies (OECD, 2020).

Many articles⁷ have discussed the importance of culture for one's own wellbeing and mental health. Also, the availability of cultural content seems imperative to achieve greater social welfare, as the initiatives collected on the UNESCO platform clearly indicate: from ethnic cooking classes in Italy to dance workshops in Indonesia, from earthenware pottery making in Botswana to the annual hajj, a five-day pilgrimage, in Saudi Arabia, all these activities had to take place on a much smaller scale than usual due to the pandemic, but they still went on precisely for their importance in promoting inclusion and wellbeing in communities. This is also where digital technology can play and, in some cases, is already playing a paramount role (see more in Chapter 4).

For example, in a study by ICOM (2020)⁸ about the impact of Covid-19 on the museum sector and the future ahead, it is claimed that what is needed to relaunch cultural activities is innovation and a more sustainable collaboration with other actors, such as universities and other industries.

Innovation means more than just adopting technology to provide the same *old* content. Innovation means in the first place rethinking the way in which content can be accessed and enjoyed. And secondly, it means to rethink the role of museum professionals. Paradoxically, museums have never been more accessible than now: sharing their collections online (like the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, to cite one prominent example), organising virtual tours (like in the MAS in Antwerp⁹), or guided tours by curators talking about art from their homes (again the Rijksmuseum¹⁰) or offering live streaming tours (like the recent van Eyck exhibition¹¹ promoted by Tourism Flanders for the series 'The Stay At Home Museum'), a look behind the scene of important exhibitions¹², engaging audiences in social media contests (like the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan with a series called #ResistenzaCulturale), whose goal is to bring the museum to the viewer's home with personal stories and behind the scenes looks. These, and many more, are the actions envisaged by museums to stay alive, remain accessible, keep in touch with their own public, reach out to new unknown

⁷ An overview of current initiatives related to living heritage and the Covid-19 pandemic can be found on the UNESCO platform: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/living-heritage-experiences-and-the-covid-19-pandemic-01123>

The International Council Of Museums (icom.museum), since museums are among those most affected by this crisis

⁹ <https://www.mas.be/nl/virtuele-tour>

¹⁰ <https://www.museumnext.com/article/reorganise-reuse-get-creative-and-relaunch-lessons-from-philbrook/>

¹¹ <https://vaneyck2020.be/en/van-eyck-from-home/>

¹² <https://www.flemishmasters.com/en/events/stay-at-home-museum>

audiences and continue contributing to collective wellbeing.

Next to the adoption of and the access to technology, OECD sees in the deployment of new and sustainable business models a way to help the cultural creative and touristic sectors overcome this crisis and seize the new opportunities emerging from it.

Not only cultural institutions like museums are affected by Covid-19, also cultural destinations *tout court* register a dramatic drop in tourist attendance, especially international ones. According to Naomi Rea¹³, “the European commissioner for internal market and service, Thierry Breton, told the French-language outlet BFMTV¹⁴ that EU member states recorded two million fewer overnight stays in January and February, which amounts to a loss of around €1 billion (\$1.1 billion) per month. The fall is being attributed to a drop in tourism from China, where the virus first broke out in December. At the end of January, the Chinese government blocked people from buying tour packages and discouraged citizens from traveling abroad. France is a top destination for Chinese tourists, around 2.2 million of whom travel there each year” (2020). The same situation is experienced in Italy, which has been the first European country most affected by this crisis. “We were waiting for the carnival to get the economy going again after the *acqua alta*, but now we have a new problem” is reported in the same article on Artnet.com, talking about Venice recovering from the flooding of November 2019 with a drop of 40% in tourist attendance and now facing a similar disaster.

Being “the biggest global challenge we have encountered in our lifetimes”¹⁵, the Covid-19 pandemic requires a similarly global response. In a provocative column on Artnet¹⁶, Tim Schneider wrote:

“the world at large (...) should move past short-term emergency measures like cancelling events and onto big-picture questions about how to move forward in a world where we can’t just wait out COVID-19. And companies in other sectors of the economy are already demonstrating the promise of doing so—and the peril of refusing to.”

Technology can offer a way out of the current crisis, also in sectors other than museums. With the cancelation of both Shanghai’s and Seoul’s fashion weeks, designers and event organisers may consider digital solutions to compensate for these losses: so the Milan fashion week early April went on live streaming, as did the one in Shanghai at the end of March. However, one should be careful not to advocate that technology is the panacea for all current problems as it can still not truly solve the very extensive effects of a loss of physical visitation.

Furthermore, working from home, which has become the ‘new’ normal nowadays, is having an impact on consumers’ behaviour for how it impacts the supply side (see sections below). In the art sectors, for

¹³ <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/coronavirus-louvre-europe-economy-1790850>

¹⁴ <https://www.bfmtv.com/economie/coronavirus-un-milliard-d-euros-de-pertes-pour-le-tourisme-europeen-selon-thierry-breton-1867481.html>

¹⁵ <https://icom.museum/en/news/museums-will-move-on-message-from-icom-president-suay-aksoy/>

¹⁶ <https://news.artnet.com/opinion/gray-market-coronavirus-calendar-1790631>

example, despite the booming of software-based artworks and initiatives created expressly for digital consumption (e.g., ByteDance and Tencent) (Schneider, 2020), collectors might choose to go another way, and rather than resorting to technology to access content globally, they might demonstrate a resurgent interest in local or regional galleries, fairs, and other events (Schneider, 2020). Will the future of cultural tourism be shaped by similar trends?

There is not yet a uniform strategy to face this crisis at European level, as shown in Table 2 below, with a country or even region-specific approach to solutions for cities and regions that rely on such sectors to become attractive for (cultural) tourism.

Table 2. Approach to the current crisis (adapted from Sacco, 2020)¹⁷

Country	National approaches to current crisis (as of April 2020)
EU	No common strategy yet
Italy	Emergency fund for the creative industries (130M €)
Belgium	Emergency fund of 50M €, also for the creative industries. Task force for digitally streamed cultural content
Sweden	Emergency fund of 90M € for culture and sport
France	Specific support measures for cultural sub-sectors
Barcelona, Berlin	Specific support measures for local cultural companies and professionals

Table 3 illustrates the challenges and opportunities for the cultural sector *at large* in the post-Covid-19 period, which will affect the supply side of cultural destinations.

Table 3. Challenges and opportunities for the cultural sector in the post-pandemic period

Challenges	Opportunities
Income breakdown and limited access to credit, which will have a harder impact on smaller cultural professionals who are often freelancers	The rediscovered role of culture as a catalyst for social inclusion and people’s psychological wellbeing because of “the capacity of culture to create strong emotional and cognitive reactions” (Sacco, 2020). According to Sacco (2020), this could result in new professional profiles and new markets to explore
Explosion in digital content production, digital access and need for digital literacy. However, according to Sacco (2020), it	The more global character of this newly born digital content, caused by the global breakdown of production chains: with no

¹⁷ From the webinar on ‘Coronavirus (Covid-19) and cultural and creative sectors: impact, policy responses and opportunities to rebound after the crisis’ organised by OECD in April 2020, with Prof. Sacco as moderator.

<p>remains difficult to predict whether and which business model will be applicable in this scenario – will tourists be willing to pay for content that is available only online, outside of the well known platforms that were already existing and recognised before this crisis? Moreover, the escalation in digital content will have important implications for data privacy and intellectual property, to mention only some aspects</p>	<p>more global production chains, the digital content that is produced would be even more global than it is now</p>
<p>The unlocking of culture in live events and venues like theatres, performances and festivals, if physical distancing becomes the new normality – is the 50% capacity of live venues as implemented in China feasible? Will it differ per venue / event?</p>	<p>The development of new content platforms, like public platforms for the delivery and dissemination of cultural contents</p>
<p>Behavioural change and public confidence: will people be confident enough to populate public events again? Will they trust each other in respecting the approved regulations, also across cultures and countries?</p>	<p>The redesign or emergence of new ecosystems and collaboration forms among the current cultural professionals for the production of content</p>
<p>Equality and inclusion: despite the promising premises, it remains unclear whether the scenario that might develop from these assumptions will promote and support equality and inclusion or just the opposite – make differences sharper, exclude even more marginalised and vulnerable individuals and groups</p>	<p>The emergence of new forms of creative productions engaging broader communities, thus leading to a more inclusive form of collective authorship of digital content and to synergies between education and welfare</p>

In response to the call for action for the cultural sector to exit the Covid-10 crisis, Sacco (2020) suggests that the following points may be most beneficial at destination level:

- *Digitisation*: Is the cultural sector ready for the digital push that has been mentioned before? Not so much, as it seems. The answer to this question strongly depends on the sector that is considered and on the geographical area where it takes place. The digitisation that is aimed for is a digital acceleration that should include all. This digital acceleration is not just a technological one, but rather – or mainly – one in skills and competences (as already mentioned in Section 3.1);
- *Relevance*: how and to what extent will culture be considered by decision makers in the definition of mitigating and recovery measures – both as a recipient sector and as a resource to support coping strategies? A stronger, multi-actor advocacy effort is needed to prove the relevance of culture with regard to the Covid-19 pandemic, in line with the initiatives undertaken by sectoral authorities and practitioners at country and international levels (e.g., UNESCO's global movement, ResiliArt, a global effort to support artists and ensure access to culture for all¹⁸);
- *Inclusion*: this is the moment for culture to show how it can be a bridge to include and not to exclude, as well as to contribute to active citizenship. According to Coleman (2018), there is more to inclusion than just diversity and multiculturalism. Inclusion is not a singular concept and therefore not something that can be achieved in just one way. There is a need for a definition, but this cannot be univocal. Moreover, inclusion theory is still in its infancy and this makes finding a common ground difficult. Its relation to exclusion and to social inclusion, with a more political and economic connotation, is still to be explained as well;
- *Behaviour*: culture is a tremendous force for behavioural change because it has an enormous emotional and cognitive impact on people. If culture is such a driver for behavioural change, culture should become part of the solution to exit this crisis;
- *Mobilisation*: it is necessary to disclose potentials, to find creative solutions that apply to more than just the cultural sectors;
- *Ecosystems*: this crisis shows the need to stop thinking in silos – sectors are interconnected and it is also by thinking of them in this way that a sustainable solution for their survival and further development can be found;
- *Mental health*: culture is showing its strength and power to relieve people's mental breakdown due to isolation and fear for the future;
- *Innovation*: not just technological innovation, but policy and social innovation;
- *Public initiative*: in the production, provision and circulation of cultural contents through digital platforms that are not (primarily) privately owned;

¹⁸ <https://en.unesco.org/news/resiliart-artists-and-creativity-beyond-crisis>

- *Complementarity*: between culture and other sectors like education and welfare;
- *Globalisation*: through innovation, the world is bound to become an even smaller place due to the loss of local specificities and standardisation (while also offering new opportunities in terms of access to cultural resources, cultural production, etc.).

04 Global macro-trends influencing the future of cultural tourism

Several global macro-trends have been contributing to the evolution of cultural tourism, impacting on both the demand and the supply side, but also on other stakeholders at cultural tourism destinations, such as local communities and different levels of governance entities. These macro-trends will most likely contribute to shape the future of cultural tourism and, depending on their evolution, they might lead to different typologies of future cultural tourism. Specifically, this report discusses four macro-trends:

- The role and impact of technology on the tourist experience
- Globalisation processes and their impacts
- Experience economy and its contribution to cultural tourism
- Changing perspectives on sustainable tourism

4.1. The role and impact of technology on the tourist experience

Technology is influencing the industry of leisure and tourism remarkably and in many ways (Tussyadiah et al., 2017). The tourists' need and desire to have more meaningful (tourism) experiences is accomplished by technology in different ways, which span various gradients of engagement, from simply facilitating the experience to empowering tourists directly (Neuhofer, Buhalis & Ladkin, 2014). One way of achieving this is also by offering more personalised experiences (Aebli, 2019; Gretzel et al., 2016).

Many studies have been recently published on how technology can enhance the tourist experience at cultural destinations (see for example in Han, Weber, Bastiaansen, Mitas & Lub, 2018). Many of these studies focus on the use of emerging technologies like Virtual Reality (VR) and Augmented Reality (AR) or smart technology, although technology innovation must be understood in a broader sense than this one, as discussed in Section 3.1. In this analysis, another relevant element to consider is whether the adoption of technology is (only or mainly) intended to support the learning experience of tourists at cultural destinations or their experience *tout court* (so also the emotional and conative factors related to it, as already indicated in Section 3.1).

Despite the enthusiasm, the positive experiences (see further discussion in Chapter 5) and the promising

prospects (already discussed in Section 3), the adoption of technology does come with downsides (see, for example in (Cohen & Hopkins, 2019), a critical consideration on technological solutionism), some of which are also outlined in Chapter 5. In that chapter, we will also discuss the impact of technology usage on tourism organisations and institutions in the form of smart solutions.

Regardless of the tourists' motivation for using it, the adoption of technology in tourism has affected the way in which people approach the very notion of travelling (Buhalis & O'Connor, 2005): some use technology to find information about a possible destination, and this can be done online through official destinations websites but also on tourists' blogs or social media platforms where user-generated content and tourists' reviews of the destination can be accessed (Neuhofer, Buhalis & Ladkin, 2014; Dieck et al., 2018). Also emerging and immersive technologies like AR and 360 degrees videos are used to give potential tourists the 'holiday vibe' (Castro et al., 2018) by immersing themselves in the destination. Immersive experiences can also serve to make tourists alert of the consequences of, for example, overtourism, or of a non-appropriate behaviour at certain tourist destinations like cultural and heritage ones (Ismail, Masron & Ahmad, 2014; Bindman et al., 2018).

The question on what impact such technologies have on cultural tourism can be approached along two axes: the type of technology that is used, and the object of their impact, either cultural destinations or cultural tourists themselves. The impact of technology on cultural destinations will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, where we will analyse the effects of the macro trends identified in this section on the supply and demand side of cultural destinations. The impact of technology on (cultural) tourists as such is not much explored in the literature. Several works have instead been published on the design and development of technology to enhance the cultural and tourist experience, and slightly less on the user's reception of this technology. We will discuss them briefly also in Chapter 5. In this section, we will outline in general terms the role that technology can play in cultural tourism, i.e., what types of technologies can be used to design the tourist experience and how this choice may affect the resulting experience.

It goes without saying that the adoption of technological tools will depend on the types of experience sought and offered and on the types of cultural tourism destination (e.g., rural, urban).

Neuhofer, Buhalis & Ladkin (2014) have identified four ways in which technology can be integrated in tourist experiences, which range from a basic level where technology is simply a mediator of a more traditional experience (like in the use of a destination website to look for information on the destination itself), to a level where technology is itself part of the core experience, transforming the very nature of the tourist experience (for instance, when tourists use their mobile device on the move). These different levels are depicted in Figure 2 below (Neuhofer, Buhalis & Ladkin, 2014) and will be briefly explained further.

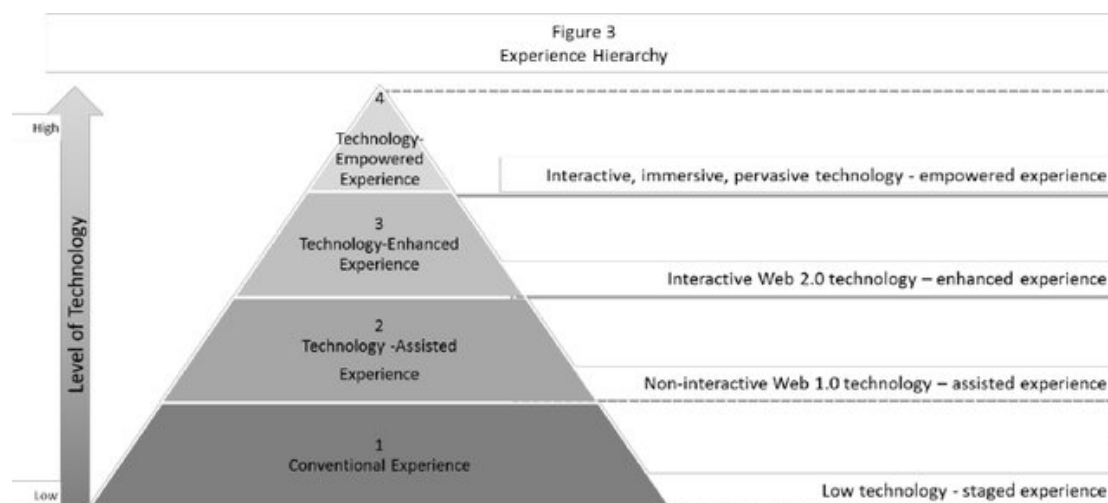


Fig 2. Experience hierarchy (from Neuhofer, Buhalis & Ladkin, 2014)

Conventional experiences are experiences staged by the tourist destination in which technology may be included as an additional tool to enrich the experience itself at consumption level, but with no direct involvement of the tourist in co-creating it. This is the case of attractions in theme parks for example. According to Neuhofer et al. (2014), these still form the majority of the tourist experiences on offer, despite the general trend and desire of tourists to become more actively involved in co-designing them.

