

Consumption and authenticity: relationships between built heritage and local society¹

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ABSTRACT: There is a growing demand for authenticity and for the experience of past in post-modern societies. Built heritage is one of the main driver of tourist's choice for destinations, thus place based development initiatives in many cases are based on the built heritages of places. Heritage tourism is more and more important in the economic and social development of Hungarian regions and settlements too. Scholars mostly focus on demands and authenticity perceptions of tourists, however the tourism development and also the perceived authenticity have significant impact on the changes of local societies.

This paper presents two Hungarian case studies on how local societies perceive and use their built heritage and how their authenticity perception and local identity are changed by the local tourism development. The paper analyses an urban and a local case characterized by the high importance of built heritage in tourism development. The first case study analyses the temporary use and tourism based perceptions of the 19th century housing stocks in the 7th District of Budapest. While the rural case study presents the touristic use and image of the 19th century peasant buildings in Órség micro region in the Western part of Hungary.

Case studies focus perceptions of authenticity of locals and their interests toward their built heritage. The analysis purpose to explore how local's perceptions and identity are shaped by the tourism destination's public relations efforts to construct and convey local image. Case study present the key actors of local heritage tourism and their interests and attitudes towards local built heritage. We examine the conflicts connected to the different perceptions and uses of built heritage. Our findings show that important differences in perceived authenticity were observed among various groups of locals. Various dimensions of interests and contested use of built heritages are found both in urban and rural places.

1 INTRODUCTION

There is a growing demand for authenticity and for the experience of past in postmodern societies. Built heritage is one of the main driver of tourist's choice for destinations, thus place based development initiatives in many cases are based on the built heritages of places. Furthermore built heritage is one of the main determinants of individual character of places. Many scholars discussing the links between heritage and local identity argue that heritage - and especially the built one - can be shape the character of the place (Amar, Armitage, & O'Hare, 2017; Ashworth, 1994; Csurgó, 2016). It is important to state that locality has central role in the sense of heritage and also in heritage planning. Although there are several international and national governmental legislative and judicial frameworks for the conservation of heritage the initiatives and activities are

fundamentally local and in many times are non-governmental. As Ashworth (1994) confirmed heritage planning is a local activity as heritage is a local phenomenon which is expressed through the place. Thus heritage turns shape by the sense of locality based on the local place images and identities. Cultural heritage have been regarded as a significant resource in local development policy. Communities' cultural capital has become a significant beneficial effect on local and regional development (Ilmonen, 2009; Radcliffe, 2006).

Researches into impact of heritage making on local communities have shown conflicting results. The making of heritage and tourism can carry positive implications for local communities such as a sense of locality and pride and entrepreneurial activity, economic growth whilst the benefits for local community can be very limited and give rise several negative social impacts and conflicts (Herzfeld, 2010; Silva, 2014). Herzfeld (2010) argued that the use of historic conservation to justify gentrification, he discussed the consequences of heritage conservation and gentrification together. He demonstrated that the state-sponsored historic conservation with public authority driven gentrification almost always bring the tragedy for locals including the escalation of prices resulted from real estate speculation or new place functions (e.g. sacred space) with off-limits to ordinary residents.

Silva (2014) examined both positive and negative impacts associated with heritage making and tourism on local communities from a local community point of view, through a longitudinal ethnographic case study in a Historic Village of Portugal. The study has shown two opposing impacts of heritage making and tourism. Local community divided over the benefits and costs of making heritage and tourism. Positive impacts are the increased social cohesion and place pride, while envy and competition are the negative ones. Local community entirely aware of the tension between these two impacts.

A substantial body of cultural heritage conservation literature confirms the involvement of different stakeholders in the planning and implementation of built heritage conservation processes is necessary for making built heritage relevant to local development. Several researcher worldwide (Amar et al., 2017; De la Torre, 2002) explores stakeholders' roles and responsibilities in heritage conservation processes. Heritage conservation results and is resulted by the conflicts and negotiations between stakeholders which grouped them into different interest groups (De la Torre, 2002). Several scholars such as Grenville (2007) or Worthing & Bond (2008) highlighted that the different perspectives and interest of stakeholders which reflects differences in individual personalities, physical characteristics and also political contexts often impose barriers to the built heritage conservation processes and decision makings. Conservation barriers are regarded in two forms of manifestation by stakeholders. Physical manifestation generated from the integration of historic structure into the contemporary built environment, while non-physical manifestation occurs from legislative constraints, lack of financial schemes, personal differences etc. (Amar et al., 2017). Grenville (2007) based on the case studies from post-war Europe and contemporary South Korea highlighted that psychological factors in the context of built heritage conservation may be as important as political or aesthetic issues.

