

# TRANSFORMATION FROM HISTORIC CITYSCAPES TO URBAN TOURISMSCAPES

## A DISCUSSION NOTE

*Myriam Jansen-Verbeke*

*Catholic University Leuven (Belgium)*

*Jansen.Verbeke@skynet.be*

---

### ABSTRACT

*The aim of this discussion note is to critically reflect on the role of cultural resources in the current «transformation» or «metamorphosis» of historic cities. The links among history, heritage, and traditional habitat are being reinscribed into the urban landscape and this opens new perspectives for the revitalization of grass rooted economic activities. How can heritage conservation policies be integrated in a sustainable way into a local economic development model? Reflections from a territorial point of view on heritage unavoidably refer to the paradoxes between conservation and preservation of the historic cityscape on the one hand and new urban dynamics on the other. The upcoming of a new cultural economy – of which tourism is one element – is an intrinsic aspect of the postmodern urban landscape. It is a major challenge for researchers and planners to understand how tourism is gradually reshaping historic cityscapes and how a web of tourism related agents, global and local, is designing the future of cities. The concept of «tourismscape» results from an actor network approach, and is introduced as an analytical research tool for this new urban reality.*

### 1. OLD STORIES, NEW SCRIPTS

Historic cities can be studied as living biotopes; most cities have been shaped over centuries, which explains a generic territorial cohesion in the urban system and landscape, overlaying patterns in the urban

morphology, and eventually a disconnection or even dissonance of the present urban scene from the historic cityscape. In this kaleidoscope of morphological, social, economic and cultural dynamics, we intend to focus on the nexus between history, heritage and cultural tourism.

Historic buildings, iconic artefacts and heritage related commodities are now regarded as crown jewels in the cultural capital of a place or a community and therefore of crucial importance in shaping the future of historic places (Russo 2008; Greffe 1999). The awareness of the importance of cultural heritage – tangible and immovable heritage in particular – has a long tradition and is embedded in a movement to protect and restore the built environment. In economic terms «capital» refers to the capacity of generating more wealth, whereas physical, financial, human, and social capital are all defined differently, depending on the diversity and background of the range of stakeholders. The valorisation of heritage as «cultural capital» evokes different attitudes and interest among researchers and planners, owners and users, real estate agents and tourism authorities.

Yet it is clear that history matters for every city; its cultural built heritage is the visual expression of its past and sequential identities, of different historical layers and dramatic events. Most cities are characterised by a multi-layered historical endowment, which tends to complicate (often politically) the decision-making on conservation policies, city marketing strategies and eventually the place branding as a tourist destination (Jansen-Verbeke and Govers 2010). Which heritage elements can create or regenerate values of identity in a place and a community and, have a social meaning and an economic potential as well?

The emerging controversies are manifest in «global» cities, with nowadays a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic population often with little or no affinity with the history of that place. In addition there is a growing confusion about the definition of historic cities. «Over the past 40 years the conceptualization of historic cities and urban settlements has progressed from considering mainly the tangible fabric, to including a city's social, cultural and economic values» (Ost 2009). Clearly, development and protection of the qualities of a historical built environment need to be supported by physical, social, cultural and economic conditions and in a consensus among stakeholders.

For instance the combination of conservation policies and strategies to develop or expand tourism in the 242 cities on the UNESCO WH-list (situation 2010) is not self evident, sometimes even controversial. A range of parameters determines their capacity to become successful and sustainable destinations on the tourist maps (Jansen-Verbeke and Mckercher 2010). Numerous cities in Europe are complex webs of inherited (historic) and new constructions. New uses and new users of historical elements made cultural heritage an intrinsic part of the living environment and hence a catalyst for creativity. The results of a number of studies in Europe on spatial aspects of cultural resources has indicated the importance of scale and density of heritage elements in assessing the potential of the place to launch a sustainable and competitive development of tourism (ESPON 2006; Jansen-Verbeke 2007). Size matters and, although large historic cities face more challenges and require more integrated policies, they can also benefit from a wider spectrum of economic or financial resources (Ost 2009). The chances of successfully branding cities for «heritage tourism» and, as a consequence creating opportunities to develop a heritage-inspired economy, are very unequal indeed. For large cities, threats and opportunities of a tourism orientation are often the two sides of the same coin (Maitland and Ritchie 2010). Many large cities (tourist destinations such as Rome, Amsterdam or Vienna), with a richness of heritage resources, can strategically integrate heritage attractions in their diversified tourist opportunity spectrum (TOS), whereas smaller historic cities or heritage sites such as Bruges, Carcassone, Rothenburg ob der Tauer or Mont St. Michel, highly depend on tourism and run more risks, either of being overrun by tourists who would miss an experience, or by becoming less competitive with a rather one sided or limited range of tourist attractions in an extremely competitive market of cultural tourism (Steinecke 2007; Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois 1999).