Technology-assisted experiences are experiences in which technology is introduced as a mediator to facilitate them (as in the previously mentioned example of using the destination website to book a hotel). At this level, technology does not change the essence of the experience, but it makes its fruition for the tourists easier. According to Neuhofer et al. (2014), these are the experiences that became common before the advent of Web 2.0 and social media.

The advent of Web 2.0 and social media characterises what Neuhofer et al. (2014) call *technology-enhanced experiences*, whose shaping highly depends on technology. Indeed, technology can support tourists in creating content (for example by writing reviews about a destination on a social media platform) and in interacting among each other (on the same social media platforms) or with the destination itself (for example on a platform like TripAdvisor).

The highest level of the experience hierarchy (Figure 2) is constituted by *technology-empowered experiences*: these are experiences that would not exist without technology. For these experiences, technology does not simply act as a mediator, nor does it simply support tourists in co-creating content: on the contrary, technology makes the experience possible. This is “achieved by integrating immersive technological solutions to allow the tourist to become highly involved, actively participate and co-create with multiple stakeholders throughout all stages of travel” (Neuhofer et al., 2014, p. 348). Without

technology, there would simply be no experiences at this level. These are clearly the most difficult experiences to create and to find in practice, but also the most challenging (for both creators and users) and intriguing (for researchers) to experience.

Technology enhanced and empowered experiences at the destination level will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

4.2. Globalisation and cultural tourism: influences and perspectives

The relevance of globalisation processes in the domain of cultural tourism, and more in general for the past, present, and future development of tourism is recognised by several authors. This relevance is closely connected with the complexity of tourism, both as a global industry and as a global socio-economic phenomenon.

As stated by Macleod (2018), *“Tourism is very much part of the globalisation process”*. Globalisation itself is an extremely complex process, and covers multiple perspectives, namely the political, economic, socio-cultural, and environmental ones. Overall, Mowforth and Munt (1998) defined globalisation as a process by which a network of ties developed across national boundaries, connecting different communities and forming a single, interdependent whole, a shrinking world where local differences are progressively eroded, leading to a predominant global dimension. According to Yudina et al. (2016), this is also reflected in an overall cultural integration, as nowadays people of different countries and nationalities actively share food, music, fashion, leading to a sort of standardisation of lifestyles around the world, especially in the context of more urbanised areas.

Within this framework, Azarya (2004) recognises tourism as being both a cause and a consequence of globalisation. On the one hand, tourism enhances convergent tendencies towards a more globalised and connected world, as people meet and learn from each other while travelling. At the same time, goods and services are globally exchanged in order to satisfy a wide variety of needs and demands of global travellers. On the other hand, the author recognises that the continuous growth of tourism in the last decades has been certainly facilitated by forces and changes unleashed by globalisation. In this sense, trends such as an easier and more affordable global mobility, digital and communication technologies and the reduction of border restrictions certainly played an important role (Jovicic 2016; Salazar 2005). At the moment in which this report is submitted, it remains uncertain if, how and to what extent some of last-mentioned trends (e.g., reduction of border restrictions) will be impacted in the medium-long term by the Covid-19 pandemic.

Nevertheless, the role of tourism in modern societies is not limited to an economical perspective. Its influence on the socio-cultural infrastructure of a community cannot be denied, as well as its function in promoting a culture of tolerance around the globe (Yudina et al. 2016). As pointed out by Harmes-Liedtke and Mannocchi (2012), tourism can certainly be considered as a global process, but it is undoubtedly

consumed locally, whereby it is mostly locally that its consequences are felt, including its multiple impacts and the likely influence on the local socio-cultural context, economy and environment. As stated by Milne and Ateljevic (2001, p. 371), “it is essential to look at how interactions between the global and the local shape development outcomes for individuals, households, communities and regions”.

This double level of relevance of tourism, global and local, is particularly important when we analyse cultural tourism, which is a form of tourism where (local) culture, in its multiple dimensions, plays a crucial role in tourists’ experiences and motivations. In fact, culture encompasses both a global and a local dimension. Academic authors often use the term ‘cultural globalisation’ (Jovicic 2016), which Nijman (1999, p. 148) defines as “acceleration in the exchange of cultural symbols among people around the world, to such an extent that it leads to changes in local popular culture and identities”. Drawing from Featherstone and Lash (1995), Macleod (2018) reminds how globalisation forces push towards the creation of a global cultural homogeneity, with a progressive erosion of local differences. Interestingly, others observe a sort of reaction to these globalising forces, also in the domain of cultural tourism. As “boredom rises in the uniform global village” (van den Berghe, 1980, p. 375), a sense of curiosity for the different arises as a reaction to the standardisation effect of globalisation (Azarya, 2004).

Trends in the tourism demand are showing a rising interest in understanding the present and the past of a tourism destination through the medium of local tangible and intangible cultural heritage, such as history, architecture, customs and ways of living the daily life (Tatarusanu 2018). Paradoxically, it seems that the more people are exposed to a globalised world, the more they develop a tendency to search for local authenticity. As a response to this trend, many local communities are proactively trying to “identify and develop their tangible and intangible cultural assets as the means of developing comparative advantage in an increasingly competitive tourism marketplace, and to create local distinctiveness in the face of globalisation” (Urosevic 2012, p. 68).

Similarly, Jovicic (2016) identifies an increasing trend to design tourist supply based on the ‘sense of the place’ or ‘authentic essence of place’. For instance, Efstathiou and Zippelius (2019) reported the case of the redevelopment of Prodromos Village, Cyprus and its landmark, the abandoned Verengaria Hotel. The intervention consisted in the revitalisation of an abandoned area, including the adaptive reuse of the built environment¹⁹ for sustainable tourism purposes. The project aimed at enhancing the sense of authenticity associated with experiencing the local landscape. It was achieved by integrating tangible and intangible assets in the built environment, generating a ‘sense of place’ augmented by “combining and balancing old and new, by inserting new structures within the old and by adding new activities to the existing

¹⁹ Built environment includes definite material elements that allow one to perceive its boundaries and is perceived as a whole, serves human functions of habitation, shelter or circulation, and is intentionally built or appropriated by man to serve such functions (Srinivas 2015).

environment” (Efstathiou & Zippelius 2019, p. 795). The example demonstrates how tourism, as socio-cultural activity, can indeed contribute to the preservation of cultural heritage and the historical values attached to a certain territory, if developed according to sustainability principles. In a global perspective, this often happens by attracting people from different nationalities but with a mutual interest in the culture of a certain place (Yudina et al. 2016).

This type of cultural reaction to globalisation can also be considered in light of the contribution of Tanahashi (2008), which offers an additional perspective on the different role that cultural tourism might play in the near future. The author explains that globalisation facilitates and accelerates both urbanisation processes and a socio-economic dichotomy between urban centres and peripheral areas. The most urbanised areas are represented by an agglomeration of people with diverse cultural backgrounds and are characterised by a quite fragmented social fabric, making those areas more exposed to the standardisation effect of globalisation. Peripheral and less urbanised areas present very different conditions. Being more economically and demographically marginalised allowed - and to some extent forced - those communities to preserve and maintain their socio-cultural traditions, tangible and intangible heritage and, overall, a sense of community and authenticity that has been lost in many urban areas.

Therefore, many opportunities might arise for peripheral and marginalised areas in terms of sustainable development of cultural tourism, opportunities based on the responsible representation of their socio-cultural authenticity as a viable economic asset of the local community. In this sense tourism, and particularly cultural tourism, can potentially mitigate the economic imbalance between urban and more peripheral areas. As Tanahashi (2008) acknowledges, this needs a different approach to cultural tourism than just using the local culture and heritage to attract tourists. It requires an inclusive strategy by which mutually beneficial partnerships are developed among these communities and tourism industries. An inclusive strategy should not only be based on economic terms, but it should also aim at the safeguarding and enhancement of local cultural resources for future generations. Notably, deliverable D2.1 of SmartCulTour (Theoretical framework for cultural tourism in urban and regional destinations) provided a contribution on this point, by defining a sustainable cultural tourism destination as “a rural, urban or mixed geographical area in which various institutions, local community actors and culturally motivated visitors interact in a way that contributes to its resilience and to the social, environmental and economic sustainability of local development processes for the benefit of all stakeholders, as well as to safeguarding and enhancing the diversity of local cultural resources for future generations” (Matteucci & Von Zumbusch 2020, p. 36).

Although cultural tourism can provide opportunities for an authentic expression of cultural identity within the globalisation process, this comes with potential side effects on the local community. While travelling and although being open to other cultures, people still bring with themselves their own cultural identity,

with their own set of values, beliefs, customs etc. This cultural identity can be changed by the host-guest encounters, by their wish to learn something new about themselves and the world around them, but the visited community can also be impacted, in a positive or negative way, by this process. For example, as mentioned by Urosevic (2012), the attempt to meet the needs and requirements of a wide type of international visitors, with different cultural identities, might push towards offering more standardised and unified experiences and products to visitors, with an inevitable impact on the authenticity of the local socio-cultural environment. As mentioned by Urosevic (2012), the necessary model would be a cultural tourism which "cares for the culture it consumes while culturing the consumer", respectfully using the authentic characteristics of a destination's cultural identity to differentiate from competitors and better position in the global market. This cannot disregard a strategic and active involvement of the local community in developing cultural tourism, as precisely the local communities should become the protagonists of those (sustainable) developments. Nevertheless, this requires a challenging task of matching and aligning a global demand with several local components, such as the active participation of local communities in tourism planning and management, their recognition and acceptance of the benefits deriving from tourism, the preservation of their authenticity as an element of attraction, as well as the safeguarding of cultural resources (Darmana 2019).

Despite being an exemplification of the duality between the global and the local dimension, cultural tourism is also increasingly playing a role in terms of creating bridges between local contexts, by promoting intercultural dialogue, protecting cultural diversity and preserving tangible and intangible elements of cultural heritage (Urosevic 2012). Yudina et al. (2016), argue that tourism is a powerful mechanism to enhance intercultural dialogue between different cultures and countries and as a tool for developing, in practice, the principles of international cooperation. This finds a practical application, for example, in the several international cooperation programs promoted by international organisations (e.g., European Union, World Bank, UNWTO, UNESCO) or NGOs (e.g., Swisscontact in Switzerland, GIZ in Germany), focused on enhancing forms of tourism based on cultural elements of the local community. In this sense, cultural tourism is considered, within a global approach, as a tool for sustainable local development. For instance, the 'UNESCO World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Programme' embraces an inclusive approach, based on dialogue and stakeholder cooperation, in which planning for tourism and heritage management is integrated at a destination level. The programme provides an international framework for cooperation and promote cross-sectorial coordinated achievements in order to safeguard heritage and achieve sustainable economic development (UNESCO n.d.).

We can conclude that globalisation as an ongoing macro-process certainly had an influence on the way in which tourism, and specifically cultural tourism, evolved as an economic and socio-cultural phenomenon. Also due to the complexity and the multi-layer nature of both phenomena, globalisation will most likely

continue to exert a certain influence on the way in which cultural tourism will develop in the coming years. Based on the above discussion, the duality between global forces pushing for a socio-economical standardisation and the rising reaction of local socio-cultural dimensions, aimed at creating local distinctiveness, will continue to shape the future of tourism and the role that culture, and cultural tourism, will have in this dichotomy. Nevertheless, the way in which this process will continue, and the extent to which this entails significant opportunities for sustainable development and inclusiveness of more peripheral areas, will also depend on the role that other macro-trends (such as technology developments, consumer behaviour trends, sustainability approaches) will play, both at global and local level.

4.3. Experience economy: a facilitator of cultural tourism

The concept of providing experiences to visitors has always been both at the core of tourism as a socio-economic phenomenon and at the centre of the business model of tourism and hospitality companies. Nevertheless, the relevance of this approach has become even more significant in recent years, with the growth and recognition of the so called '*experience economy*'.

The concept of experience economy is grounded in the contribution of Pine and Gilmore (1998), who see the experience economy as the most recent stage of the human progress, following a path of development through an initial agrarian economy, mainly based on the extraction and trade of commodities, a second stage of progress due to industrial revolution (an industrial economy, focused on the production of manufactured goods), and a third stage based on a service economy (in which economical exchanges are more focused on services and less on products). The last stage of this human progress path is represented by the *experience economy*, in which the main and most important component of the economic offering is represented by the staging of an experience for the customer. This approach entails a more interactive and personal involvement of the customer, if compared to the simple delivery of a more standardised service (see again also the experience hierarchy in Section 4.1). According to the authors, staging an experience allows to provide something unique, personalised, and memorable, granting additional value to the customer and, therefore, gaining the opportunity to ask a premium price for this additional value. In contrast, services are more often seen as commodities, as the increasing supply of services and a tendency to their standardisation lead consumers to perceive them as homogeneous, differing only in price and availability. According to Michael et al. (2009), the process of commodification of services has been facilitated by the widespread use of the Internet, which drove an increased availability of affordable and accessible tourism services and destinations.

According to Luț (2018), the experience economy concept is closely related to tourism both in its origins and implications: firstly, because Pine and Gilmore made their initial observations partly based on the growth of the US leisure and tourism attractions, such as theme parks, concerts, cinemas, and sports events; secondly, because the implications of the experience economy concept have been vastly

acknowledged and analysed by academics in tourism research through a wide range of studies published in journals, books and working papers, mainly aimed at clarifying the nature and main characteristics of memorable experiences in tourism. As reported by Jelinčić and Senkic (2019, p. 41), “the experience economy has proven to be an appropriate solution for creating meaningful experiences in tourism”.

At the base of the transition towards an experience economy there is a clear change in the behaviour of customers, in general, therefore of tourists, in particular. During their consumption, also as travellers, people have been attaching more importance to emotions, feelings, and impressions. Travel consumption has become a more personal activity, embedding more sophisticated requirements, ranging from sensitive aspects such as ethics and environment to more hedonistic aspects, such as social status (Bujdosó et al. 2015). While reviewing the contributions on these consumer behaviour changes in the domain of consumer psychology, Michael et al. (2009) identified a number of recurring themes:

- *A shift of emphasis from the rational to the emotional aspects of consumer decision-making*, meaning that people’s choices are less related to a rational evaluation of the attributes of a service, while being more dependent on emotional aspects such as “feelings, fantasy and fun” (Holbrook & Hirschman 1982, p. 132), escape and relaxation (Beard & Ragheb 1983), entertainment (Pine & Gilmore 1999), and novelty and surprise (Poulsson & Kale 2004);
- *A transition from satisfying needs to fulfilling aspirations, desires and dreams*. Leisure and tourism consumers follow a more hedonistic path in their consumption behaviours, idealistically pursuing deeper aspirations, such as personal and spiritual growth, in which an important role is played by shared experiences that are able to create meaningful bonds between people;
- *The role of the customer as an active participant rather than a passive consumer*. Tourists do not limit themselves to passively see the physical space of a destination, but they want to experience it, constructing their own experiential space at the destination (see again in discussion of technology in section 4.1).

The supply side has reacted to these changes, leading to a transition towards an experience economy, where the service itself is replaced by the experience as the element connecting demand and supply, and by providing a unique and personal character to this connection.

