The Urban Book Series

Nicholas Wise
Takamitsu Jimura *Editors*

Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration

Changing Spaces in Historical Places

Springer

The Urban Book Series

The Urban Book Series is a resource for urban studies and geography research worldwide. It provides a unique and innovative resource for the latest developments in the field, nurturing a comprehensive and encompassing publication venue for urban studies, urban geography, planning and regional development.

The series publishes peer-reviewed volumes related to urbanization, sustainability, urban environments, sustainable urbanism, governance, globalization, urban and sustainable development, spatial and area studies, urban management, transport systems, urban infrastructure, urban dynamics, green cities and urban landscapes. It also invites research which documents urbanization processes and urban dynamics on a national, regional and local level, welcoming case studies, as well as comparative and applied research.

The series will appeal to urbanists, geographers, planners, engineers, architects, policy makers, and to all of those interested in a wide-ranging overview of contemporary urban studies and innovations in the field. It accepts monographs, edited volumes and textbooks.

Now Indexed by Scopus!

More information about this series at http://www.springer.com/series/14773

Nicholas Wise · Takamitsu Jimura
Editors

Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration

Changing Spaces in Historical Places

Springer

Editors
Nicholas Wise
Liverpool John Moores University
Liverpool, UK

Takamitsu Jimura
Liverpool John Moores University
Liverpool, UK

ISSN 2365-757X ISSN 2365-7588 (electronic)
The Urban Book Series
ISBN 978-3-030-41904-2 ISBN 978-3-030-41905-9 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41905-9

This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1
Changing Spaces in Historical Places

Nicholas Wise and Takamitsu Jimura

Abstract Urban regeneration is often regarded as the process of renewal or redevelopment of spaces and places. Investments in tourism, especially in post-industrial cities/wider regions, are part of nascent regeneration strategies linked to transitioning economic bases. But there is a need to look at tourism and urban regeneration with a particular focus on cultural heritage. Cultural heritage consists of tangible heritage (such as historic buildings) and intangible heritage (such as events). The wider need and impact for such work is because places (destinations) change (regenerate) to keep up with the shifts in demand so to maintain a competitive advantage in an increasingly expanding global economy. Moreover, places need to keep up with the pace of global change or they risk stagnation and decline, especially since increased competition is resulting in increased opportunities and choice for consumers. This book will critically frame these mutually interrelated areas by incorporating interdisciplinary perspectives across a range of international cases to assess and address contemporary approaches by considering the influence of cultural heritage on urban regeneration to create or recreate tourism. The chapters in this book include cases from: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Cambodia, Canada, China, Estonia, India, Japan, Scotland and the United States of America, with one chapter discussing a number of countries in the Southern African Development Community region. The chapters build on a range of theoretical perspectives of space and place to critically evaluate the practice, impacts, legacies and management of tourism within specific contexts pertinent to cultural heritage and urban regeneration.

Keywords Tourism · Cultural heritage · Urban regeneration · Urban change

N. Wise (✉) · T. Jimura
Liverpool John Moores University, Liverpool, UK
e-mail: N.A.Wise@ljmu.ac.uk

T. Jimura
e-mail: T.Jimura@ljmu.ac.uk

N. Wise and T. Jimura (eds.), *Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration*,
The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41905-9_1

1.1 Introduction

There are attractions that are synonymous with a particular place, and there are attractions that help shape, promote places and/or transform popular imaginations. Tourism studies and tourism management studies have become holistic areas of research, but there is a need to continue building on and relating insight from interdisciplinary areas to continue challenging us to diversify critical perspectives when it comes to understanding change and development in urban destinations. This book relates tourism and cultural heritage with tourism and urban regeneration to challenge us to think about tourism management, policy and planning in contemporary times. Chambers (1997) focuses on tourism and culture, while Urry and Larsen (2011) supplement this point when speaking about the significance of heritage to destinations. Moreover, Urry and Larsen (2011) note that some countries are continually designating places as heritage sites, and such reinventing of spaces or buildings/structures as attractions is a form of regeneration, whether for the purpose of a physical makeover or to enhance a place's image (see also Millar 1989; Richards 2001; Smith 2007; Lak et al. 2019). While tourism is a driver for change, this means we need to look at chance from the standpoint of urban planning which is where the consideration of urban regeneration helps us consider changing spaces in tourism places (see Wise and Harris 2017; Shoval 2018). There are cultural and heritage attractions that challenge us to consider wider and critical meanings, sometimes contesting how we perceive their impacts on a destination and/or how society and tourists interact with and around them. Thus, the cases explored in this book will help reflect on the interconnectedness of tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration and how understandings differ across a range of international cases.

We live in a world that is continually undergoing change. City planners and policymakers find themselves facing a dilemma, they either need to find the funds to enhance or upgrade infrastructures, or if a place resists they run the risk of continued stagnation (Richards and Palmer 2010; Wise and Clark 2017). Given the rise of cities in the Middle East, East Asia and Latin America (as popular destinations and hosts of mega-events), cities in Europe and North America, especially, are finding that keeping up with the pace of global change requires (almost) inexhaustible funds (see Wise 2020). This can limit the ability to regenerate in some places, but for many places change is needed if a destination is to develop and build a new tourism economy. While change is oftentimes about focusing on the future, urban planners and policymakers often take inspiration from the past so that changing spaces help fulfil or restore some semblance of the past in a way that helps build a destination or a newly defined (or even reinvented) attraction for the purpose of creating or enhancing tourism opportunities. Impacts are broad, and can be both social and economic. Social in the way that a places history is about civic pride and celebrating the past so that people can reflect on changing times (Cresswell 2015), and contemporary regeneration strategies are seeking creative ways of building in these narratives of a places unique or symbolic local, regional or national past (see Edensor 2002; Palmer 1999). Preserving history can help educate, shape awareness and/or generate pride

in place—may this be based on a collective cultural heritage that has been once again designated and/or regenerated. The economic gain, then, is based on visitation to attractions, whereby a new local or regional tourism economy brings life back to spaces that may have eroded, been forgotten or have fallen into disrepair. While economic regeneration brings opportunities, it can also, however, create division between those who have the means to invest and access and those who cannot. While history and a place's cultural heritage can be portrayed as collective, urban regeneration can be seen as inclusive, and inclusion/exclusion in changing spaces conforms to neoliberal agendas, and thereby the consumerisation of a place product is marketed and promoted as a tourism destination or visitor attraction.

1.2 Urban Change

Urban regeneration is often regarded as the process of renewal (or redevelopment) of spaces and places (Wise and Harris 2017), and this change can have significant impacts on culture and society (Hénaff 2016; Leary-Owhin 2016). Investments in tourism, especially in post-industrial cities/wider regions are part of nascent regeneration strategies linked to transitioning economic bases. But there is a need to look at tourism and urban regeneration with a particular focus on cultural heritage. Cultural heritage consists of tangible heritage (such as historic buildings) and intangible heritage (such as events) (Jimura 2019). The wider need and impact for such work is that places seek change to keep up with the shifts in demand in the global economy in order for places to maintain a competitive advantage. Moreover, places need to keep up with the pace of global change or they risk decline and stagnation as increased competition is resulting in increased opportunities and choice for consumers (see Richards and Palmer 2010; Wise and Clark 2017). Usually, regeneration occurs with a certain degree of spatial transformation. Hence, it is important to consider physical regeneration such as the conversion of industrial sites to retail spaces or museums. Such conversion is also regarded as the change in the main purpose of places from those for 'production' to those for 'consumption' (Jimura 2019). Moving from production to consumption reflects the shift in the main industry from the secondary to the tertiary sector, both of which are prominent in developed countries. There can be a range of benefits and opportunities brought about through regeneration, including social impacts for communities or new investments and developments that can influence how people interact in transformed spaces. Moreover, intangible cultural heritage such as festivals or events is also vital for cultural democracy and culture-led regeneration. The challenge is many of these benefits are broadly suggested and recent work is challenging researchers to look beyond the 'promoted' wider impacts and consider how local changes (regeneration strategies) are directly impacting people (see Cowan 2016; Wise and Maguire 2019).

Cities and regions around the world are looking for new ways to increase opportunities to attract visitors, enhance place image and strengthen destination competitiveness. Investing in cultural heritage is thus an important driver when in comes to

changing spaces in historical places. Therefore, the purpose of this edited book is to bring together a collection of papers that link critical perspectives of cultural heritage and to consider how this is an influence, impact or direct result of urban regeneration. Focusing on tourism will help to link these areas of inquiry and academic debate, as investments in tourism are inherently linked to regeneration planning and heritage management. This book will thus critically frame these mutually interrelated areas by incorporating interdisciplinary perspectives across a range of international cases to assess and address contemporary approaches of the influence of cultural heritage on urban regeneration to create or recreate tourism in the places explored in this edited collection. Cultural heritage is often comprehended as interpretation and usage of the past in the current context. Thus, it is momentous for us to explore the meaning and role of cultural heritage in relation to tourism and urban regeneration that have the ever-changing nature as contemporary phenomena.

As tourism becomes an increasing part of urban planning agendas, this will continue to have a profound impact on local heritage and local living environments (Nofre et al. 2018; Wise et al. 2019). While investments and new touristic activity can increase consumption, critical urban scholars warn us about increased economic disparity that results, as well as social exclusion, and ignoring (or leaving behind) communities that are struggling (see Lefebvre 1991; Mitchell 2003; Harvey 2012). Moreover, Leary-Owhin (2016, 328) argues that change and consumption creates "neoliberal provoked fatalistic pessimism". Wise et al. (2019, 684), focusing specifically on tourism and the presentation of particular urban heritages in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, highlight city planners, tourism officials and business owners are designing creative ways of "leveraging culture, heritage and increasing tourism consumption as part of urban change". Clark (2011) argues that because the entertainment, tourism and leisure industries are based around consumption, these are thus inherently key drivers of urban change and development because the amenities put in place entice visitors. Moreover, this point made by Clark (2011) aligns with Sepe and Di Trapani's (2010) and Markusen's (2014) assessments that these industries are drivers of creative urban change. Nofre et al. (2018) are very critical of this concept as tourism as a driver of urban change is subsequently causing social change—and this disrupts local and everyday life for residents. As more tourists enter an area and extend beyond its sustainable carrying capacity, we then begin to enter into discussions and debates concerning over-tourism, which is a key focus point among scholarly work concerning with urban tourism development, as evident in the edited collection by Shoval (2018) and a critical review of work by Novy and Colomb (2019), with both works focusing on urban tourism planning. While these debates are beyond the scope and focus of this book, it is important to acknowledge these critical directions because tourism-led urban change and development is done so for the purpose of increasing consumption, which in turn is the economic driver of change that allows places (destinations) to maintain a higher level of competitiveness.

1.3 Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration

This book considers the overlaps between tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration. The chapters in this book each focus on a city (or a few cities) and thier respective cultural heritage attractions that have seen regeneration initiatives or strategies play a defining role in the building of a new tourism product. The result is a new local or regional tourism economy that aligns with urban policy initiatives in each case discussed. The later chapters consider several cities and the explore the expanded impact on the wider region, including the greater urban area as well as surrounding rural areas and smaller towns.

Figure 1.1 conceptualises the overlaps between tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration. If we first consider tourism, a place's unique cultural heritage is a driver of that place's local tourism industry. The focus here is disseminating the story to wider audiences and using cultural heritage to educate tourists and to help narrate to visitors a destination's history and past. When a city invests in urban regeneration, the focus is often image enhancement (see Spirou 2011; Cowan 2016; Wise and Harris 2017). Regeneration refers to place change, and enhancements are about increasing destination competitiveness (Mulec and Wise 2013), which, in turn, is based on investments for the purpose of economic gain and impact (see Smith 2012; Wise 2016). However, when we align urban regeneration with cultural heritage, the emphasis shifts to local impacts based on preserving (local) place narratives. There

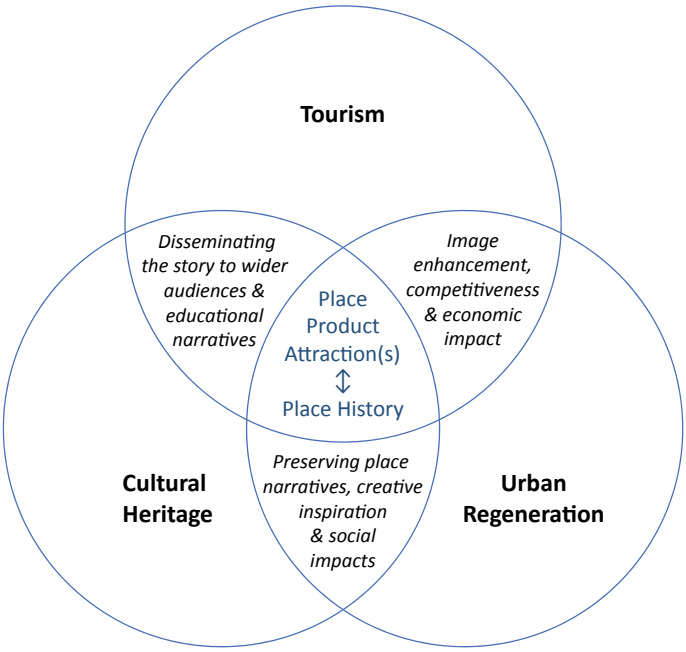

Fig. 1.1 Framing the overlaps between tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration

is also a focus on creative inspirations when using cultural heritage for the purpose of tourism-led regeneration (see Uysal 2012). But to local residents, urban change that embraces a place's cultural heritage is an attempt to increase pride in that place, which is a social impact (Jimura 2019). When we consider the overlap of all three areas, changing spaces in historical places is an opportunity to leverage a place's history for the purpose of creating place product attraction(s). In other words, investining in cultural heritage is a chance to enhance a place's/destination's historical portfolio and product offering, which are key attractions in a city for tourists who visit, they become unique areas for local residents and new jobs are created. These are also areas that are explored in this collection.

To give some examples that are not included as a case chapter in this book, we start with the city where the two editors (and authors of this introductory chapter and the concluding chapter) reside, Liverpool, England. Liverpool was a city suffering from decades of stagnation and decline (Spirou 2011; Liu 2014). As the city prepared to host the 2008 European Capital of Culture (ECoC), Liverpool commenced an extensive regeneration effort that saw much of the city's waterfront and central areas fully redeveloped. The regeneration of Liverpool was extensive and was the ECoC with the highest investment and operating expenditure compared to other host cities, spending more than twice on their event as other cities (Richards and Palmer 2010), with much of the focus on spaces of Liverpool's prominent cultural heritage that would not only prepare the city to host ECoC 2008, but more importantly establish a new city image so to build a sustainable tourism legacy post-2008. Concerning tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration of Liverpool, it should also be noted that six districts in the historic centre and docklands of Liverpool was added to the World Heritage List in 2004 as Liverpool—Maritime Mercantile City (UNESCO n.d.). Although its World Heritage status must have been, (and continues to be), beneficial for tourism in Liverpool, the World Heritage Site has been on the List of World Heritage in Danger since 2012 mainly due to the extensive waterfront development plan (Jimura 2019). This signifies that Liverpool may lose its World Heritage status in the near future due to its urban regeneration policy and strategy (Fig. 1.2).

In drawing inspiration concerning the connections from these themes based on where we (the editors of this book) both currently reside, we step back to consider some observations from our origins. Nicholas Wise comes from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania and observes these overlaps in the areas around Independence Hall in Philadelphia. Takamitsu Jimura comes from the Kansai region of Japan and observes these overlaps in the areas around Kyoto railway station in Kyoto City, Kyoto Prefecture.

Philadelphia, like many large cities in the mid-Atlantic region in the northeast of the United States, experienced much decline since the mid-1970s (Neumann 2016). Many cities in the United States in the early-1990s through to the early-2000s were regenerating city centre areas by building downtown (close to city centre) sports stadiums (Newsome and Comer 2000). However, Philadelphia city planners bypassed the common central city stadia approach and instead invested in enhancing space

Fig. 1.2 Regeneration of and around the Albert Dock in Liverpool, England (photographs by Nicholas Wise)

in the city's downtown that was specific to the history of Philadelphia: Independence Hall and the three-block areas of Independence Mall. Independence Hall and Independence Mall with the Liberty Bell is an attraction that continues to stimulate patriotic enthusiasm as important national landmark of United States constitutional history (Mires 2002). The designation of Independence Hall as a historic site dates back to the 1930s and officially became a historic site in 1943 (Greiff 1987). The city of Philadelphia, working with the Olin Partnership, commenced a plan in the year 2000 to revive the Independence Mall area and its immediate surroundings (Smith 2017). The area needed redevelopment as it was just adjacent to centre city and a few city blocks away from the Delaware River. To enhance the area city planners and urban developers focused on the iconic American historical building Independence Hall and Independence Square, and from this point enhanced the aesthetics by restoring park space to the north and east of this square. This according to Smith (2017) made the "space both more welcoming and better trafficked". The concern was spaces in this area were unwelcoming and by enhancing this and surrounding spaces into areas for consumption and leisure, this attracted businesses and new urban residents give this part of the city a new presence again. Thus, investments in tourism opportunities including the Independence Visitor Centre gave planners and investors momentum to leverage Philadelphia's cultural heritage and regenerate Independence Mall (Fig. 1.3).

Fig. 1.3 Independence Mall green area, which is part of Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States of America; Independence Hall can be seen in front of the high rise buildings (photograph by Nicholas Wise)

Concerning the case noted in Japan, Kyoto City is an ancient capital of Japan and one of the most popular tourist destinations in Japan for both domestic and overseas tourists. The city is full of tangible (e.g. shrines and temples) and intangible (e.g. traditional festivals) cultural heritage. Such cultural heritage is what local residents have been proud of and has been working as the city's main attraction factors for tourists. In Kyoto, shrines and temples are scattered around the city and contemporary commercial districts have often been developed near these historic properties. This testifies the absence of a 'historic centre' in cities and towns in Japan (Jimura 2019). The most established example of the coexistence of modern and historic tangible cultural heritage within a specific geographical area is the Kawaramachi/Gion district, encompassing the Yasaka Shrine, located in the city centre of Kyoto. In addition to the Kawaramachi/Gion district, today Kyoto City has another major contemporary commercial district that has been developed since the middle of 1990s. This is the Kyoto railway station district situated in the south of the city centre. This district includes cultural heritage sites such as Toji-temple, Higashi Hongan-ji temple and Nishi Hongan-ji temple. Unlike the Kawaramachi/Gion district, this district was rather neglected and was not seen as a main commercial district of Kyoto City, although there had been some modern commercial structures (e.g. Kyoto Tower built in 1964). However, the completion of the fourth-generation Kyoto Station Building in

Fig. 1.4 Fourth-generation Kyoto Station Building (photograph by Takamitsu Jimura)

1997 altered the nature of this district dramatically (shown in Fig. 1.4). The building is famous for its contemporary design and has a wide variety of commercial spaces and functions such as retail shops, restaurants, cafes and a department store. Together with existing commercial facilities nearby, the building has developed the district into the other key contemporary commercial district of Kyoto City, which involves tangible cultural heritage such as temples and has been serving for tourists as the main gateway to Kyoto City.

These are just a few examples of the overlaps between cultural heritage and urban regeneration of the purpose of increasing tourism opportunities, but they are examples that us as editors think about in the places where we work and where we are from, and we encourage readers to consider such impacts and changing landscapes in the places where they reside. Moving on, from these examples discussed here at the start of this book, we get a sense of how cities continually seek creative ways to leverage unique cultural heritage aimed at improving city image or to physically enhancing areas suffering from decline or in need of change. Urban decay means spaces that once symbolised cultural significance need to seek alternative solutions through investments or risk subsequent decline. Thus, reproducing heritage as part of wider regeneration strategies becomes a suitable response to retain places using cultural heritage to drive nascent tourism opportunities. Regeneration can be aimed at overcoming industrial decline or upgrading existing attractions to enhance competitiveness. The focus of each chapter in this book is on some semblance of cultural

heritage that drives change in urban spaces. Cultural heritage also plays a crucial role in tourism. Tourism and cultural heritage work together in the process of urban regeneration, causing tangible and intangible changes in historical places. This edited book will have a wide readership, intended for students studying urban studies, human geography and international tourism management, as well as academic conducting research in and across these areas, and we encourage readers to build on and/or challenge perspectives using a range of disciplinary considerations, critical theories or proposed practical solutions.

To contribute to the existing bodies of research knowledge within and across these areas of study, there is not a current book that focuses specifically on the link between cultural heritage and urban regeneration and how these influence and impact tourism. Several collections have offered critical in-depth analyses of cultural heritage and tourism (e.g. Timothy and Boyd 2003; Timothy 2011; Jimura 2019) and tourism and regeneration (e.g. Smith 2007; Spirou, 2011; Gravari-Barbas and Guinand 2017). Therefore, building on these previously published works, there is a need to address and assess understandings linking these distinctly developed areas of research in an international collection that will present similarities and differences across the range of cases explored in this book. The work edited by Smith (2007), published more than a decade ago, has relevance, and the topic is revisited exploring a more specific focus on heritage tourism.