Many scholars such as Bott, Grabowski, & Wearing, (2011) or Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher (2005) talk about private, public and community sector based groups in heritage conservation. Stakeholder analysis and to understand their different interests, situations and motivations are crucial for the success and sustainability of heritage conservation processes (Bott, Grabowski, & Wearing, 2011; De la Torre, 2002). The level of involvement of different stakeholders with contested interests is one of the main problem and source of conflict in the practice of built heritage conservation and use too (Amar et al., 2017). The involvement of local community in decision-making could be blocked in many times because the notion that the right to participate does not equal the capacity to participate. Thus to raise stakeholder capabilities is needed for their involvement (Bott et al., 2011). Stakeholders have very different perspectives concerning built heritage. Different perceptions and motivations are appeared in around the questions of drivers of heritage conservation which can be political, cultural, economic, spiritual and aesthetic values (Pickerill & Armitage, 2009). De la Torre (2002) presented that stakeholders' perceptions and interests are ranging from maintaining the legacy for future generations to building tourism attractions.

Most studies focus on the impacts of heritage making and tourism on local communities rather than the locals' perceptions of the actual and potential impacts. Rural and urban communities are discussed separately in most researches, many studies focus specifically urban cases while others

specialise in rural studies. Although the conservation and uses of cultural heritage have been increasingly deployed as a strategy for socio-economic development both in rural and urban places all over the world.

The primary focus of this paper is to recognise perceptions and interests of locals toward their built heritage both in a rural and an urban place. The next two sections present a rural and an urban case studies. Case studies focus on key actors of local heritage tourism and their interests and attitudes towards local built heritage. We examine the conflicts connected to the different perceptions and uses of built heritage. Our findings show that important differences in perceived authenticity were observed among various groups of locals. Various dimensions of interests and groups of locals are presented by the case study analysis. Impacts associated with heritage making and tourism and the barriers and motivations for heritage conservation in many aspects are independent from the characteristics of places and especially from the urbanity and rurality even if the urban and rural settings result differences. By doing so, the paper shows the relevance of rural-urban comparison for the study of heritage impacts on local society.

2 LESSONS FROM THE RURAL: THE CASE OF ŐRSÉG REGION

The rural case studyⁱⁱ area is the Őrség, which is located in the Western part of Hungary in the corner of the Austrian and Slovenian borders. The western frontier location resulted in special status for the region with a higher degree of control and a lower degree of development during the socialist era. As a result of this disadvantaged status, the Őrség region has kept its traditional landscapes with special traditional settlement structure and shape of houses, historic fabric and untouched nature.

From the late 1980s onwards and most significantly after the change of the political system from 1990, Őrség became one of the main tourism destinations for the middle classes (mostly from Budapest) demanding a ‘rural idyll’ (Short, 2006). Urban inhabitants bought second homes in the Őrség region and many of them stay there from spring to autumn or settled down permanently. They were the pioneers and initiators of new tourism activities. In the first period, their main service was accommodation in a rustic, rural milieu. Since the Őrség National Park was established in 2002, it has become one of the main actors for tourism activities and local cultural heritage is particularly important.

Protected area status has resulted special situation in building use and construction in the Őrség region. National Park Agency has a right to vote the construction plans proposed in its area even if the construction and building plans are regulated and controlled by the Regional Building and Construction Authority. The Authority sends the plans to the NP Agency for comments. The Agency uses its own building recommendation system for comment the plans arrived from the Authority. This recommendation system concerns in not only the shape, style, measure etc. of buildings but also the settlement structure, view and utilisation of buildings.

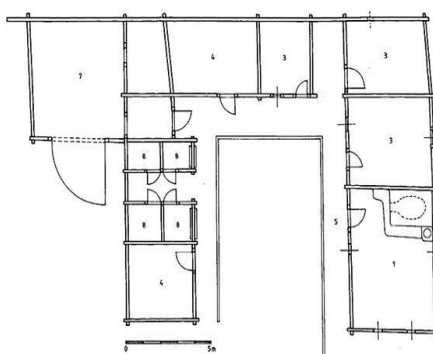
Thus, NP Agency could supervise the buildings and constructions in its area. The main principle behind this system is the protection and sustainable use of local built heritage. It valorises and highlights the folk architecture from the 19th century. The settlement structure of Őrség shows a unique picture, these are the so-called ‘szeres’ settlements. The ‘szerek’ are groups of houses built on the hill top, which structure comes from the time of Hungarian conquest and these ‘szer’s originally inhabited by members of an extended family. The most well-known house types are the smoky-kitchen houses, the so called rounded houses and the ‘kódisállás’ house, which is a house with a special type of covered porch.