Bujdosó et al. (2015) identified several elements that facilitate the transition to an experience economy, especially in the fields of modern Western tourism consumption and leisure activities. Mentioning some of the most relevant among such elements is useful not only to have a better understanding of the evolution towards an experience economy, but also to interpret this evolution in a future perspective:

- Significant increase in the capacity of the supply side to cover the narrowest market niches (e.g. ship cruises for gay couples, vegetarian cooking festivals, exhibitions for blind people, etc.), leading to a more personalised match between the service and the specific needs and requirements of the

demand. This higher level of personalisation is a pre-requisite to provide meaningful experiences that can go beyond the simple consumption of a more standardised service.

- Stable growth of real incomes of Western people, and decrease of working hours at the same time, leading to more opportunities for travel and leisure activities. Those opportunities include, from the supply side, the possibility to apply a premium price for offering more personalised and memorable experiences. From the demand side, this means more opportunities to access personalised and interactive experiences.
- Changed view in Western societies on tourism and leisure activities as a way to ease pressure and stress caused by the hustle and bustle of daily life. In this sense, being embedded in a more personalised and interactive experience facilitates this process of escaping from real life, in a higher and more engaging way than a simple and more standardised service consumption.

By evaluating these elements with a future perspective in mind, it becomes clear how the experience economy, as a macro trend, will most likely influence the evolution of tourism in the coming years as well. The way in which this might happen will also be influenced by the co-evolution of the experience economy with some of the other relevant macro trends that are considered in this report. The continuous technological evolution (e.g. smart technologies, AI), for example, might contribute to provide tourism companies with even more information and details about the demand, enabling even higher levels of personalisation in the creation of memorable experiences. The way in which globalisation processes will develop in the future might influence the available income also outside the Western world, or the way in which the global economic growth will be distributed across countries and continents, potentially enlarging or restricting the amount and the typology of people willing to pay a premium price for more interactive and personalised experiences. The globalisation process might also influence the role of more peripheral areas in terms of economic development or might exasperate the need for temporary escapes from the hustle and bustle of more urbanised and metropolitan areas.

Jelinčić and Senkic (2019) argue that one of the most evident responses to the rise of the experience economy has been the development of the so called ‘creative tourism’, characterised by tourists seeking experiences featuring their direct participation in the life of local communities, leading to a form of co-creation of their own holidays. Richards and Raymond (2000, p. 18) defined creative tourism as “tourism which offers visitors the opportunity to develop their creative potential through active participation in courses and learning experiences which are characteristic of the holiday destination where they are undertaken”. We might think about the growing number of courses in areas such as languages, gastronomy, and art, facilitated by a growing supply of creative producers who started to seize the opportunity provided by a growing market (Jovicic 2016). Jelinčić and Senkic (2019) argue that today the definition of creative tourism has opened up to a wider range of different activities, not necessarily

embracing a real creativity feature but still with a significant component in terms of participatory experience and co-creation of that experience (de Bruin & Jelinčić 2016). Jelinčić and Senkic (2019), reviewing the contributions of different authors, included under the macro umbrella of creative tourism a wide range of types of tourism in which the experience represents the main feature. This review includes for example 'participatory tourism' (which entails public participation in tourism planning and development), ethical and responsible tourism, volunteer tourism/voluntourism, ecotourism (environmentally aware tourism), transformational or transformative tourism (focused on the impacts travel and tourism may have on changing human behaviour and eventually having a positive impact on the world).

The developments occurring in terms of experience economy are certainly relevant and essential for the entire tourism industry, where the role of the customer (tourist) is central (Luț 2018), but they acquire even more relevance when considering cultural tourism. In fact, one of the most recognised trends in tourism is the willingness not only to see the tangible manifestation of other cultures, but also to experience tangible and intangible elements of other cultures and other ways of living. As mentioned by Smith (2015), cultural tourism goes way beyond attractions normally considered 'cultural' (such as museums, galleries, historic sites, performing arts, etc.), but embraces a more intangible sense of experiencing a 'place', including its history, its people and their narratives and stories. In this way, cultural tourism helps to "revitalise local cultures and traditions, instil pride in residents for those traditions, and provide visitors with a more engaging experience" (Smith 2015, p. 222). Tourists increasingly want to 'live like a local', although what this means in the practical life of a 'local' remains vague and faded (Richards, 2018). Overall, as also recognised by Jovicic (2016), there is a clear shift in cultural tourism, from tangible cultural resources (built heritage, museums, monuments, etc.) used as static attractions, to intangible cultural resources (image, lifestyles, atmosphere, etc.) embedded in more interactive and intangible experiences. This transition, at least in Western societies, has certainly been facilitated by the ongoing shift towards an experience-oriented consumption mode.

Bujdosó et al. (2015) point out another meaningful perspective connecting cultural tourism and the pursue of personal and memorable experiences. In modern societies, people often express their identity and their views about society through their behaviour as consumers, aligning their values with their way of consuming (Douglas & Isherwood 1998). Tourism itself is often used as an experience to explore, maintain and even disengage from particular aspects of identity (Bond & Falk 2013; Richards 2018). Therefore, due to the pre-eminent role of culture in defining the identity and the view of an individual or a community, cultural consumptions (such as cultural tourism) can often be interpreted as a statement of an individual (or a community of individuals) about their own identity and the role they attribute to themselves in society (Williams 2006). In this regard, personal and interactive cultural experiences allow for a higher level of

emotional engagement in this process of identity-claim, more than a rather standardised consumption of culture.

In conclusion, the above mentioned developments seems to converge on the idea that the experience economy, as a macro trend, is playing the role of facilitator for cultural tourism, allowing for more personal, memorable experiences, in which intangible components of culture play a crucial role. Moreover, the ongoing shift towards an experience-oriented paradigm in tourism consumption will most likely continue in the future (Guttentag 2019), and thus it might keep influencing the evolution of cultural tourism as well.

4.4. Changing perspectives on sustainable tourism

Like several socio-economic activities, tourism implies the consumption of resources that are limited and degradable. The adoption of sustainability as a guiding principle in managing resources that are limited, received enormous attention in the tourism academic and professional world. In general, the increasing concerns about further development of tourism, leading to the disruption of the environment (both natural and socio-cultural), resulted in the global rise of the concept of sustainability (Durovic & Lovrentjev 2014) applied to the field of tourism. Culture and tangible and intangible cultural heritage have been playing an increasing role in promoting, participating, and supporting sustainable development.

Over the last decades, sustainability principles inspired changing perspectives on how society approach socio-economic matters. The concept of ‘sustainable development’ as a global macro-trend found multiple applications, within different domains. Therefore, a multi-sectorial interpretation and application of sustainable development principles has been developing at a global level. The role of supranational institutions and international organisations, such as the UN, is paramount. Since a long time, the UN have been playing a crucial role in promoting the concept of sustainable development, through a long journey which culminated in the adoption, on 25th September 2015, of the ‘2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development’, a plan of action for people, planet and prosperity, also seeking to strengthen universal peace and freedom (United Nations n.d.). The Agenda includes the definition of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and 169 specific and ambitious targets to be reached by 2030. According to the Agenda, *sustainable development* is the goal to be achieved and *sustainability* is the process to achieve it. The framework of goals and targets aims to work across the so-called ‘5 Ps’ of the 2030 Agenda (People, Planet, Prosperity, Peace, and Partnerships), while contributing to sustainability along each of its three dimensions, social, environmental and economic, as well as to its two critical pre-conditions: peace and security.

Specifically, target 8.9 aims to “devise and implement policies to promote sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products”. Target 12.b aims to “develop and implement tools to monitor sustainable development impacts for sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local

culture and products”. Target 11.4 seeks to “strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world’s cultural and natural heritage”. Indeed, within this shared global framework, culture - spanning from cultural heritage to cultural and creative industries – and tourism are considered as both an enabler and driver for sustainable development in all its dimensions.

Based on the principles of the 2030 Agenda, several international organisations have developed their own interpretation of the UN principles and objectives, seeking to implement and promote sustainable development in different socio-economic domains, activities and fields. In the framework of this research, it is of particular interest to assess how this macro trend found application in the domains of tourism development and culture. These multiple perspectives will help understand how the principles of sustainable development have contributed to shape cultural tourism development and how the future might look like.

From a tourism perspective, UNWTO has defined sustainable tourism as “tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities” (UNEP & UNWTO 2005, p. 10). More specifically, UNEP & UNWTO (2005, p. 18) identified 12 specific ‘Aims for sustainable tourism’:

Table 4. Aims for sustainable cultural tourism (UNEP and UNWTO 2005)

Domain	Aims
<i>Economic Viability</i>	To ensure the viability and competitiveness of tourism destinations and enterprises, so that they are able to continue to prosper and deliver benefits in the long term.
<i>Local prosperity</i>	To maximise the contribution of tourism to the prosperity of the host destination, including the proportion of visitor spending that is retained locally.
<i>Employment quality</i>	To strengthen the number and quality of local jobs created and supported by tourism, including the level of pay, conditions of service and availability to all without discrimination based on gender, race, disability or on any other grounds.
<i>Social equity</i>	To seek a widespread distribution of economic and social benefits from tourism throughout the recipient community, including improving opportunities, income and services available to the poor.
<i>Visitor fulfilment</i>	To provide a safe, satisfying and fulfilling experience for visitors, available to all without discrimination based on gender, race, disability or on any other grounds

<i>Local control</i>	To engage and empower local communities in planning and decision making about the management and future development of tourism in their area, in consultation with other stakeholders.
<i>Community wellbeing</i>	To maintain and strengthen the quality of life in local communities, including social structures and access to resources, amenities and life support systems, avoiding any form of social degradation or exploitation.
<i>Cultural richness</i>	To respect and enhance the historic heritage, authentic culture, traditions and distinctiveness of host communities.
<i>Physical integrity</i>	To maintain and enhance the quality of landscapes, both urban and rural, and avoid the physical and visual degradation of the environment
<i>Biological diversity</i>	To support the conservation of natural areas, habitats and wildlife, and minimise damage to them.
<i>Resource efficiency</i>	To minimise the use of scarce and non-renewable resources in the development and operation of tourism facilities and services.
<i>Environmental purity</i>	To minimise the pollution of air, water and land and the generation of waste by tourism enterprises and visitors”

UNWTO (2013, p. 17), refers to “the need for sustainable tourism to:

- Make optimal use of environmental resources that constitute a key element in tourism development, maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity;
- Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance;
- Ensure viable, long-term economic operations, providing socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed, including stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and contributing to poverty alleviation”.

More recently, UNWTO (2018) made specific recommendations on the ways in which tourism could contribute to sustainable development, by identifying links to each of the 17 SDGs. The report aimed at increasing the awareness of tourism’s role in the 2030 Agenda, while stressing the need to integrate sustainability into tourism policies, business practices and tourist behaviours. According to UNWTO’s view, tourism’s contribution to sustainable development can be framed into 6 main pillars, which are closely connected with the 5 Ps of the 2030 Agenda:

- Sustainable economic growth (prosperity);
- Social inclusiveness, employment and poverty reduction (people);
- Resource efficiency, environmental protection and climate change (planet);
- Mutual understanding, peace and security (peace);
- Governance, policies and tools for sustainable tourism (partnership);
- Cultural values, diversity and heritage (very relevant in terms of cultural tourism).

When discussing the future of cultural tourism and the influence of sustainable development as a macro-trend, considering the role and contribution of culture in a sustainable development perspective becomes crucial. In recent years, the spearheading efforts of UNESCO (the only UN agency with a mandate in the field of culture), together with a strong appeal from a variety of national and international actors, have triggered a new awareness on the contribution of culture to sustainable development. This trend is testified by the adoption of the 2030 Agenda, which has opened up to new opportunities to practically integrate culture into policies for socio-economic inclusion and environmental sustainability (UNESCO 2018). The Agenda reflects a broad view of culture, whose contribution to sustainable development encompasses cultural heritage, the creative industries, local culture and products, creativity and innovation, local communities, local materials, and cultural diversity. At the same time, and independently from the specific field of application, the importance of local knowledge and community participation is believed to be fundamental in order to achieve sustainable development (UNESCO 2019).

According to UNESCO (2019), the role of culture can be interpreted both as a driver of sustainable development that directly contributes to the achievement of economic and social benefits, as well as an enabler for effective sustainable development in multiple areas of interventions, including sustainable cities, decent work and economic growth, reduced inequalities, environment, gender equality, innovation and peaceful and inclusive societies. According to this view, culture represents both a means and an end to sustainable development. In this regard, the UNESCO initiative 'Culture 2030 Indicators' aims to provide a framework of thematic indicators with the purpose to measure and monitor the progress of culture's contribution to the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals of the 2030 Agenda. The framework will be useful to assess both the role of culture as a sector of activity, as well as the transversal contribution provided by culture across different SDGs. It will facilitate the creation of a coherent and strong narrative on culture and sustainable development which will also support decision makers (UNESCO 2020).

UNESCO, within the 'Culture for the 2030 Agenda' (UNESCO 2018), framed the contribution of culture to sustainable development according to the 5 main pillars of sustainable development:

Table 5. The 5 main pillars of sustainable development (UNESCO, 2018)

Pillars	Contributions through culture
PEOPLE	Identity and knowledge: cultural assets are protected and safeguarded
	Inclusion and participation: access to cultural life and diversity of cultural expressions is supported
	Artistic freedom, creativity and innovation are nurtured
PLANET	Natural heritage and biodiversity are protected
	Positive relationships between cultural and natural environments are strengthened
	Resilience, including cultural resilience, is enhanced
PROSPERITY	Livelihoods based on culture and creativity are enhanced
	Openness and balance in the trade of cultural goods and services is achieved
PEACE	Cultural diversity and social cohesion are promoted
	Sense of identity and belonging is enhanced
	Restitution of cultural goods and rapprochement are promoted
PARTNERSHIP	Governance of culture is transparent, participatory and informed
	Safeguarding tangible and intangible cultural heritage
	Global trade of cultural goods and mobility of creative producers
	Global inequalities in the safeguarding and promotion of culture are reduced

Therefore, although approaching sustainable development from different perspectives and with different aims, the tourism and culture domains share similar values in pursuing sustainable development. Cultural tourism represents the connecting point between these two endeavours and, also in a future perspective, it will most likely be influenced by both approaches to sustainable development.

In this regard, it is relevant to consider the main outcomes of the ‘Second UNWTO/UNESCO world conference on tourism and culture: fostering sustainable development’, held in Oman in December 2017. The conference aimed at building and strengthening collaboration and partnerships between the tourism and culture sectors to enhance their roles in fulfilling the objectives of the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Almuhrzi and Al-Azri (2019), while summarising the main outcomes of the conference, mentioned multiple relevant aspects to consider when pursuing sustainable development through cultural tourism development:

- The dissemination of sustainable tourism best practices should be encouraged, especially concerning carrying capacity, tourists flow management and local involvement in creative tourism

products. Destinations need to manage visitors of cultural attractions wisely and this can be achieved by using tactics such as early booking, managing carrying capacity and providing high-level quality services;

- Partnerships between stakeholders (especially financial institutions, local organizations and public authorities) to promote small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) can be particularly useful in revealing and enhancing intangible culture resources in urban or rural areas;
- A holistic and collaborative marketing approach to cultural resources should be adopted, with a focus on cultural events, supported by human resource development and sustaining local tourism businesses;
- Culture and biodiversity are recognised as significant components of tourism, requiring a new systematic and holistic approach that should consider and acknowledge the role of upcoming stakeholders in the tourism industry, such as inventors, gastronomists, technologists and local people, who are directly in contact with biodiversity and cultural resources;
- Gastronomy, local food-culture and traditions can be important in protecting biodiversity within a local environment. SMEs can play a relevant role in promoting gastronomy, while benefitting from embedding it into the holistic tourism experience of a destination;
- While the tourism industry has developed several measurements such as arrivals and economic impact, the tools for assessing tourism's impact on the environment and culture need to be advanced. Such measurements should be based on specific criteria and clear indicators. Both at local and national level, the importance of such measurements needs to be acknowledged;
- In order to be sustainable, tourism development should be carried out across the country, so as to spread the benefits of tourism and showcase the cultural diversity and co-existence within a destination. This development, however, should not be too rapid, otherwise the preservation of cultural and natural resources might be disrupted;
- Destination management organisations should put significant efforts and commitment in understanding tourists' needs, market changes and new trends, using this knowledge to offer great experiences, by also using tools like technology and cultural exchange;
- The core of tourism sustainability relies on the authenticity of the tourism product. Artificial tourism products and attractions do not contribute to sustainability. Local communities need to be proud of their authentic cultures and confident in presenting them to the world;
- Overall, tourism plays an important role as a bridge between people from all nations and backgrounds. Without neglecting possible negative impacts of tourism on the local culture, tourism plays a role in safeguarding and promoting cultural resources. Cultural heritage, handicrafts and local products are protected to keep the local destinations attractive to tourists, who would also contribute to the costs needed to preserve and enhance cultural sites and local heritage;

- Tourism needs to be sustainable, not only for social and environmental reasons, but also for long-term economic viability. A suitable atmosphere needs to be in place for entrepreneurs and investors so they can see a potential for growth, also linked to opportunities opened by adaptations to changes in the market;
- In order to be sustainable, tourism development should recognise the important role of local communities, both as tourism service providers and as strategic partners (together with large and small businesses, NGOs and local/national governments), including for decision-making aimed to define tourism development strategies.