Beyond the stage of describing historic cities and discussing the often ill-defined visions of heritage preservation, the main challenge now lies in building empirically based knowledge about the actual impact of tourism activities on the historic city (Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois 2004). From a planning point of view it is crucial to identify the changes induced by tourism in the urban morphological, social and

economic system. The real objective is to find ways to integrate policies fostering cultural creativity and innovation with dynamic models for urban renovation, in full respect of the historical values of the place. The risks of unbalancing the historic cohesion in the cityscape by modifying the original form or meaning are real. However urban landscapes shaped by history and revalorized by and for tourism, cannot be frozen as museum sites. The forces in favour of conservation, even preservation, are countered by the economic drive to valorise the potentials of the past for the benefit of the local population and the local economy. The drive to match the trends in the demand of the tourism market is always there.

Many urban studies addressing tourism impact tend to be selective and fragmentary, for instance by looking at the residents only, rather than at the diversified biotope of different types of urban users, or by assessing the physical erosion of monuments mainly without including tourist behaviour patterns. Understanding the interdependencies and interactions is a prerequisite in creating attractive cityscapes. The fact that tourism is just one view in the urban kaleidoscope and in addition, an external force potentially driving internal dynamics, adds to the complexity of this study area.

Most «often-applied» qualitative research methods fail to identify and track the measurable indicators of change in the urban landscape and hence have a limited power to predict or simulate future scenarios. A current tendency in urban studies is to accentuate a dichotomy between visitors and residents, between culture and entertainment, between tourist hot spots and quiet places for locals, between unwanted mass tourism and the highly desired tourist expenditures. This black and white type of approach illustrates a lack of capacity and of adequate research tools to analyze urban dynamics in a holistic way. Planning and managing urban historic cityscapes requires research-based insights in the cohesion of cultural assets and tourist attractions, as well as taking into consideration the visitors' time and space patterns (Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois 2008).

One of the research issues, still to be addressed, is the hybrid impact of heritage landmarks, cultural icons and urban facilities on visitors' use of space (Shoval and Isaacson 2006). In fact, the role of historic elements in the genesis of urban tourism landscapes and the emerging cultural

economy, including cultural tourism, has been widely acknowledged, albeit rarely studied empirically (Van Der Duim 2007).

## 2. TRANSFORMATION OF CULTURAL RESOURCES

The combination of the territorial approach from a geographer's point of view, with an actor network approach and from an explorative trans-disciplinary viewpoint, allows scanning, in a systematic way, the process of «tourismification» (Jansen-Verbeke 2007). The recently introduced concepts of «tourismification» (referring to a growing impact of the tourism system) or «touristification» (referring to the growing impact of tourists and their activities) imply an assessment of the different aspects in which tourism is becoming an important icon of the historic city, morphologically and functionally, and a key player in urban life, politically, socially, culturally and economically. The study of this process is – by definition – multi dimensional and interdisciplinary and requires an in-depth debate on relevant indicators, data and meta-data (Russo 2008; ESPON 2006).