Picture 1. Szeres settlement (source:vasmegyeiertektar.hu)



Picture 2 kódisállás house (source:sindoshaz.com)



Picture 3 layout of rounded house (source:tankonyvtar.hu)

Architectural traditions and heritage protection appear in two types of built heritage use in the Órség region. The first is the presentation of built heritage in their original forms, thus this is a kind of museumisation of built heritage. Churches, belfries and traditional peasant and farm houses are used and presented in this way. The second form is the use, reuse and recreate of traditional buildings in a culturally sustainable way. There are many guest houses, hotels and also dwelling houses which use traditional buildings such as peasant houses, mills etc. for contemporary utilisation. There are also new buildings with traditional shapes and forms. The reconstructions and constructions are always supervised by the NP Agency, original shapes are strongly kept. NP Agency encourages new constructions in its area but it only supports the use and preservation of traditional forms. Different actors with different demands and interests are related to different types of built heritage use. In the followings, these two types of built heritage use will be discussed through a stakeholder analysis.

Museumisation of built heritage: Pityerszer Open-air Museum

The main place for presenting built heritage at the Órség region is the Szalafő-Pityerszer Open-air Museum, which is a folk monument ensemble where buildings can be seen at their original place and environment. The Open-air Museum is operated by the Órség National Park Agency. This is one of the main tourism attraction of the region. Several events and other tourism services organised in and related to this open-air museum. Study trails presenting both natural and cultural heritage start or finish at Pityerszer. The main motivations and demands related to this built heritage site are the protection and presentation of local cultural traditions. Tourism has the central role here.

Yes, Pityerszer has central role here, I'm sure that every tourists who visit the Órség come and see Pityerszer too. This is why all events and festivals are also appeared and organised in Pityerszer too. Pityerszer has the main role here...Everybody in the Órség is proud of it, of course.... this is our main symbol – a NP-employed local inhabitant said.

Here the main actor is the NP Agency all the services and programs are organised by it. This is the central place of authenticity and not only for tourist but also for locals. Pityerszer also is the main element of local regional image.



Picture 4 Pityerszer open-air museum

It contributes to the local identity too through its tourism based value. Leading actor here is the NP and sometimes local governments of the region organise events in the territory of the museum. Local inhabitants are only involved through these events. Events mostly target tourists where local also appear as visitors. Pityerszer Open-air Museum consists all the symbolic values of Órség region including rural idyll, authenticity, traditions, natural beauties and unique landscape.

Guided construction and building use: traditional buildings with new functions

Built heritage has central role in the image of the region, traditional building are valorised mostly by urban newcomers and tourists who demand the feeling of authenticity and rural idyll. Urban newcomers were the pioneers in the massive renovation and recreation of old buildings. They renovated and built houses and other buildings according to the underlying principles of monument protection of legitimised rural architecture. Thus it is met with the NP Agency interests. Some of the locals with the aim of tourism business also joint this interest group.



Picture 5 Nostalgic renovated house in Szalafő (source: orsegi-szallas.hu)



Picture 6 Nostalgic interior of guesthouse (source:orsegi-szallas.hu)

“I really think that I’m and my guesthouse and site are part of the local heritage protection. My buildings are under monumental protection and renovated according to the principles of monumental protection. I tried to restore the original forms both outside and inside. I also organise

events here related to heritage protection for example I have a photo exhibition about the traditional houses of the Órség. I try to serve the authenticity and the traditions of Órség for my guests. – a local guest house owner said.

Although conflicts arise in many cases when locals rebuilt their old houses or built new buildings with the ignorance of the principles of monument protection. NP Agency could prevent that kind of renovations with the use of its right of opinion in the local building and construction system.

Related conflicts arise from the devaluation of other current forms of local houses and especially which was built in the 1950-60's.