There is also not a book in The Urban Book Series by Springer with tourism in the title (at the time or editing), showing that no book to this point has taken such a specific focus. We proposed this book because we are editors feel that this focus and joining of areas is needed because tourism is not always at the forefront of research inquiry, especially in cities undergoing significant change and regeneration. A collection edited by one of the proposing editors (Clark and Wise 2018) included some cases on tourism in chapters, but the focus did not fully explore the areas of tourism, cultural heritage and regeneration at once as what this book aims to explore and contribute. There are books in the Urban Book Series focusing on urban heritage (Šćitaroci et al. 2019) and the management of urban heritage (Colavitti 2018), but neither develop the focus on how cultural heritage as tourism products drive urban regeneration.

Therefore, the contribution of this work is aimed at merging areas of research that are often approached independently. The inspiration from the work comes from the expertise and research areas of the editors and authors of this introduction. Takamitsu Jimura specialises on tourism and cultural heritage (e.g. Jimura 2010, 2011, 2015, 2016, 2019) and Nicholas Wise has developed a stream of research on tourism and urban regeneration (e.g. Wise and Mulec 2012, 2015; Perić and Wise 2015; Wise et al. 2015; Wise 2016, 2018; Wise and Clark 2017; Wise and Harris 2017; Wise and Perić 2017; Aquilino et al. 2019; Wise et al. 2019). The editors also collaborated on work linking urban tourism (see Wise et al. 2019) and place heritage. We have observed a critical gap and determined that there was a need to join these areas of research and dedicate a collection combining cultural heritage and urban regeneration with tourism as a driver and inspiration for change.

1.4 Outline of Chapters

This book brings together 12 chapters that each presents a different case focusing on tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration. The goal was to make the book as internationally diverse as possible by including cases dispersed around the world. We asked each author to focus on cultural heritage in a particular tourism destination and how this plays a role in urban (and in some cases regional) regeneration, or links to an urban regeneration policy agenda. We were flexible with how authors made the link to urban regeneration, may this be tangible, related to image regeneration, changing place attitudes or new perceptions of a destination, as regeneration refers to some impact of change. Given the flexibility concerning how urban regeneration is addressed in each chapter, the focus on urban regeneration is at the core of the contributions in this collection and helps define the focus of this book to the wider audience of academics and policymakers—so to align the conceptual and practical understandings of changing spaces in historical places. Spaces or areas of a city that undergo extensive transformations are areas targeted by city officials, policymakers and/or private investors to enhance a place's reputation or create new opportunities for consumption in and around destination visitor attractions. Consumption may be in the form of general leisure or for tourism. In many of these urban areas that we see regenerated for the purpose of tourism, there is oftentimes some link to a place's heritage, may this be cultural heritage or industrial heritage (that reflects the social and cultural fabric of a place), and it must also be noted that heritage can be both tangible and intangible. To give an overview of each chapter, this introduction chapter has started by offering some conceptual directions and overlaps concerning the need to focus on tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration.

Chapter 2 by *John C. Henshall* titled **Clarksdale, Mississippi: Downtown Regeneration, Cultural Heritage, Tourism and Blues Music** focuses on a small Delta town and the role of Blues music in regenerating downtown Clarksdale. Clarksdale is renowned as the birthplace of Blues music, and the famed 'crossroads' of Highways 49 and 61 is known for famous musicians associated with Blues music and the Mississippi Delta. The music heritage today is embedded in the tourism industry and can be heard every night all year, along with juke joints, festivals/events, art galleries and themed retail, cafe and restaurant establishments, along with unique Blues related accommodations. One of the key motives for regenerating the city of Clarksdale was to overcome the local economic decline in surrounding industries and abandoned and delict buildings left the city in a dire state of economic despair, as this resulted in a significant population decline. Driving the town's regeneration around Blues music heritage has not only helped to establish a modern tourism economy in Clarksdale, but it has also led to new investments, employment opportunities and a restored 'sense of place' among residents.

While music heritage was the driver of urban regeneration in Chaps. 2 and 3 focused on beer heritage as the driver of urban regeneration. This chapter, titled, **Beer as Cultural Lubricant: Brewing Tsingtao, Regenerating Qingdao**, by *Xiaolin Zang, Bouke van Gorp and Hans Renes* considers the rising phenomenon of beer

tourism and beer events that are increasing in popularity globally, and especially in Qingdao, China. Breweries have become symbolic when physically transforming former industrial areas, and this discussion is transferrable as this trend is key in inter-urban transition areas—especially given the nascent popularities of craft breweries and brewpubs as they are contributing to the growth of beer tourism. Building on previous work, this chapter focuses on adaptive reuse, conceptually, as breweries are increasingly a creative way to transform former industrial spaces. This chapter focuses on the ways in which Tsingtao beer influences the regeneration of Qingdao, China and this work frames these developments in the broader perspective of beer-led urban regeneration.

Chapter 4 continues with a focus on sporting heritage as a driver of change in São Paulo, Brazil. Sport has played an important role in social and spatial transformations in Brazil in the past decade. **Sporting Heritage and Touristic Transformation: Pacaembu Stadium and the Football Museum in São Paulo, Brazil** by *Ricardo Ricci Uvinha, Fillipe Soares Romano and Nicholas Wise* expand on the focus of football as an essential component of Brazilian culture and identity, by focusing on stadiums which are viewed as iconic structures and comparable to religious institutions because football is often regarded as a religion in Brazil. It is also fitting that one of the most significant museums in São Paulo is the *Estádio Municipal Paulo Machado de Carvalho*, also known as Estádio do Pacaembu (Pacaembu Stadium) is also still in use for sporting competition. The venue used to be the home grounds for the football club Corinthians before they moved to the new Arena Corinthians across the city after the 2014 Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup. This chapter looks at the transformation of the stadium from a football ground to a place of football heritage. In 2008 the *Museu do Futebol* was created to commemorate the history of the stadium in the city and to tell the story of Brazilian football, following an extensive renovation in 2007. This transformation meant that the use of the stadium and its impact extends beyond match days and is the formation of an extended sports tourism site in the city. Such regeneration is unique to this venue as a way of framing the stadium as a national historical marker, as this chapter addresses both tangible and intangible changes aimed at preserving and sanctify this venue as a space and place of Brazilian sporting heritage, culture and identity.

The next chapter considers the regeneration of a city's old town, a common urban planning strategy across Europe. Chapter 5 by *Aleksandr Michelson, Katrin Paadam, Liis Ojamäe, Anneli Leemet and Jaanika Loorberg* is titled: **Old Town Tallinn: Mediaeval Built Heritage Amid Transformation**. The city of Tallinn, Estonia is renowned for its mediaeval old town, and this has played a key role in the city's international recognition and this has led to subsequent business and investment opportunities. The Old Town was a deprived quarter of the city and after Estonia's independence in 1991, the city began its revival efforts on the old town, using both private and public investments. Previous work by some of the authors has explored the significance of the old town in enhancing culture practices. But as industries such as tourism begin to show potential, amid the rapid pace of commercialisation experienced in Tallinn, this would become a threat to the city's unique mediaeval heritage. Current plans aim at socio-economic inclusion and diversifying urban attractions.

Atlanta's Sweet Auburn Historic District is the focus of the next chapter. *Costas Spirou, Shannon Gardner, Mary Spears and Adelina Allegretti* wrote Chap. 6, **The Sweet Auburn Historic District in Atlanta: Heritage Tourism, Urban Regeneration and the Civil Rights Movement**. Building on the previous chapter, this chapter focuses on (the role of) heritage tourism as a catalyst for economic development (or redevelopment) tool for this area of Atlanta (just to the west of downtown). Atlanta has seen a number of extensive urban regeneration projects undertaken over the past several decades, and Sweet Auburn was identified by the National Trust for Historic Preservation as one of the most threatened historic places in the United States. The significance of this neighbourhood is Sweet Auburn is a centre of heritage for the city's African American population and has significance to the civil rights movement. As Atlanta grew, the need for new infrastructures saw the construction of the massive Downtown Connector (Interstate I-75/85) which runs through Atlanta's urban core. This interstate highway divided the Sweet Auburn District, which ultimately led to disinvestment and urban decline, which, in turn, further accelerated social problems including population loss, housing decay, crime and unemployment. Since 1980, the Historic District Development Corporation focused on revitalising and preserving the area, with the designation of historic sites as tourism attractions along with new commercial opportunities. Today the Sweet Auburn area of Atlanta is one of the most sought-after neighbourhoods of the city.

The next four chapters bring in a focus on the role of events heritage as drivers for tourism and urban regeneration. Chapter 7 titled **Winter Cities and Local Magic: Re-storying an Urban Ravine in Edmonton, Canada** by *Karen Wall* focuses on how festival experiences in urban environments are promoted as magical. This is the Winter Cities initiatives approach to help cities in colder climates rebrand so they can use this as a driver for attracting tourists, residents and investors. Edmonton, Canada's Flying Canoe Volant festival, named for a French-Canadian myth about a bewitched journey, offers "magic" and "mystery" over three February nights in a central urban ravine. The event attracts around 40,000 participants each year, and this is with winter temperatures dropping far below zero degrees Celsius. This is a part of Edmonton's creative transformation, as the ravine where the festival is held is an early industrial zone. This chapter considers themes of transformation in contexts of urban heritage, tourism and regeneration centered on a liminal urban space, cultural landscape or 'terrain vague'. A central question asked in this chapter is: how green space as relatively undeveloped parkland cutting a deep groove through adjoining streets can contribute to goals of sustainable regeneration. As a festival space, the ravine fosters unpredictable, collaborative voices and community relations that endure beyond the event, with the important dimension of revisiting and recrafting certain entrenched historical narratives.

Continuing with the event's focus, **City on Fire: Deterritorialisation and Becoming at Edinburgh's Beltane Fire Festival** by *Claudia Melis* focuses on the potential of festivals to deterritorialise and reterritorialise urban spaces. Deterritorialisation is a term that gives this chapter conceptual depth, as this refers to the ability to expose urban spaces temporally and provisionally based on new re-organisations and as a movement for producing change (which as argued by the author is immanent

to space itself). To develop this theoretical focus, the study context of this chapter is the Beltane Fire Festival in Edinburgh. This event offers unique scope into tourism, leisure, heritage and regeneration in Edinburgh because it has been associated with the category of pagan festivals, celebrated as the revival or reinvention of ancient Celtic rituals. The Beltane event is celebrated in Calton Hill, a contested place in the city of Edinburgh that is part of the UNESCO World Heritage site (Old and New Towns of Edinburgh), situated at the fringe of the Edinburgh city centre. Although Edinburgh's Beltane Fire Festival has been criticised based on 'playful deviance' as described by the author, these and other festivals that draw on Scotland's cultural heritage are increasingly appraised as powerful visitor attraction assets, and therefore, included within the destination's events portfolio strategies, in a city branded the 'Festival City'.

Chapter 9 by *Kakoli Saha and Rachna Khare* titled **A Geospatial Approach to Conserving Cultural Heritage Tourism at Kumbh Mela Events in India**, focuses on the largest peaceful congregation of pilgrims, held in India. This chapter brings in a technological perspective using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to explore sites of urban regeneration for conserving cultural heritage tourism. The chapter focuses on the city of Ujjain (in the state of Madhya Pradesh), considered one of the world's oldest religious cities. During the 2016 Kumbh Mela event in Ujjain City, 80 million tourist visits were registered. This paper discusses two approaches through which Ujjain city can enhance the Kumbh experience of pilgrims while they visit and stay in the city. The first approach talks about enhancing the universal accessibility of bathing in *ghat areas* using GIS. *Ghat* areas, situated along the sacred Kshipra River, are the most important as these places experience the maximum footfall during the Kumbh Mela event. The second approach discusses how geospatial approaches can be utilised to provide safety to pilgrims, which must be considered in future development planning because the event is prone to stampedes given the number of visitors. Approaches thus proposed in this study may be adopted by other host cities of Kumbh Mela which will ultimately help conserve heritage aspects of the event.

The final chapter that still holds some events connotation is Chap. 10 by *Takamitsu Jimura* focusing on the **Changing Faces of Tokyo: Regeneration, Tourism and Tokyo 2020**. This chapter takes us on a journey through Tokyo's history. Tokyo has been Japan's capital since the beginning of the Meiji period (1868). Since then, the first incident to completely change Tokyo's cityscape was the Great Kanto earthquake in 1923. Soon after recovering from the 1923 earthquake, Tokyo was destroyed again by WWII. The Tokyo 1964 Olympics was a great opportunity to showcase its recovery from the war and the nation's ability to present a developed country to the international audience. Many imperial and military properties were converted to sports facilities and hotels in preparation for the 1964 Games. Japan's economy reached its peak in the late 1980s, but has suffered from deflation after that. The Tokyo 2020 Olympics and Paralympics are expected to improve this situation. The ongoing regeneration includes the construction of a new main stadium, redevelopment of urban districts and verticalisation of buildings. Along with recent inbound-tourism boom and diverse cultural heritage of the city, current urban regeneration linked to Tokyo 2020 is expected to revitalise Tokyo and Japan as a whole.

Chapter 11 continues to look at the historical change and points of transition concerning the making, unmaking and restoration of a famous visitor attraction, focusing on Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina. **(Re)Building a Bridge: Landscape, Imagination and Memory in Mostar** by *Nicholas Wise* focuses on Stari Most ('Old Bridge') which is Mostar's most iconic structure and highly regarded as the symbol of the city through time. Stari Most was destroyed during the Balkans War in 1993, when it was collapsed in the Neretva River below. It must be noted that for Mostar to attract visitors, Stari Most was reconstructed (completed in 2004). The chapter relates to and builds on previous work published on tourism and heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and while this bridge in Mostar symbolises the city's heritage, memories of its destruction during war remind visitors not to forget the tragic events of the early-1990s. Insight from the geography literature helps us explore conceptual meanings of cultural heritage landscapes, geographical imaginations and memory—to help critically understand the crucial turning points in Mostar's recent history. The chapter frames what Mostar and Stari Most endured during the brunt of war (where its unique heritage met a tragic fate, at least temporarily) to the (re)building of Stari Most and its defining presence as the city's key attraction once again.

Chapter 12 by *James A. Tyner* is concerned with: **Urban Regeneration and Rural Neglect: The Pall of Dark Tourism in Cambodia**. The author has written extensively on the impact of genocide and conflict in Cambodia, and this chapter offers new insight related to tourism. The genocide in Cambodia between 1975 and 1979 saw upwards of two million men, women, and children killed. Dark tourism is a growing trend around the world where tourists travel to destinations to experience and learn about places where tragedy occurred, and this is becoming ever more present in Cambodia now (today), decades following direct violence. What lingers are questions of reconciliation in Cambodia, which remains fraught, in part because of competing claims over the meaning of reconciliation in the country, and contestations over the past. With efforts to promote Cambodia's genocide, the country is receiving ever-growing numbers of dark tourists who want to visit sites associated with the genocide and violent attrocities. Many of these sites are found in urban areas, especially in an around the nation's capital of Phenom Penh. What is controversial is the exploitation of Cambodia's tragic past for profit.

Chapter 13 expands the focus on place by considering the impact of tourism and cultural heritage by focusing on examples from cities across a wider geographical region. **Cultural Heritage and Tourism Stimulus: Regional Regeneration in Southern Africa** by *Portia Pearl Siyanda Sifolo* considers the historical background of Southern Africa and the failure by contemporary heritage managers to develop a locally relevant practice for cultural heritage. This has been identified as one of the limitations to promote inclusive tourism across the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. Because tourism is one of the leading economic activities globally, it is important to also consider how a wider regional challenge aligns with local challenges, and another issue that this chapter raises is how cross border issues affect tourism development and key stakeholders. Therefore, an effective motivational regional tourism strategy is essential to obtain maximum benefits from the sector. Framed within the concept of Maslow' Hierarchy, motivational theory, this

chapter argues that to develop a locally relevant practice in the SADC region, tourism, as one of the key pillars of economic growth, can contribute to urban regeneration and gentrification. Evidence from cultural heritage sites in the SADC region, including cultural villages, that promote urban regeneration is presented and discussed from a regional perspective.

A short conclusion then brings the collection together and identifies the main themes brought forward. The conclusion also looks at some possible future directions for research. The order and flow of chapters are based on the scale of the case (or cases) presented, with some chapters focusing on particular visitor attractions, areas of cities, wider urban areas and regions. This book aims to critically frame perspectives and understandings of tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration. The chapters in this book include cases from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Cambodia, Canada, China, Estonia, India, Japan, Scotland and the United States of America, with one chapter discussing a number of countries in the Southern African Development Community region. The chapters build on a range of theoretical perspectives of space and place to critically evaluate the practice impacts legacies and management of tourism within specific contexts pertinent to cultural heritage and urban regeneration. As argued by Wise and Harris (2019), place is a holistic concept, and bringing together diverse but overlapping areas of study require interdisciplinary perspectives to really tease out conceptual issues for the benefit of academics, policymakers and planners across the social sciences, development and management studies continuum. A key factor to consider when addressing tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration is to recognise the needs beyond destination managers, policymakers and planners. These stakeholders are responding to the availability of finances and the ability to attract investment, but it is also important to consider intangible impacts that cultural heritage and urban regeneration contribute locally to the residents who live in these attractions and how they are impacted, and to consider the visitors and tourists who make their way to encounter and consume these spaces and places.

1.5 Going Forward

As noted, this book adds to The Urban Book Series published by Springer and offers nascent insight and research directions for academics who are exploring areas and complexities concerning cultural heritage and urban regeneration with a focus on tourism. This work is also useful for students at all levels who seek to challenge perspectives and impacts of urban tourism and place change. The book offers several key unique selling points. This edited book is an international collection of cases linking the tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration to offer new directions in these conceptually overlapping areas of scholarly inquiry. The chapters in this book each explore the role and significance of cultural heritage as a driver of urban regeneration. Going forward, this collection provides established academics and students across urban studies and international tourism management with critical and contemporary insight on managing tourism planning and development. This

book will now turn to the critical and conceptually engaged chapters linking these independent, but increasingly interrelated, areas of study.