The fact that the study of cultural heritage resources lies in the intersection of different disciplines, explains to some extent the fragmented approaches, the lack of valid research methods and above all of theoretical conceptualisation. The tendency to go for case studies rather than for generalising comparative studies, to focus on descriptions of urban patterns rather than on process analyses of cities as organic systems, is typical of this stage of «explorative» research. We are now crossing borders between disciplines and experimenting with trans-disciplinary research. According to John Tribe, entering this post disciplinary stage holds plenty of challenges (Tribe 2010). Particularly in studies that include issues of sustainability, such as «sustainable development of urban historic areas», the bridges between fundamental research, applied research and fieldwork, visions and effective policy-decision supporting studies, need to be well structured and connected and clearly marked (Chapuis *et al.* 2009). Inspired by the reading of too many case studies on urban tourism, cultural tourism and «heritage

tourism» – one of the latest hypes in tourism –, we are convinced of the need to redefine some concepts and research tools in order to identify, measure and eventually monitor «valid» parameters of change in the urban landscapes. Much has been written lately about cultural heritage and tourism in the context of urban renovation and revitalisation. A first observation is that many authors and even more practitioners, consider «cultural heritage» as an easily, freely accessible and ubiquitous resource of the past, a public good available to all in the perspective of building a «new» cultural economy. Many tend to oversimplify the steps needed to «produce» tourist attractions, whether products, settings or experiences, in a sustainable and competitive way. This interpretation of a «production process» tends to underestimate the complexity of ongoing transformation processes and the hybridity of tourism (Fig. 1).

In order to facilitate a systematic analysis of the heritage resources for the construction of cultural tourism, a distinction was made between aspects related to the *orgware*, *hardware* and *software* in the processing and eventually the development of multiple linkages, that are labelled as *shareware* (Jansen-Verbeke 2007, 2008). The key words included in Figure 1 refer to a number of key issues in the transition process from a historic cityscape with its – *in situ* – characteristics of place and people, to an urban touristscape (Van Der Duim 2007). These global and tourism related networks generate a local dynamic. Using the actor network approach to urban dynamism allows tracking the global actors in tourism, and their power and impact on the local scene as well. It is within such a global web that local creativity and cultural economy can prosper. The actor-network theory (ANT) is introducing new accents in urban studies and offers ways of addressing the increasing complexity of cities in a global perspective (Farias and Bender 2009).

However important this global approach is to identify different vectors of change, the way cities testify of their local or regional history is by definition entirely different! In our «flat» world, as pictured by T.L. Friedman (2008), these differences have become most precious, and we need landmarks and icons and local stories to identify the places we live in and visit. We want to keep collective memories of the past because they tell the story of a place and describe the habitat of many past generations.



*Fig. 1  
A complex transformation process.*

This «re-creation of a territorial identity» is a priority on many urban policy agenda nowadays. Moreover the development of a vital cultural economy implies the inscription of new values in the urban landscape. «Heritage» is the buzzword to express the multiple values now given to historic buildings, complexes, and typical urban landscapes, tangible and intangible elements of a collective past. Is this process of revalorisation of historic cityscapes limited to the preservation of «beautified» images of the past. Views on conservation and preservation of urban cultural heritage are divergent and sometimes even incompatible with the present social and economic dynamics and the need to plan for cities of the future in a realistic way.

### 3. INTEGRATING HERITAGE IN THE URBAN SCENE

A recently published EU report (Chapuis *et al.* 2009) comments on many good and some less good examples of heritage conservation in historic cities. The flow of case studies started some 20 years ago, inspired by the *Charter for the conservation of historic towns and urban areas* (Washington Charter 1987). The complexity and challenges for conservation policies in an urban context were further elaborated by the *Declaration on the conservation of historic urban landscapes* (Vienna Memorandum 2005). The main challenge follows from the assumption that, in order to be effective, the conservation of historic towns and other historic urban areas should be an integral part of coherent policies of economic and social development and of urban and regional planning, at every level (Ost 2009). Integration of historic districts or buildings in the urban system is very much a matter of planning, based on a multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary scanning of the urban system. Integration is seen as opposite to segregation, where historic areas would be labelled and mapped as «places of special interest» for visitors. This branding of «hot spots» can be the intentional policy of local authorities and tourism marketers, but can also unbalance a harmonious relationship between the modern and old city. The historic city with its typical clustering of tourism activities usually offers an interesting incubation context for

innovative cultural activities, which simultaneously can lead to the exclusion of former residents and their traditional activities (Mommaas 2004).