Picture 7 Square ground house

These so called socialist era modernisation dwellings with near square ground plan, pyramid roof and urban windows divided into three parts only used by local inhabitants. Newcomers do not like and value that kind of buildings and also NP Agency interests do not target this kind of buildings. Settlements or settlements part where this type of houses are overrepresented are excluded from tourism development and landscape protection, and also locals living in that kind of places are excluded from the main development processes of the area.

The main actors of heritage principle based constructions are urban newcomers with the strong cooperation of NP Agency.



Picture 8 Pajta Bistro (source:pajta.hu)

Urban newcomers valorise the old houses and the traditional architecture both outside and inside the building. Renovated and recreated houses mostly use for tourism as guest houses or second homes. Tourists demand that kind of houses as a part of rural idyll and authenticity. Tourism makers benefit from the renovation of old buildings because tourists are willing to pay more for the traditional milieu. NP Agency supports the monumental protection principle guided constructions by its special National Park product label to reflect the Órség National Park brand was created to support and protect local products. This label symbolizes quality, aesthetics and authenticity. Most of the labelled products are food items, but guest houses and hotels can also acquire this label. The label represents the involvement of local producers and protects their interests, but also provides a value-enhanced brand which can be used in tourism. Thus, we can state that an

interest group was created related to the use of old buildings, this group includes urban middle class newcomers and NP Agency and very few locals, while other actors mostly original local inhabitants are excluded from it . It result conflicts around tourism business and local images and values in the region and these conflicts concerns the built heritage in many cases.

3 LESSONS FROM THE URBAN: THE CASE OF 7TH DISTRICT OF BUDAPEST

Budapest and the 7th district particularly went through significant changes in the last 10-15 years. Our research area Inner-Erzsébetváros (the Old Jewish Quarter) with approximately twenty thousand residents in the 1 square kilometre area in the middle of the historic downtown of Budapestⁱⁱⁱ. The area did have a Jewish cultural heritage however other parts of the inner city was inhabited by Jewish people too and even this central part of the Erzsébetváros was never exclusively occupied by them. As we will explain our research area is recently called rather the “party district” of the city and the name Jewish Quarter is less frequently used in the press and the public discourse. Still important remains of that cultural heritage can be found in the area, and despite the few remaining physical signs of those years it is still the memento of the Holocaust for many.

The area was almost untouched until the collapse of communism. The district consisted mostly of run down 19th century housing stock. The most important features of the built environment were slow deterioration and decay. Since the early 2000s several rehabilitation efforts and signs of reinvestment occurred in the inner city of Budapest and in our case study area too. But the urban renewal process has followed a different trajectory from the Western European (Grubbauer, 2012; Kovács et al, 2013; Czirfusz et al, 2016).



Picture 9

As a result of the dilapidation of the built environment reached a level that was a perfect pretext for the leaders of the local authority to sell the buildings to investors. The weak local governments were hoping mostly for direct capital investment of inland and foreign private companies, and did everything they could to attract the capital to their territory competing with the adjacent, similar local authorities. This also meant that longer term interests like the protection of the built cultural heritage or the social sustainability aspects were often neglected. The investors bought the historical buildings to demolish them and built new ones and relocate the poorest tenants.



Picture 10

Practices of the local authority officers like ignoring heritage protection or the financial interests of the local council and corrupt officials influenced the process to another direction.

The economic crisis stopped demolition and opened new ways to temporary use. (Csanádi et al. 2011b) Since the middle 2000's the empty bad condition buildings with romantic inner courtyards waiting for investors or demolition attracted pub owners of Budapest. Over the years, more and more 'everyday' hospitality venue and some rather 'edgy ruin bars' appeared. (Lugosi and Lugosi, 2008; Lugosi et al., 2010) Lately touristic enterprises like 'stag night party organisers' also started to look at the area as a promising NTE district with the sense of authenticity and cheap prices. The number of venues started to rise in 2009 and boomed ever since. Lately the tourism and NTE economy has the strongest impact on the neighbourhood (Csizmady and Olt, 2016). We witness on one hand the increasing demand for authenticity on the side of tourists. On the other hand, inevitable conflicts among the night-time users and the inhabitants of the area. (Csizmady and Olt, 2016)



Picture 11-12.