References

Aquilino L, Armenski T, Wise N (2019) Assessing the competitiveness of Matera and the Basilicata Region (Italy) ahead of the 2019 European Capital of Culture. Tour Hosp Res 19(4):503–517
Chambers E (ed) (1997) Tourism and culture: an applied perspective. SUNY Press, Albany
Clark TN (ed) (2011) The city as an entertainment machine. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc., New York
Clark J, Wise N (eds) (2018) Urban renewal, community and participation: theory, policy and practice. Springer, Berlin
Colavitti AM (2018) Urban heritage management: planning with history. Springer, Berlin
Cowan A (2016) A nice place to visit: tourism and urban revitalization in the postwar Rustbelt. Temple University Press, Philadelphia
Cresswell T (2015) Place: an introduction, 2nd edn. Blackwell, Oxford
Edensor T (2002) National identity popular culture and everyday life. Berg, London
Gravari-Barbas M, Guinand S (eds) (2017) Tourism and gentrification in contemporary metropolises: international perspectives. Abingdon, Routledge
Greiff CM (1987) Independence: the creation of a national park. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia
Harvey D (2012) Rebel cities: from the right to the city to the urban revolution. Verso Books, New York
Hénaff M (2016) The city in the making (trans: Feenberg-Dibon A-M). Rowan and Littlefield International, London
Jimura T (2010) Japanese tourists' motivation for visiting cultural and heritage sites in the UK. In: Amoeda R, Lira S, Pinheiro C (eds) Heritage 2010: heritage and sustainable development. Green Lines Institute, Barcelos, p 959–968
Jimura T (2011) The impact of world heritage site designation on local communities—a case study of Ogimachi, Shirakawa-mura, Japan. Tour Manag 32(2):288–296
Jimura T (2015) The relationship between world heritage designation and local identity. In: Bourdeau L, Gravari-Barbas M, Robinson M (eds) World heritage, tourism and identity: inscription and co-production. Ashgate, Farnham, p 81–91
Jimura T (2016) World heritage site management: a case study of sacred sites and pilgrimage routes in the Kii mountain range, Japan. J Herit Tour 11(4): 382–394
Jimura T (2019) World heritage sites: tourism, local communities and conservation activities. CABI, Wallingford
Lak A, Gheitasi M, Timothy DJ (2019) Urban regeneration through heritage tourism: cultural policies and strategic management. J Tour Cult Chang. https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2019.1668002
Leary-Owhin ME (2016) Exploring the production of urban space: differential space in three post-industrial cities. Policy Press, Bristol
Lefebvre H (1991) The production of space. Blackwell Publishers Ltd, Oxford
Liu YD (2014) Socio-cultural impacts of major event: evidence from the 2008 European Capital of Culture Liverpool. Soc Indic Res 115(3):983–998
Markusen A (2014) Creative cities: a 10-year research agenda. J Urban Aff 36(2):567–589
Millar S (1989) Heritage management for heritage tourism. Tour Manag 10(1):9–14
Mires C (2002) Independence Hall in American memory. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia

Mitchell D (2003) The right to the city: social justice and the fight for public space. Guilford Press, New York
Mulec I, Wise N (2013) Indicating the competitiveness of Serbia's Vojvodina region as an emerging tourism destination. Tour Manag Perspect 8:68–79
Neumann T (2016) Remaking the Rust Belt: the postindustrial transformation of North America. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia
Newsome TH, Comer JC (2000) Changing intra-urban location patterns of major league sports facilities. Prof Geogr 52(1):105–120
Nofre J, Giordano E, Eldridge A, Martins JC, Sequera J (2018) Tourism, nightlife and planning: challenges and opportunities for community liveability in La Barceloneta. Tour Geogr 20(3):377–396
Novy J, Colomb C (2019) Urban tourism as a source of contention and social mobilisations: a critical review. Tour Plan Dev 16(4):358–375
Palmer C (1999) Tourism and the symbols of identity. Tour Manag 20(3):313–322
Perić M, Wise N (2015) Understanding the delivery of experience: conceptualising business models and sports tourism, assessing two case studies in Istria Croatia. Local Econ 30(8):1000–1016
Richards G (2001) Cultural attractions and European tourism. CABI, Wallingford
Richards G, Palmer R (2010) Eventful cities: cultural management and urban revitalisation. Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford
Šćitaroci MO, Šćitaroci BBO, Mrđa A (eds) (2019) Cultural urban heritage: development learning and landscape strategies. Springer, New York City
Sepe M, Di Trapani D (2010) Cultural tourism and creative regeneration: two case studies. Int J Cult Tour Hosp Res 4(3):214–227
Shoval N (2018) Urban planning and tourism in European cities. Tour Geogr 20(3):371–376
Smith M (ed) (2007) Tourism culture and regeneration. CABI, Wallingford
Smith A (2012) Events and urban regeneration: the strategic use of events to revitalise cities. Routledge, London
Smith S (2017) Historic Philadelphia: Independence Mall Rises from the dead. Phila Mag. https://www.phillymag.com/property/2017/07/10/independence-mall-rises-from-the-dead/ Accessed 8 Dec 2019
Spirou C (2011) Urban tourism and urban change: cities in a global economy. Routledge, Abingdon
Timothy DJ (2011) Cultural heritage and tourism: an introduction. Channel View Publications, Bristol
Timothy DJ, Boyd SW (2003) Heritage tourism. Pearson Education, Harlow
UNESCO (n.d.) Liverpool—Maritime Mercantile City. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1150/ Accessed 4 Dec 2019
Urry J, Larsen J (2011) The tourist gaze 3.0. Sage, London
Uysal ÜE (2012) An urban social movement challenging urban regeneration: the case of Sulukule Istanbul. Cities 29(1):12–22
Wise N (2016) Outlining triple bottom line contexts in urban tourism regeneration. Cities 53:30–34
Wise N, Clark J (eds) (2017) Urban transformations: geographies of renewal and creative change. Routledge, London
Wise N, Harris J (eds) (2017) Sport, events tourism and regeneration. Routledge, London
Wise N (2018) Editorial: tourism and social regeneration. Soc Sci 7(12):262
Wise N, Harris J (eds) (2019) Events places and societies. Routledge, London
Wise N, Maguire K (2019) Editorial: places, practices and (soft) power. Local Econ 34(7):627–631
Wise N, Melis C, Jimura T (2019) Liverpool's urban imaginary: the beatles and tourism fanscapes. J Popul Cult 52(6):1433–1450
Wise N (2020) Eventful futures and triple bottom line impacts: BRICS, image regeneration and competitiveness. J Place Manag Dev 13(1):89–100
Wise NA, Mulec I (2012) Headlining Dubrovnik's tourism image: transitioning representations/narratives of war and heritage preservation, 1991–2010. Tour Recreat Res 37(1):57–69

Wise N, Mulec I (2015) Aesthetic awareness and spectacle: communicated images of Novi Sad, the Exit Festival and the event venue Petrovaradin Fortress. Tour Rev Int 19(4):193–205
Wise N, Perić M (2017) Sports tourism, regeneration and social impacts: new opportunities and directions for research, the case of Medulin, Croatia. In: Bellini N, Pasquinelli (eds) Tourism in the city: towards and integrative agenda on urban tourism. Springer, Berlin, p 311–320
Wise N, Flinn J, Mulec I (2015) Exit Festival: contesting political pasts, impacts on youth culture and regenerating the image of Serbia and Novi Sad. In: Pernecky T, Moufakkir O (eds) Ideological, social and cultural aspects of events. CABI, Wallingford, pp 60–73
Wise N, Polidoro M, Hall G, Uvinha RR (2019) User-generated insight of Rio's Rocinha favela tour: authentic attraction or vulnerable living environment? Local Econ 37(4):680–698

Chapter 2
Clarksdale, Mississippi: Downtown Regeneration, Cultural Heritage, Tourism and Blues Music

John C. Henshall

Abstract When walking into downtown Clarksdale in the Mississippi Delta, you're walking into the birthplace of Blues music. This is the fabled 'crossroads' of Highways 49 and 61 and the place renowned for Robert Johnson, Muddy Waters, John Lee Hooker, Ike Turner, Sam Cooke, and many others associated with Blues music and the Delta. The downtown has Blues 7-nights a week, year-round. It has the Delta Blues Museum, juke joints, festivals and other events, art galleries and specialty retail, cafes and restaurants, and unique places of visitor accommodation. Southern hospitality abounds. But just a few short years ago, this focus on cultural tourism and the deep Delta heritage in Clarksdale was struggling at best. Declining population and jobs due to the mechanisation of agriculture, the loss of manufacturing industry, the loss of downtown trade to commercial enterprises located out on State Highway, high levels of social and economic malaise, and many other factors contributed to a decline in the role and function of downtown. Indeed, many downtown buildings were physically derelict and uninhabitable. Today, downtown Clarksdale is now on the road to revitalisation. This chapter highlights the significant role of creative individuals in building on cultural heritage and tourism, bringing new investments in business and in building rehabilitation, and also bringing new jobs, more tourists, and a new 'sense of place' to this small Delta town.

Keywords Cultural tourism · Blues music · Mississippi Delta · Downtown revitalisation · Heritage tourism · Small towns

2.1 Clarksdale and the Mississippi Delta

Much has been written about the economic regeneration of downtown areas in major cities, but little attention has been given to the situation in small cities and towns and the associated importance of cultural heritage and tourism. This chapter addresses the situation, with a focus on cultural-related economic regeneration efforts in the long-established downtown of Clarksdale, Mississippi (in Coahoma County) following

J. C. Henshall (✉)
Ethos Urban, Melbourne, Australia
e-mail: jhenshall@ethosurban.com

N. Wise and T. Jimura (eds.), *Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration*,
The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41905-9_2

years of decline. The special significance of cultural tourism is highlighted for its contribution to downtown regeneration, with emphasis on Clarksdale's association with blues music and the genre's global appeal. Clarksdale's location is illustrated in Fig. 2.1.

For generations, Clarksdale was the hub of economic activity in the north-west Mississippi Delta. Indeed, Clarksdale was heralded as the 'golden buckle in the cotton belt', reflecting the town's role as a major service centre to the surrounding cotton plantations and other agricultural pursuits. Manufacturing was also a key sector, supported by a prosperous downtown displaying a wide array of shops, offices, professional services, hotels, hospitality services, and civic facilities and amenities. From around the early 1970s, Clarksdale's decline began as it lost its role as the dominant centre serving this part of the Delta. This demise was due to several specific factors, including the advent of big box retailing and the location of new retail and commercial businesses along South State Street on the edge of town; a declining trade area associated with the loss of population, jobs and spending caused by earlier agricultural restructuring and further manufacturing decline; the loss of workers and their families as they sought employment opportunities in (mainly) larger, northern

Fig. 2.1 Location of Clarksdale, Mississippi in relation to New Orleans, Memphis and Nashville (map produced by Nicholas Wise)

cities; and the increasing level of competition from other cities and towns in the surrounding Delta and nearby Memphis.

A basic indicator of Clarksdale's economic woes over the years is the significant decline in resident population numbers in both the town and wider Coahoma County. Clarksdale's population peaked in 1980 with 22,200 residents, with this number declining to just 16,000 residents by 2019. In comparison, population in the largely rural-based balance of the County peaked in 1930 with 37,270 residents, but declined significantly to 7,500 residents by 2019. Notwithstanding population loss, the underlying current health of Clarksdale's economy is in contrast with the generally dire economic circumstances of smaller towns in surrounding parts of the Delta. While Clarksdale's resident population numbers declined and the downtown lost much of its traditional role as a commercial centre over the years, the city has taken up the challenge to revitalise its downtown in the face of economic adversity. Recovery is underway and much of this is associated with Clarksdale's connection with blues music and Delta culture, noting also that the town and the surrounding Delta is home to national icons in literature, art, and other cultural pursuits. These are key elements around which the downtown regeneration effort is focused, and reflected in the cultural landscape through street art (see Fig. 2.2).

Today, positive results from the regeneration efforts are evident, with increasing numbers of new businesses and jobs; improved levels of service; refurbishment of derelict buildings; a renewed sense of place; and an uplift in community confidence.

Fig. 2.2 Blues Alley and Street Art, Clarksdale, Mississippi

Much of this regeneration has been achieved by private sector interests, particularly individuals setting up new businesses in downtown. Local government has added support, particularly through the strong promotional efforts of Coahoma County Tourism.

2.2 Clarksdale's Cultural Heritage and the Blues

In the anthology of blues music, Clarksdale is considered by many to be the birthplace of the blues, with its location at the fabled 'crossroads' of Highways 49 and 61. The Crossroads, as the legend goes, is where Robert Johnson sold his soul to the Devil in return for the ability to play blues guitar. Today, blues music is the focal point associated with the geography, sociology, culture, economy, and musicology of the Mississippi Delta, that expanse of fertile land which—as described in popular terms—extends from the front door of the Peabody Hotel in Memphis to Catfish Row in Vicksburg. From an historical perspective, Guralnick (1989, p. 14) describes Mississippi blues as "generally considered to be the richest and most emotionally intense vein of a genre that began sweeping the South in the early days of the (Twentieth) century and then, much assisted by the new technology of the phonograph record, became a central strand in the diffusion of Afro-American culture over the next fifty years".

In the words of John Lee Hooker, a Clarksdale-born blues musician interviewed in Melody Maker in 1964, "I know why the best blues artists come from Mississippi. Because it's the worst state. You have the blues alright if you're down in Mississippi" (Gioia 2008, p. 37). This pertinent comment from John Lee Hooker is a terse reflection on the social, cultural, and economic journey which Mississippi has taken over so many generations, particularly for the African American community, especially those working on the plantations. For past generations, sharecropping was a feature of the cotton industry in Mississippi, with White landlords providing the Black workers with jobs on the plantations and to share in the proceeds at the end of each harvest (but, typically, the workers were in perpetual debt to the landlords). Although sharecropping was born out of a mutual dependency (the planters needed workers and the workers needed jobs), harsh living conditions and continuing indebtedness to the landlord were the norms for the Black community. As Cobb (1992, p. 282) describes the situation, sharecroppers were consigned to "a lifetime of hard labor with little hope of achieving either economic or personal independence from whites".

Ultimately, these struggles gave birth to the blues as a means of expression in the face of adversity and hardship. The words of Bukka White, quoted in Cobb (1992, p. 279), help to identify the Delta roots of blues music: "That's where the blues start from, back across them fields … It started right behind one of them mules or one of them log houses, one of them log camps or the levee camp. That's where the blues sprung from. I know what I'm talking about". Cobb (1992, p. 305) also observes that "the blues, a music born of incessant toil and demolished dreams on impoverished

Delta blacks, exerted … a formative influence on rock and roll" that was "to reflect and shape the sensibilities of successive generations".

It was blues music—enmeshed in miserable working and living conditions from cotton fields to levee camps—that gave vent to feelings ranging from discrimination, violence, and deprivation, to incarceration, drunkenness, and loneliness. The blues captures these feelings, just as Robert Palmer describes the 'density and power' of Robert Johnson's 'Cross Road Blues': "The guitar rhythm is deliberate and driving, but Johnson repeatedly interrupts it to hammer and bend a single string, so forcefully that the instrument momentarily sounds like an electric guitar. Examined more closely, the guitar accompaniment is a complex, carefully constructed, mercifully shifting succession of two-beat and three-beat figures, and an equally complex, equally mercurial alternation of driving bass riffs and high, bottlenecked lead lines. The singing is tense, as if Johnson was forcing wind through a throat constricted by fear" (Palmer 1982, p. 125).

These culture-related attributes are relevant to the topic of blues music in Clarksdale and the Delta, where poverty and unemployment levels are among the highest in the nation and where many downtown buildings lie vacant and derelict, reflecting this engrained poverty. However, and in a positive sense, blues music today contributes to Clarksdale's cultural tourism effort and to the economic renaissance of the downtown through support to existing and new businesses, jobs, incomes, and improved levels of service, while also celebrating the very essence of Delta heritage and culture.

Going back some 25 years, a listing of "Mississippi Blues Musicians" (Rooster Records and Delta Blues Museum 1995) highlighted the birthplace of 310 musicians, with some 180 of these musicians from the Delta. The prominence of the Delta as the 'cradle' of blues is also highlighted by the number of historical 'Blues Trail Markers' or plaques located in the Delta, with the Delta described as 'the birthplace of America's music'. Among Trail Markers are dedications to Albert King, BB King, Big Jack Johnson, Eddie Shaw, Elmore James, Furry Lewis, Henry Townsend, Honeyboy Edwards, Hubert Sumlin, Ike Turner, James Cotton, Jimmy Reed, John Lee Hooker, Little Milton, Mose Allison, Muddy Waters, Pinetop Perkins, Robert Nighthawk, Sam Cooke, Son Thomas, Sonny Boy Williamson, and WC Handy. This is the cultural heritage that provides the foundations upon which the economic regeneration of downtown Clarksdale is based.

While much of the blues is rooted in the Delta of past generations, Clarksdale today is 'home' to many musicians and to those who come by on a regular basis, playing at the popular local juke joints and blues music festivals. These individuals include Super Chikan, Terry 'Big T' Williams, Big George Brock, RL Boyce, Bill Abel, Terry 'Harmonica' Bean, Lucious Spiller, Anthony 'Big A' Sherrod, Lightin' Malcolm, Cadillac John, Jimbo Mathus, Watermelon Slim, Bill 'Howl-N-Madd' Perry, Dick 'The Poet' Lourie, Heather Crosse, and RL Superbad. Other blues musicians who have passed away in recent times include Pinetop Perkins, T-Model Ford, Robert Belfour, LC Ulmer, Elmo Williams, 'Big Jack' Johnson, CeDell Davis, Robert 'Bilbo' Walker, Leo Bud Welch, and Josh 'Razor Blade' Stewart. Younger musicians

in Clarksdale are now coming to the fore and popular among them are Christone 'Kingfish' Ingram, Lee Williams, Jacqueline Nassar, and Shy Perry.

While places such as Chicago or Memphis may lay claim to being the home of blues music, most would agree that the Mississippi Delta, and Clarksdale in particular, is the true place of origin. Fodor's Travel in 2018 voted Clarksdale as No.1 of the "12 Best Music Cities that Aren't Nashville" (Fodor's Travel 2018). The travel publisher mentioned that although Nashville has earned the nickname 'Music City' for fostering country music legends, other cities are also recognised for their live music. Clarksdale tops the list.

A regional perspective on the Mississippi Delta is provided in the publication prepared by the Delta Center for Culture and Learning at Delta State University and titled *Mississippi Delta National Heritage Area Management Plan* (2014). A National Heritage Area is defined by the National Park Service as "a place designated by the United States Congress where natural, cultural, historic and recreational resources combine to form a cohesive, nationally significant landscape arising from patterns of human activity shaped by geography" (Delta Center for Culture and Learning 2014, p. xvii). In the Management Plan, the Delta is described as:

> the land where the Blues began, where Rock and Roll was created and where Gospel remains a vibrant art. It is an agricultural region where cotton was once king, and where 'precision-ag' rules today. It is a place that saw the struggles of the Civil War and the cultural revolution of the Civil Rights Movement. It is the home of the Great Migration, and a land of rich culinary, religious, artistic and literary heritage (Delta Center for Culture and Learning 2014, p. 2).

The 18-County region in the Delta was designated by the US Congress as a National Heritage Area in 2009, recognising the Delta's role in "shaping the nation's character and culture" (Delta Center for Culture and Learning, p. 4).

2.3 Downtown Clarksdale's Regeneration

Today, driving into Clarksdale's downtown is like entering a small southern town locked in the 1940s. The mainly late Nineteenth Century and early Twentieth Century buildings have only survived to date because new commercial development over the past 40 years or so has generally located on the edge of town, mainly along South State Street, about 2–3 km away and where Walmart established in 1971. At least this out-of-centre development has avoided the pressure to demolish and replace the long-established downtown building stock and streetscape. To the visitor new to downtown, the general appearance of the local streets and buildings suggests that not much commercial activity is happening: 41% of the commercial buildings remain empty and many are in a derelict condition (Henshall 2019). Many businesses appear to be just making ends meet in terms of local sales turnover. In a word, much of the downtown appears moribund. But the broken pavements and generally dishevelled edginess of the downtown also reflect the underlying strength of Clarksdale, rooted as it is in blues music and Delta culture.

While Clarksdale's downtown had been moribund for a generation or two despite this rich cultural vein, the place is changing in a new and positive direction. The downtown is now undergoing a renaissance in economic terms, and this is helping to form a new sense of place for Clarksdalians and for the many visitors who come to the town each year to appreciate the place that is, according to many ethnomusicologists, the cradle of blues music (Lomax 1993; Guralnick 1989; Palmer 1982). The economic renaissance is reflected in the growth in new businesses in the downtown, bringing new investment, new services, new jobs, restored and refurbished buildings, and a revived sense of identity for the town.

Most importantly, the renaissance is also bringing new residents to Clarksdale who add to the creative talents of long-term residents and thus assist in revitalising the downtown economy, providing a catalyst for economic renewal and for business and community development. Although much is available in the academic literature about 'creative cities' (e.g. Landry 2000) and the 'creative class' (e.g. Florida 2005), the regeneration now underway in downtown Clarksdale is essentially home-grown, with ideas and investments generated by long-term residents and newcomers to town. This has resulted in a number of new businesses established in downtown Clarksdale with names reflecting blues music and culture, for example: Ground Zero Blues Club (see Fig. 2.3), Yazoo Pass Cafe, Holy Moly, the New Roxy, Stone Pony Pizza, Levon's Bar & Grill, Hooker Grocery & Eatery, Bluesberry Café, Our Grandma's House of Pancakes and Bar, Cat Head Delta Blues Music & Folk Art, Hambone Art Gallery, Lambfish Art, Mississippi Saxaphone Shop, Delta Cotton Company lofts, the Lofts at the Five and Dime, Blues Hound Flat, Bluestown Inn, Chateau Debris, The Squeeze Box, Delta Debris, Hooker Hotel, Travelers Hotel, Auberge Hostel, Quapaw Canoe Company, Delta Bohemian Tours, and Vincent Productions. Moreover, the Alcazar Hotel and the McWilliams building are slowly undergoing restoration, each of which is prominent in the downtown streetscape, although each has been vacant for several decades. The historic Greyhound Bus Station has also been restored and the Delta Blues Museum extended.

Deserving of special mention, although not located downtown, is the Hopson Commissary and the Shack Up Inn, each of which is located on the (old) Highway 49, just 5 km south of Clarksdale. These two entities—which comprise unique overnight accommodation facilities, food, and music venues—provide strong support to visitation levels in the downtown during Festivals and throughout the year. Of historical interest, Hopson's is the site where mechanisation was first introduced to cotton plantations in 1944, revolutionising the industry and changing forever (and not necessarily for the better) the socio-economic conditions of poor sharecropper communities. Festivals are an integral part of Clarksdale's tourism appeal, especially the annual Juke Joint Festival and the Sunflower River Blues and Gospel Festival which are popular events for both locals and increasing numbers of visitors from other states and from abroad. Other popular events include the Tennessee Williams Festival and the Clarksdale Film Festival, while a dozen or more smaller festivals, mainly blues music-oriented, are now held annually in downtown. During these festivals and events, the cafes, restaurants, galleries, gift shops, and other stores are open for business, as is the Delta Blues Museum.