Each of these conclusions provides meaningful insights on challenges that the tourism and culture sectors have been facing, and provides a perspective on how an even stronger collaboration between them might contribute to shape the future of cultural tourism and its role in supporting sustainable development. Cultural events and gastronomy are seen as an important driver of this process.

4.4.1. Sustainability and resilience

Recent contributions (Butler 2017; Espiner, Orchiston, & Higham 2017; Hartman 2016; Koens et al. 2019) made evident how the debate on sustainable (cultural) tourism development is evolving, increasingly focusing on participatory approaches to involve local communities and embracing new theoretical and practical approaches such as the concept of resilience, which has been widely discussed in chapter 2. Cheer and Lew (2018, p. i) claimed that “a paradigmatic shift is taking place in the long-term planning of tourism development, in which the prevailing focus on sustainability is being enhanced with the practical application of resilience planning”. Hartman (2016, p. 309) reminds how the resilient adaptive reactions implemented by stakeholders in front of disruptions (see Chapter 2) “are closely linked to sustainable tourism development as it can result for instance in more room (in policies) for innovative forms of more



Fig 3. Smart City Hospitality Framework (Koens et al., 2019)

sustainable forms of tourism, avoid decline, promote the (re)use of prior investments in tourism and offer career opportunities”.

While the concept of resilience is addressed in depth in Chapter 2 of this report, Koens et al.'s (2019) framework for sustainable urban destination development deserves some particular attention (Fig. 3). Koens and his colleagues devised the Smart City Hospitality Framework for sustainable urban tourism design and development. This framework combines the triple bottom line dimensions of the concept of

sustainable development (natural viability, equitability, economic wealth) with the three dimensions of the

city hospitality concept (liveability, experience quality, smart hospitality) and see resilience as the central concept connecting all these elements. A key proposition of this framework is that destination stakeholders will be jointly responsible to shape the tourism system and setting in motion a sustainability transition at destination level.

As reported by Hall (2019), although the sustainable development discourse has dominated the academic and professional debate in tourism for decades, empirical measures suggest that, in a global perspective, tourism is actually less sustainable than ever (Hall, 2011; Ruddy et al., 2015; Scott et al., 2015, 2016). Even recently, a growing number of academics, professionals and policy makers have been discussing the urgency and the possibilities to mitigate the negative socio-environmental impacts of tourism and the consequences of overtourism (Goodwin 2017; Milano, Novelli, & Cheer 2019b; Peeters et al. 2018). The European Union, acknowledging the issue, has recently funded several studies and research projects aiming to generate a better understanding of the complexity of the current situation and identify possible solutions concerning the impact of tourism, consequences of overtourism and challenges of unbalanced tourism growth. For instance, the 'Research for TRAN Committee - Overtourism: impact and possible policy responses²⁰' (Peeters et al. 2018) can be mentioned, as well as 'ESPON - Carrying capacity methodology for tourism²¹' which aims to help destinations with the identification of vulnerabilities in relation to sustainable tourism in the respective territories, based on innovative and available indicators, including tourist arrivals, internet data, social media reviews, seasonality, and pollution with use of big data, new technologies and artificial intelligence (ESPON 2020). A recently published call for tenders by the EU agency EASME (Executive Agency for Small and Medium-sized Enterprises), concerning 'Unbalanced Tourism Growth at Destination Level — Root Causes, Impacts, Existing Solutions and Good Practices' also demonstrates the great attention of the European Union in terms of sustainable tourism development.

Nevertheless, the debate has sometimes developed into a global cross-sectorial discussion embracing global concerns regarding environmental destruction and climate change, overconsumption and overdevelopment (Akbulut et al. 2019). As a more radical stance, the term 'degrowth' has been introduced in the ecological, economic and social debate, initially as a provocative slogan to denounce the mystification of the ideology of sustainable development (Latouche, 2018). It now designates a more complex alternative view based on a transition from a consumption society to a more durable society of prosperity not based on the concepts of growth or frugal abundance (Latouche, 2018). As a conclusive aspect concerning changing perspectives on sustainable development, in the following sub-chapter we will provide a short overview on the interpretation of the concept of degrowth within the tourism domain.

4.4.2. Tourism and degrowth

²⁰ [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document.html?reference=IPOL_STU\(2018\)629184](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document.html?reference=IPOL_STU(2018)629184)

²¹ <https://www.espon.eu/tourism>

Kallis et al. (2018, p. 292) define degrowth as "voluntary, radical political and economic reorganisation leading to drastically reduced resource and energy throughput while welfare, or well-being, improves". Degrowth should not be confused with economic decline or recession. Hall (2010, p. 131) refers to degrowth as "steady-state tourism [...] that encourages qualitative development but not aggregate quantitative growth to the detriment of natural capital". In the same vein, Büscher and Fletcher (2017) add that a radical degrowth should be accompanied by more sustainable modes of consumption and production. For example, Martinez-Alier (2009) argue that if degrowth is to be socially sustainable in any region, a fairly substantial redistribution of wealth and resources will be a prerequisite. As a concept, tourism degrowth also attracted critics, while others argue that there are few viable alternatives to it. Voluntarily degrowing tourism may, however, cause a destination to become more expensive and elitist (Milano, Novelli, & Cheer 2019a).

Barcelona has seen a synergic social movement growing and promoting tourism degrowth, which has evolved into an international social movement (Milano et al. 2019a). During the first Neighbourhood Forum of Tourism held in Barcelona, key principles and measures aimed at tourism degrowth were set up. These measures, on the one hand, mainly consisted in cutting funds and subsidies to tourism agencies and tourism promotion campaigns and, on the other hand, stressed the importance of participatory tourism governance and urban planning processes. Participatory governance means putting citizens at the centre of decision-making because cultural "tourists may have much to learn from host communities about sustainable living and the protection of natural and cultural resources" (Smith, 2016, p. 251). Informed by the eight 'Rs' principles of degrowth (Latouche, 2006), Higgins-Desbiolles et al. (2019) call tourism governance bodies to consider the following guidelines:

- Tourism should be better defined as the voluntary hosting of visitors in local communities for the benefits of locals (and second, tourists);
- Tourism governance should be based on community partnership and ethical consumption;
- Tourism development should be led by grassroots movements and local communities;
- Emphasis should be put on local production of tourism products and services;
- Tourism should be only one pillar of local economies;
- New carrying capacity indexes including the socio-cultural dimension are needed;
- Domestic and social tourism should be prioritised.

Beyond the discussion concerning degrowth, the overview provided by this chapter on the mentioned macro-trends revealed an urgent need for cultural tourism destinations to put local communities at the

centre of tourism planning and management. In other words, as Krippendorf (1987) had already explicitly articulated in his seminal work 'The Holiday Makers' more than 30 years ago, for cultural destinations to be resilient or to flourish, decision-makers will need to commit to "humanising" tourism.

05 Cultural tourism: influencing factors at destination level

The previous chapters discussed how relevant macro-trends have been impacting on cultural tourism and also introduced key concepts such as resilience and sustainability, which will be at the core of the entire SmartCulTour research process, as it aims to uncover how cultural tourism can contribute to sustainability and resilience of cultural tourism destinations. The insights gathered so far enable us to reflect on the future of cultural tourism. Nevertheless, a further step is now required to examine the future of cultural tourism at destination level. We attempt to verify whether the previously identified trends and sustainability concepts may present threats or opportunities for cultural tourism destinations and their future development. The aim is to focus on significant examples found in the recent academic literature, which are able to show the role of these trends and concepts in shaping the present and the future of cultural tourism.

Therefore, practical examples taken from cultural tourism destinations will be used to:

- Further investigate elements of the cultural tourism experience in a globalised world;
- Examine governance elements from a more socio-political perspective;
- Clarify the notion of smart solutions in the context of cultural tourism and beyond with respect to governance issues;
- Appreciate the contextual dichotomies “urban vs rural” and “peripheral vs central”.

5.1. Cultural tourism experiences in a globalised world

The analysis of macro trends impacting on cultural tourism shows how connected concepts such as globalisation, authenticity, local identity and cultural experience are. In this section these connections will be further explored, in the context of cultural tourism destinations.

5.1.1. Balancing globalising forces and local identity

In a globalised world, for several rural areas tourism represents one of the few ways to actively participate in the global economy (Jelinčić 2009) and take advantage of it. Nevertheless, this might come with negative consequences on the fragile socio-cultural fabric of a rural destination. If not managed well, as commented by Rudan (2010), tourism may lead to feelings of antagonism towards tourists (e.g. the feeling of someone occupying their environment, antipathy against tourists-strangers in their own environment because of

traffic and noise resulting from the constant touristic movements in a closed urban system etc.). Nonetheless, Rudan reminds how the presence of cultural tourists in a living entity, if properly managed, helps in developing economies and lead to positive residents' attitudes towards tourism (e.g. increasing pride about one's own past and tradition, satisfaction with the prosperity of the place and its inhabitants, rise of self-confidence etc.). In general, the need for balancing the positive and negative consequences and perceptions of the local community is certainly important, for every form of tourism development. Nevertheless, in the case of cultural tourism and even more for small communities living in peripheral or rural areas, this becomes evidently more sensitive. In fact, we need to consider that a fragile equilibrium needs to be preserved, while exposing the cultural identity of a small community to the influences, and the potential frictions, with a global cultural tourism demand. In principle, developing standardised cultural tourism experiences and products should be avoided, as this might lead to a degradation of the local values and the socio-cultural environment.

On this point, Urosevic (2012) explains how global forces generally push cultural tourism destinations towards a transition from a supply focus on specialised market niches to an interest in the mass market, leading destinations to standardised cultural tourism experiences. To avoid this issue, tourism destinations should focus on diversify and differentiate their cultural tourism products and experiences. Rural areas might have even more opportunities in this sense, as being less exposed to global forces can leave more space for preserving elements of local identity. Specifically, Urosevic (2012) suggested to develop cultural tourism products on the basis of the distinctive cultural identity of the destination, investing in features identified as 'identity holders'. While examining the specific case of the Istrian town of Pula (Croatia), this author identified identity holders such as the old centre of the town, which is able to portray the turbulent history and multiculturalism of the city, integrating the old Roman character with more recent influences of the prosperity gained under the Austrian rule. The integration of identity holders forges a unique identity of the town that, adequately implemented in coherent cultural tourism strategy, opens the opportunity for a clear differentiation of the cultural experiences offered at the destination.

On a similar level, but in the context of small towns and cities in Bulgaria, Ohridska-Olson and Hristov Ivanov (2010) propose 'creative tourism' (see Chapter 4) as a meaningful vehicle for developing cultural tourism experiences by investing in the uniqueness of local identities of small communities. According to the author, creative tourism can be beneficial for small communities as it encourages the preservation of local cultural identity and the pride of the place. Instead of adapting local cultural values to 'please' the visitor, the local communities are encouraged to preserve their 'identity holders', providing a clear diversification of the cultural tourism experiences they offer. Therefore, creative tourism can play a significant role in the future development of cultural tourism and according to Duxbury and Richards (2019) the request for engaging culture-based experiences means that the demand for creative tourism will

probably increase in the near future.

5.1.2. Creative and cultural routes in the global market

The need to diversify and differentiate the cultural tourism destinations in a global market does not mean that each destination, village, city or region needs to isolate itself in the process of developing its own cultural tourism products. On the contrary, the history, the context or a certain common heritage might facilitate a process of collaboration among destinations on a regional, cross-regional, or even cross-national level. This is the case, for example, of creative routes or cultural itineraries (Ohridska-Olson & Hristov Ivanov, 2010; Richards & Marques, 2012), such as the Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe²². This type of itineraries touches different places and communities, each of them contributing to generate a multi-destination cultural/creative experience, often branded by the type of art, activity or heritage they are focused on (e.g. a particular music or dance, an artist, a specific wine-making ritual, a certain historical fact etc.).

Messineo (2012) reminds how this approach based on cultural itineraries seems particularly effective and suited for emerging areas that are still underdeveloped from a tourist point of view and with limited tourism infrastructures. These itineraries can be implemented with relative low investments and they can contribute to the use, for touristic purposes, of otherwise unexploited and unexpressed resources. While analysing the specific case of the 'Phoenicians' Route', a European Cultural Route that borders several Mediterranean countries, Messineo recognises how the itinerary has been useful to establish a system which links the visitors of a multi-destination cultural experience and the network of suppliers that developed it. Despite weak points both in the local tourism infrastructure and in the composition and functioning of the network, culture and creativity facilitated experiences and activities that enhance the local heritage and allowed personal growth and development, both as an individual and also as a part of a group, of the local communities involved in the itinerary, due to its emotional and authentic contents. Messineo (2012, p. 51) stresses the role of culture and creativity in this process, as "creativity favors the constant regenerating of resources, operating systems and development patterns, this can allow the cultural itinerary to develop as a container and expression of cultural heritage, serving the purposes of promotion and protection, and of activating cultural and economic development through activities and projects that can bring together capital resources and entrepreneurial know-how."

Therefore, creative and cultural routes might acquire an even more significant role in the future of cultural tourism, especially in terms of opportunities for emerging and less visited destinations.

5.1.3. Globalisation and standardisation of the cultural tourism offer

²² <https://www.coe.int/en/web/cultural-routes>

It was already mentioned in Chapter 4 how more urbanised areas are often characterised by a fragmented social fabric, making them more easily exposed to the standardising effect of globalising forces. Massive flows of international tourists can exacerbate this situation, due to the impact on the socio-cultural fabric of a global demand that requires certain standards of service and a sense of familiarity with the type of service they search for. That is why urbanised areas and, in general, over-visited tourism destinations are generally susceptible to various aspects of standardisation and homogenisation (Dumbrovská & Fialová 2019). On the supply side, this often causes issues in terms of authenticity of the cultural tourism offer of the destination (see further). Nevertheless, tourists also look for a unique experience in a destination, which differs from their ordinary settings and from other experiences they previously had. As discussed in the previous chapter, using the experience economy theory as a background, cultural tourism can play a role in this. The challenge would be to combine elements of the tourism offer that provide a sense of familiarity and are more 'aligned' to the global demand, with cultural elements that characterise the uniqueness of the experience at the destination.

A study by Dumbrovská and Fialová (2019) based on the offer of local souvenirs as a representative element of the cultural offer of a destination, stresses how important governance can be in facilitating (or failing to do so) the development of cultural tourism elements according to sustainable principles and respecting the authenticity of the local culture. The study was conducted analysing the souvenir offer of the most touristic areas of Prague, one of the most visited European capitals. The results of the study show how 90% of souvenir sales were related to mass-produced general souvenirs. The author explains how the connection of such souvenirs with local culture and history is very minimal, as they are usually souvenirs of global character with a local or national inscription or image, and with an uncertain provenience in terms of material and components. It is the products made from local materials, manufactured according to local tradition and using specific techniques, which reflect the cultural identity and authenticity of Prague. Nevertheless, these souvenirs are mostly displaced by 'falsely authentic', cheaper and lower quality products, with not adequate standards that may subsequently lead to a lower quality of the tourist experience. The author identifies the root of the problem in the insufficient regulation of tourism and its services, both from the state and the city, specifically the lack of a product certification system and a coherent legal framework that can support it.