Many of the residents constantly complain about the noise levels at night especially in the summer period, and dirty streets in the morning is recognised as a problem by almost everyone. Some advocates of the NTE entrepreneurs suggested: "who doesn't like the vibrant night time city should move away". Since most of the residents were owner occupants and real estate prices fell sharply between 2009-2013, moving away from the area was problematic. Lately it changed with the widespread of Airbnb. The tourist business was on the peak and more and more flat was

turned in Airbnb-flat between 2014-2016. The real estate prices and the rent level had risen although the everyday life of the neighbourhood became impossible. (Smith et al, 2017)



Picture 13

The residential composition of the Districts is clearly changing: instead of the 'average ageing' population typical of inner districts young people, students, and tourist could be seen on the streets (Keresztély, 2007; Csanádi et al, 2011a; Iwanicki et al, 2016).

The uniqueness of the area could sum up with the word of an old inhabitant: *".. So there is demand because there's nothing like this in the world. So where is another place where you can do anything you want in residential area. ... There's no other place in the world where it is so completely unrestricted."*

The changes have direct positive effects for young new residents, tenants of private flats and foreign residents using the neighbourhood at night:

"For sure I like that we have so many bars and clubs near to us, because I think that must be in the inner city. (...) To live in the inner city like a silent cemetery? That is impossible. That's another thing that this is not properly regulated, like in Amsterdam or other places. Public toilets for example (...) but this issue isn't managed here".



Picture 14

The older, longer-term residents - because of the growing number of pubs and ruin bars - could only report negative effects of the changes.

"This Kazinczy Street became utterly a pub street or ruin bar street. Allegedly this is part of the Jewish Quarter, but like that... is this the way they want to help the youth? To open pubs for them? So they become total alcoholics?"

The residents of several building experienced the negative effects from 2010: they said the neighbourhood became noisier and perhaps even less safe.

"So, from this point of view it is a good place, you should just forget about sleeping in the summer time. The situation is also bad in the winter, but the summer... And you can't even tell

them to be less noisy because they could break your window. Well maybe from the first floor, but here I can't say anything. I counted last time from the Dohány Street to the Wesselényi Street there are twelve pubs. Twelve!"

Naturally the transformation affects the long-term residents the most, because when they moved into their flat, the neighbourhood had a completely different milieu. Also, the function of the area was different, it was much rather a commercial and service oriented area than an NTE quarter.

We have to suffer from these drunken people. (...) The problem is now, that they drink outside the pub, and not in there. They buy the drinks inside and then drink outside^{iv}".

The lower status residents living in the neighbourhood were sceptical as well. The story of their own building, the relocation of their acquaintances and other residents resulted in an uncertain situation, where they come to expect a negative outcome from every change, even if they have no particular reason for this. *"I'm only afraid that one day we'll be just sent away from here [from the Dob Street, because it is becoming fashionable]"*. Moreover, this attitude can be seen in the peculiar cost-benefit analysis of the changes *"I'm sure the district will profit from this, but it is also sure that I don't get a dime from that..."*



Picture 15

As far as we can see the NTE function of the area will remain important in the next few years. This means that fewer people want to plan here a family.

Today, the number of tourists has increased and many of them are enjoying 'stag and hen party' tourism as Budapest becomes a more and more popular with the emergence of so-called 'ruin bars' (Földes, 2003; Csizmady-Olt, 2017), which have become world famous according to TripAdvisor and other sources of tourism and hospitality information (Smith et al, 2017).



Picture 16

The authenticity of 19th century building stock has disappeared, und reappeared instead as a safe coulisse for a good party night in one of the ruin pubs. The temporary use of the 19th century housing stock, the appearance of ruin bars and the high diversity of the different venues made the neighbourhood very popular among local consumers and backpacker tourists as well. We must stress that the success of the NTE scene is the result of institutional uncertainty and not conscious planning. The touristic use of the dwellings generated demand as well. Many flats are turned into hostels, or agencies let the apartments to rent for short term stay. The increase of real estate prices contributed to the change in the population and strengthened the investment in flat to rented to tourists.

4 DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The presented two Hungarian case studies show two different forms of built heritage use and perception of local societies. Both cases demonstrated that authenticity perception and local identity are changed by the heritage based local tourism development. The main differences do not come from the urban-rural differences but it rather come from the connections and relationships to the built heritage protection and to the social-cultural sustainability. Important similarities of the cases that both area are not touched by socialist modernisation and their original buildings are kept even if with bad conditions. In both area, the authenticity based on the untouched and original buildings and circumstances became the basis of tourism development even if the forms of tourism and the types of tourists are significantly different.