Fig. 2.3 Ground Zero Blues Club, Clarksdale, Mississippi

Juke Joints—described as 'cheap rent' informal venues for eating, drinking, and dancing to a juke box or live music—are a feature of Clarksdale's blues scene. Principal among them is Red's Lounge, a rather dilapidated building located on Sunflower Avenue, but certainly a long-established and renowned focus for live blues music (see Fig. 2.4). Other live music venues include Ground Zero Blues Club, New Roxy, Bluesberry Café, Cathead, Hambone Art & Music, Delta Blues Alley Café, Levon's, Hooker Grocery & Eatery, Grandma's Sports Bar, and Messenger's. Live music is also available at a number of downtown restaurants on a regular basis, and out at the Shack Up Inn and at Hopson Commissary on Highway 49.

While blues music is the catalyst for much of the economic regeneration of downtown, Clarksdale's heritage is steeped in other aspects of Delta culture that contribute to downtown redevelopment. The town has a wealth of arts and related activities which reflect local culture and, importantly, assist in generating local business revenues and employment. Also important, community organisations contribute to this

Fig. 2.4 Red's Lounge in Clarksdale, Mississippi

array of culture-related activities and include Griot Arts, Spring Initiative and Crossroads Cultural Arts Center, each of which focuses on opportunities to bring arts and culture to young people in the local community, especially young African Americans. Another example is Meraki Coffee Roasters (part of Griot), a community-based non-profit entity with a job-training program that assists young job-seekers in getting work experience.

Clarksdale, and the wider Delta, also has its share of writers, painters, and other artists. Playwright Tennessee Williams spent much of his boyhood years living in Clarksdale where his grandfather was rector at St George's Episcopal Church. Williams' plays are embedded with local personalities and places, however thinly disguised, from his early years in Clarksdale. The Tennessee Williams Festival,

which is celebrated each year to honour the playwright's birth date, takes place in the long-established residential heritage area on the northern edge of the downtown, centred around Clark, John and Court Streets. This area includes St George's Episcopal Church, the Clark House, the Cutrer Mansion, and other long-established homes that have connections with Tennessee Williams' early years.

Local galleries in the downtown exhibit the works of painters and other artists with a Delta association. One of Clarksdale's most revered artists is the late Marshall Bouldin III, internationally renowned portrait painter who lived in Clarksdale for most of his eighty-plus years, with his studio located on Friars Point Road on the northern edge of town. Mr. Bouldin's work is represented in galleries nationally and around the world. In recent years, a number of small galleries have established in the downtown, with young Clarksdale artists keen to provide a focus for creative talents and a place where local artists can exhibit.

As recently as 2001, very few culture-related features and activities existed in downtown Clarksdale. At that time, live music was only available on one or two nights a week, if that; today, live music is available every night of the year in numerous venues. Clarksdale has truly built on its cultural heritage and in so doing contributed to the tourism value of downtown and its local businesses, jobs, incomes, and service levels. In short, Clarksdale is rich in Delta culture, especially blues music, reflecting the deep heritage of generations who toiled the Delta soil and endured huge social and economic hardship. Today, the town is building a new outlook, embracing the music and the cultural heritage, and moving towards a new era based on cultural tourism. This is clearly evident in downtown Clarksdale where significant economic regeneration is underway and which, in turn, is indelibly linked to initiatives introduced and supported by local individuals and with community involvement.

2.4 Cultural Tourism and Economic Outcomes in Downtown Clarksdale

Since 2000, around 30 new businesses have established in the downtown, and these developments have also involved the renovation or renewal of a similar number of long-established buildings. Approximately 60% of these new businesses involve long-time residents, while 40% are attributable to newcomers to Clarksdale who have arrived in the past 10–15 years. Overall, around 100 businesses, facilities, and events in the downtown have an association with cultural tourism, some going back many years (Henshall 2019, p. 122 and pp. 201–207). A listing is provided in Table 2.1. With the increase in the number of music festivals and other events, and with the continuing promotion of Clarksdale as a popular place to visit, it is not surprising that tourism is becoming an increasingly popular sector in the Clarksdale economy. The number of visitors and their spending is increasing, year after year (Henshall 2019, p. 94).

Table 2.1 Businesses, events, and buildings in downtown Clarksdale associated with tourism and downtown regeneration, 2019

Type of business	No. of businesses/Events/ Entities[a]	Names of business/Event/Entity[a]
Museums	3	Delta Blues Museum, WROX Museum, Tennessee Williams Museum at St George's Episcopal Church
Juke joints/Clubs/Venues	12	Ground Zero Blues Club, Red's Lounge, Club 2000, Club Millennium, Delta Blues Alley, Bluesberry Café, Messenger's Pool Hall, Pete's Grill, Levon's Bar & Grill, Holy Moly, Grandma's Sports Bar, New Roxy
Art galleries/Art shops/Books/Specialty retail	13	Hambone Art Gallery, Lambfish Gallery, Cat Head Delta Blues & Folk Art, Clarksdale Collective LLC, Coahoma Collective, Deak Harp's Mississippi Saxophone store, Delta Creations, Mag-Pie Gifts & Art, Oak & Ivy, MS Design Maven, Nellie May's, Southern Expressions, The Latest Craze
Café, Dining	12	Bluesberry Café, Ground Zero Blues Club, Stone Pony Pizza Restaurant and Bar, Yazoo Pass, Levon's Bar & Grill, Hooker Grocery & Eatery, Our Grandma's House of Pancakes, Dutch Oven, Meraki Roasting Company, 3rd Street Bistro. Hopson's and Shack Up Inn on (old) Highway 49
Music/Recording	8	Cat Head, Vincent Productions/Clarksdale Sound Stage, Blues Town Music, Studio 61, WROX Museum, Delta Blues Museum Stage, Ground Zero Blues Club, Griot Arts (2018 funding for a small facility for students' use)

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

Type of business	No. of businesses/Events/ Entities[a]	Names of business/Event/Entity[a]
Accommodation	13	Five & Dime Lofts, Delta Cotton Company Apartments, Riverside Hotel, Uptown Motor Inn, The Clark House Residential Inn, Blues Hound Flat, Bluestown Inn, Squeeze Box, Delta Digs, Hooker Hotel, Holy Moly Eastern Star Executive Suite, Chateau Debris, and Travelers Hotel. (Note: chain hotels/motels are located on State Street, while the popular Shack Up Inn, Shacksdale USA Motel, and The Loft at Hopson's are located on (old) Highway 49, about 5 km south of Downtown)
Other businesses/Buildings of tourism/Heritage interest	9	Clarksdale Cinema, New Roxy, Greyhound Bus Station, Quapaw Canoe Company, McWilliams Building, Paramount Theater, Alcazar Hotel, Episcopal Church, The Bank function centre (formerly the Bank of Clarksdale 1930 and more recently the Press Register building)
Heritage residential area	~10	The Clark House, Cutrer Mansion (Higher Education), and dwellings/church associated with Tennessee Williams and early townsfolk in Clark Street and environs

(continued)

In 2019, Clarksdale is forecast to attract an estimated 158,000 visitors, including overnight and day visitors, who are forecast to generate an estimated US$58 million in spending in the city as a whole, including downtown and also businesses located on State Street which include hotels, motels, food and beverage, and retail. This spending supports an estimated 830 tourism-related jobs in the city overall. For downtown, visitor-related spending in 2019 is forecast to reach US$20 million, supporting an estimated 285 direct jobs. A further 200 indirect (or flow-on) jobs due to the employment multiplier effect (which measures jobs created through inter-industry links) are created in the local, state, and national economies. These updated

Table 2.1 (continued)

Type of business	No. of businesses/Events/ Entities[a]	Names of business/Event/Entity[a]
Events	15+	Clarksdale Film & Music Festival (January), Juke Joint Festival (April), Second Street Blues Party (April), Cat Head Mini-Blues Fest (April), Clarksdale Caravan Music Festival (May), Mississippi Saxophone Festival (May), Ground Zero Blues Club Anniversary Party (May), Goat Fest (June), Pinetop Perkins Foundation Masterclass Workshop (June), Sunflower River Blues and Gospel Festival (August), Cathead Mini Blues Fest (August/October), Hambone Blues and Art Festival (October), Deep Delta Blues (October), Tennessee Williams Festival (late September/early October), and smaller events throughout the year
Community groups that promote the arts	6	Griot Arts, Spring Initiative, Crossroads Cultural Arts Centre, Clarksdale Collective, Coahoma Collective, Meraki Roasting Company
Tours	2	Robert Birdsong Tours, Billy Howell's Delta Bohemian Tours

Source Author's Land Use and Activity Survey, 2018 (and updated in 2019)

Note [a]Businesses may be recorded more than once, according to the type of business. Other shops/businesses (15 or so) typically not directly associated with tourism include clothing, footwear, gifts, hairdressers, clothing alterations, a grocery store, etc. Note Hopson Commissary and the Shack Up Inn are located on Highway 49, as is the neighbouring 'Shacksdale Motel' (a collection of individual shacks); these businesses are directly associated with tourism. Other businesses exist elsewhere outside Downtown Clarksdale and include the popular Ramon's restaurant, The Ranchero restaurant and Abe's BBQ, and the national chain motels, hotels, and fast food outlets located on State Street

statistics, prepared on a conservative basis, take into account data published by the Mississippi Development Authority (2018) and updated by the author.

Clarksdale's expanding visitor market is evidenced by the increase in downtown business numbers and the growth in tax receipts derived from accommodation and restaurant revenues. Even a moderate growth rate in visitor numbers averaging around 5% annually would see a total of around 210,000 visitors in Clarksdale by 2025. This forecast represents an increase of 52,000 visitors or 33% on present visitor numbers, and these visitors would be mainly involved with downtown tourism, linked to blues and Delta culture, as well as people visiting friends and relatives in Clarksdale or visiting on business. Total revenues generated by visitors to downtown would be expected to reach around US$27 million a year by 2025 (in constant 2019 prices), and this potential growth is estimated on a conservative basis.

The tourism-related jobs comprise venue operators, musicians, café and restaurant chefs, kitchen hands and wait staff, store owners and sales staff, gallery owners and artists, and cleaners and maintenance workers. Furthermore, many individuals involved in the promotion and development of downtown Clarksdale as a tourism focus centred around culture and arts are actually involved in such diverse areas as building construction and restoration, health care, legal services, and retailing. In addition to street- and venue-based activities, downtown employment opportunities in construction trades are evident, with a potential to significantly expand and enhance this particular sector by increasing the skill levels of local tradespeople and their availability. In this regard, numerous buildings in downtown are in need of repair and restoration, and local comment indicates that the number of experienced tradespersons in Clarksdale is in short supply. Employment opportunities in this sector could therefore be expanded where encouragement is provided through targeted training programs to those interested in establishing a career in building construction and restoration.

The economic revival of downtown—through cultural heritage and especially blues music—is reflected in the number and variety of new businesses that have established there in just the past 10–15 years or so. In early 2001, the only 'fine dining' restaurant was Madidi and it augmented the downtown's only diner, Delta Amusement. Soon after Madidi commenced operation, Ground Zero Blues Club, a popular blues music venue and eatery, was established in a former cotton-classing building. By 2019, eight new cafes and restaurants have established downtown. Similarly, in 2001 no art galleries were to be found downtown; today, two or three galleries and the Cat Head blues music and folk art store promote Delta art, as do the several specialty arts-related retail shops in downtown (Henshall 2019).

In regard to visitor accommodation, the only establishment located in downtown in 2001 was the 1960s Uptown Motor Inn located in East Second Street, and the much older Riverside Hotel in Sunflower Avenue. The Riverside Hotel was a former hospital for African Americans which was converted to a hotel in 1944; it is steeped in blues heritage. Today, quality accommodation is now available at The Clark House Residential Inn, the Lofts at the Five and Dime, the Delta Cotton Company apartments above Ground Zero, The Travelers Hotel, Auberge Hostel, Chateau Debris, and in several small apartments that include, among others, the unique Hooker Hotel,

Delta Digs, The Squeeze Box, Blues Hound Flat, and Bluestown Inn. In addition, a unique Delta accommodation experience is available 5 km south of town, accessed from Highway 49, at the Shack Up Inn where visitor accommodation is provided in original sharecropper shacks and in the original cotton bins, updated with the addition of running water, electricity, and air-conditioning. The Hopson Commissary, located across from the Shack Up Inn, is a venue with some overnight accommodation incorporated into the original plantation commissary. Across the road—which is the original Highway 49—is the 'Shacksdale Motel on Highway 49', where 15 or so individual shacks with traditional 'shack' fixtures and fittings are also available as visitor accommodation.

Overall, some 60 downtown buildings, businesses, events, and cultural activities in downtown Clarksdale are associated with Delta culture, with around 75% having been established since 2000.

2.5 Creative People and Downtown's Regeneration

With this important regeneration of downtown Clarksdale—reflected in growth in visitor numbers and associated expenditures, an increase in overnight accommodation, dining and hospitality opportunities, venues, and retail shopping—one may well ask: how has all of this transpired in downtown over a period of just 15 or so years? The response lies in identifying the important contributions of 'creative individuals'. How are such individuals identified and how do they contribute to our 'creative cities' and, in this case, to downtown Clarksdale?

Landry (2000, p. 3) sees the importance of creativity in what he defines as the 'creative city', highlighting that "successful cities seemed to have some things in common—visionary individuals, creative organizations and a political culture sharing a clarity of purpose". Landry's case studies show how "key actors in those places that have exhibited growth share certain qualities: open-mindedness and a willingness to take risks; a clear focus on long-term aims with an understanding of strategy; a capacity to work with local distinctiveness and to find a strength in apparent weakness; and a willingness to listen and learn" (Landry 2000, p. 4). In respect to 'culture', Landry (2000, p. 7) highlights this as the "panoply of resources that show that a place is unique and distinctive" and that "creativity is not only about a continuous invention of the new, but also how to deal appropriately with the old". This latter observation is particularly relevant in Clarksdale's case, with its roots in generations of blues music and Delta culture.

Florida (2005, p. 1) is an exponent of what he identifies as the 'creative class' and its contributions to cities and to economic development, stating that "creativity has become the principal driving force in the growth and development of cities, regions and nations" (Florida 2005, p. 1). Florida's work assists in our understanding of creative people as drivers of the economic development in our cities and the need to attract these individuals. However, a 'circular issue' arises: are creative people responsible for making cities attractive places for investment and growth, or are

creative people simply attracted to cities that have those features and hence attract these so-called 'creatives' in any event. In Clarksdale's case, the downtown and its strong pre-existing legacy associated Delta heritage and culture, including blues music, is what attracts the 'creative' individuals to live there and thus contribute to local development.

Another researcher on the topic of creative cities, Australian Mike Berry, highlights the situation where "a particular city or region may acquire a reputation for particular creative products or events—such as a music or performing arts festival—that contributes a 'milieu' which acts as an attractor for associated economic activities and skilled workers/performers, which further adds to the city's reputation and enhances its milieu, attracting further like developments—and so on, in a virtuous growth circle" (Berry 2003, p. 99).

The fact that Clarksdale's residents and newcomers are now building on cultural tourism reflects the opportunities that have emerged from the rich underlay of cultural resources that pre-exist current residents. It also reflects the situation in which 'creative people' have risen to the challenge of developing these opportunities through their own enterprise and, in so doing, they contribute to the enjoyment of the wider community, extending well beyond Clarksdale and reaching places across the globe.

In regard to the origin of those individuals establishing new businesses and assisting in the running of new events and the like in Clarksdale, approximately 60% are long-time residents, while 40% are newcomers who have arrived in the past 10–15 years. These contributors to downtown's regeneration include musicians, artists, chefs, venue and restaurant owners/managers, tour operators, and those in property development, finance, IT, accountancy, law, education, and marketing, as well as individuals as diverse as a sea-freight mariner, a photographer, and a recording studio owner (Henshall 2019).

While blues music and Delta culture are significant factors in attracting new residents to Clarksdale, it is also true that Southern hospitality and friendship in general is important in forming a positive view of the town in the eyes of visitors. As Solé (2011, p. 156), a New York-based photographer who has published a photographic essay on the Delta and has visited Clarksdale, explains: "I was drawn to the people I met in the Delta. (They) allowed me to slip into their midst as if they had known me forever; we could swap stories and laughter, sorrow and silence. This happened not just once or twice; it happened every day in every town".

2.6 Conclusion

Downtown Clarksdale has been successful in regenerating its economy, essentially through local efforts aimed at building on the resources at hand, focusing on Delta culture, tied-in with Southern hospitality. The resourcefulness of local people has been of utmost importance in fostering this downtown revival, including the efforts of both long-time residents and the many newcomers from other parts of the nation,

including a number coming from abroad to contribute to, and enjoy, the experience. Strong community support is also essential, especially where the creativity of individuals can be captured, whether they are involved in the so-called creative industries, such as music, literature, and art in Clarksdale's case, or in a supporting role as individuals with enthusiasm and foresight, and lending support with expertise in such diverse areas as law, property and construction, trades, hospitality, and public administration.

While Clarksdale presents as a special case in the context of culture, creative people and downtown regeneration, the lessons associated with this downtown revival are transferable to other communities where a particular feature or characteristic can be identified as the focus around which revitalisation efforts can be structured and promoted. The lessons from the downtown economic regeneration experience in Clarksdale are summarised in Henshall (2019), with the underlying reality that 'small steps in regeneration efforts can be winners'. These ten lessons include:

Lesson 1: Identify the importance of a particular asset, theme, or other feature upon which economic and community development can be pursued
Lesson 2: Support and encourage the 'champions' and 'creative people'
Lesson 3: Get organised and generate community support
Lesson 4: Ensure everyone is reading from the same page
Lesson 5: Prepare a Plan and build a database
Lesson 6: Facilitate the availability of supporting facilities and services
Lesson 7: Hold festivals and other events
Lesson 8: Recognise the importance of 'comprehensiveness': it's not just about 'downtown'
Lesson 9: Encourage building renewal and refurbishment
Lesson 10: Encourage the growth and viability of existing and new businesses.

These lessons reflect on positive achievements and conditions in the downtown, such as building on and promoting particular assets, including culture and heritage, and the important role of 'creative people' in such development.

A number of issues remain. In particular, an important area for action is the need to improve education levels and to enhance workforce skills in the community. This is important if the resident labour force is to be sufficiently educated and skilled to move into new employment opportunities that emerge in tourism, hospitality and other activities, and in trades and services created by downtown regeneration. An improved educational system that provides quality schooling opportunities will also assist in attracting young families to take up residence and also assist in retaining existing families.

Importantly, these benefits associated with downtown regeneration, especially the job opportunities, need to be available to all in the community who may seek them. As a priority, information about achievements in these areas—ranging from increased levels of downtown development and jobs, to improved outcomes in education and workforce skills—needs to be conveyed back to the community. This will help to engender further community support and, most importantly, assist in adding to the numbers of 'home-grown creative people' who can continue the efforts to revitalise

their community, just as recent and ongoing efforts in downtown Clarksdale are demonstrating.

References

Berry M (2003) Innovation by design: the economic drivers of dynamic regions. lab.3000 report 01, RMIT University, Melbourne, October

Cobb JC (1992) The most southern place on Earth—the Mississippi Delta and the roots of regional identity. Oxford University Press, New York

Delta Center for Culture and Learning (2014) Mississippi Delta national heritage area management plan. Delta State University

Florida R (2005) Cities and the creative class. Routledge, New York

Fodor's Travel (2018) https://www.fodors.com/news/photos/12-best-american-music-cities-that-arent-nashville. Accessed 17 May 2018

Gioia T (2008) Delta blues—the life and times of the Mississippi Masters who revolutionized American music. WW Norton & Company, New York

Guralnick P (1989) Searching for Robert Johnson—the life and legend of the "King of the Delta Blues Singers". Plume, New York

Henshall J (2019) Downtown revitalisation and delta blues in Clarksdale, Mississippi: lessons for small cities and towns. Palgrave Macmillan. https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-981-13-2107-8

Landry C (2000) The creative city—a toolkit for urban innovators. Comedia and Earthscan, London

Lomax A (1993) The land where the blues began. The New Press, New York

Mississippi Development Authority (Tourism Division) (2018) Fiscal year 2017 economic impact report for tourism in Mississippi. Jackson, Mississippi

Palmer R (1982) Deep blues—a musical and cultural history from the Mississippi Delta to Chicago's South side to the world. Penguin Books, New York

Rooster Records and Delta Blues Museum (1995) Mississippi Blues musicians. Clarksdale, MS

Solé M (2011) New delta rising. University of Mississippi

Chapter 3
Beer as Cultural Lubricant: Brewing Tsingtao, Regenerating Qingdao

Xiaolin Zang, Bouke van Gorp and Hans Renes

Abstract Beer has become a driver of urban regeneration worldwide. In particular, breweries have become symbolic when physically transforming former industrial areas. Beer festivals, visitor centres created by major breweries and the popularity of the craft breweries and brewpubs each contribute to the growth of beer tourism. Meanwhile, adaptive reuse of former industrial breweries brings new life to former industrial spaces. This chapter focuses on the ways in which Tsingtao beer influences regeneration of Qingdao, China and this work frames these developments in the broader perspective of beer-led urban regeneration.