This example shows how governance elements and the objectives pursued in terms of destination governance also have an influence on how cultural tourism products and experiences are shaped on the market. An evaluation of future typologies of cultural tourism also needs to consider how different regulatory and governance frameworks can lead to different paths of development for cultural tourism.

5.2. Socio-Political perspective on destination governance

Governance is certainly a critical factor in shaping present and future cultural tourism destinations. Therefore, looking at critical stances on governance-related aspects is a useful exercise and can produce meaningful insights for reflections on the future of cultural tourism.

5.2.1. A critical stance on (cultural) tourism as driver of capitalism within the global neoliberal environment

As mentioned in Chapter 4, both tourism and culture have been recognised as potential drivers for sustainable development and, recently, efforts have been made in order to strengthen the collaboration between tourism and culture sectors to enhance their roles in fulfilling the UN's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (e.g. the UNWTO/UNESCO world conferences on tourism and culture). Nevertheless, approaching culture as a factor of economic and tourism development in certain urban settings, attracted several critics as well. Particularly, culture has been sometimes seen as misused by neoliberal approaches and converted into an essential factor of urban and tourism development models. These models, despite using social cohesion and sustainability arguments, mainly resulted in speculation activities and advantages for the socio-economic elites. This critical stance has been increasingly targeting tourism development in general, pointing out its role as a driver of capitalism within the global neoliberal environment.

Rius-Ulldemolins et al. (2015) provide an exemplification of this stance. They report cases in which culture has been used in Barcelona and Valencia, two of the most visited cities in Spain, as part of a urban and tourism development model allegedly shaped by a neoliberal approach, based on cultural instrumentalisation and urban branding strategies. Specifically, the author points out two main initiatives, namely the Universal Forum of Cultures (Barcelona) and the City of Arts and Sciences (Valencia), suggesting that in both cases they generated what has been named 'white elephants'. This terminology refers to big infrastructures or major events that require large investments or maintenance costs but do not provide a significant public value. The authors clarify that 'white elephants' are physically represented by buildings and places that quickly lose their utility and that are expensive to manage, difficult to make profitable and hard to maintain. They are the product of a strategy that aims to attract the public (local and global visitors), generating a sense of euphoria sometimes used to justify potential negative effects of the strategy itself (e.g. gentrification). 'White elephants' of Barcelona and Valencia are the consequence of a urban development model mainly oriented towards external local promotion, based on a strategy of creative 'city-branding', while not doing much in terms of promoting the cultural practices of the local population, as also reminded by Sánchez Belando et al. (2012).

Specifically, Barcelona's 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures involved a large mobilisation of resources and raised controversial discussions about both its objectives and its cultural and urban effects. The municipality of Barcelona defined it as a global and innovative event, stressing the desire to be the first

edition of a new type of regular global event with an emphasis on cultures and people, pursuing the mobilisation of broad sectors of the civil society with the goal of constructing new social relations in the world of globalisation (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2000). Rius-Ulldemolins et al. (2015) recognise how the preparation of the event involved good examples of sustainable infrastructural renovation of a degrading area (the mouth of the Besos River). Nevertheless, the author reports a negative evaluation when looking at the event considering its objectives of social regeneration and promotion of sustainability, cultural participation and peace. Several arguments are reported to support the author's view:

- Costs: from 1999 to 2004, the Forum costed to the government 220.8 million euros, approximately the amount of the regional government's annual spending on culture;
- The infrastructure legacy of the Forum included an oversized convention building of 120,000 m² and an auditorium, which in 2011 was converted into the Blue Museum of Natural Sciences, requiring additional 13 million euros for space adjustments. Meanwhile, some of the Forum's areas have remained incomplete due to a lack of resources;
- Public attendance was much less than expected (3.3 million visitors vs 5 million expected);
- Organisational complexity and opacity of the consortium responsible for the event;
- Multiple indications of irregularities and corruption practices have been revealed;
- Critics by the social movements of the city, pointing out how the Forum sought financing by multinational companies, some of which were accused of environmentally negative practices or to develop ways of sponsoring highly oriented to pure advertising and not in line with the announced principles of the event. This caused the Forum to be seen by the intellectual and creative sectors as an exercise of cultural instrumentalisation and purely a city-branding activity.

The author concluded stressing that what seemed to be a good initiative, such as the generation of cultural spaces for discussion about a culture of peace and sustainability, has been transformed into a 'white elephant', due to the adopted focus on city-branding and an instrumentalisation of the role of culture. Besides the specific position of the author, this example shows how combining culture with tourism and urban development is not sufficient to guarantee success in terms of sustainable development. The governance system of the destination, the adopted policy model, its level of inclusion of local residents and their socio-cultural environment, they all represent ingredients that need to be adequately combined to support the role of culture in the sustainable development of a urban destination. Global tourism developments embracing forms of neoliberal urbanisation and a continuous growth of the volumes of international arrivals have been increasingly criticised, leading to a rising number of anti-tourism social movements and public demonstrations against the tourism industry. The evolution of this debate will most likely influence the future role, meanings and involvement of culture and tourism in urban development

processes.

5.2.2. Participatory governance between theory and practical application

A successful and sustainable development of a tourism destination relies on the adoption of an effective destination governance. This consists in the management and development of limited resources by implementing principles, guidelines and a targeted stimulation of cooperation among the variety of destination's stakeholders (each of them with different interests), with the aim to pursue common goals (Thees et al. 2020). Several authors have recently pointed out the importance and the benefit of involving the local community in the destination governance, through specific actions/plans of participatory governance (Bramwell 2010; Reid, Mair, & George 2004; Shakeela & Weaver 2018). Among them, Cortés-Vázquez et al., (2017) remind us that participatory governance models are based on the active involvement of civil society and local communities in decision-making as a crucial element to ensure a fair and effective management of cultural resources of a destination, in particular heritage. Nevertheless, this brings an additional level of complexity as, differently from other stakeholder groups that are often profit-oriented, residents (apart from those directly involved with tourism) are generally more interested in improving their general living conditions and their well-being (Thees et al. 2020).

Participatory governance has become nowadays a buzzword in a variety of policy fields, such as environment, humanitarian aid and sustainable development (Hertz 2015). Cortés-Vázquez et al., (2017, p. 1) suggest how "in the heritage field, institutions tend to see social participation as a synonym for good governance practice". Erdmenger and Kagermeier (2020) propose a critical view on this, supported by a study conducted on the local community in Munich (Germany), a city where the number of overnight stays has doubled over the last ten years and with similar levels of tourism intensity than in the often-discussed 'overcrowded' cities of Barcelona, Amsterdam and Berlin (Kagermeier & Erdmenger 2019). Firstly, the authors recognise that scientific research on destination governance has elaborated several models over the last 50 years, focusing on participatory approaches, collaborative and community-based governance. Nevertheless, the authors point out a lack of specific practical guidelines on how to implement those concepts, revealing a significant gap between theoretical models and a practical application of them in real-life situations.

More specifically, the authors advocate a shift of perspective from academic concepts to a better understanding of the needs and opinions of local communities, focusing on understanding, first of all, if and how they are actually motivated to participate in tourism governance. The empirical results of the study reported local residents as not very interested in actively engaging in what academics would call 'participatory governance', mainly because they could not perceive the need of that and they could not see any personal benefit coming out of that process. This reinforces the position of the authors, who suggest that "before drafting the n^{th} model of participatory governance as it should be – from a researcher's point

of view – we should switch perspectives and engage in dialogue with host communities to gain some insights into reality” (Erdmenger & Kagermeier 2020:2). Therefore, the position of the authors is not against participatory governance, which is recognised as something necessary for socially acceptable tourism development. Instead, they advocate the necessity of taking a step back and embracing approaches that are even more bottom-up, starting from the perspective of the local community on ‘if and how’ they would be willing to be involved in decisions concerning tourism development. Then, if necessary, work on the knowledge and awareness of the local community, so that they can make an informed decision whether they want to be involved or not. Moreover, a better knowledge and awareness can eventually provide further incentives and motivations for locals to participate.

Cortés-Vázquez et al., (2017) also provided a critical contribution on participatory governance, focusing on a series of examples occurred in Spain and concerning the heritage field. These examples concerned 3 cases of unsuccessful implementation of participatory governance, where elements such as pre-existing social fractures within the community and different power relations between stakeholders did not allow to achieve the desired results. In a first case, concerning the Cabo de Gata-Níjar Natural Park²³, a sustainable development plan based on a participatory procedure was implemented to sort out a different view concerning heritage management within the park. Unfortunately, it became clear that the residents’ perspective would have been investigated only after a group of experts had already identified the needs, limitations, challenges and potentials of the area. This approach was rejected by the locals, as considered useless in balancing an uneven capacity of influencing decisions. A second example concerned the Great Mosque of Córdoba²⁴, which represents a monumental testimony of the Caliphate, although it became a Catholic cathedral after Ferdinand III took the city in 1236. Although managed by the Catholic Church (which only allows Christian worship to take place in its interior), its different architectural styles and historical meanings hold a symbolic importance for different religions even nowadays. Attempts of implementing a more participative management of heritage clashed with the privileged position of a powerful stakeholder (the Catholic Church) and was transformed into a controversial political debate way beyond the local level. A third example concerns the cave of Altamira²⁵, internationally renowned for its well-preserved Paleolithic paintings. In this case, instead of becoming an instrument of effective participatory governance, the participation approach led to institutional disputes around how heritage governance should work, clashing into conflicts and tensions between different government levels and the local community.

The cases reported by Cortés-Vázquez et al. (2017) provide empirical evidence of the complexity embedded in a practical application of participatory governance principles in heritage and cultural tourism, reinforcing

²³ Designated a natural park (parque natural) in 1987, a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve in 1997, and a UNESCO Global Geopark in 2006

²⁴ Inscribed on the World Heritage List since 1984

²⁵ Inscribed on the World Heritage List since 1985

the idea of taking a step back and start from the perspective of the local community, also understanding how participatory techniques affect the people involved. The adoption of this approach might be particularly difficult in successful tourism destinations, characterised by strong economic interests connected to the tourism industry. Differently, examples such as Meetjesland, in the Belgian region of Flanders, show how a participatory governance approach might be more effectively implemented in destinations with a limited number of arrivals, due to the lack of established economic interests connected to tourism. Specifically, in Meetjesland, a region with a limited number of visitors, a participative process has been established, leading to an ongoing dialogue with the local community and tourism and cultural stakeholders, also involving them in the process of outlining a new strategic plan for the region (Toerisme Vlaanderen 2020).

5.3. The role of smart solutions for cultural tourism

The notion of *smart cities* is relatively young and in trend since the start of this century. However, its definition and more in general an exact definition of the concept of *smartness* remains unclear (Neirotti et al., 2014).

In the literature, two opposite but fundamental uses of the notion of smartness can be found, when applied to cities: as technology-driven solutions or as a people-centred approach to city life. In the first case, the focus is on the deployment of ICT in the city with the aim of solving practical problems, mostly related to infrastructure, natural resources, transportation and logistics, and the economy (Neirotti et al., 2014; Trencher, 2019; Varolo, 2016). Examples include the use of CCTV to instil a higher sense of safety in the inhabitants; or the processing of real-time information to regulate morning traffic or to better manage the energy use in the evening (see in Neirotti et al., 2014). In this sense, smart cities are “sophisticated systems that ‘sense and act’” (reported in Neirotti et al., 2014). This ‘technocratic’, top-down approach to city life however “turn(s) cities into places of pervasive control and surveillance”(de Lange 2015).

The other bottom-up and people-centred view focuses on making citizens (and not the city) *smart*, by connecting them with the urban setting and with each other, by engaging them in participatory city making and governance and consequently by fostering ‘citizen-driven innovation’ (de Lange 2015). In this view, a smart city uses technology to collect data that citizens can access and use for their common goals, to make citizen-centred, tailored-made decisions by actively participating in city life planning and governance (Neirotti et al., 2014). This approach focuses on social problems, welfare, social inclusion, culture and education and addresses the residents’ real needs. Only in this way, a smart city can effectively also improve its inhabitants’ wellbeing (Trencher, 2019).

These two forms of city smartness are called by some scholars smart city 1.0 (or hard use of ICT) and smart city 2.0 (or soft use of ICT - see again in Neirotti et al., 2014 and Trencher, 2019). Table 6 below (reported

from Trencher, 2019) gives the overview of the main characteristics and differences between smart city 1.0 and smart city 2.0.

Table 6. Smart cities 1.0 and 2.0 (adapted from Trencher, 2019)

	Smart city 1.0	Smart city 2.0
Focus of vision	Technology and economy	People, governance and policy
Role of citizens	Passive role as sensors, end-users or consumers	Active role as co-creators or contributors to innovation, problem solving and planning
Objective of technology and experimentation	Optimise infrastructures and services Serve demand side interests and spur new business opportunities Address universal technical agendas (energy, transport, economy)	Mitigate or solve social challenges Enhance citizen wellbeing and public services Address specific endogenous problems and citizen needs
Approach	Centralised (privileged actors) Exogenous development	Decentralised (diverse actors) Endogenous development

5.3.1. Smart cities as a technocratic approach to city life

In its original definition, a smart city is a city where ICT is applied in a top-down way to tackle practical, mostly economic issues, such as energy and transport. In this context, technology is used for “the optimization of public infrastructures, resources and services” (Trencher, 2019) through the systematic collection of big data, digitisation and the possibility of accessing sensitive personal information (see in Neirotti et al., 2014 and Vanolo, 2016). The resulting city is therefore an automated city where technology drives city development, with emerging issues related to fear for one’s own privacy, security and control (Vanolo, 2016). In this context, citizens have little to no voice and control over the type and uses of the technology deployed. Their social needs are not central in the smart city 1.0 paradigm. A study by Neirotti et al. (2014) involving 70 cities with less than 3 million citizens across all continents indicated that most smart cities solutions pertain to transportation and mobility, natural resources and energy, while only a minority applies solutions related to government, tourism and culture.

Well-known and often reported examples of smart cities 1.0 are Singapore because of the massive computing infrastructure used to brand itself as ‘intelligent island’ (Arun and Yap, 2000, quoted in Vanolo, 2016), and the hypertechnological cities of Songdo in Korea and Masdar in the United Arab Emirates (see for example in Vanolo, 2016 and Trencher, 2019).

5.3.2. Smart citizenship

The notion of smart city 2.0 originates from the need of an “alternative form(s) of smart city that engage(s) with a broader notion of sustainability that transcends the promotion of efficiency and growth, the control of individual and household behaviour, and the mediation of consumer culture” (Martin et al., 2018, cited in Trencher, 2019). In this context, citizens can play different roles, like “providing feedback on project proposals, directly proposing visions and ideas, participating in decision-making, and playing an empowered role as a co-creator” (Cardullo & Kitchin, 2018, reported in Trencher, 2019).

Trencher (2019) illustrates an emblematic example of this form of city smartness, by discussing how ICT is deployed in the Japanese city of Aizuwakamatsu. Aizuwakamatsu is located in the Northern part of Japan, not too far from Fukushima. It has therefore suffered some great environmental crises due to the recent Fukushima nuclear power plant disaster. Moreover, the city presents a significant rate in aging population, which exceeds national averages. In order to face all these great challenges, the municipality introduced as of 2015 a number of smart city 2.0 projects. They range from the development of apps as a collaborative effort between citizens, the municipality itself and various local IT companies (like for example an app helping fire-fighters locate fire hydrants hidden under thick layers of snow during the winter months) to data visualisation that combines spatial information with demographic data (for example in the planning of ‘intelligent’ bus routes. This planning was driven by users’ real demands, and resulted in the implementation of bus routes in areas with a higher rate of elderly people and school children) and the adoption of low-threshold technology to solve recognised social problems (for a more detailed overview, see in Trencher, 2019). This was the case of, for example, The Rural Living Support System. This project was meant to help elderly inhabitants of a rural and somehow peripheral area of the city get personalised on-demand public transportation services, health monitoring and real-time community information using technology already existing *in situ*. This project has proved to overcome a sense of social isolation felt by that particular age group and to keep the community connected (Trencher, 2019).

These examples show not only the active participation of the local community in transparent and accessible governance, but also how technology can be used in a human-centred way to facilitate citizens-led innovation.