Table 1. Main dimensions for the analysis of built heritage and local society

Rural case		Urban case	
Leading actor	Őrség National Park	Leading actor	NTE entrepreneurs
Sector (private, public of leading actor)	public	Sector (private, public of leading actor)	private
Other key actors	newcomer tourism entrepreneurs, civic organisations	Other key actors	tourism entrepreneurs,
Main motivation of heritage conservation	Sustainable tourism development	Main motivation of heritage conservation	Non-sustainable tourism development
Main driver of heritage conservation	authenticity for tourism attractions	Main driver of heritage conservation	authenticity for tourism, ruin-ambience
Positive impacts of heritage making and tourism	sense of place, local identity, image building	Positive impacts of heritage making and tourism	non
Negative impacts of heritage making of tourism	competition between settlements, limitations for local residents	Negative impacts of heritage making of tourism	NTE economy, forced population change, rapid touristification
Inclusion of local community	moderate	Inclusion of local community	moderate
Exclusion of local community	high	Exclusion of local community	high
Meaning of built heritage	sense of place, local rural traditions, touch of authenticity, folk rural lifestyle	Meaning of built heritage	scenery for stag party, safe authenticity of run down area

In the rural case the leading actor is the Őrség National Park and because of it heritage protection and sustainable development have central role in tourism development. While in the urban case the leading actors are the NTE entrepreneurs, they neglect the principles of heritage protection and sustainability and they focus on economic profit of tourism development. The heritage conservation is strongly connected to the tourists' demands in both cases. Authentic milieu demanded by the tourists is the main driver of the heritage conservation in the urban case and also has central role in the rural case. Tourists demand for authenticity and the interest of tourism makers and especially the interest of the leader meet in the case of Őrség while NTE entrepreneurs in the case of Inner-Erszébetváros focus on the authenticity only in the context of profit. These differences resulted that in the case of Inner -Erszébetváros there is not any positive impacts of heritage making and tourism while in the case of Őrség region the heritage making and tourism development contribute to the sense of place, to local identity, thus heritage making and tourism can be regarded as an important part of image building. In both cases we found several negative impacts of heritage making from the local society point of view. In the rural case heritage making and tourism development resulted harsh competition between settlements and the settlements with less built heritage sites became the losers. Other negative impact is that locals perceive the limitations came from the heritage protection especially in the case of construction and use of buildings. NTE economy, forced population change and the strong touristification are the main negative impacts of heritage based tourism development in our urban case. It is important to state that the main actors of heritage based development are outsiders in both cases and only very few local inhabitants participate in it and most of them are excluded. Finally, we found significant differences in the meaning of built heritage between the urban and rural cases. This difference may explain the processes and consequences of heritage based development. In the case of Őrség the meaning of built heritage includes the sense of place, local rural traditions, touch of authenticity, folk rural lifestyle, while in the case of Inner-Erszébetváros built heritage consists the meaning of

scenery for stag party, safe authenticity of run down area. We argue that the outcomes of heritage conservation in many aspects are independent from the characteristics of places and especially from the urbanity and rurality even if the urban and rural settings result differences. It much more depends on the leading actors and their connections to heritage protection and also on the meanings and representations of heritage. Local society mostly subordinated and their heritage perceptions are significantly influenced by the current processes and leading actors.

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6 ENDNOTES

ⁱ The paper is based on the case studies of Cultural heritage and sustainable rural development" (OTKA 108628) project and "New trends in suburbanisation processes" (OTKA K84051) project supported by Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA) and the research is also supported by the Bolyai János Postdoctoral Scholarship of the HAS and in the frame of OIKONET (is funded with the support from the EC. Project number: 539369-LLP1-2013-1-ES-ERASMUS)

ⁱⁱ The case study is based on qualitative and anthropological methods: document-analysis, semi-structured interviews, transect walking and observation (Kvale, 1994). 40 interviews were conducted with the key actors of local culture, community and tourism in the territory of Órség National Park in the Órség region of Hungary between October 2014 and June 2016.

ⁱⁱⁱ The case study is based on qualitative and anthropological methods: document-analysis, semi-structured interviews, transect walking and observation. 50 interviews were conducted with the key actors of NTE and the inhabitants of Inner-Erzsébetváros between 2008 and June 2016. The photos were made by Gábor Csanádi.

^{iv} [Since 2011 smoking is banned in closed public spaces, so smokers have to go outside. Officially they are not allowed to takeout their drinks.]