The magic word «integration» is the key word in virtually all urban revitalisation plans and reports, but raises questions as to the multi-dimensional implications of this «honourable» objective. Within this comprehensive field of research, we tend to emphasise the importance of territorial cohesion, among the physical elements of the past (for instance urban trails, connecting public places, monuments, museums, visitor centres within the urban landscape). A historical nexus can become a structural element for the tourist map. The decision to physically and functionally plan such axes of development, also provides developers, heritage and town-planners and, not least, the tourism business, with new opportunities. Anticipating and assessing the impact of such plans and their eventual implementation, requires by definition a visionary and highly qualified expertise. The place and role of built heritage in the future cityscapes is not only a matter of forward planning of urban spaces and space uses, but also very much dependent on the trends in cultural policies in general, and cultural tourism in particular. The tourist opportunity spectrum that urban visitors expect to find is inconstant, depending on structural or impulsive preferences for activities – off the beaten track – and their serendipity to look for «unique» cultural experiences. The concept «Tourist Opportunity Spectrum» (TOS) was introduced in urban planning almost 20 years ago (Butler and Woldbroetz 1991). As a planning concept TOS goes far beyond the listing of tourist attractions, museums, hotels, restaurants, street markets, shops, etc. It is a tool to include the tourist mental map in the planning process and to eventually interfere with the visitors» time-space use in a destination. Visitor management planning implies a vision on the actual behaviour pattern of the different types of urban users.

The current debate is converging on the mutagenicity (the capacity to induce irreversible mutations into a living system) of these cultural elements in the «local» historic urban landscapes and on their inclusion into «global» tourism-scapes. This inevitably calls for some economic reflections on the process of tourismification.

#### 4. ECONOMIC REFLEXES

Obviously valorisation of heritage in the urban scene and debates on conservation versus commoditization and tourism potentials cannot be isolated from economic reality, although economic interests should not dominate decisions about heritage conservation. No doubt those worldwide local and regional authorities, public and private partners, regard heritage as a strong asset in their endeavour for economic growth. Heritage, whether tangible or intangible, is not simply an added value or asset to the overall visit experience, but plays a crucial and complex role in the dynamics of urban tourism. The expectations to gain economic benefits from heritage tourism are high; not only the tourism business as such, but also owners and renters, the local community and shopkeepers, residents waiting to have access to tourism and the tourism related job market, are all stakeholders in the revalorisation of the historic cityscape. Investors look at historic cities as places of opportunities, fully aware of the trendy preferences for heritage images, history and traditions, the perceived qualities of «sense of place», emotions and nostalgia; clearly enough financial and economic incentives for investment decisions.

One main feature that characterizes the economic discussions on historic cities is the distinction between private and public goods. In many ways and in many places heritage is considered to be a part of collective goods. Yet different interpretations are possible; the use of a historic building is the prime right of the owners, but enjoying the beauty of it is the right of everyone; private owners cannot prevent visitors from enjoying the setting and the beauty of a monument from the outside. A privately owned historic building can therefore be considered as a collective economic good. This applies to many heritage buildings. In fact, this observation has initiated the idea to map the economic value of heritage buildings and conservation projects. Such an exercise is valuable because it helps to identify and measure cultural and economic returns to conservation (investment) decisions, and above all to visualize the territorial impacts of conservation projects.