Between these two contrasting conceptualisations on citizens, i.e., as citizens-with-no-voice and as citizens-as-urban-sensors (Vanolo, 2016), expressed by the two just discussed forms of smart cities, the vision on city smartness that is currently advocated by many scholars (for example, Calzana & Cobo, 2015, reported in Trencher 2019) is a hybrid form of city smartness. Capdevila & Zarlenga (2015, reported in Trencher, 2019), for example, consider Barcelona as an example of this hybrid form of city smartness. In Barcelona, they claim, both top-down and bottom-up smart city approaches coexist and “reinforce the collaboration between different city stakeholders and fertilise the soil for better innovation through synergy and overlap” (p. 266, reported in Trencher, 2019). Moreover, in a hybrid smart city, it is more likely that the distinction

between those ‘having’ and those ‘not having’ technological skills and technology *tout court* (Vanolo, 2016) will be less evident and become blurred, not hindering an inclusive participation in city planning and governance, as the example of Aizuwakamatsu has just illustrated.

5.3.3. Not only smart cities

There is however more to the ‘smart’ use of technology in a city context, especially that of cultural destinations, than the smart cities cases just discussed.

Many scholars in the tourism field, for example, consider technology as the means to solve, “to a greater degree, one of the largest problematic issues concerning cultural heritage assets - nondestructive public access” (Refsland, Ojika, Addison, & Stone, 2000, p. 20, cited in Guttentag, 2010). To achieve this, technology is used to manage, plan access to and smartly market cultural destinations, for example by managing tourist flows, by planning ‘smart’ access to certain parts of a destination, and by marketing other parts to visit based on the use of tourists’ mobility data (see also in Pasquinelli & Trunfio, 2020).

Which technology to use to achieve this can vary, but Virtual Reality (VR) has proved to be particularly effective in the managing and planning of cultural destinations. Çizel and Ajanovic (2018), for instance, discuss how Virtual Reality can help in smart city planning by offering a substitute for a real visit at natural or cultural sites where the number of visitors needs to be kept limited. In Phaselis, a famous national park in Antalya, for example, tourists can walk virtually inside the park experiencing both tangible and intangible cultural heritage (Çizel & Ajanovic, 2018). These authors believe that the realistic experiences made possible by the latest VR developments can help lower the pressure exercised by tourists on cultural heritage sites with high tourist demand. The realism provided by VR applications indeed makes them a valid substitute for a real visit, therefore diminishing the actual tourists’ presence at heritage sites that might be damaged by excessive tourist numbers. Already Cheong, more than two decades ago, had proposed a similar approach to contain overtourism and preserve more fragile heritage sites (1995). In most cases, technology does not fully replace the in-person visit, but it can be used to keep visitation contained to less sensitive areas of a cultural heritage site or to lower the amount of time people spend at the destination for their visit, such as done in the Mogao Grottoes in China (Zhang, & Kong, 2006; see also in footnote²⁶).

In an example reported by Guttentag (2010), VR was used to simulate and test users’ behaviour and users’ environmental impacts, like soil erosion, in a national park. In the work just cited, examples where VR is used for the restoration and preservation of cultural heritage sites abound, and these include not only those which undergo natural degradation, but also those which are damaged due to their overpopularity. The examples cited include Michelangelo’s Pietà and David in Firenze, sculptures from the Parthenon,

²⁶ Dunhuang Research Institute (2010, June 15). Mogao Grottoes invest 260 million Yuan to build virtual grottoes centre. *Huanqiu News Portal*. Available from <http://china.huanqiu.com/roll/2010-06/860253.html>
 Dunhuang Research Institute. (2016, July 27). Analysis of the visitors to digital Dunhuang platform. *Dunhuang Research Institute*. Available from <http://public.dha.ac.cn/content.aspx?id=550304908161>

Angkor temples in Cambodia, the Hawara pyramid complex from ancient Egypt, the Hagia Sophia Mosque of Istanbul, to name a few renowned sites.

Despite the fact that VR technology seems to be generally well accepted when it comes to help preserving heritage sites, another issue is whether it is also well-received in its actual use, namely whether the loss in authenticity that it generates is perceived by the visitors as an inevitable price to pay or as resulting in a poor tourist experience. But the answer to this question probably lies in the definition of authenticity. “Authenticity’ is a socially constructed concept and its social (as against philosophical) connotation is, therefore, not given, but ‘negotiable’” (Cohen, 1988, p. 374, quoted in Guttentag, 2010). Scholars also further distinguish between an ‘objective authenticity’ and a ‘constructive authenticity’ (see again in Guttentag, 2010): the former indicates an actual exact match between VR simulation and real site (so, for example, the Venetian environments recreated in Disney World’s Epcot cannot be considered as an adequate substitute for visiting Venice - see in Guttentag, 2010), the latter indicates the perception of the visitor, which depends on the person’s individual characteristics and technology acceptance and on the type of technology used. Interestingly though, visitors seem to accept visiting reproductions of the popular Lascaux Cave paintings without seemingly seeing it as an artificial tourist experience (Guttentag, 2010): visitors can indeed even enter the original cave in France, whose paintings date back 17 000 years, but they can access Lascaux II, a replica of some of the most significant portions of the cave that is located just a few hundred yards from the original. The real cave was closed to the public in 1963 after it was discovered that carbon dioxide from tourists’ breath was causing the paintings to deteriorate, yet the replicated cave appears to function as a satisfactory substitute for visitors (De guichen & Perier D’ieteren, 2009). Although Lascaux II is a tangible substitute, rather than a virtual one, it serves as an important example of tourists’ willingness to accept replicas as substitutes. So, in cases where there is a general acceptance that the real experience is too fragile and needs to be protected, visitors are willing to accept more easily virtual and artificial copies.

Still, according to some scholars (like Paquet & Viktor, 2005, reported in Guttentag, 2010), “Most people want to see reality and not only virtuality” (p. 1). Many scholars (see again in Guttentag, 2010) even posit that VR can actually increase tourists’ desire to visit the real site, once they have experienced it virtually, thereby not helping in limiting tourist fluxes or preserving the site.

The examples just presented show how planning goes beyond the mere physical planning of a site, but it extends to managing it. Simulations in VR can also help in managing a site. This is possible when, through simulations, a museum can for example verify the popularity of a certain exhibition to estimate the possible number of visitors that can be allowed in or when a natural or cultural destination can estimate the possible negative impact of a too high number of visitors on the local community (Çizel & Ajanovic, 2018).

Another technology that is often used to plan and market a tourist destination is social media. Their impact

on the cultural destination however depends on their use, either from an insider's or an outsider's perspective.

A recent study by Sormaz & Ruoss (2020), for example, investigated the impact of the use of social media on a natural heritage site like the Swiss Alps Jungfrau-Aletsch, inscribed on the World Heritage List since 2001. The authors compare 2 known social media platforms, Instagram and TripAdvisor, and analyse the way in which this natural site is presented on both platforms by the tourists themselves (on Instagram) and by the tourist professionals (on TripAdvisor).

The *Instagrammability* of a heritage site is what most influences tourists in their decision-making process (Sormaz & Ruoss, 2020). For this reason, social media have mainly had a negative impact on heritage sites since they have attracted too many tourists to the Instagrammable locations, while leaving the non-Instagrammable ones (or the ones which are simply not represented on social media – we could call them peripheral in our own terminology) in the dark. However, if used properly, social media can help balance tourists flow in both directions, that is in the case of either over or undertourism (Sormaz & Ruoss, 2020).

What content to share depends on the platform used and consequently also on the users of such platforms. So, for example, Instagram mainly contains what Sormaz & Ruoss (2020) call the *outsider's perspective*, which is the perspective of the tourist. What visitors post on this platform are mainly pictures of nice sceneries, of build architecture and of food. The *insider's perspective*, that is that of the tourism professionals or the locals, would include local festivities, traditional events and food, crafts. Especially DMOs are mainly present on TripAdvisor. The insider's perspective is where emergent or less represented destinations might be better served, as already indicated in Table 1 in section 3.1. In that table, we discussed the use of online platforms like social media to promote communities-as-destinations. Moreover, the fact of being online can be seen as a means to create more cohesion and sense of community within the community itself (Lapointe, 2020).

In a recent article, Huerta-Álvarez, Cambra-Fierro & Fuentes-Blasco (2020) discuss the use of social media both by the DMO and the tourists to promote Metropolitan Lima which is considered an emergent destination (WTTC, 2018). This study shows that both a controlled and uncontrolled use of social media by the DMO (so the insider's and the outsider's perspectives mentioned above) succeeds in generating a positive image of the destination, but this is particularly evident if this information comes from the tourists themselves and not from the DMO. Their conclusion is that 'social media is a key player in terms of creating positive images of the destination' (Huerta-Álvarez, Cambra-Fierro & Fuentes-Blasco, 2020).

Next to planning, managing and marketing a cultural destination, technology like VR can also be used to communicate to all stakeholders linked to a particular heritage site, like for example the local community, and involve them in the planning and management of that site, as a form of *participatory planning* (Guttentag, 2010). As an example of this approach, Guttentag refers to a case discussed by Heldal (2007)

relative to the planning and building of two roads in Sweden. These roads would have had to pass through heritage sites, namely Bronze Age settlements with archaeological remains South of Stockholm. By using VR to communicate these plans to all stakeholders, including the local community, participatory planning could be facilitated. As a result of this, a successful solution to this heritage preservation problem could be found with the satisfaction of all those involved (Heldal, 2007).

Another example of both the use of VR for planning and the adoption of participatory planning consists in making the tourism plans developed in VR available to the public via the Internet. For the Porta Susa project, in Turin, for example, the plans for a transportation hub were communicated to the local community via a public online VR environment. In this way, they could explore the plans as avatars and interact with other users while accessing any relevant information about the project (Caneparo, 2001, reported in Guttentag, 2010).

Another technology that is very effective in participatory planning is serious gaming as described in Koens et al. (2020).

In an older work, Nancy Odendaal (2010) compares the use of technology to promote tourism in emergent versus established destinations, focusing on two cases: Brisbane in Australia as an example of smart city and Durban in South Africa as emerging economy back in 2010. Figure 4 below synthesises the difference in approach between these two cities when it comes to the use of ICT.

Summary of comparison using analytical framework

Local government trend/ characteristic	Brisbane	Durban
Policy context	One agency that drives e-governance initiatives	Presently fragmented, but with the intention of having one central driver
Integrated governance	Clear strategic planning framework Central and powerful official champion Strong political buy-in Pursuit of social integration and empowerment	Integrated delivery problematic
Transparent local governance	“Arms-length” interface with city structures and politicians Two-way cyber communication facilitated effectively	Direct interface with politicians and officials—highly transparent
Developmental outcomes and processes	Emphasis on resource mobilization and universal access Skills upgrade and universal access are clear goals	Basic needs delivery takes priority; utilizing ICT towards more effective service delivery
Strategic and Promotional activity	“Ourbristane.com” promoted as city icon	Ongoing promotion of Council web site
Networking and partnerships	Web used as interactive and promotional tool Federal and State governments seen as partners Partnerships seen as central to successful delivery	Emphasis on networks with other cities (Leeds and Rotterdam)
The “on-the-ground” context	Concern with involvement of community sector Multi-cultural and diverse population Universal access a priority	Human resource and technical capacity are issues
Overall comment	Clear strategic goals and resource mobilization	Local government restructuring to conclude—intentions are clear however

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Fig. 4. A comparison in ICT use for tourism promotion between an established and an emergent tourist destination (from Odendaal, 2010)

This study, albeit somehow outdated, clearly shows how technology offers “opportunities for extended consultation and participation. Yet, as shown in the Durban example in particular, socio-economic needs would have to be considered in tandem with technological imperatives” (Odendaal, 2010). This is also an

illustration of the hybrid approach to city smartness that we have advocated in the previous sections.

5.4. Contextual dichotomies: urban vs rural and peripheral vs central destinations

In this section, the analysis revolves around the intersection between two dichotomies that are frequently discussed in tourism: rural versus urban and peripheral versus central destinations. The perspective we are adopting relies on the observation that central areas can be found not only in urban destinations, but also in rural destinations or regions. Similarly, peripheral areas can be identified within rural areas and regions, but also in the fringe of urban cities. Therefore, the dichotomy peripheral - central is more correctly defined by the socio-economic characterisation of a destination (or part of it), rather than based on geographical-location criteria. Nevertheless, as widely explained in Chapter 2, nowadays we are all living in a volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous society (i.e., the VUCA environment), where cities and territories are continuously exposed to changing factors that constantly present challenges and new opportunities. Therefore, any attempt of classifying (cultural) tourism destinations needs to consider the dynamicity of territorial systems. For example, urban areas once characterised by a peripheral socio-economic role, might undergo societal, cultural or economical transformations that bring them to have a more central role in the urban context they belong to. We might talk, in this case, of emerging destinations or areas. This potential evolution, valid both for urban and rural destinations, is visually represented in Figure 5 and its well described by the case of *Rotterdam-Zuid* (Rotterdam-South), in the Netherlands. The socio-economic evolution of this area relegated it to be considered as a peripheral part of the city. Yet, the city council is investing a lot in promoting this area, by organising cultural events, installing higher educational institutions, improving mobility and revitalising the place (Castigliano 2017; Mecanoo 2020). A similar process is happening with the project '*Nieuw Zuid*' (New South) in Antwerp, Belgium. In Antwerp South, which used to be a socio-economic disadvantaged area, a new, sustainable and smart neighborhood is gradually taking shape. The projects highlights include approximately 2,000 new homes, new facilities such as schools, shops and parks, smart ICT applications to make life easier for residents and ensure they can make more sustainable choices (Antwerpen Morgen n.d.). Both examples show that several efforts have been made in terms of bringing marginalised parts of the two cities to be emergent areas, albeit still peripheral in strictly geographical terms.

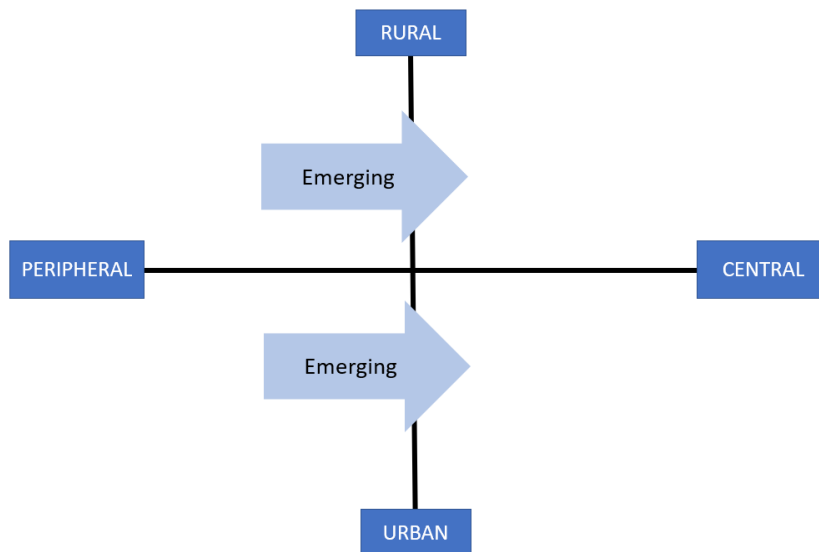


Fig. 5. Destination dichotomies map: urban vs rural and peripheral vs central destinations

As a matter of fact, the areas of urban and rural destinations with a more central socio-economic role, are often identified as the most attractive from a tourism and cultural point of view. Besides the physical location of tourism attractions, this is due to both demand and supply factors. In terms of supply, having a more significant economic role means that central destinations (or part of them) are also better equipped in terms of infrastructures, facilities and services that can be offered to visitors. Several factors (e.g. perceived availability of services, mobility, time-efficiency, social media and travel communication) influence the demand and attract mainstream flows of tourism mostly towards central destinations and areas. This often determines a congestion of central tourism destinations (or central areas of them), which characterises them as ‘overvisited’ and at risk of overtourism.

In the last decades, big cities have been successful in attracting large numbers of visitors, also due to the possibility to offer a broad spectrum of attractive elements to visitors, such as cultural and historic heritage, museums, events, exhibitions and conferences, festival, shopping etc. This often determined a congestion of visitors in popular and central urban areas, with significant negative effects on the population of the city itself (e.g. negative consequences related to overtourism, gentrification, prices increase etc.). On the other hand, more peripheral zones of the cities, smaller towns and villages in more rural areas often remained at the side-lines of the tourism development, missing the opportunity to enhance their cultural and historic heritage and contribute to a more uniform, balanced and sustainable development.