Keywords Beer heritage · Brewery · Beer tourism · Tsingtao · Qingdao · Urban regeneration

3.1 Introduction

The adaptive reuse of old industrial districts has become an important urban regeneration strategy (Leary-Owhin 2016; Wise and Clark 2017). During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, large factory sites developed on the edges of urban areas. As cities expanded, many of these large sites eventually found themselves surrounded by housing districts. For locals and tourism planners, these industrial areas were perceived as barriers between the historic city centre and other districts, not the least because they were barricaded off to assure only authorised personnel could enter the premises. Many of these industrial complexes have since been vacated, either due to a lack of opportunities to expand or modernise operations on site, or as a result of deindustrialisation. After closing down, such industrial complexes could be 'handed

X. Zang
Qingdao University of Technology, Qingdao, China
e-mail: chandra-zang@hotmail.com

B. van Gorp (✉) · H. Renes
Utrecht University, Utrecht, The Netherlands
e-mail: b.vangorp@uu.nl

H. Renes
e-mail: J.Renes@uu.nl

N. Wise and T. Jimura (eds.), *Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration*,
The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41905-9_3

back to the city'. Fearing the financial burden of these industrial structures to the city, some sites were completely demolished and replaced by new housing developments; whereas other sites were reused. In a few cases, (parts of) the factories remained in use but made an attempt to connect with the rest of the city—physically and functionally.

This phenomenon reflects a major shift in heritage and planning paradigms, coinciding with the attribution of heritage values to industrial remains and the growth of adaptive reuse to turn these places into attractive cultural hotspots (Pendlebury 2013; Janssen et al. 2014; Botti et al. 2016). It illustrates how the traditional dichotomy between conservation and development lost its relevance and how in today's heritage management practices development is necessary for protection and protection is seen as a dynamic process (Janssen et al. 2017). This chapter focuses on a specific example of these developments—breweries. These often took a special position within towns as they were well known throughout the town and often used the town in their branding. Therefore, breweries provide an interesting case study in industrial heritage, adaptive reuse and urban regeneration.

This chapter focuses on the Tsingtao brewery in Qingdao, China. This work is presented within the context of other breweries that were part of processes of urban regeneration through tourism, branding and adaptive reuse. This chapter is based on a literature review, field observations and desk research of official Qingdao urban planning documents and tourism policies.

3.2 The Significance of Beer and Brewing

Around the world, beer brewing had existed as a small-scale activity in many towns and villages, but from the nineteenth century onwards, brewing would develop into a sector dominated by large (highly mechanised) factories. Although breweries, like other industrial complexes, were surrounded by walls to keep intruders out (and the beer in), breweries have a long tradition of offering guided tours to visitors as a part of their marketing strategy. It shows the peculiar situation of beer production and sales that required branding early on to suggest special qualities for a product that is in effect rather uniform: the output of large breweries mostly consisted of standard 'pilsner' beer (Harley 2014).

Strong competition and a fast process of consolidation further raised advertising budgets. Meanwhile, the same competition drove major brewers to cut production costs and to look for further economies of scale and this has led to the closure of many late nineteenth and early twentieth century production facilities. The long tradition of branding efforts, combined with the rise of the experience economy and beer tourism, have however created an opportunity for reusing parts of these production facilities as brewery museums and beer experience centres (Baginski and Bell 2011). Meanwhile, craft breweries have likewise singled out former industrial buildings as suitable locations for production and consumption in the shape of brewpubs. Beer,

one could say, has become an important lubricant of urban regeneration processes in former industrial areas (Mathews and Picton 2014; Gatrell et al. 2018).

The majority of research into urban regeneration and adaptive reuse of industrial sites has a Western focus. Leung and Soyez (2009) stated a decade ago that while industrial heritage and its reuse was a widespread phenomenon in old industrialised countries of Europe and Northern America, similar developments in Asia were rare. In Asia when factories transformed, planners often copied best practices from cities in the West. This, however, is changing and a growing interest in such projects exists in China and other Asian countries, as is exemplified by 798 Districts in Beijing, Songshan Cultural and Creative Park in Taipei, Tomioka Silk Mill and Meiji Industrial Revolution Iron and Steel, Shipbuilding and Coal Mining industrial sites in Japan, and Camp Mare shipyard area in South Korea (see Cerutti 2011).

The Western focus is even stronger concerning research into beer breweries and their role in urban rejuvenation (e.g. Kohn 2010; Feeney 2017a, b; Walker and Miller 2019), as in Asia beer culture is still a rather recent phenomenon and therefore beer heritage is still rare. However, there are notable exceptions, one of them being the Tsingtao brewery in Qingdao (China) that was established over 100 years ago as the Germania Brauerei when Qingdao (then known as Tsingtao), on the north-east coast of China, was a German model colony (Matzat 2003; Zang et al. 2019). This chapter will show how the Tsingtao brewery is involved in the material and symbolic transformation of the city of Qingdao. The Tsingtao brewery is an interesting case study for several reasons. Firstly, Tsingtao has developed into the second largest brewery in China and the 6th largest worldwide (Ille 2009). The annual Qingdao International Beer Festival draws large crowds and has contributed to the reputation of Tsingtao beer and Qingdao as a town/destination (see Zang et al. 2019). Secondly, research into the phenomenon of beer-led urban regeneration has concentrated predominantly on the craft beer movement and less on global brewing companies that became involved in regeneration processes of their historic brewery sites and their surroundings. A notable exception is Carlsberg Brewery in Copenhagen, where recent work has assessed the transformation of these breweries (e.g. Riesto 2015, 2018).

What makes the Tsingtao case really stand out is its colonial origins that make the brewery buildings and the brand unique—but has caused dissonance as well (Zang 2019). Qingdao has a short colonial history, founded in 1897 by the German navy; the town was later conquered by Japanese forces in 1914 and was under Japanese administration until 1922, and again between 1938 and 1945. Qingdao's industrial development, in general, is entwined with its colonial past. Part of Qingdao's ports, railway system and its textile mills were established under colonial rule (Lu 2008).

The history of the brewery reflects the history of the town. In 1903, the Germania Brauerei was established with German and British capital and German equipment was shipped in from overseas. In 1916, the brewery was taken over by the Japanese Dai-Nippon Brewery, followed by Chinese ownership in 1945, nationalisation in 1949 and privatisation in the early 1990s (Matzat 2003; Yang 2007). Decisions about the heritage values of the original brewery buildings are not only influenced by aesthetic evaluations of industrial buildings but also by renegotiations of the colonial past of the city and the beer. Previous research on Qingdao and the Tsingtao brewery by Ji

(2011) has shown that beer is a distinctive element of the place image, while research by Yang (2007) has demonstrated how, in the wake of major political–administrative shifts, different representations of place were used in the marketing of Tsingtao beer in its attempts to reach new consumers.

3.3 Beer, Tourism, Branding and Urban Regeneration

Beer is a drink consumed globally. While sales are declining in the traditional beer markets of northern America and Europe, new markets have emerged in China and Brazil (Bamforth and Cabras 2016). The economic history of beer brewing is remarkable. For centuries, a significant number of small local breweries existed. Technical innovations during the nineteenth century introduced 'steam brewing' which resulted in large factories further expanding and profiting from mass production as they grew their economies of scale. Bavarian breweries were the first to combine steam engines (following British examples) with bottom-fermenting (invented in present-day Czechia), producing a beer that was uniform in quality and could be better preserved (Schippers 1992). This beer soon came into fashion, and consequently names such as Bavaria or German became symbolic for new beers. In Amsterdam (the Netherlands), for example the Koninklijke Nederlandsche Beyersch-Bierbrouwerij [Royal Dutch Bavarian Brewery] (1888–1927) and the Beijersche Bierbrouwerij De Amstel [Bavarian Brewery the Amstel] (1871–present) were established (Schippers 1992).

What followed for most brewing companies was a century of continuous search for economies of scale, leading to enlargement and homogenisation (Holtkamp et al. 2016). Strong competition and consolidation of demand led to mergers and take-overs and resulted in a relatively small number of surviving large breweries. In the early twenty-first century, this resulted in further concentration into a small number of multinational firms such as Anheuser-Busch InBev, Heineken and China Resources Snow Breweries that now own several brands and dominate the world market for pilsner.

From the 1990s onwards, an unexpected countermovement emerged. The beer landscape would become encompassed by increasing numbers of small (so-called micro and craft) breweries. The establishment of these smaller brewery operations has managed to conquer a growing niche in the beer market by branding their beers as local and unique (Schnell and Reese 2003; Mathews and Picton 2014; Bamforth and Cabras 2016). Their popularity can be interpreted as exemplary of Neo-localism, as a countermovement against the globalisation and homogenisation of the beer market. Craft beers are perceived as more authentic, artisanal and more daring than the global brands (although a number of these brewers in the past decade have been bought by the global beer corporations as a way of vertically integrating them into their business plans). Drinking craft beer thus became an act of conspicuous consumption for those who distrust the power of global brands and those who demand more sustainable production through locally sourced ingredients and socially responsible businesses

(Holtkamp et al. 2016; Mathews and Patton 2016; Gatrell et al. 2018; Hubbard 2019; Walker and Miller 2019).

Meanwhile, beer tourism is on the rise (Kraftchick et al. 2014; Rogerson and Collins 2015). Although consumption of foods and drinks is part of the tourists' general needs, particular products and brands as well as certain pubs and restaurants have become tourist attractions in their own right. The recent increase in gastronomic tourism coincides with the growing importance of the experience economy, hedonistic and heritage tourism and food movements and Neo-localism (Bell 2008; Getz and Robinson 2014; Andersson et al. 2017; Feeney 2017a; Curtis et al. 2018). As a result, gastronomic tourism is recognised as an important opportunity for place branding, developing tourism and hence stimulating the local economy (Cabras and Ellison 2018).

From a small position in the niche market of gastronomic tourism, beer tourism has grown into an established segment worldwide (Myles and Breen 2018). Tourists purposely travel to taste new beers, visit breweries and buy beer souvenirs. They enjoy seeing the brewing process of their favourite brand, embark on beer trails, frequent beer festivals and chase after new or local tastes (Kraftchick et al. 2014; Stone et al. 2019). Breweries of all sizes—global players, mid-size national companies as well as small-scale craft breweries—have begun to cater for tourists that search for unique experiences that rouse more than their visual senses (Feeney 2017b; Alfonso et al. 2018). Bujdoso and Szucs (2012) distinguish between two types of beer tourists, those whose main reason to travel is beer and those that mainly want to experience a particular place. The first group is motivated to taste a particular beer, and they embark upon brewery visits, beer trails, or look for specialty beer shops. The latter group focus more on experiencing places by visiting the 'must-see' venues—such as highly rated pubs, beer museums and famous beer festivals such as the Oktoberfest (Munich), the Czech Beer Festival (Prague), Öllesummer (Tallinn) or other reputed craft beer festivals.

The notion that a place or local culture can be experienced through consuming its products creates several opportunities for branding. A place can be used to market a product. In foods and drinks business, this is a well-known strategy to emphasise the quality of a product (Mathews and Patton 2016). 'Terroir' has thus become important in beer sales. Especially fresh water from a spring is vital in the brewing process and in the taste of beer (Zhao 1989). In the past, Tsingtao, for example used images of Laoshan springs on its labels—implying that these famous springs were used in the brewing process (Yang 2007). Today, breweries still capitalise on this local connection to establish a unique brand. Craft breweries, for example claim to capture 'local flavour', while regional brands advertise their beer as embodying regional culture often through images of some rural idyll. Local symbols, names, landscapes or legends feature in the names of craft beers, on their labels and websites (Schnell and Reese 2003; Mathews and Patton 2016; Feeney 2017b; Reid and Gatrell 2017; Myles and Breen 2018). Such efforts to brand beer as local may even add a layer of meaning to the place itself as it infuses the landscape with (rediscovered) folk legends, heroes and local histories. The connection beer brands have with particular places not only resides in their (actual or imagined) past, but also continues in the

future. The Carlsberg brewery was well aware of this and kept the redevelopment of its former brewery site in its own hands to avoid damage to the brand (Riesto 2015, 2018).

Famous beer brands and popular beer festivals can equally become a part of place branding. Many governments recognise the potential of hosting such events for place branding purposes. When carefully designed, events can revitalise a city by enhancing its reputation, attracting tourists, creating opportunities for community building and promoting pride in local culture (Preuss 2007, 2015; Getz 2008; Richards and Palmer 2010; Smith 2012; Richards et al. 2013; Wise et al. 2015; Cabras and Ellison 2018). Beer festivals in particular promote loyalty to a beer brand, create familiarity with the place and stimulate positive associations with it both through pleasant experiences at the festival (Gillespie and Hall 2019). Some craft beer festivals focus on local tastes, catering to consumers who want authentic experiences and love to discover new tastes (Cabras 2017). Although based on quantity rather than quality of beer, the success of Munich's Oktoberfest has inspired many cities to organise their own version (Cabras and Ellison 2018)—where "particular icons of Germanness are performed centred on particular drinks, drinking practices and drink enabled socialites—a kind of temporary version of the themed pub" (Bell 2008: 299).

3.4 Breweries and Heritage, a Creative Regeneration Strategy?

The rise in beer tourism not only signals changes in tourism markets, or peculiarities of the beer market, but also coincides with changes in/of the city. 'Intoxifying gentrification' is a concept coined by Mathews and Picton (2014) to point at a specific type of consumption-led gentrification where adaptive reuse of industrial heritage transforms derelict areas of production into thriving places of consumption. Similarly, adaptive reuse is increasingly seen as a sustainable alternative to urban sprawl that does not waste materials and has the potential to reinstate connections of local inhabitants with the site (Loures 2015).

The large 'beer factories' of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were usually located on the edge of towns well connected to railways and canals that allowed easy access to the markets and delivery of ingredients. In recent decades, a number of large urban breweries have moved to suburban/rural areas, which offered more space for extensions and better transport connections. This has raised questions regarding the future of the old brewery sites. Some breweries have been transformed into museums, such as the 1860s Heineken brewery, which was closed in 1988 and was redeveloped into the 'Heineken Experience' in 1991. As the main production processes of Carlsberg beer moved to a greenfield site in Fredericia in 2008, the oldest parts of the brewery at the original Valby site were transformed into the brewery's visitor centre (Riesto 2015, 2018). Other former breweries sought a second life as heritage, housing cultural and social functions, such as the Linden Brewery in Unna

Germany (Tufegdzic 2013). In Cardiff, the Brains Brewery moved out of the city centre, and the site was redeveloped, using part of the old buildings, as the recreational (Old) Brewery Quarter, focusing on (junk) food and drinking.

In addition, some breweries that kept their old location, tried to improve connections with the surrounding town and with loyal consumers. Tyskie Browarium (Tychy Poland) has both modernised its production facilities and renovated part of its historic buildings, now showcasing the original equipment for visitors (Tufegdzic 2013). The springs underneath Union brewery in Ljubljana, which provide the brewery with vital, high quality water, were the main reason for staying at the old urban site. However, pressure from possible alternative uses was felt and the brewery decided to improve its connection to the town by opening a museum and, later, a pub (Zevenbergen 2019). From these examples, it is clear that adaptive reuse has become a 'second life' strategy for old large brewery factory buildings. Elsewhere, craft breweries have singled out derelict industrial buildings as suitable locations for both the production and consumption of their beers. Beer and adaptive reuse thus go well together. Adaptive reuse has opened new development opportunities for abandoned industrial remains, while heritage-led urban regeneration is pursued as a sustainable revitalisation strategy that contributes to the local economy (Gunay 2008; Bowitz and Ibenholt 2009; Plevoets and Van Cleempoel 2011; Lazrak et al. 2012; Loures 2015).

3.5 Tsingtao

The Tsingtao brewery was started as Germania Brauerei in 1913, it brewed German style beer following the Reinheitsgebot and catered for German and British settlers in the region. The First World War meant the end of the German model colony. As the Japanese took over, the industrial development (textile) of the city continued. The brewery survived although the Japanese owners did struggle to find new consumers as the majority of the Chinese population was not used to drinking beer. After the Second World War, the Tsingtao Brewery was handed over to Chinese management. It owed much of its growth to branding the Asian and Chinese roots of the beer (Yang 2007). Today, Tsingtao is the second largest brewery in China, and has developed into a globally recognised Chinese brand, for example as a key national sponsor of the Beijing 2008 Summer Olympics (Ille 2009).

Tsingtao beer has become a part of urban revitalisation projects most notably through reuse of the original brewery buildings and through the beer festival. The Tsingtao Brewery was also converted into the first beer museum in China in 2003 (Tsingtao Museum 2019). The building itself was valued as national heritage in 2006, and in 2018, it became a central icon in the first list of national protected industrial sites (中国工业遗产保护名录[第一批]). The museum visit starts with an exhibition of the history of the brewery, followed by an explanation of the ingredients and the process of beer brewing and ends with beer tasting (arguably the main attraction). Figure 3.1 shows the inside of old brewhouse and the original German equipment

Fig. 3.1 The exhibition of old brewhouse. The original German equipment is still present and admired by visitors (photograph by Jichuan Zang)

brought to China to make beer. The museum represents the history of the brewery as exemplary of the coexistence of the Eastern and Western cultures and emphasises how beer connects people by focusing on the shared memories of beer, the city and its population over the last hundred years.

Following the opening of the museum, the surroundings of the original Tsingtao Beer Factory transformed into a beer street. The beer street has become a major tourist attraction for both domestic and international tourists. From the beer museum, visitors can walk through Dengzhou Street which houses many beer-themed restaurants and pubs (displayed in the image in Fig. 3.2). Visitors that post favourable reviews about the area recommend the beer street for its fun atmosphere and the fresh, authentic beer "[…] Freshness is the selling point on the beer street. The Tsingtao Beer is delivered to the restaurants through their special channels." However, other reviewers complain

Fig. 3.2 Beer-themed restaurants and pubs in the Beer Street (photograph by Jichuan Zang)

about the price of beer and the quality of food, suggesting that the beer street has become a tourist trap.

In 2011, the Qingdao Government announced they would support the regeneration of the area surrounding the brewery. Except for the brewery itself, very little historical remains can be found in this area of Qingdao. In a previous 1980s redevelopment project, the original residential and industrial buildings from the early twentieth century were replaced by high-rise residential buildings. The Qingdao government sets the objective of transforming the area into a cosmopolitan recreational and business district with beer as its unique selling point (CNWINENEWS 2015). The planning area covers about 2.7 km^2 and will become a mixed-use district, a hub of restaurants, souvenir shops, galleries and exhibition centres. The spatial structure should follow the original local grid pattern and is designed to have three 'layers'. The first layer, 'The Centre', concerns the development of Tsingtao Beer Factory as the cultural core of the area. The second layer deals with the interconnection of public spaces by a fluid network of footpaths that connects both ends of Dengzhou Road. The third layer focuses on the development of the residential environment. In the regeneration plan, the Tsingtao Beer Museum plays an important role as it embodies the connection between the place, its history and the beer culture.

Another way in which beer has supported the revitalisation of Qingdao is through its beer festival. In 1991, the Qingdao government decided to host the first beer festival. The event has since evolved into Asia's largest beer festival. The main objective

of hosting the festival was to promote beer sales domestically and internationally and help improve the brand of the city (Yang 2007; Du and Qu 2011). The positioning of the festival has since moved beyond selling beer to promoting beer tourism, the festival nowadays offers the experience of Qingdao's beer culture, history and its craft breweries (Zang et al. 2019). In 2019, the festival was extended from 14 to 31 days, and during the festival, the Huangdao site attracted over 7.2 million visitors (MSWEEKLY 2019).

The festival is inspired by Munich's world-famous Oktoberfest event. Traditional customs and decorations from the Bavarian Oktoberfest are incorporated, such as tapping the first barrel of beer, the beer tents with rows of tables, maypoles, Bavarian flags or logo's, barbeques and carnivals (Zang et al. 2019). In 2019, the setting was changed to stage a German Bier Garten (beer garden) themed event. The festival thus imports generic German elements that visitors recognise from beer festivals elsewhere. According to one reviewer on Tripadvisor: "*Everything, lookswise, is German styled*". The Oktoberfest theme does not make the festival unique nor provides strong brand associations. However, added to the Oktoberfest theme was typical Chinese entertainment on the stages and laser shows. Besides, the main attraction for locals may be the fond memories of meeting friends over a cup of beer (Zang et al. 2019).