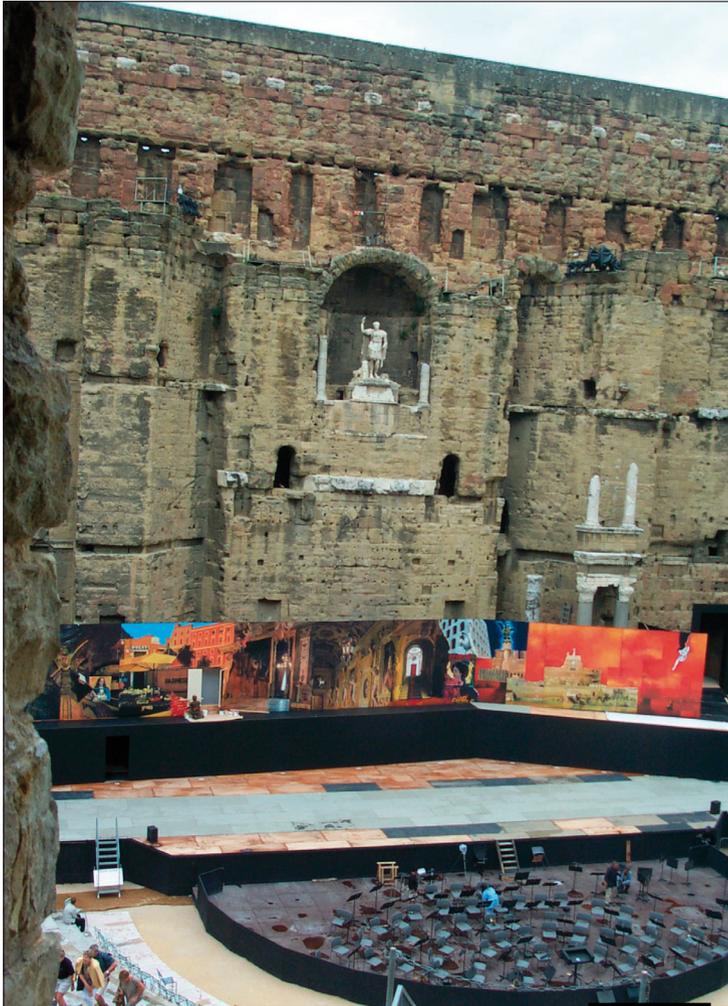
In line with this wave of revaluing the past and its cultural endowment, the new mission of museums is remarkable; carriers of cultural

heritage, magnets for cultural tourists, landmarks for tourist destinations, and increasingly functioning as catalyst for an innovative cultural economy. Flagship museums and blockbuster exhibitions are the new successful attractions for cultural tourists, often regardless of the content of the museum (Shoval and Strom 2009). The intensification of global organisational networks in the cultural sector pushes to innovation and creativity, both in architecture and in museum concepts.

For instance the success of the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao in positioning the city with its industrial past and heritage, as a cultural destination on the tourist map (Plaza 2000) was the result of a successful place-marketing strategy but can hardly be seen as a sustainable support for the tourist attraction of the historic city of Bilbao. What are then the criteria for a sustainable success? What is at stake, only the penetration of images in the mental map of potential visitors, using the architectural qualities of the built heritage and the iconic museum building? The global networking that realises this type of temple for cultural innovation and catches the interest of many thousands of visitors (local, domestic and international) is successful. However this trend to use flagship museums and projects as landmarks in city marketing risks becoming a victim of its success, when location aspects are not really taken into consideration, when top architects are competing worldwide and links with the place become an obstruction rather than a source of inspiration. The uniqueness of the «cultural» experience is fading away. The tourist product life cycle of some of these projects might not be so long ... and eventually losing the competition with grass rooted historical settings.

A similar debate is going on about the impact of so many cultural events in cities, many without a long life insurance (Jansen-Verbeke 2004). Nevertheless cultural events that are combining historic places (tangible heritage) with the stories of the place and the richness of its intangible heritage, seems to be a most effective way of valorising heritage in a contemporary context (Wanhill and Jansen-Verbeke 2008) (*Fig. 2*).

The flexibility of events in terms of themes, location, timing and program seems to fit well in the current demand for new experiences. The search for new experiences is a phenomenon that embraces tourism, culture and economy (O'Dell and Billing 2005).



*Fig. 2*  
*Cultural events in a historic setting.*

Events to restore the link between tangible and intangible heritage. An example: the Chorégies d'Orange festival dates from 1860 and is the oldest festival in France. Over the years, the Chorégies have retained all of their freshness and originality, due in part to the name, which comes from the Greek «choreos», linking them to the Grecian-Latin tradition and to the magnificent venue: the perfectly preserved Roman Theatre, which can hold 9,000 spectators and is a testimony to the Roman era.