As reported by Rudan (2010), globalising forces have been pushing people, especially the younger generations, to live in bigger cities to pursue education and career opportunities and because of the variety of services and possibilities that a larger urban centre has to offer. This leaves rural peripheral areas with a rather old demographic structure, which makes more difficult to further develop economic activities. For example, from a cultural tourism supply side, this can reduce the availability of employable human

resources with the background and skills that are necessary to combine culture and tourism, as shown by Rudan (2010) in the case of Croatian historical towns and by Silva (2012) in a study concerning the program 'Historic Villages of Portugal'. This trend can even negatively impact on the attitude towards innovation of the local cultural industry, reducing its capability to keep pace with the continuous changes of a dynamic cultural tourism global demand and a VUCA environment. Whether this socio-demographic trend will continue in the future, is an open question, as the Covid-19 pandemic is revealing new trends. Social and physical distancing and a more frequent use of smart working are driving part of the urban population to re-think their priorities in terms of living space, leading to consider in a more favourable way also housing solutions outside of big urban centres (Cavendish 2020). This is in line with a similar pre-Covid trend, identified with the name of 'the progressive province', which sees younger generations struggling with prices of urban housing in the big cities. A forefront of them, the most 'progressive', are moving towards urban fringes, villages and small towns that can experience a renaissance (Horx 2020), leading to a socio-economical rejuvenation of these areas which might also determine a renewed potential offer in terms of cultural tourism.

As seen, the evolution of cultural tourism presents several opportunities and challenges for peripheral, less visited areas. Nevertheless, the forecasted future increase of cultural tourism volumes might lead to great challenges in the social, economic and geographical spheres, especially for large cities and over-visited destinations (Albert Miró Pérez, Eugenia Martínez Sánchez, & Ramsés Gallego Díaz 2020). It is not the purpose of this report to dig into the complexity of the topics related to overtourism (see Peeters et al. (2018), 'Research for TRAN Committee - Overtourism: impact and possible policy responses' for a comprehensive overview on overtourism, causes, consequences and responses) but it is certainly worth to mention how urban transformations due to increasing tourist flows are having significant impact on the socio-economic and cultural fabric of big cities and overvisited areas, causing discontent in the local residents and gentrification.

As a conclusive step, the graph below (Fig. 6) provides a visual representation of what has been discussed, linking the intersection of the considered dichotomies with insights provided in this chapter. Below the figure, a list of items describing significant elements for each typology of cultural tourism destination (A,B,C,D) has been provided. Sometimes, an item described for one typology might be applied also to other typologies. Nevertheless, the picture and its description aim to represent a simplification of the reality, focusing on the predominant characterisation of each typology.

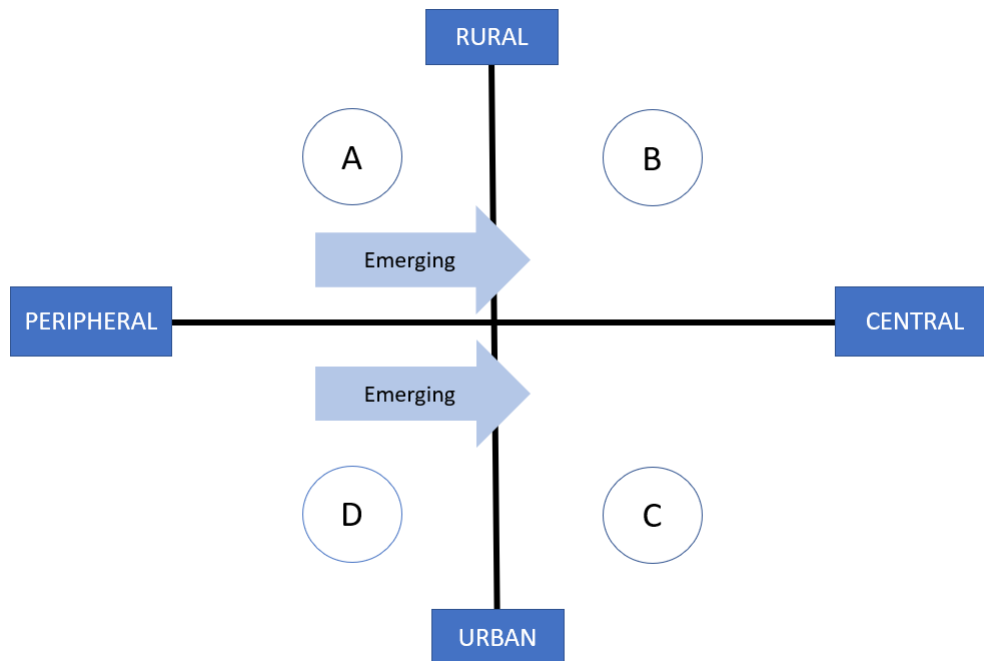


Fig. 6. Dichotomies intersections for cultural tourism destinations

A. Rural-peripheral destinations and areas

- Tourism might represent one of the few ways to actively participate in the global economy;
- Fragile socio-cultural fabric. Risk of exposing the cultural identity of a small community to the influences of a global cultural tourism demand;
- Cultural tourism, as an opportunity, can contribute to generate pride about local traditions and a sense of belonging;
- Predominance of authentic and diverse cultural tourism products, based on unique 'identity holders';
- Younger generations moving to bigger cities, causing older demographic structures, with consequences on the availability of HR and community resilience.

B. Rural-central, sometimes overvisited destinations and areas

- Tourism might represent one of the few ways to actively participate in the global economy;
- Risk of economic dependence on tourism if the destination becomes overvisited;
- Due to the economic dependence on tourism, higher exposure to crisis affecting the tourism industry (e.g. Covid-19);
- Fragile socio-cultural fabric. Risk of exposing the cultural identity of a small community to the influences of a global cultural tourism demand becomes a concrete threat;
- Cultural tourism, as an opportunity, can contribute to generate pride about local traditions and a sense of belonging. Nevertheless, after a certain threshold, it becomes 'just business' and it might embrace a more standardised approach to meet global demand;

- Without an adequate governance framework, authentic and diverse cultural tourism products will be displaced by cheaper mass-produced products;
- Visitor congestion due to being overvisited;
- Overtourism consequences, frictions locals vs tourism;
- Negative environmental impacts amplified by fragile rural surroundings not designated for crowds;
- Smart citizenship approaches might help;
- Social media (instagrammability) may contribute to making the destination overvisited.

C. Central-urban / overvisited destinations and areas

- Wider offer of services for tourists and residents, career and study opportunities;
- Broad spectrum of cultural and leisure attractive elements for visitors;
- Visitor congestion when overvisited;
- Overtourism consequences in the form of gentrification, frictions locals vs tourism;
- Displacement of local residents due to overtourism;
- Cultural tourism offer more susceptible to various aspects of standardisation and homogenisation;
- Without an adequate governance framework, authentic and diverse cultural tourism products will be replaced by cheaper mass-produced products;
- Risk of generating 'white elephants', due to the adoption of city-branding models and an instrumentalisation of the role of culture;
- Smart cities technology-driven solutions representing an opportunity for cultural tourism;
- Smart citizenship;
- Social media (instagrammability) may contribute to making the destination overvisited.

D. Urban-peripheral destinations and areas

- Fragile socio-economic fabric, often composed by less wealthy part of the local community;
- Socio-cultural fabric often characterised by multi-ethnicity, therefore rich in terms of cultural diversity;
- Possible frictions with new residents, formerly leaving in more central areas but now displaced by overtourism;
- Still urban context, therefore susceptible to various aspects of cultural standardisation and homogenisation;
- Risk of generating "white elephants", due to the adoption of city-branding models and an instrumentalization of the role of culture;
- Smart cities and smart citizenship representing opportunities.

06 Future of cultural tourism

The insights we gained in this report show how different factors contributed to shape cultural tourism. They should also be considered while reflecting upon the future of cultural tourism. Defining future scenarios and identifying possible typologies of future cultural tourism, however, represent a real challenge, due to the volatility and uncertainty of the VUCA environment that characterise our society. In fact, this type of environment increases the uncertainty and difficulty of predicting the evolution of any socio-cultural and economic phenomena, as described in Chapter 2. The recent Covid-19 pandemic adds further complexity to an already convoluted cultural tourism environment. Moreover, the sensitive and dynamic role of culture within tourism is difficult to predict, as its social and identity function within local communities are also continuously reshaped.

The recent covid-19 outbreak, extensively discussed in Chapter 3, is having a severe impact on the tourism industry. According to Gössling et al. (2020), the international travel bans affected over 90% of the world's population. Transportation, especially air travel and cruise lines are by far being hit the hardest. Moreover, closing off borders as well as introducing quarantine periods have caused a significant decline in tourism demand, whereby accommodations and attractions have had to stop operations all together (Gössling et al. 2020). In addition, strict gathering restrictions have also affected people's mobility significantly, thereby causing cafes and restaurants to change from physical operation to delivery mode, as well as postponing or cancelling any large events such as conventions, festivals, cultural and sports events. According to UNWTO (2020), the 2020 international arrival projection shows that it could have a decline between 60-80% compared to 2019, translating to a loss of US \$910 billion to \$1.2 trillion in tourism revenue https://edubuas-my.sharepoint.com/personal/moretti_s_buas_nl/Documents/H2020_SmartCulTour/WP2/D2.2_version_04-09-20kk-SM.docx_-_msocom_1. Many people wonder how the tourism industry will look like after the pandemic. There is no easy answer to that question, now.

Yet, the pandemic provides a great opportunity for the cultural tourism industry to rethink and reflect on previous developments and on the role of culture and tourism on sustainable development and resilience. On the supply side, the current low-cost business model has revealed its lack of resilience. In addition, the pandemic has also raised awareness about the vulnerability of the tourism industry. A clear proof of this, is that low-paid tourism jobs have been affected significantly by the crisis (Gössling et al. 2020). On the

demand side, due to tightening borders and current travel restrictions, the short-term tourists travelling pattern and travel demand have been altered. Consequently, one may speculate on the frequency of travel, but also on the role domestic tourism will play in the future. Beyond mere recovery, the tourism industry has now an opportunity to transform itself, as we have briefly indicated when we have introduced the notions of right-to-tourism and of community-as-destination (Chapter 4). Even before the pandemic outbreak, a number of critical voices had already urged for an equitable transformation of tourism (Gascón 2019; Higgins-Desbiolles 2008; Higgins-Desbiolles et al. 2019; Weaver & Jin 2016). Some of these calls for more sustainable tourism futures are embedded within anti-capitalist discourses of a new global order and the need for tourism degrowth, reflecting wider and more dramatic global issues, as discussed in section 4.4.2.

In light of the insights gathered throughout the previous chapters, the subsequent section attempts at sketching possible scenarios for the future development of cultural tourism, identifying possible ‘future typologies of cultural tourism’.

6.1. Scenarios for future development of cultural tourism (typologies of future cultural tourism)

Different criteria could potentially be considered to outline future scenarios for cultural tourism and, therefore, provide an indication of future typologies of cultural tourism. Chapters 4 and 5 revealed how globalisation and technological innovation have been influencing the evolution of cultural tourism. Sustainability and resilience principles have also become increasingly important but not always effectively implemented to prevent the rise of overtourism and its consequences. Finally, nowadays, participatory approaches to governance are considered fundamental, but they remain of difficult practical implementation, as seen in Chapter 5. Culture can have different functions in the tourism experience, from just being an element in the background of a holiday to being the main reason for a trip. This obviously translate into different types of impacts on the local community. The Covid-19 pandemic has broken the myth of tourism as an extremely resilient industry, it fuelled the need to seek for a new role for tourism in general, and for cultural tourism in particular.

With the aim to include several of the mentioned elements in our analysis, we propose a model for the identification of typologies of future of cultural tourism that is based on two main dimensions:

- The future evolution of cultural tourism demand
- The predominant type of governance approach embraced at destination level in the future

The evolution of cultural tourism demand will be crucial in determining the future of cultural tourism. Several macro-trends are influencing the demand side, as globalising forces are constantly pushing for a certain standardisation of the demand preferences and are more interested in attracting a global demand,

through an instrumental use of culture. As a reaction to these forces, we have assisted to the increasing importance of the local dimension and the local identity function played by culture, strengthened by an increasing demand in more 'cultural authenticity' in tourism experiences. Which of these trends will prevail in the near future? In order to simplify our analysis, we will consider two extreme scenarios concerning the evolution of cultural tourism demand:

1. The predominance of a 'fast cultural tourism demand', that is a demand for cultural tourism focused on 'consuming' the local culture as an element of a price-sensitive tourism experience
2. The predominance of a 'slow cultural tourism demand', that is a demand for cultural tourism focused on 'living' the authenticity of the local culture in every aspect of the tourist's experience, while being open to pay a premium price for that.

Next to them, the predominant type of governance adopted by cultural tourism destinations and its main objective will also play an essential role in shaping the future of cultural tourism. We reported scholars calling for more participatory approaches in the governance of tourism destinations, as the effective implementation of participatory principles is often still missing. Therefore, in a future perspective, the main purpose of the governance structure adopted for cultural tourism can be summarised by the following two extreme scenarios:

- On one side of the spectrum, an 'economy-oriented governance approach', that is a governance approach to cultural tourism based on enhancing the local culture with the aim to maximise the economic benefit for the tourism industry
- On the other side, a 'community-oriented' governance approach, that is a governance approach to cultural tourism based on enhancing the local culture with the aim to maximise the wellness of the entire local community and its prosperity.

The model we are proposing is based on the assumption that the supply side of cultural tourism will function as a sort of dependent variable, so it will react depending on the evolution of the cultural tourism demand and it can be influenced and determined (to some extent) by the adopted governance approach. If, on the one hand, this seems reasonable, on the other hand, it also represents a limitation (e.g., sometimes the features and trends pushed by the supply side significantly contribute to shape the demand expectations). Nonetheless, the role and the function of the cultural tourism supply side has also been described, while defining the typologies of future cultural tourism.

By crossing the dimensions that have been introduced, four different scenarios can be identified, corresponding to 4 different typologies of future cultural tourism (Fig. 7):

- Community-driven slow cultural tourism
- Economy-driven slow cultural tourism

- Globalised cultural tourism
- Glocalised cultural tourism

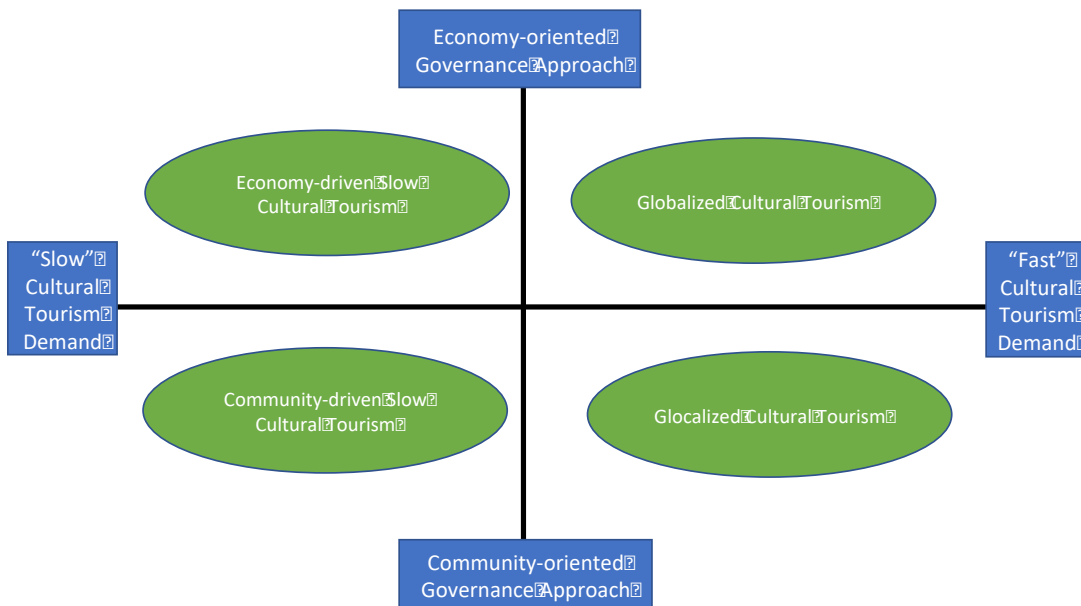


Fig. 7. Typologies of future cultural tourism

A short description of each identified scenario/typology is now provided. This analysis contains useful insights to reflect on possible future scenarios for cultural tourism. But of course, nothing happens in a vacuum, so we cannot forget that the country, regional and destination contextual aspects will also have a great influence on the way in which the identified dimensions will develop in the near future. Therefore, for example, while a country, region or destination might develop more towards a globalised type of cultural tourism, other countries, regions and destinations might follow other development paths. The final outcome will depend on the interplay of the two selected dimensions within a specific national, regional or destination context. Obviously, in the real world, distinctions might not always be so clear as described below, and a destination future path of development might resemble more to a mix, or an overlap of the elements mentioned below. Moreover, each scenario depicts an ‘extreme’ situation, outlining the general elements of an equilibrium in these extreme situations, but also pointing out risks that might break this equilibrium and lead to other consequences.