The first festival was located along the southern seafront in Laoshan. Increasing visitor numbers forced the organisation to host the festival at six different sites dispersed throughout the city (Fig. 3.3). The main festival site was later relocated from the Laoshan to the Huangdao district because they required more room to accommodate for the festival's growth (using a 1,115-acre site). This new main site (beer city) houses a second beer museum in a Bavarian style small village that is open to the public.

Interestingly, one of the most important regeneration projects in Qingdao at the beginning of twenty-first century is the site where Qingdao International Beer City was originally founded in 1991, in Jinjialing (just next to number 2, the grey circle in Fig. 3.3). In the 1990s, this area was newly developed for the beer festival. With the expansion of the city, the site has become more centrally located and is now redeveloped by both the central and local governments whose objective was to create a financial district of banks, brokers and insurers, building high-rises to create a more dynamic city skyline. One of the core projects in Jinjialing is the ¥10 billion (Chinese Yuan) program led by Shanghai Industrial Investment, which covers 1 million square metres of multi-functional consumption space. The project focuses on four key functions: celebration, recreation, shopping and business. Although there are no physical remains of the beer festival present in the area, the place and the festival resemble intangible heritage. The place is celebrated as the birthplace of the beer festival—as a place where beer, beer culture and socialising with friends can be celebrated. In the redevelopment plans, integrating intangible heritage is seen in parade avenues, green spaces and themed parks. The shopping centres, such as Parkson and Liqun, will be opened gradually and are geared towards an upmarket clientele. The financial hub has already attracted a number of international banks and insurance companies, and 200-metres high twin towers are built to house luxury hotels like Diaoyutai and MGM Resorts International (Qingdao News 2018). The project thus implies a huge

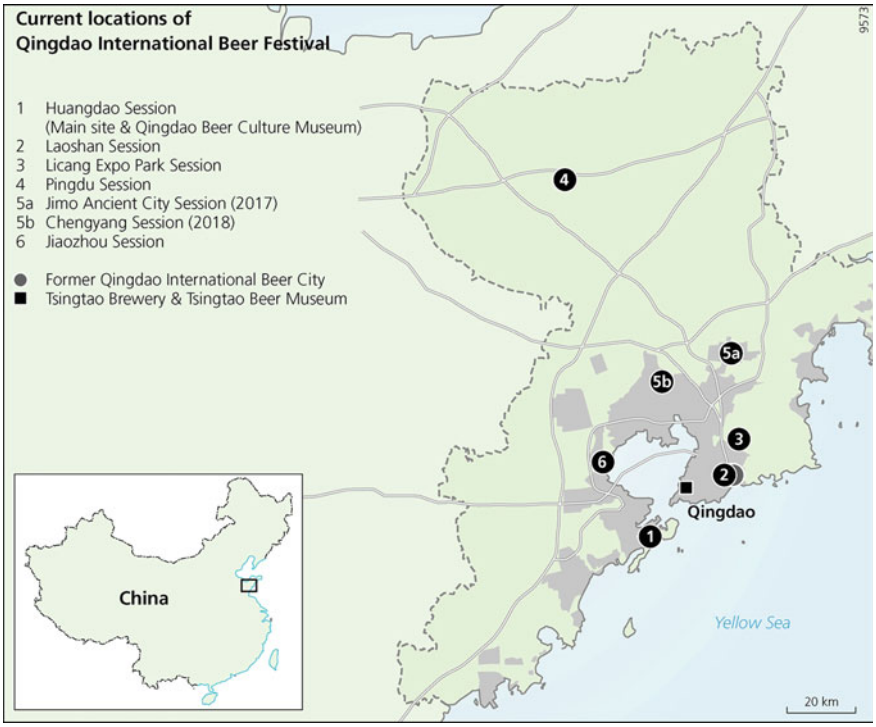

Fig. 3.3 Map of the city with the locations of the festival, brewery and museum. *Source* Zang (2019), reprinted with permission of Geomedia, Faculty of Geoscience, Utrecht University

transformation of the former beer city which still capitalises on beer as part of its identity.

3.6 Discussion

Not everyone shares the enthusiasm for beer-led redevelopments as a fluid urban lubricant to enhance revitalisation. Several authors raise concerns about the selective nature of heritage in these projects. Heritage is a selective reading of the past and although adaptive reuse opens these formerly fenced off areas to the public, these new places are not as inclusive as the term 'opening up' suggests. These places are created for particular types of consumers (Walker and Miller 2019). Kohn (2010: 367) concludes that the upmarket bars, restaurants and cultural facilities of Toronto's Distillery district "appeal to the demographic that has benefitted most from deindustrialisation and globalisation".

Even though the sites of former factories are reconnected to the city, they may exclude inhabitants that cannot afford to consume in these places. This leads to Wise

and Whittam's (2015) statement about who is regeneration for? Both redevelopment projects in Qingdao are likewise geared at more affluent consumers. The rejuvenated city has thus become a city for well to do inhabitants and consumers with purchasing power (Mathews and Picton 2014). Original inhabitants, labourers and consumers are displaced by this commercial gentrification that seems to be part and parcel of the redevelopment of former industrial or waterfront areas. The Cardiff example shows that this is not necessarily the case. With this comes the power or/ and challenges associated with place branding. Place branding, as critics argue, provides the rejuvenated city with a narrative that further legitimates the neo-liberal strategies tied up in these transformations (Kavaratzis and Kalandides 2015). As a result, alternative readings of the place are excluded. Riesto (2015, 2018), for example highlights how perceptions of the heritage values of former labourers or the local population were not included in the redevelopment plans of the Carlsberg brewery, while Boland et al. (2017) demonstrate how 'public interests' in regeneration plans often prioritise tourists' needs.

Another concern is the selectivity of what is actually conserved and reused, and thus which elements of the industrial past are on display. Riesto (2015, 2018) points at the selectivity in adaptive reuse of industrial sites, where the nineteenth century buildings are clearly favoured. Buildings or open spaces from the second half of the twentieth are demolished without giving them much thought. Architectural values rule over historical values and eventually result in a rather polished look as pipes that used to connect steps of the brewing process are removed from the buildings. The resulting landscapes are accused of being kitsch and inauthentic, reducing industrial remains to a mere spectacle and décor that suits nostalgic and romanticised tastes of consumers (Kohn 2010; Mathews and Picton 2014; Walker and Miller 2019). The entire production process can no longer be understood from looking at the remaining buildings. For breweries, it is exactly this production process that attracts visitors (combined with the free beer tasting). The Tsingtao beer museum is located in the original buildings of the Germania Brauerei which still contain the original equipment (as shown in Fig. 3.1). Many Chinese visitors marvel at this original equipment and see it as exemplary of the quality of German engineering (Zang et al. 2019). In fact, however, the place and the exterior façade of the brewery has a polished look as well (see Fig. 3.4).

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter highlights how beer has become instrumental in urban regeneration. The transformational potential of beer goes beyond serving drinks to tourists who want to spend money to consume a particular beer or to literally taste local culture (Bujdoso and Szucs 2012). Beer can aid in the symbolic transformation of places: together with breweries and beer festivals, it has become part of the place image and must-see sights. Breweries moreover have been involved in the physical transformation of parts of the city, turning formerly closed off areas of production into places of

Fig. 3.4 The appearance of Tsingtao Brewery was polished (photograph by Jichuan Zang)

consumption where heritage adds value to the experience of place and product. Large brewing companies have opened up (parts of) their breweries to the general public, reusing historical breweries as museums or experience centres. Meanwhile, derelict industrial buildings have been turned into brewpubs. Taken together, these developments illustrate how conservation and development can be entwined.

Local and regional governments have attempted to stimulate beer-led urban regeneration, and Qingdao might be considered rather successful and this display of cultural heritage helps enhance tourism and city branding. However, critics argue that the common practice in urban governance of copying best practices has resulted in a new kind of homogenisation where best practices have not only involved similar reuses, but even generic aesthetics leading to the homogenisation of cities, beer and consumer experiences (Mathews and Picton 2014). Two decades ago, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) already observed the introduction of generic 'old' street furniture. As a result, the local distinctiveness of many revitalised industrial areas can be questioned (Atkinson 2007; Airas et al. 2015). The use of (beer) festivals has likewise become a rather generic strategy as we increasingly see events mimicking Oktoberfest staged in many cities worldwide.

Developments in Qingdao seem to follow the pattern: the brewery has become a museum and subsequently a catalyst for subsequent transformation in the surrounding areas to help increase consumption and meet growing product and festival demands. What is unique about Qingdao is the colonial past where the use of the brewery

and beer implies renegotiation of this past. Moreover, the Oktoberfest theming of Qingdao International Beer Festival has led to a number of unique developments from the perspective of heritage such as the nostalgic Bavarian small village on the new permanent festival site in Huangdao. However, only a few visitors draw a connection between the generic Oktoberfest theme and the German occupation in Qingdao. The German colonial culture remains embedded in the Qingdao Beer Festival and the event imitates Bavaria's Oktoberfest (MAFENGWO 2013). Other visitors to the festival may remain oblivious of the German roots (in taste and history) of Tsingtao. Although the festival mimics Oktoberfest, it has become a significant display of intangible heritage in Qingdao.

The simile depicted in the chapter title 'beer as cultural lubricant' signifies the fluid importance of beer to the history of Qingdao in the past and contemporary urban regeneration strategies today. Tsingtao has helped shape the brand of Qingdao with the factory and festival attracting many tourists to the city. Although the local connection of beer and city can thus be exploited in branding. With both the drink and the city, one should be aware that this relation is not wholly unproblematic, especially when drunk encounters create nuisance to inhabitants or visitors (Cabras and Ellison 2018). In such circumstances, beer drinking backfires on the brands.

References

Airas A, Hall PV, Stern P (2015) Asserting historical 'distinctiveness' in industrial waterfront transformation. Cities 44:86–93

Alfonso AD, Sakellarios N, Alexander N, O'Brien S (2018) Strengths, innovation, and opportunities in a burgeoning industry: an exploratory study. Asia Pac J Mark Logist 30(2):276–296

Andersson TD, Mossberg L, Therkelsen A (2017) Food and tourism synergies: perspectives on consumption, production and destination development. Scand J Hosp Tour 17(1):1–8

Atkinson D (2007) Kitsch geographies and the everyday spaces of social memory. Environ Plan A 39:521–540

Baginski J, Bell TL (2011) Under-tapped?: an analysis of craft brewing in the Southern United States. Southeastern Geogr 51(1):165–185

Bamforth CW, Cabras I (2016) Interesting times: changes for brewing. In: Cabras I, Higgins D, Preece D (eds) Brewing, beer and pubs—a global perspective. Palgrave Macmillan UK, Hampshire, pp 15–33

Bell D (2008) Destination drinking: toward a research agenda on alcotourism. Drugs Educ Prevent Policy 15(3):291–304

Boland P, Bronte J, Muir J (2017) On the waterfront: neoliberal urbanism and the politics of public benefit. Cities 61:117–127

Botti G, Bruno E, Pavani A (2016) Regeneration of urban industrial heritage: redevelopment trends between Europe and China, from tourism to production. South Arch 2:012

Bowitz E, Ibenholt, K (2009) Economic impacts of cultural heritage—research and perspectives. J Cult Herit 10(1):1–8

Bujdoso Z, Szucs C (2012) Beer tourism – from theory to practice. Academica Turistica 5(1):103–111

Cabras I (2017) A pint of success, how beer is revitalizing cities and local economies in the United Kingdom. In: Chapman NG (ed) Untapped: exploring the cultural dimension of craft beer. West Virginia University Press, Morgantown, pp 39–58

Cabras I, Ellison K (2018) Craft beers and beer festivals, exploring the potential for local economies and gastro-tourism in the UK. In: Bellini N, Clergeau C, Etcheverria O (eds) Gastronomy and local development: the quality of products, places and experiences. Routledge, Abingdon, p 193–213
Cerutti V (2011) Creatieve fabrieken. Waardecreatie met herbestemming van industrieel erfgoed. Uitgeverij Thoth, Bussum
CNWINENEWS (2015) 青岛啤酒街: 工业遗产保护与旧城改造的"宁馨儿" (Qingdao Beer Street: the case of industrial heritage reuse and urban regeneration). https://www.cnwinenews.com/html/2015/pinglun_1221/55018.html. Accessed 2 Nov 2019
Curtis KR, Bosworth R, Slocum SL (2018) Drink tourism: a profile of the intoxicated traveler. In: Slocum SL, Kline C, Cavaliere CT (eds) Craft beverages and tourism, vol 2. Springer International Publishing-Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, p 119–139
Du J, Qu R (2011) 青岛国际啤酒节的诞生历程 (The birth of Qingdao International Beer Festival). Shandongdangan 1:55–56
Feeney AE (2017a) Beer-trail maps and the growth of Experiential tourism. Cartogr Perspect 87:9–28
Feeney AE (2017b) Cultural heritage, sustainable development, and the impact of craft breweries in Pennsylvania. City Cult Soc 9:21–30
Gatrell J, Reid N, Steiger TM (2018) Branding spaces: place, region, sustainability and the American craft beer industry. Appl Geogr 90:360–370
Getz D (2008) Event tourism: definition, evolution and research. Tour Manag 29(3):403–428
Getz D, Robinson RNS (2014) Foodies and food events. Scand J Hosp Tour 14(3):315–330
Gillespie A, Hall CM (2019) A taste of place, the Hokitika Wildfoods festival in New Zealand. In: Wise N, Harris J (eds) Events, places and societies. Routledge, London, pp 112–124
Gunay Z (2008) Neoliberal urbanism and sustainability of cultural heritage. In: Paper presented at the 44th ISOCARP Congress, Dalian, 19–23 September. DIALOG. https://isocarp.org/app/uploads/2014/05/Gunay.pdf. Accessed 20 Feb 2019
Harley N (2014) Lager all 'tastes the same', report says. The Telegraph, 12 August 2014
Holtkamp C, Shelton T, Daly G, Hiner CC, Hagelman RR III (2016) Assessing neolocalism in microbreweries. Papers in Applied Geography 2(1):66–78
Hubbard P (2019) Enthusiasm, craft and authenticity on the High Street: micropubs as 'community fixers'. Social & Cultural Geography 20(6):763–784
Ille F (2009) Building Chinese global brands through soft technology transfer. J Chin Econ Foreign Trade Stud 2(1):47–61
Janssen J, Luiten E, Renes H, Rouwendal J (2014) Heritage planning and spatial development in the Netherlands: changing policies and perspectives. Int J Herit Stud 20:1–21
Janssen J, Luiten E, Renes H, Stegmeijer E (2017) Heritage as sector, factor and vector: conceptualizing the shifting relationship between heritage management and spatial planning. Eur Plan Stud 25(9):1654–1672
Ji S (2011) Projected and perceived destination images of Qingdao, China. PhD Dissertation, University of Waterloo
Kavaratzis M, Kalandides A (2015) Rethinking the place brand: the interactive formation of place brands and the role of participatory place branding. Environ Plan A 47:1368–1382
Kohn M (2010) Toronto's distillery district: consumption and nostalgia in a Post-Industrial Landscape. Globalizations 7(3):359–369
Kraftchick JF, Byrd ET, Canziani B, Gladwell NJ (2014) Understanding beer tourist motivation. Tour Manag Perspect 12:41–47
Lazrak F, Nijkamp P, Rietveld P, Rouwendal J (2012) Cultural heritage and creative cities: an economic evaluation perspective. Ashgate, London
Leary-Owhin M (2016) Exploring the production of urban space: differential space in three post-industrial cities. Policy Press, Chicago
Leung M, Soyez D (2009) Industrial Heritage: valorising the Spatial-Temporal dynamics of another Hong Kong story. Int J Herit Stud 15(1):57–75

Loures L (2015) Post-industrial landscapes as drivers for urban redevelopment: public versus expert perspectives towards the benefits and barriers of the reuse of post-industrial sites in urban areas. Habitat Int 45:72–81
Lu H (2008) 话说青岛 (Taking Qingdao). Qingdao Publishing House, Qingdao
Mathews AJ, Patton MT (2016) Exploring place marketing by American microbreweries: neolocal expressions of ethnicity and race. J Cult Geogr 33(3):275–309
Mathews V, Picton RM (2014) In toxifying gentrification: brew pubs and the geography of post-industrial heritage. Urban Geogr 35(3):337–356
Matzat W (2003) Germania Brauerei und ihre Angestellten 1903–1914. DIALOG. www.tsingtau.org/matzat-wilhelm-dr-prof-1930-2016/. Accessed 29 June 2018
MAFENGWO (2013) 模仿德国巴伐利亚十月节的传统, 彰显青岛这座老牌德国殖民地文化遗风 (A connection between the Oktoberfest style arrangements and German colonial rule). 24 December 2013. Accessed May 2018
MSWEEKLY (2019) 第29届青岛国际啤酒节闭幕 接待游客逾720万人 (The 29th Qingdao International Beer Festival received over 7.2 million visitors). https://wap.msweekly.com/show.html?id=112277. Accessed 8 Nov 2019
Myles CC, Breen JM (2018) (Micro) movement and microbrew: on craft beer, tourism trails, and material transformations of three urban industrial sites. In: Slocum SL (ed) Craft beverages and tourism, vol 2. Springer, Cham, pp 159–170
Pendlebury J (2013) Conservation values, the Authorised Heritage Discourse and the conservation-planning assemblage. Int J Herit Stud 19(7):709–727
Plevoets B, Van Cleempoel K (2011) Adaptive reuse as a strategy towards conservation of cultural heritage: a literature review. Structural studies, repairs and maintenance of heritage architecture XII 118:155–163
Preuss H (2007) The conceptualisation and measurement of mega sport event legacies. J Sport Tourism 12(3–4):207–228
Preuss H (2015) A framework for identifying the legacies of a mega sport event. Leisure Stud 34(6):643–664
Qingdao News (2018) 啤酒城地块开建超高双子塔 2022年底交付使用(图) (High twin towers are built in former location of the Qingdao Beer City). https://news.qingdaonews.com/wap/2018-11/08/content_20238800.htm. Accessed 8 Nov 2019
Reid N, Gatrell JD (2017) Craft breweries and economic development: local geographies of beer. Polymath Interdiscip Arts Sci J 7(2):90–110
Richards G, Palmer R (2010) Eventful cities: cultural management and urban revitalization. Routledge, London
Richards G, Brito M, Wilks L (eds) (2013) Exploring the social impacts of events. Elsevier, London
Riesto S (2015) A biography for an emerging urban district. Discovering open space in the former Carlsberg breweries, Copenhagen. In: Kolen J, Renes H, Hermands R (eds) Landscape biographies. Geographical, historical and archaeological perspectives on the production and transmission of landscapes. Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, pp 377–401
Riesto S (2018) Biography of an industrial landscape. Carlsberg's urban spaces retold. Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam
Rogerson C, Collins K (2015) Developing beer tourism in South Africa: international perspectives. Afr J Hosp Leis Tour 4(1):1–15
Schippers H (1992) Bier. In: Lintsen HW, Bakker MSC, Homburg E., van Lente D, Schot JW, Verbong GPJ (eds) Geschiedenis van de techniek in Nederland. De wording van een moderne samenleving 1800–1890. Walburg, Zutphen, pp 171–213
Schnell SM, Reese JF (2003) Microbreweries as tools of local identity. J Cult Geogr 21(2):45–69
Smith A (2012) Events and urban regeneration: the strategic use of events to revitalize cities. Routledge, London
Stone MJ, Migacz S, Wolf E (2019) Beyond the journey: the lasting impact of culinary tourism activities. Curr Issues Tour 22(2):147–152

Tsingtao Museum (2019) 青岛啤酒博物馆简介 (The introduction of Tsingtao Museum). https://www.tsingtaomuseum.com/web/index!com_intro.htm. Accessed 2 Nov 2019

Tufegdzic A (2013) Challenges in industrial heritage tourism planning and development: beer routes through Vojvodina. In: Paper presented at the Central Europe towards sustainable building 2013: sustainable building and refurbishment for next generations, 26–28 June. DIALOG. https://www.cesb.cz/cesb13/proceedings/2_industrial/CESB13_1248.pdf. Accessed 2 Nov 2019

Tunbridge J, Ashworth G (1996) Dissonant heritage: the management of the past as a resource in conflict. John Wiley & Sons, Chichester

Walker S, Miller CF (2019) Have craft breweries followed or led gentrification in Portland, Oregon? An investigation of retail and neighbourhood change. Geogr Ann Ser B Hum Geogr 101(2):102–117

Wise N, Clark J (eds) (2017) Urban transformations: geographies of renewal and creative change. Routledge, London

Wise N, Flinn J, Mulec I (2015) Exit festival: contesting political pasts, impacts on youth culture and regenerating the image of Serbia and Novi Sad. In: Moufakkir O, Pernecky T (eds) Ideological, social and cultural aspects of events. CABI, Wallingford, pp 60–73

Wise N, Whittam G (2015) Editorial: regeneration, enterprise, sport and tourism. Local Econ 30(8):867–870

Yang Z (2007) This beer tastes really good: nationalism, consumer culture and development of the beer industry in Qingdao 1903–1993. Chin Hist Rev 14(1):29–58

Zang X (2019) Heritage conservation in Chinese colonial port cities. PhD Dissertation, Utrecht University

Zang X, Van Gorp B, Renes J (2019) Qingdao International Beer Festival: place identity and colonial heritage. In: Wise N, Harris J (eds) Events, places and societies. Routledge, London, pp 97–111

Zhao P (1989) 崂山泉水酿美酒 (Laoshan Spring is the key to nice beer). Liaowangzhoukan: 47

Zevenbergen G (2019) Understanding the geographies of heritage consideration. Three examples of 'Slovenian' heritage planning that show preservation does not come naturally. Unpublished MA-theses Geosciences, Utrecht University

Chapter 4
Sporting Heritage and Touristic Transformation: Pacaembu Stadium and the Football Museum in São Paulo, Brazil

Ricardo Ricci Uvinha, Fillipe Soares Romano and Nicholas Wise

Abstract Football is an essential component of Brazilian culture and identity. Stadiums in Brazil are iconic structures and comparable to religious institutions because football is often regarded as a religion in Brazil. It is also fitting that one of the most significant museums in São Paulo is the *Estádio Municipal Paulo Machado de Carvalho*, also known as Estádio do Pacaembu (Pacaembu Stadium) which opened in 1940 and is located in the city's Pacaembu neighbourhood. While still in use for sporting competition, it used to be the home grounds for the football club Corinthians before they moved to the new Arena Corinthians across the city after the 2014 Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup. Perhaps the most significant transformation of this stadium came in 2008 when the *Museu do Futebol* was created to commemorate the history of the stadium in the city and to tell the story of Brazilian football, after an extensive renovation in 2007. This transformation meant that the use of the stadium and its impact extends beyond match days and is the formation of an extended sports tourism site in the city. Such regeneration is unique to this venue as a way of framing the stadium as a national historical marker. This chapter will address and assess both tangible and intangible changes that aim to preserve and sanctify this venue as a space and place of Brazilian sporting heritage, culture and identity.