The study of experience-scapes is most relevant in the perspective of revalorisation of heritage and the needs to be placed in the larger cultural and social context of daily life in which it is embedded. Fact is that facilitating «experiences» has become a core business in tourism, replacing the traditional market dichotomy between offer and demand. The interest in the experience economy has in fact been there in tourism for a long time, but recently the importance of experiences and the technical skills to facilitate the production and consumption have made a big step forward. The strength of this innovative movement in cultural tourism lies in the fact that «experience-scape» induced by scenes and stories of the past and supported by tangible and intangible heritage is not only organised by producers (public organisations and private enterprises). They are only facilitators, with a high degree of emotional intelligence and creativity. The key players in this economy of fascination are the consumers, the visitors, the residents, and the actors on stage. Urban imaging industries discovered this new market niche, which eventually will contribute to a greater interest and awareness of the past

An important agent in the process of revalorisation of historic cities and territorial cultural heritage is and has been the European policy regarding the European Capital of Culture (ECoC). This has initiated processes of change in many cities, albeit with different programs and impacts and clearly differently managed in every city. The list of mission statements of the European Cultural Capital Cities program is long and a shift of accents occurred over the years (Garcia 2004). The time and space context varies, so does the need to create or revitalise cultural activities and the way to do it. The objective was to launch a campaign to increase cultural awareness and facilitate the renewal of urban townscapes. Revalorisation of the past became the «Leitmotiv». In practice this primarily means commoditization of tangible and intangible heritage with the main objective to acquire a competitive position on the European «cultural» market. In many places a consensus on priorities and modus of commoditization of heritage assets generates a long and often political sensitive debate between opinion leaders and decision makers. As a rule, cultural policies imply a shared responsibility and compromise between political agendas of different urban departments, linking issues of physical planning and transport,

museum management and cultural agendas, place branding and event management.

The skills and professional expertises that are required are diverse and interdisciplinary and as a rule it takes a period of «trial and error». In fact many lessons can be learnt from the experiences of all the 39 cultural capital cities in Europe since the start of the program. Many cities in Europe have since then invested in their cultural economy, not only the elected ECOC's, but also many others once their candidature was proposed. Can this momentum of creativity and dynamism, result of a top down policy, be sustained in the European cities, once elected ECoC? The growing competition between cultural destinations in Europe became manifest when, in 2000, 10 cities were nominated, and all shared very similar ambitions when applying for the title. The common agenda of these cities included the following objectives (Jansen-Verbeke 2009a, b):

- Innovation of the cultural infrastructure.
- Improvement of the image of the city to stimulate tourism.
- Reinforcement of cultural activities for the local population.
- Integration of culture in the urban development planning and policy.
- Connection of the city with Europe and creation of a «Europe Identity».

Unfortunately there are no in-depth comparative studies available on ECOC'S. The expectations regarding visitor numbers tend to be high, although this was – officially – not a prime motive for application. The reality shows that the domestic market is by far the most important one (in numbers of visits) in most ECOC's. This result is relevant for the planning of future cultural capital cities in Europe. Even without proper statistics or a systematic database, there are indications of a slowing down impact of this European policy. At this stage the dispersed and fragmented knowledge resulting from the numerous evaluation reports allows a step forward to share experiences and to shape collective insights (Garcia 2004). Indications of the best practices, in a changing context, might be one of the most relevant outcomes of this exercise. There is no blue print for a successful cultural capital city, but there are lessons to be learnt from «trial and error» in the past, by sharing

experiences, in order to make «cultural economy» a prestigious sector to invest in, to work in and to enjoy!

## 5. DRAWING A TRANS-DISCIPLINARY RESEARCH AGENDA

Urban cultural heritage is a most fascinating and challenging field of research, because it embraces a wide spectrum of topics that requires a trans-disciplinary approach. The traditional disciplinary and fragmented approach by archeologists, historians, architects, urban planners became even more deficient in view of the ongoing social and economic processes. This time of crossover between the fields of heritage, human and social sciences, economic and environmental research, town and country planning, brings forward the need for new research methods and models, revised definitions and concepts.

Furthermore, cooperation between the scientific researchers and planners on the one hand and on the other the voices of the stakeholders – owners, users, planners and investors, is an absolute prerequisite for a sustainable management of the cultural resources concerned. The conclusion after reading multiple case studies is that revalorisation of cultural heritage is both an objective and a tool. Looking at historic cities as territorial expressions of the past, in hands of global networks that incorporate multiple actors and stakes, might change our research agenda considerably.

The drawing of a research agenda in this transdisciplinary field is a matter of serendipity and free interpretations since there are neither blueprint nor scientific models to study the transformation from historic cityscapes to urban tourism-scapes. On a number of paradigms there seems to be a consensus.