Community-driven slow cultural tourism

This scenario combines the prevalence of a ‘slow cultural tourism demand’ with the adoption of a governance approach focused on enhancing the local culture with the aim to maximise the wellness of the entire local community and its prosperity. In order to achieve this governance objective, innovative strategies to include the civil society (specifically the local community) in the decision making will be

implemented, also making an increasing use of opportunities provided by technological development and their application to the concept of smart citizenship. Innovative participatory approaches will primarily start from understanding if, how, to what extent and in which form the local community is willing to incorporate local values, authentic elements of local culture, heritage and 'identity holders' within the destination experience offered to cultural tourists. This will be done through an informed process that will take into consideration sustainability criteria, the scarcity of resources and the expected socio-economic and environmental impacts. Decisions will then be taken through a process that will see the local community having a major role, with the primary aim to maximise its wellness and prosperity.

What is perceived as 'local culture' by the local community will be the core of the cultural tourism offer, with a focus on attracting specific segments of the market that are interested in the authenticity elements that the local community and the local environment are able to express. The inclusive character of this approach gives concrete tools and powers to the local community, in co-creating the cultural tourism development of the destination. This will make residents feel part of the tourism phenomenon at the destination, through a process that, while enhancing local cultural values and heritage, will contribute to generate a pride of being part of the local community and its values and culture. Tourism products and service supply will mainly make use of local and regional products, using traditional production techniques and employing mainly local human resources. No mass-produced products are offered to tourists and each tourist experience tend to be personalised, as much as possible. As a consequence, prices might be relatively high, in exchange of a personalised and authentic cultural experience.

The destination might move towards a sort of specialisation on specific niche markets and will tend to be more competitive in attracting a specific typology of cultural tourists, a small portion of the global cultural tourism demand. Due to the scale of the market and the organisation of business operations, the supply landscape will be mostly composed by small & medium enterprises, hiring local personnel. Tourism leakage is reduced to the minimum and basically the entire tourism added value will be kept within the local community. Marketing efforts might become more focused on the domestic demand, as a reaction to an increasing complexity in the attraction of international markets due, for example, to a higher social impact on the community connected to the attraction of a global demand, a higher risk of local culture 'contamination' or standardisation, a higher promotional budget required, travel limitations due to unexpected events such as the Covid-19 pandemic and a more sustainable cultural tourism demand which will fly less, while attempting to reduce their carbon footprint. Technology solutions will be implemented aiming to an effective implementation of smart citizenship, where also locals use existing smart solutions to tackle daily issues they are facing. A potential risk might be represented by limited IT capacity and innovation level of small-sized companies.

In general, this scenario sees cultural tourism as an effective driver for sustainable development of the

destination and community resilience. In extreme situations, a possible risk of this scenario sees tourism remaining too small and being a marginal activity at the destination, incapable to provide a significant contribution to the socio-economic sustainable development of the destination. The limited dimension of the reachable niches of demand might not be enough to stimulate local entrepreneurship towards the organisation of an attractive and competitive tourism offer. In this case, the benefit for the local community might be very limited, revealing missed opportunities to generate income, jobs, socio-cultural enhancement of the local fabric, wellness and destinations' prosperity. Even its contribution to the resilience of the local community might be limited, in this case.

Economy-driven slow cultural tourism

This scenario combines the prevalence of a 'slow cultural tourism demand' with the adoption of a governance approach focused on enhancing the local culture with the aim to maximise the economic benefit of the tourism industry. In this case, participatory approaches aimed at including the local community in the cultural tourism decision making process will remain marginal or even absent. Cultural tourism governance will follow a more top-down approach and focus on what the governance elite (political power, DMO, industry) sees as local culture. This approach will probably reveal a more supply-driven model of tourism development, in which the governance will mostly focus on creating a light regulatory framework aimed at stimulating entrepreneurship and competitiveness for the local tourism industry. Within this scenario, local entrepreneurs will be eager to scale up the volume of their operations and increase the number of customers. Nevertheless, they will need to confront with a 'slow' cultural tourism demand, asking for personalised experiences and specific elements of 'cultural authenticity', keeping the dimension of the reachable market at a relatively small size. In the struggle of attracting profitable market niches, tourism businesses might attempt to implement elements of the local culture in their offer, although this attempt might lead to an instrumental use of authenticity elements and identity holders of the local culture. Elements of local authenticity might be more instrumentally used to 'stage' an authentic cultural experience, rather than offer a genuine one, also due to the trade-offs and compromises necessary to maximise the businesses' revenues and reduce costs. As a consequence, tourism services and cultural offer might sometimes make use of material, labour and techniques not always connected with the local fabric.

Due to the scale of the market and the organization of business operations, the supply landscape will be mostly composed by small and medium enterprises also in this scenario, hiring mostly local personnel. While being able to attract only a small portion of the global cultural tourism demand (due to its fragmentation in small niches with specific and different preferences and requirements in terms of authenticity elements), businesses will try to extract the maximum value from customers, keeping prices at a relatively high level. Depending on the effectiveness of the regulatory framework, the presence of several

companies and a good level of competition might help in mitigating the prices of certain services at the destination, such as accommodations, gastronomy and transports. Tourism leakage might be kept at minimum level and domestic tourism might play an important role in this scenario as well, although the eagerness of companies to increase the number of customers might lead them to attempt to attract more segments of international and global demand. Obviously, these opportunities in the short term will largely be influenced by the unpredictable evolution of the Covid-19 pandemic and related travel restrictions. In this setting, we see a hybrid use of technology as discussed in 5.3.3, where technology is still driven by the socio-economic needs of the local community but it is mainly functioning as a driver for innovation in designing more personalised tourism experiences.

The supply-driven character of this possible future typology of cultural tourism, might also present risks. If the involvement of the local community is too low, residents may see tourism as something external to their communities and their lives, something that is there but does not belong to them, in socio-cultural (but also economic) terms. Despite that, a minority of them will still economically benefit from tourism (e.g., employment and small business opportunities). Nevertheless, this exclusive approach will not be able to foster, through cultural tourism, a sentiment of pride connected to the local cultural values and generate a sense of pride of belonging to a certain community and its culture. Consequently, a lack of involvement of the local socio-cultural fabric in the cultural tourism offer will most likely generate consequences also on the tourist's perception of the authenticity of the destination and of its cultural tourism offer. Due to some sort of separation between the industry and the residents, the role of cultural tourism in terms of community resilience of the local community might be limited.

Globalised cultural tourism

This scenario describes a typology of future cultural tourism which combines the prevalence of a 'fast cultural tourism demand' with a governance approach focused on enhancing local culture with the aim to maximise the economic benefit of the tourism industry. A fast demand of cultural tourism focuses on 'consuming' the local culture as an element of their price-sensitive tourism experience. The search for 'authenticity' in the cultural tourism offer assumes a rather shallow perspective. Even the knowledge that tourists have of the local culture might remain rather superficial. Cultural tourists still require elements of the local culture that can be consumed during their visit, but these requirements are less sophisticated (compared to the case of slow cultural tourism), they pertain to the 'must-see' attractions. They will not require a highly personalised cultural experience. They will be open to accept a certain level of standardisation of their experience and less 'authentic' cultural elements, especially if that allows to save money.

This typology of cultural tourism destination seems to be more aligned with the needs of what scholars call the 'serendipitous tourists', that is tourists who are in fact not looking for any type of particular cultural

experience but who may find themselves interested in them, might they find some they recognise – bringing us back to the point made earlier that these experiences need to be standardised, to be recognisable by them. Therefore, this type of demand will also be quite price-sensitive, and culture becomes more a ‘consumption’ activity rather than an authentic or learning one. As a consequence, tourism businesses might be tempted to use elements of local culture and identity in a rather instrumental way, with the main objective of just attracting more and more tourists. As for technology, this scenario is more prone to satisfy the tourists’ demands by means of technology-enhanced or empowered experiences as we discussed in Chapter 4. Smartness is mainly understood as smart city 1.0.

A relatively homogeneous global demand will allow cultural tourism destinations and businesses to aim for bigger segments of the market, implementing marketing strategies to attract both national and international tourists. Due to the size of the reachable market, the supply side landscape might be dominated by rather large companies, sometimes international chains. Employed personnel will mostly be local for low-skilled types of work, while managerial and top positions might be hired from outside the local context. Tourism leakage might assume a relevant dimension, depending on the cases. Participatory approaches aimed to include the civil society in the decision-making process might partially be implemented, mainly as a response to the pressure of public opinion related to rising negative impacts due to overtourism. Nevertheless, the decisional power of the local community will be limited by the political and economic influence of other stakeholders (e.g. industry).

Considering the price-sensitive characteristics of the demand and the assumed governance approach (maximise economic benefit for the tourism industry), destinations, tourism business and culture service providers will try to keep prices at a low level, trying to attract the maximum number of tourists. In this scenario, where the focus of most of the stakeholders will continue to be on attracting an increasing amount of tourists, one of the major risks is that the carrying capacity thresholds of the destination will easily be surpassed, leading to a deterioration of the socio-cultural fabric, environmental deterioration, excessive economic dependence on tourism, and consequences that have been recently discussed concerning overtourism, including the rise of an anti-tourism sentiment among the local community. Obviously, if these consequences actually occur, cultural tourism will not be able to function as a driver for sustainable development and resilience of the local communities. Contrarily, the occurrence of the mentioned risks will contribute to worsening issues concerning the socio-environmental impacts of (cultural) tourism and its sustainability.

Glocalised cultural tourism

This scenario describes a typology of future cultural tourism that combines the prevalence of a ‘fast cultural tourism demand’ with a governance approach focused on enhancing local culture to maximise the wellness and prosperity of the entire local community. Understandably, it contains a mix of elements that have been

mentioned in the previous scenarios.

In order to achieve the governance objective, innovative strategies to include the civil society in the decision-making process will be implemented, also through an increasing use of opportunities provided by technological development. Decisions will then be taken, in principle, through a decision-making process that will see the local community having a major role and with the primary aim to maximise its wellness and prosperity. Cultural tourism initiatives will mainly be led by small-medium size local businesses that will receive a sort of mandate to promote the authentic aspects of the local culture and of the local identity through cultural tourism from a community-oriented governance. Nevertheless, businesses and organisations will be confronted with a ‘fast’ cultural tourism demand, with a relatively shallow interpretation of local authenticity and probably limited knowledge of the local culture. Therefore, there will be a concrete risk of demand and supply mismatch, as a cultural tourism offer shaped on extremely traditional and authentic elements will not meet the expectations and requirements of a less authenticity-oriented demand, which will also be relatively price sensitive. The local cultural tourism industry might then be forced to find a challenging equilibrium between a) partial adjustments of their cultural tourism offer to meet a larger, more economically sustainable, but also more standardised and less authenticity-driven type of demand (therefore shifting more towards forms of globalised cultural tourism), and b) the additional risk of generating potential frictions with the local community. In fact, residents will be eager to preserve the authenticity of the local culture and willing to use their influence at the governance level to do so through cultural tourism.

The type of cultural tourists who might be mostly attracted by this typology of cultural destination is what is known in the literature as the cultural sightseers. Cultural sightseers are mainly interested in the ‘must-see attractions’, i.e., a cultural offer that is known, albeit not necessarily standardised. These are the tourists who would attend folklore celebrations held during summer in many Italian cities for example, like mid-August processions or some other type of rites where the local community is well represented and acknowledged by activities that are very much tied to their cultural identity. Moreover, the opportunities provided by a larger global demand will also attract external entrepreneurs and international chains to the destination, attracted by the business opportunities. Nonetheless, the power detained by the local community in terms of decision making can make a difference in determining the impact of this external and international players. We see in this scenario again a hybrid use of technology, that is one that combines the top-down and bottom-up smart city approaches discussed in 5.3.2. It is a balancing exercise that may as well twist in one direction or another.

The role of cultural tourism in this scenario, in terms of contributing to sustainable development and community resilience is extremely uncertain. It will depend on the capacity of the local community to use their influence on the governance system to find a balance between stimulating the necessary adjustments

of the local cultural tourism offer to attract a sustainable amount of visitors without compromising the recognition and the involvement of the community and their cultural identification. If this balance fails, the tourism industry will either remain just too small to provide any significant benefit to the community or shift more towards a type of global cultural offer, with the risks that have been discussed above.

6.2. To conclude...

This report has set out to analyse cultural tourism and to define its future development for urban and regional destinations. The global trends identified in the first four chapters of this report and the way in which they are affecting cultural tourism at destination level discussed in Chapter 5, together with the awareness of the volatility, uncertainty, complexity and ambiguity of the current environment (as clearly exemplified by the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic) undoubtedly show that this is by far an uneasy exercise.

In the present chapter, we have attempted to sketch possible scenarios, or typologies, of cultural tourism futures based on 2 main coordinates, as illustrated in Figure 8 above: the cultural tourism demand, that we have classified along a continuum line between the two opposite poles of 'slow' and 'fast' cultural tourism demand, and the governance approach adopted at the destination, that, on the same continuum line, swings between the two extremes of a 'community-oriented' and an 'industry-oriented' governance approach.

We have attempted to describe each of the aforementioned scenarios as objectively as possible, showing the possible risks implicit in each of them. Other researchers, for example Brouder (2020), have developed similar matrices (in his case, the matrix of potential evolutionary pathways towards tourism transformation), where they have clearly emphasised what the path to transformation in tourism would have to look like. Brouder's matrix, for example, considers similar variables, that is institutional innovation (that we have roughly translated into governance-based approaches, in our model) and tourism supply and demand, but highlights what the impact of such an innovation can have on the demand and supply side of tourism, to define what paths can emerge, as a result of their interaction. Some of these paths are bound to transform tourism, if transformation happens at both the demand and the supply side of it. However, according to this author, this scenario is rather rare, especially in these uncertain times, both the present ones and the ones to come (Brouder, 2020). It is important to note, however, that Brouder's work focuses on tourism *tout court* and not specifically on cultural tourism.

To borrow Mariana Mazzucato's words (2018a), "it is not enough to fix a problem when it occurs but we need to shape the future", by rethinking the system we are in and by thinking about the kind of society or economy we want to live in in the future and work to make this change happen. This 'mission-oriented policy approach to complex system challenges', as she calls it, is what we have in mind when thinking of the

four scenarios of cultural tourism destinations presented in this chapter.

A mission-oriented approach to innovation entails (Mazzucato, 2018b):

- Proactively co-shaping the future instead fixing the past;
- Choosing the willing (i.e., a direction) instead of choosing the winners (an entity who will be responsible for making the change possible);
- Embracing experimentation instead of fearing failure;
- Focusing on quality instead of focusing on quantity;
- Engaging all interested (including the local community – so becoming inclusive);
- Sharing (risks and merits) instead of avoiding risks.

The work presented in this report will impact on WP3, when inventorying cultural tourism interventions based on the definitions and analyses carried out in this report; on WP4, when assessing the impact of the cultural tourism development of cultural tourism destinations, and by looking at them through the lens of the 4 scenarios sketched here; and on WP5, when designing smart solutions for cultural tourism development based on the measures defined in the previous WPs.

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