Keywords Sporting heritage · Museums · São Paulo · Football · *Museu do futebol*

R. R. Uvinha · F. S. Romano
University of São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil
e-mail: uvinha@usp.br

F. S. Romano
e-mail: fillipe.romano@gmail.com

N. Wise (✉)
Liverpool John Moores University, Liverpool, UK
e-mail: N.A.Wise@ljmu.ac.uk

N. Wise and T. Jimura (eds.), *Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration*,
The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41905-9_4

4.1 Introduction: Football and Brazil's Journey

There is both a strong relationship and disconnect today between sporting mega-events, sporting spaces and their host cities. The former suggests that large events and associated sporting spaces become iconic symbols that help connect people and a place, may it be to an event that helps showcase a nation, or a particular team that defines a city's cultural sporting identity. The challenge is there can also exist disconnect, whereby mega-events and key sporting spaces (especially areas where stadiums are located) can also exclude people (see Wise 2019). However, something for certain is sport does have the power to unite and divide people socially and spatially (see Sugden and Bairner 1999; Gaffney 2008; Girginov 2010; Millington and Darnell 2014).

This focus on sport becomes quite complex when we consider the element of cultural heritage, especially when sport is such a key signifier of cultural and national identity in a country such as Brazil. This chapter focuses on the *Museu do Futebol* located in São Paulo, Brazil, (an image of the stadium is displayed in Fig. 4.1). While São Paulo is the nation's largest city, it is not necessarily Brazil's main commercial and tourism market given its geographical location, as cities including Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Fortaleza are situated along the coastline and attract leisure tourists. Given São Paulo is the nation's largest city; this makes the city an important centre for business and commerce domestically and internationally. With a major international airport, this does mean that São Paulo does receive a significant number of visitors. Perhaps what is fitting is that the largest city is home to the museum boasting the nation's largest sporting obsession and passion. This is thus a unique spotlight for São Paulo to offer an exclusive visitor attraction aligned with Brazil's sporting cultural heritage.

Fig. 4.1 Football Museum and field at Pacaembu stadium (the left image depicts the art deco entrance way and right image is the original pitch) (photos by Nicholas Wise)

The making of the museum has a storied journey as this chapter will address, given the regeneration of the location, space and surroundings of the *Museu do Futebol*. The museum is a former stadium that has been transformed into an attraction so that visitors can take a journal through Brazil's football history. This is also a creative re-use of space and a way to keep the iconic *Estádio Municipal Paulo Machado de Carvalho* which opened in 1940 functioning and operating. The stadium is situated just to the west of the centre of São Paulo in the city's Pacaembu neighbourhood. The stadium used to be the home grounds for the football club Corinthians, São Paulo's most commercialised and popular team. Therefore, while the stadium was initially an iconic venue for São Paulo's iconic team, the football club Corinthians would relocate to the newly constructed Arena Corinthians (built for the 2014 FIFA World Cup). When teams relocate to newer (more modern) venues, the fates of many former stadia have been reclaimed by cities and are oftentimes removed. Pacaembu Stadium that was once the largest stadium in Latin America (surpassed by the Maracanã in Rio de Janeiro) would be designed as a museum on the 29th of September 2008 to tell the story and history of Brazilian football.

The link here to regeneration of this stadium is its designated re-use. Built for the purpose of hosting large crowds over the decades since the 1940s, the regeneration of this space takes on intangible and memorial significance, using its iconic presence to continue not only its narrative as a sacred football space, but as a space to capture the significance of football to Brazilian culture and society. This is important today given the legacies of sport and the attention on countries such as Brazil who have just hosted a series of mega-events. Such a way of capturing the journal of football is a chance to highlight and promote sports participation and relay social benefits through pride in place, pride in history and cultural heritage, bounding the story of football within the grounds of a significant football stadium. While the national story is important, Brazil has seen much international football success and have embarked on a journey as a mega-event host, and this is again where these points of celebration and disconnect re-enter the narrative.

There has been a lot of recent work looking at Brazil, sport and sporting events in the past decade, given that much previous work has looked primarily at Western developed nations. Brazil is part of this shift where we are seeing developing emerging economy countries investing heavily in the hosting of mega-sporting events (see Curi et al. 2011; Darnell 2012; Coakley and Souza 2013; Maharaj 2015), using sport as a means for social transformation (Wise 2017; Hall and Wise 2019). It is beyond the focus of this chapter to explore the wider impact of sporting mega-events on Brazil; however, it is important to note that events are a strategic way of attracting international attention and consumption. As noted by Wise and Hall (2017, 24), mega-events is seen as "strategies and catalysts for social and economic development in emerging economies […] to enhance these nation's power, economic competitiveness, and prestige in global relations". Part of this strategy is to also increase tourism demands, alongside and after hosting mega-events, and what we see is the opening of this national football museum in São Paulo in 2009 aligning strategically with what was considered the start of Brazil's sporting decade, adding insight on how sport is a conveyor of power (Koch 2013). Until 2007, Brazil had not hosted any mega or

major international sporting events since the 1950 FIFA World Cup and the 1963 Pan American Games (Wise and Hall 2017). The 44-year hiatus ended following a series of successful bids to host the 2007 Pan American Games and the 2014 FIFA World Cup. The 2016 Summer Olympics in Rio de Janeiro and the 2019 Copa América closed out this just over a decade of hosting mega-events, and putting football at the centre of Brazil's domestic and international prowess and endeavours.

4.2 Capturing Sporting Heritage

The history of building sporting venues can be traced back to ancient Greece, around the tenth century BC (see Godoy 1996; Cereto 2003). Due to, among other things, was the inherent popularity of the Greek sports programmes. The Greeks found it difficult at the time to adapt and use different Hellenic buildings for sport and leisure/recreational activities. There was a need for specific venues and this gave rise to the stadium typology, and along with this came the need to administer crowd controlling measures and organise spaces that allowed for good visibility from the seating areas.

Centuries later, the Olympic Games became the most visible and important gatherings linked to sport and competition among the Greeks. Today we see the construction and renovation of the stadiums as iconic (economic) landmarks and even symbols of national pride and identity. As Cereto (2003) notes, in 1896 Panathenaic Stadium in Athens, Greece was reformed to host the first modern Olympic Games and then in 1908, the construction of White City Stadium in London, England would mark a significant turning point for stadia innovation, becoming (at the time) the largest in the world to host at capacity 100,000 spectators. Panathenaic Stadium in Athens remains and is a key visitor attraction in the city whereas White City Stadium has since been demolished in 1985, and with this, the physical memories and presence of the stadium are now removed from the urban landscape.

If we consider some of the histories of stadia in Brazil, the great advances occurred in with the construction and opening of Estádio das Laranjeiras in 1914 and São Januário Stadium in 1927, both of these stadiums were located in Rio de Janeiro. Then in 1933, the Estadio Palestra Italia in the city of São Paulo was opened. Given the need for stadiums in Brazil's larger urban centres, Cereto (2003, 101) notes:

> The existing stadiums in the city were very precarious, training camps for clubs that boiled down to building wooden stands and there was no concern for the specific use or comfort of the public. The stadiums were built spontaneously, without any architectural project or financial program, the latter, using financially the membership dues, income from games and the contribution of building materials.

Despite these concerns, larger stadiums were necessary to meet growing demands associated with playing and watching football in Brazil. This was especially true in São Paulo where the need to construct a municipal soccer stadium was essential because of the city's large population. The need for a stadium in São Paulo was also

linked to football being broadcast on the radio, and with this, helping to diffuse the sport to mass audiences. Thus, having a modern base (at the time) for the media to broadcast games from in the late-1920s was necessary. However, at that time, the construction of a large stadium in São Paulo was not a municipal or government priority, and therefore onus was passed to the clubs, but a challenge was that the clubs could not afford to finance or fund construction. Then in the 1920s, the then mayor, Washington Luis, assumed the responsibility for the construction of Pacaembu Stadium. The site designated resulted from the donation of 50,000 square metres of land by the property of Compania City of São Paulo and Freehold Limited (Cereto 2003; Atique et al. 2015).

Negreiros (2017), speaking about the significance and impact of football in São Paulo, mentions:

> as the 1920s entered—and invaded the 1930s—with a rapidly expanding city, the importance of sports only increased. Specifically, soccer became an increasingly popular sport; causing the city to breathe this sport. The need for a new sports stadium that could accommodate this growing contingent of supporters began to mobilize the sports press, other sports sectors, and sports specialists, many of whom were already in public office. And this mobilisation needs to be seen in a new context, different from the one that existed before: at that time, the mid-1930s, sports issues were already the subject of a wide debate.

With arguments linked to the scarcity of available ground, high budgets needed for construction and the lack of interest among the city government to promote football, the construction of the Pacaembu Stadium did not begin until 1936. Upon completion, the stadium was inaugurated on the 27th of April 1940. It was designed and built in an Art Deco style, with symbolic elements externalizing the function of the stadium not only as a space and place for football, but also as a key monument to define the sport of football in the city of São Paulo (see Negreiros 1998). Since its inauguration, it opened as the largest stadium in Latin America, able to hold 80,000 people at full capacity (Atique et al. 2015).

Atique et al. (2015) suggest that Pacaembu Stadium helps us understand the twentieth century (sporting) political ideologies in São Paulo. This is particularly aligned to football moments, especially how football reveals new aspects for leisure—and how the city uses sport as a political strategy. Importantly, even today, the use of the equipment still provokes such discussions. The inauguration of Pacaembu Stadium not only changed the city's infrastructure, but also catered to the changing economic conditions of São Paulo's top teams. Many players who left for clubs in Rio de Janeiro returned at the beginning of the 1940s. With elite players now back in São Paulo, people began attending more matches and the amounts of revenue generated helped generate the capital needed to pay for adequate sporting spaces. Record attendances continued in São Paulo as teams were able to pay the amounts that elite players demanded.

The role of the Pacaembu Municipal Stadium, which, in the 1960s, was named Paulo Machado de Carvalho was very important in this process of the cultural politics of football in São Paulo. With the popularisation of football between the 1940s and 1960s, Pacaembu Stadium hosted major SC Corinthians Paulista games, and this stadium was considered as the home of this team in the 1980s (see Ferrão and

Overa 2013; Bocchi 2016). The stadium also hosted some large-scale events like the 1950 FIFA World Cup; the Santos of Pelé; Leonidas da Silva's debut for São Paulo FC (with audiences over 70,000 fans); Libertadores da America's Cup finals; Eder Jofre's boxing fight; and the first television broadcast/programmes of "Clube-Escola" as early as 2010.

However, with the announcement that Brazil would play a role as the host of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and then the Olympic Games two years later in 2016, there was a new demand to modernise São Paulo's urban and stadium infrastructure (Ferrão and Oveira 2013), which would prove beneficial for the construction industry. Although Rio de Janeiro was the host city of the 2016 Olympic Games, other cities held football matches (including São Paulo). Although Pacaembu Stadium was important for the history of football in São Paulo and Brazil, there were concerns that with planned constructions of Arena Corinthians and Allianz Parque stadiums, Pacaembu Municipal Stadium could possibly be abandoned (see Lupo 2017). However, the announcement of the refurbishment of the Allianz Parque stadium, formerly Palestra Italia, made Palmeiras concentrate its games at Pacaembu Stadium between 2010 and 2014, sharing space with SC Corinthians Paulista who played their games there until 2014. They then relocated to Corinthians Arena. Corinthians Arena was used as the venue for the opening match of the 2014 FIFA World Cup between Brazil and Croatia. Within this perspective, the need to explore other sports or sports-related modalities that could contribute to generating income to keep the stadium open, it was decided that this stadium could be converted into a museum. Designating the stadium as a museum was not only for its historical and cultural heritage, but to ensure that it remained. A museum is also a way to promote the stadium as a sport tourism attraction, thus helping to sustain its legacy. At this point, the importance of the Football Museum as the second transformative and regenerative landmark of the Pacaembu Stadium stands out, an important action to preserve and promote Brazilian cultural heritage and its sporting history.

4.3 *Museu Do Futebol* as a São Paulo Landmark

As mentioned above, The Football Museum in São Paulo was inaugurated on the 29th of September 2008. The stadium was designed by the state government as a museum with the aim of creating a space to safeguard the memories of football in São Paulo. The stadium has sought ways to modernise, using creativity and technology to help emotionally engage visitors with the venue and football. As a way of promoting people and engaging people with popular imaginations of Brazilian football, the museum has a traveling exhibition room and more than 15 themed rooms. According to Silva and Santos (2011, 8), it is not only about exposing the evolution of soccer in Brazil, but also relating the history of football with the socio-cultural development of the country in the twentieth century. It is important to highlight the work of Azevedo and Alfonsi (2010) who discuss the creation of the Football Museum as an important source of football memory not only linked to the material objects of football, but to

expand the potentialities as cultural manifestation and even in terms of experiences. This includes enhancing sensory; for example, visitors can practice kicking a football or even shout like a fan in the crowd. In this respect, the new technology was a significant advancement for the museum as an institution, since it allows the use of new resources consisting of different types of audio-visual collections, photos, projections and objects, all exposed under the stands of the most iconic stadium in São Paulo.

The difference between the football museum and more traditional/mainstream museums are discussed by Silva and Santos (2011). These authors argue that sport museums need to establish a clear brand in order to engage and captivate a visitor so that people can participate in a playful, distinctive and cognitive manner. This all helps bring the public closer to the exhibition, so they feel they are involved in the sport and its history. This is also a unique way to motivate and inspire people to participate in sport. This is explained by Azevedo and Alfonsi (2010, 292):

> The Football Museum, a space whose purpose is the preservation and communication of football, in a broad sense, has the responsibility to consider the many facets of sport as a museum phenomenon and to share with the surrounding society the definition of what will be its legacy in terms of heritage to posterity.

Other important notes concerning the regeneration of Pacaembu Stadium into a Football Museum relates to the proportion and homogeneity of visitors (as visitors are well distributed in terms of gender and ages). Azevedo and Alfonsi's (2010) state that 95% of the museum's visitors would recommend the trip to those who claim to dislike football. Silva and Santon (2011, 16) further confirm:

> The data served to point out that 89% of respondents would indicate the museum to a person who does not like football and, among these, 39% stressed that the knowledge that the museum adds is sufficient reason to enjoy the visit. Another 19% mentioned that a person who does not like football would change his mind after visiting the museum because of the relationship established between the sport and Brazilian society. Still on the same data, 9% of respondents stated that only the exposure differential would impress a person who does not like football. Regarding the intention to return, 98% of respondents reported that they intend to return to the Football Museum, because they classified it as a great leisure space.

Moreover, it is important to highlight the activities that the Football Museum has been developing and contributing to both education and tourism in São Paulo. Among the many activities, the first two authors of this chapter can further confirm and highlight activities developed during the 2019 Copa America Football event, although the museum stadium was not used as a host stadium for the tournament. The Pacaembu stadium fostered a series of activities that help promote the diversity, inclusion and knowledge of South American football within its dependencies. For instance, the promotion of women's football occurs not only by hosting national teams and women's teams, but debating the importance of the sport and promoting the sport beyond the men's game. A series of debates and exhibitions in partnership with the Ministry of Citizenship and Private Companies argue the need for gender equity, encouraging the practice and inclusion of women in football. This was found by Wise and Harris (2014), who argue that while football can help unite people, women

are still excluded from participating—challenging how we interpret inclusion and exclusion (see also De Lisio and Sodré 2019). Here the importance of the museum is to show the position of sport to all across Brazilian culture and society and how sporting stereotypes have changed over time, especially in the past few decades.

Among these actions, the creation of the Museu do Impedimento (museudoimpedimento.com.br) is a collaborative platform to collect stories of women who played soccer during the prohibition years in Brazil (1941–1979), a Google initiative with the Football Museum. The proposal is to record these stories and expand the reports, the collection and references on women's football. These activities aim to enter the museum collection and exhibitions. The project is designed in partnership with the activities of The Brazilian Football Reference Center (CRFB). The CRFB is the sector responsible for researching and documenting different expressions of football in Brazil, managing and developing research, documenting and managing library and media library. Through the promotion of lectures, seminars, meetings for the purpose of exchange, expansion and dissemination of knowledge about football, furthermore, CRFB offers a series of activities, courses, lectures and debates among universities, researchers and civil society about football and its aspects.

4.4 A New Generation? The Pacaembu Stadium Concession

Attempts to regenerate and memorialise Pacaembu Stadium are not a new endeavour. Lupo (2017) notes that since 1994 there has been desires to invest in designating the stadium. However, the government vetoed several attempts to designate change in 1997, 1999, 2001 and 2006 (Lupo 2017). In 2009, the project proposal "Novo Pacaembu" was presented, which foresaw changes concerning the current concession of the stadium. However, much investment was needed to financially support necessary stadium enhancements, with a noted cost of R$250 million (Brazilian Real) needed covered in partnership between the city of São Paulo and Sport Club Corinthians Paulista through investors (Bocchi 2016), to claim the opening of the 2014 World Cup, but the project was vetoed by the mayor of the city.

Decisions over funding and designating the stadium were split. On the one hand, there was clear recognition among the local and national population about the historical and cultural importance of the Pacaembu Stadium and its symbolic connection with the sport of football, not only in São Paulo but also across Brazil. On the other, the need for modernisation and new uses of equipment, minimising public costs and assuming the underuse of space, would create a new clash. This led Silvio Oksman (2017) to ask: "What will happen to Pacaembu stadium?" We still do not know the answer, but on the 16th of September 2019, this date will be considered the beginning of the possible (re)transformation of the stadium with the signing of a 35-year concession agreement for the entire Pacaembu Complex. The complex in its entirety

consists of an Olympic-size swimming pool, two tennis courts and a multi-purpose gym, in addition to the football field.