1. Assessing the impact of tourism on cultural heritage is essential to its preservation. This implies the search for a sustainable equilibrium between conservation and new dynamics in historic cityscapes of the future.
2. Managing «crowds» in historic cities is now a hot item on the agenda. Mass tourism in cities is seen as a threat! This is a reality we

will have to cope with, we are all living in an overcrowded world «hot, flat and crowded» according to Thomas Friedman (2008). The implications of the phenomenon on «hot spots» for tourism are so badly understood; the interpretation of «mass» and «critical mass» needs to be analysed – critically, empirically and systematically – as a problem of concentration in time and space of a range of attractions and of urban users (residents and visitors), in terms of push and pull incentives and mobility patterns. Mass tourism is not a disaster per se, and can also be regarded as an opportunity for the local economy, above all a major challenge in terms of zoning and directing visitor flows, yet feasible if management skills are in place!

3. The creation of experience-scapes in which tangible and intangible heritage are linked in time and place, opens interesting opportunities for the «economy of fascination». Communication about the history of a place, a historic complex (for example the Beguignages in the low countries, now on the WH-list), an industrial artefact or a monument, can be adapted in so many ways to the type of audience and the setting. A wide range of technical tools and tricks is available now. The future of experience-scapes needs to be studied, not only with marketing ambitions, but also with an ethical reflection about how to use the past for present entertainment with respect.
4. The concept of «Tourism-scapes» that results from an actor network theory (ANT) appears to be an inspiring «metaphor». Moreover this is a method of analysis that raises new questions, requires a cross disciplinary discourse about the ways tourism and international networks are pulling the strings and eventually reshaping the urban scene, affecting social life, penetrating economic activities and, last but not least, affecting the agenda of decision makers (public and private).

Looking at historic cities as territorial expressions of the past, in hands of global networks that incorporate multiple actors and stakes, might change our research agenda considerably.

## 6. REFERENCES

- Butler R. and Woldbrootz L. (1991). A new planning tool: Tourist Opportunity Spectrum, *The Journal of Tourism Studies* 2 (1): 2-14.
- Chapuis M., Lydon A. and Brandt-Grau A. (eds.) (2009). *Preserving our heritage, improving our environment*, Vol. I: 20 years of EU research in cultural heritage, Vol. II: *Cultural heritage research*, Brussels, European Commission.
- ESPON 1.3.3. (2006). *The role and spatial aspects of cultural heritage and identity. Final report*, Venice, University of Venice.
- Farias I. and Bender T. (eds.) (2009). *Urban assemblages. How actor-network theory changes urban studies*, London, Routledge.
- Friedmann T.L. (2008). *Hot, flat and crowded*, London, Allen Lane.
- García B. (2004). Cultural policy in European cities: lessons from experience, prospects for the future, special edition on cultural policy and regeneration, *Local Economy* 19 (4): 312-326.
- Grefe X. (1999). *La gestion du patrimoine culturel*, Paris, Antropos.
- Jansen-Verbeke M. (2004). *Mutagenecity of cultural events in urban tourist destinations*, in Butler R. and Aramberri J. (eds.), *Tourism development: issues for a vulnerable industry*, Clevedon, UK, Channel View Publications, 257-275.
- Jansen-Verbeke M. (2007). Cultural resources and the tourismification of territories, *Acta Turistica Nova* 1 (1): 21-41.
- Jansen-Verbeke M. (2008). A geographer's gaze at tourism, *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica* 52 (2): 15-29.
- Jansen-Verbeke M. (2009a). *European cultural capital: Istanbul. revalorizing multi cultural heritage*, Conference paper, Istanbul, Bogacisi University.
- Jansen-Verbeke M. (2009b). *European cultural capitals: catalysts of change*, Conference paper, Pecs, University of Pecs.
- Jansen-Verbeke M. and Lievois E. (1999). *Analysing heritage resources for urban tourism in European cities*, in Pearce D.G. and Butler R.W. (eds.), *Contemporary issues in tourism development: analysis and applications*, London - New York, Routledge, 81-107.
- Jansen-Verbeke M. and Lievois E. (2004). *Urban tourism-scapes: research based destination management*, in Smith K.A. and Scott C. (eds.), *Proceedings of The New Zealand tourism and hospitality research Conference*, Wellington, 170-179.

- Jansen-Verbeke M. and Lievois E. (2008). *Visiting patterns in historic cityscapes. a case study in Ghent, Belgium*, in Jansen-Verbeke M., Priestley G. and Russo A. (eds.), *Cultural resources for tourism; patterns, processes, policies*, New York, Nova Science Publishers, 17-30.
- Jansen-Verbeke M. and Govers R. (2010). *Brussels: a multilayered capital city*, in Maitland R. and Ritchie B.W. (eds.), *City tourism: national capital perspectives*, Wallingford, CABI, 142-158.
- Jansen-Verbeke M. and Mckercher B. (2010). *The tourism destiny of cultural world heritage sites*, in Butler R. and Pearce D. (eds.), *Tourism research: a 20-20 vision*, Oxford, GoodFellow Publishing, 190-202.
- Maitland R. and Ritchie B.W. (eds.) (2010). *City tourism: national capital perspectives*, Wallingford, CABI.
- Mommaas H. (2004). Cultural clusters and the post-industrial city: towards the remapping of urban cultural policy, *Urban Studies* 41 (3): 507-532.
- O'dell T. and Billing P. (eds.) (2005). *Experiencescapes; tourism, culture and economy*, Kopenhagen, Business School Press.
- Ost C. (2009). *A guide for heritage economics in historic cities. Values, indicators, maps and policies*, LA, Getty Conservation Institute.
- Plaza B. (2000). Evaluating the influence of a large cultural artefact in the attraction of tourism, *Urban Affairs Review* 36 (2): 264-274.
- Shoval N. and Isaacson M. (2006). The application of tracking technologies to the study of pedestrian spatial behavior, *The Professional Geographer* 58 (2): 172-183.
- Shoval N. and Strom E. (2009). Inscribing universal values into the urban landscape: New York, Jerusalem and Winnipeg as case studies, *Urban Studies* 30 (2): 143-161.
- Steinecke A. (2007). *Kulturtourismus, Marktstrukturen, Fallstudien, Perspektiven*, München - Wien, Oldenburg Verlag.
- Tribe J. (2010). Tribes, territories and networks in the tourism academy, *Annals of Tourism Research* 37 (1): 7-33.
- Van Der Duim R. (2007). Tourismscapes. An actor-network perspective, *Annals of Tourism Research* 34 (4): 961-976.
- Wanhill S. and Jansen-Verbeke M. (2008). *Cultural events as catalysts of change. Evidence from four European case studies*, in Jansen-Verbeke M., Priestley G. and Russo A. (eds.), *Cultural resources for tourism; patterns, processes, policies*, New York, Nova Science Publishers, 125-144.

## RIASSUNTO

*Lo scopo di questo saggio è realizzare una riflessione critica sul ruolo delle risorse culturali nella presente fase di «trasformazione» o «metamorfosi» delle città storiche. Il collegamento tra storia, patrimonio ed habitat tradizionale sono stati ridisegnati nel paesaggio urbano e ciò apre nuove prospettive per la rivitalizzazione delle attività economiche che hanno origine dal basso. Come le politiche di conservazione del patrimonio possono essere integrate nei modelli di sviluppo economico locale in modo sostenibile? Una riflessione sul patrimonio da un punto di vista territoriale inevitabilmente fa riferimento al paradosso che esiste tra la conservazione e la preservazione del paesaggio urbano storico da una parte e le nuove dinamiche urbane dall'altra. Il sopraggiungere di una nuova economia della cultura – di cui il turismo è un elemento – costituisce un aspetto intrinseco del paesaggio urbano postmoderno. Una delle principali sfide per i ricercatori e i pianificatori è quella di comprendere come il turismo stia lentamente dando nuova forma ai paesaggi urbani storici e come gli strumenti di ICT, a livello globale e locale, stiano disegnando il futuro delle città. Il concetto di «paesaggio turistico» è il risultato di un approccio da attore di una rete ed è introdotto come uno strumento di ricerca analitica per questa nuova realtà urbana.*