The Patrimônio São Paulo consortium (composed by engineering company Progen and Savonna investment fund) is expected to invest about R$300 million into renovations to enhance the stadium and surrounding space. The city of São Paulo expects gains of R$657 million from the concession, and estimated by the sum of the contract of R$115 million (which is approximately USD $27.6 million) with a fixed variable of 1% of the annual gross revenue gained from tax receipts and the sums of savings over the next 35 years. According to a survey by Seto (2019), the consortium foresees the delivery of the renovated stadium by July 2022, with restoration works planned to start in the first half of 2020 (lasting 28 months). It was agreed that the company has 30 days to deliver all the plans and actions to be developed in the spaces in and around the stadium. Subsequently, the transition from the administration of the city hall stadium to the concessionaire begins with a period of 60 days. Among the concession obligations were the assumptions of free access for the local population, the exemption from municipal expenses, the continuity of activities developed by SEME (Local Secretariat of Sports and Leisure in the city of São Paulo), the inspection and preservation of the heritage and the rendering of services. The concessionaire's new proposal highlights a remodelling of the field structure (lowering the lawn and reducing the stadium capacity from 40,000 seats to 26,000 seats). There will also be an official track added for athletics athletes to use and train on improved telecommunications, electrical and hydraulic systems, newly added bathrooms, cafeterias, chairs and cabins.

The idea of building a five-storey building is an attempt to allocate room for new developments to make the stadium more dynamic and allow for an expanded range of events and activities. Extending the use of stadiums is seeing increasing importance to show their use beyond sport (see Whitfield 2009; Evans 2011). For the enhanced Pacaembu Stadium, this will include floors for offices and companies, bars and restaurants, and acoustics area with an amphitheatre and a convention centre for up to 2,000 people. In the areas surrounding the stadium, there will be room made available for parking and to allow for public gathering space. This is important because designating public spaces that allows for and encourages social interactions is a way to ensure spaces around the stadium do not become desolate, as Sánchez and Broudehoux (2013) and Gaffney (2016) described when assessing some of the new stadium complexes build in Rio de Janeiro. Transcending its popular use, and among the new possibilities for the stadium, it is already certain that football will not be the priority use of the stadium. According to the consortium director, Mr. Eduardo Barella, football will only contribute to 15% of the stadium's revenue, with up to 15 professional soccer games played here each year (Quintella 2019; Seto 2019). To increase the volume of other modalities and categories, such as continuing support for women's football, there are also plans for grassroots and amateur tournaments to foster further participation in football.

Concerning the possibility of concessions, Lupo (2017) argues that the construction and modernisation of sports arenas in São Paulo in the last years have had a

direct impact on the interests and speculation about the Pacaembu stadium. During these works, Corinthians and Palmeiras concentrated their games in their new stadiums (consecutively, Arena Corinthians and Allianz Parque), and when these were stadiums opened, it reduced the number of matches played by these teams in the municipal stadium. In 2019, 46 events have already been held; most of which have been female football competitions, friendly matches, music concerts, as well as hosting other sports such as rugby and mixed-martial arts. The idea beyond these activities is to explore the transferability of the stadium and its surrounding spaces, by putting on shows, weddings, musicals, parties and brand launching events. Looking at previous impact, in 2017, the stadium had revenues of around R$2.5 million, but spending for City Hall was around R$8 million.

Despite the signing, the negotiation is being questioned in court. The Viva Pacaembu Association filed a lawsuit seeking surrounding the analysis of the toboggan demolition, especially among municipal and state agencies that take care of conserving public heritage, the Viva Pacaembu Association (2005) states:

> The Viva Pacaembu Association opposes the way the negotiations were conducted and continue being conducted by the public agencies, as an example, the Association questions the justification of damage to the public coffers, but without the presentation of official accounts. The refusal to participate in the Pacaembu management council, as well as the possibility of official "detachment", with the imminent risk of demolition, the toboggan is part of the process of overturning the complex by Archaeological, Artistic and Historical Heritage Defence Council (CONDEPHAT) and Municipal Council for the Preservation of the Historical, Cultural and Environmental Heritage of the City of São Paulo (CONPRESP). Finally, the clear definition of the guidelines, rules and standards that need to be respected, eliminating doubts and obscurities.

It should be highlighted that changing and designating new uses in a unique heritage site/space does not affect the use or management of it. For Pacaembu Stadium, although possible impediments to the execution of works have been shown as an obstacle (Lupo 2017), they have found creative ways to make use of the space. Some emphasise the lack of empathy, as some of these changes do not consider the memorable, cultural, historical and symbolic aspects of the stadium. While it has new uses, what is arguably important is maintaining the structure and presence in the landscape and not demolishing the site as some many cities have done with underused stadia. Offering new possibilities gives the space new symbolism and it can engage and inspire people who work and attend a whole host of events in Pacaembu Stadium, as they will know that this stadium has a unique history.

4.5 Concluding Remarks

The importance of the Pacaembu Stadium is in the formation, development and cultural heritage of football in the city of São Paulo, and for the nation of Brazil. Since its planning, it has played a key role in the history of Brazilian football, and to preserve its memory, designating the stadium as a football museum is one way to

preserve the story and memory of football in Brazil. Currently, ongoing plans and investments add to the future use of the space, by regenerating of the stadium and its surrounding space in the city's Pacaembu neighbourhood to extend the impact and legacy of Pacaembu Stadium. The political, social and economic importance of the stadium has in recent years changed and even been contested; but the stadium and its surrounding complex stand out. It is considered either an imposing place that receives more than 70,000 spectators, and wider debate on how to consider the opinion of civil society on its use is seeing new forms of leisure and tourism to define its current use. Despite the financial expenses to maintain the venue and surrounding spaces, Pacaembu Stadium continues to function as a museum and is alive in the memory of the Brazilian football fans.

The objective of this chapter was not only to present the observed phases of stadium regeneration (1. design and construction phase, 2. the highlight of the football museum and 3. the future still hazy and uncertain about the stadium concession), but to offer insight into the importance of the debate on reframing and reusing spaces. This is especially important in this current neoliberal era where stadium planning and building focus on turning football stadiums into sporting arenas that include only those who can afford and making more room for corporate suites. Reusing a stadium that is part of the urban fabric and cultural identity/heritage of a city and nation is an attempt to expand opportunities and inspire football fans. Thus, the Football Museum emerges as an important way to regenerate the use of Pacaembu Stadium, as it expands the importance and necessity of the use of football memory and narratives by identifying, mapping, cataloguing and promoting football for sport, leisure and tourism. Preserving and promoting Brazilian cultural heritage and its sporting history, taking advantage of courses, activities, memory centres and the diffusion of Brazilian culture, in a way extends beyond (just) watching football matches.

Going forward, while Brazil is already regarded as a popular tourism destination in South America, the hosting of several sporting mega-events has played a significant role in increasing the nation's exposure internationally and developing or regenerating cities across the country with renovated or new sports facilities and venues–including new amenities for tourism. The iconic *Estádio Municipal Paulo Machado de Carvalho* as the nation's *Museu do Futebol* is just one part of this wider narrative, but the timing of designating this museum was fitting given the focus on Brazil and international football in the past decade. Hosting mega-events was a chance to make Brazil a more competitive destination in the global events arena and increase mobility to the country and within the country (Wise and Hall 2017). While São Paulo was only one of the numerous host cities across Brazil, the story of football will remain embedded and integral to the city with the story housed in the city's *Estádio Municipal Paulo Machado de Carvalho*. Given the vastness of Brazil as a country and with the primary tourism markets oriented to the coast, São Paulo sought a creative way to attract tourists by making use of the national sporting cultural heritage.

References

Atique F, Sousa D, Gessi H (2015) Uma relação concreta: A prática do futebol em São Paulo e os Estádios do Parque Antarctica e do Pacaembu. Anais Do Museu Paulista: História e Cultura Material 23(1):91–109

Azevedo C, Alfonsi D (2010) A patrimonialização do futebol: notas sobre o Museu do Futebol. Revista de História 163:275–292

Bocchi GMM (2016) Do Estádio do Pacaembu para a Arena Corinthians: etnografia de um processo de "atualização", vol 1. Universidade de São Paulo. https://doi.org/10.3929/ethz-b-000238666. Accessed 13 Dec 2019

Cereto MP (2003) Arquitetura de Massas. O caso dos estádios brasileiras: da Revolução de Vargas ao fim do milagre economico. 322f. Dissertação (Mestrado) Faculdade de Arquitetura, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul

Coakley J, Souza DL (2013) Sport mega-events: can legacies and development be equitable and sustainable? Motriz: Revista de Educação Física 19:580–589

Curi M, Knijnik J, Mascarenhas G (2011) The Pan American games in Rio de Janeiro 2007: consequences of a sport mega-event on a BRIC country. Int Rev Sociol Sport 46:140–156

Darnell SC (2012) Olympism in action, Olympic hosting and the politics of 'Sport for Development and Peace': investigating the development discourses of Rio 2016. Sport Soc 15:869–887

De Lisio A, Sodré JGR (2019) FIFA/IOC-sanctioned development and the imminence of erotic space. Bull Latin Am Res 38(3):333–346

Evans G (2011) Hold back the night: Nuit Blanche and all-night events in capital cities. Curr Issues Tour 15(1):35–49

Ferrão AM de A, Overa AF (2013) Pacaembu: Patrimônio de São Paulo. Templo do futebol do Brasil. Revista Ábaco 76(2/3):99–106

Gaffney CT (2008) Temples of the earthbound gods: Stadiums in the cultural landscapes of Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires. University of Texas Press, Austin

Gaffney C (2016) Gentrifications in pre-Olympic Rio de Janeiro. Urban Geography 37(8):1132–1153

Girginov V (2010) The Olympics: a critical reader. Routledge, London

Godoy L (1996) Os jogos Olímpicos na Grécia Antiga. Editora Nova Alexandria, São Paulo

Hall G, Wise N (2019) Introduction: sport and social transformation in Brazil. Bull Latin Am Res 38(3):265–266

Koch N (2013) Sport and soft authoritarian nation-building. Polit Geogr 32:42–51

Lupo BM (2017) Estádio do Pacaembu: Do palco de emoções ao gigante sem dono. Revista CPC 24:107–133

Maharaj B (2015) The turn of the south? Social and economic impacts of mega-events in India, Brazil and South Africa. Local Econ 30(8):983–999

Millington R, Darnell SC (2014) Constructing and contesting the Olympics online: The internet, Rio 2016 and the politics of Brazilian development. Int Rev Sociol Sport 49:190–210

Negreiros PL (1998) A nação entra em campo: Futebol nos anos 30 e 40.346 f. Tese (Doutorado). Departamento de História. Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, São Paulo

Negreiros PL (2017) Estádio do Pacaembu: as origens de um monumento ao futebol. Ludopédio. Publicado em 15 sep. 2017. https://www.ludopedio.com.br/arquibancada/estadio-do-pacaembu/. Accessed 19 Oct 2019

Oksman S (2017) O que será do Estádio do Pacaembu? Revista Vitruvius (17):203. https://www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/minhacidade/17.203/6567. Accessed 26 Sept 2019

Quintella S (2019) Veja São Paulo. Covas assina na segunda (15) a concessão do estádio do Pacaembu. Publicado em 15 set. 2019. https://vejasp.abril.com.br/blog/poder-sp/covas-assina-na-segunda-15-a-concessao-do-estadio-do-pacaembu/. Accessed 16 Sept 2019

Sánchez F, Broudehoux A-M (2013) Mega-events and urban regeneration in Rio de Janeiro: planning in a state of emergency. Int J Urban Sustain Dev 5(2):132–153

Seto G (2019) Jornal Folha De São Paulo. Covas assina concessão do Pacaembu, que deverá ser reinaugurado em 2022. Publicado em 16 set. 2019. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2019/09/covas-assina-concessao-do-pacaembu-que-devera-ser-reinaugurado-em-2022.shtml. Accessed 16 Sept 2019

Silva PG, Santos GE de O (2011) A qualidade da experiência dos visitantes ao Museu do Futebol. Revista Acadêmica Observatório de Inovação Do Turismo 6(2):02. https://doi.org/10.12660/oit.v0n2.5791

Sugden JP, Bairner A (1999) Sport in divided societies. Meyer & Meyer Sport, Brighton

Viva Pacaembu Association (2005) Concessão do Pacaembu. https://www.vivapacaembu.com.br/detnot.asp?id=500&moda=&contexto=&area=003&evento. Accessed 18 Sept 2019

Whitfield JE (2009) Why and how UK visitor attractions diversify their product to offer conference and event facilities. J Conv Event Tour 10(1):72–88

Wise N (2017) In the shadow of mega-events: the value of ethnography in sports geography. In: Koch N (2017) Critical geographies of sport: space, power, and sport in global perspective. Routledge, London, pp 220–234

Wise N (2019) Towards a more enabling representation: framing an emergent conceptual approach to measure social conditions following mega-event transformation in Manaus Brazil. Bull Latin Am Res 38(3):300–316

Wise N, Hall G (2017) Transforming Brazil: sporting mega-events, tourism, geography and the need for sustainable regeneration in host cities. Wise N, Harris J (2017) Sport, Events Tourism and Regeneration. Routledge, London, pp 24–39

Wise N, Harris J (2014) Finding football in the Dominican republic: Haitian migrants, space, place and notions of exclusion. Elliott R, Harris J (2014) Football and migration: perspectives places and players. Routledge, London, pp 180–193

Chapter 5
Old Town Tallinn: Medieval Built Heritage Amid Transformation

Aleksandr Michelson, Katrin Paadam, Liis Ojamäe, Anneli Leemet and Jaanika Loorberg

Abstract The historic centre of Tallinn, Estonia with its medieval old town heritage has become an internationally recognised tourism destination. It has undergone major regeneration in the course of ownership reform which made business investment possible. This transformation of the city has revived relatively deprived quarters of Tallinn's medieval Old Town after Estonia regained its independence in 1991. Alongside the first wave of gentrification in Tallinn, private and public investments influenced the refurbishment and restoration of historic buildings. This has enhanced these buildings for residential and various socioeconomic and cultural practices, especially tourism. However, with increased popularity, mass tourism, fast commercialisation and scarce public restoration funding are endangering the socio-spatial qualities of this unique medieval heritage space. Gradual regeneration of adjacent more recent historical areas and a modern city centre, conducted in the frame of expansive urban developments in Tallinn, is linked to the city's rapid growth and inward investments. The plan albeit is to work towards solutions that integrate Tallinn's Old Town into neighbouring urban areas to diversify urban attractions.

Keywords Historic centre · World heritage · Medieval architecture · Regeneration · Urban tourism · Tallinn

A. Michelson (✉) · K. Paadam · L. Ojamäe · A. Leemet · J. Loorberg
Tallinn University of Technology, Tallinn, Estonia
e-mail: aleksandr.michelson@gmail.com

K. Paadam
e-mail: katrin.paadam@taltech.ee

L. Ojamäe
e-mail: liis.ojamae@taltech.ee

A. Leemet
e-mail: anneli.leemet@gmail.com

J. Loorberg
e-mail: jaanika.loorberg@gmail.com

N. Wise and T. Jimura (eds.), *Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration*,
The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41905-9_5

5.1 Introduction

Historic city centres in Europe are one of the most important elements of European cultural heritage (Garcia-Hernande et al. 2017) and their socially recognised heritage value has been exploited for economic purposes by destinations and businesses. Thus, built heritage is at the heart of cultural tourism (Nuryanti 1996) and involved in the production of modern urban space (Michelson and Paadam 2010a). As Michelson and Paadam (2010b) imply, the physical presence of built heritage with explicit medieval characteristics enriches spatial perceptions of people at their engagement in contemporary activities. Once material heritage and its intangible values are strategically activated (and later transformed), they represent symbolic attributes in the perception of local people—and thus heritage becomes a part of socioeconomic activities (Michelson 2014). By means of conducting socioeconomic activities, built heritage exploited in destination branding to attract tourists is converted into economic capital, which can then be reinvested into continuous reinventions of symbolic values promoted to tourists (Michelson and Paadam 2016).

Symbolic heritage is the source of inspiration and equally the consequence of individual and institutional conduct. However, as argued by De Cesari and Dimova (2019), heritage-led urban regeneration, which often occurs simultaneously with gentrification and heritagisation of areas of significant tourism value, has become a heavily criticised globally recognised driving force for also the political decisions taken on urban developments (Lees et al. 2017). Along with promising economic prospects, for the tourism industry in particular, this is reinforced by UNESCO World Heritage status and becoming World Heritage sites (Jimura 2019). Gentrified heritage areas experience considerable rises in building and site value, transforming them into desired places with high property prices affordable only to more affluent clients (De Cesari and Dimova 2019). Likewise, urban regeneration influences the tourism economy and raises question surrounding ethics as cities have had to debate complex issues pertinent to authenticity. Such debates and concerns relating to authenticity are a challenge when designating meaning and interpreting historical spaces (see Zukin 2009, 2010). It is argued that marketing heritage as a product, based on tourist demands, has resulted in the commercialisation of heritage over true conservation values (Nasser 2003). According to Wise and Mulec (2012), this threatens the future sustainability of the very resources places that define their competitive advantage as tourism destinations (in terms of the recognised cultural value of built heritage).

This chapter focuses on the role of medieval heritage in the regeneration of the Old Town of Tallinn (see Fig. 5.1). It considers the importance of integrating a wider scale of the city's central area into an attractive destination for both locals and tourists. Tallinn is Estonia's capital with a population of 441,343, approximately one-third of the country's population (Tallinn City Government 2019). In the Old Town, the population of this area is 4,681 (Tallinn City Government 2019). Tallinn is well known for its key cultural asset, a well-preserved medieval Old Town, situated among an area of 113 hectares. It was listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, Historic Centre (Old Town) of Tallinn, in 1997. This Old Town is one of 12 heritage

Fig. 5.1 A view from the St. Olav's Church tower's observation platform to the Old Town of Tallinn, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, which morphologically consists of Lower and Upper Towns, in 2006 (photograph by Aleksandr Michelson)

conservation areas in Estonia. The Old Town is considered a well-preserved example of a medieval northern European trading city that has retained its key salient features. This has allowed Old Town Tallinn to offer a unique attraction that is used to generate economic activity, inspire the local community and attract tourists to the city (Vatter 2014; Palmer and Tivers 2019). In 2018, the number of international tourists in Tallinn was 3.93 million (including cruise tourists) and World Heritage status of the city's Old Town is one of the major factors influencing peoples' decision to visit Tallinn (Tallinna väliskülastajate during 2018 2019).

The case of Tallinn's Old Town makes a relevant example to understand interlinked processes of urban regeneration, strategies of heritage preservation and developing tourism industries in specific societal and cultural context of continuities and discontinuities observed on the socio-political and economic transformations of Estonia through the twentieth century until today. The chapter draws on historical and social research reporting on the Tallinn Old Town developments as well as the respective documents and some statistical data.

5.2 The Early Story

Tallinn has played an important role in ancient and medieval trade across Northern Europe. The history of Tallinn dates back to the Viking era and in the thirteenth century, when the city became a member of the Hanseatic League (Jaakson 1996). The Hanseatic League was an international network of trade, finance and commerce between Western to Eastern Europe (Jaakson 1996; Michelson 2014). After the Livonian War in the sixteenth century, Tallinn became a provincial capital under Swedish and then Russian crowns until it became the capital of a new state—the Republic of Estonia in 1918. The Old Town constituted the whole town of Tallinn until the end of the eighteenth century (Bruns 2016). In this way, Tallinn largely escaped large-scale urban development and rebuilding of European capital cities before WWI and, thus, could preserve its unique medieval architectural space.

However, during the rule of the Russian Empire, Tallinn became a popular resort destination of the nineteenth century due to its proximity to the capital city of Saint Petersburg. At that time, the main sights of Tallinn as a tourism destination were the seaside district Kadriorg and medieval Old Town. The praiseworthy groundwork in the promotion of particularly the Old Tallinn in the 1830s came from romantic chivalric novels published in Europe and the travelogues of the Russian intellectual elite (Kask and Hinsberg 2012).

The attractiveness of Tallinn as a tourist destination has fluctuated, dependent upon transportation connections. Tallinn faced decline after the railway network was developed between Saint Petersburg and the Black Sea shore, but tourism was later revived with a rail line built connecting Tallinn with Saint Petersburg in 1870. Subsequent industrialisation turned the city into one of the busiest ports in the Russian Empire and the city saw its population double from 58,800 in 1897 to 116,100 in 1914 (Jaakson 1996). After Tallinn lost its defence function in the 1870s, transportation in the Old Town was improved, but unfortunately at the expense of several heritage sites, mainly the city gate towers and porch stones.

The heritage protection institution during the period of the Estonian Republic from 1918 to the end of WWII was in its infancy (Alatalu 2016). Heritage protection practices mainly involved the protection of single edifices and their immediate surroundings (Bruns 2016). For example, the conservation of Tallinn fortifications was hindered by the urban growth and delayed due to financial reasons up until the 1930s (Nurk 2008). WWII threatened also Tallinn's heritage objects and sites. According to different estimations, seven to 10% of the Old Town was damaged during Soviet bombings in March 1944 (Alatalu 2016). Conservation and restoration of Tallinn's Old Town began after WWII under the Soviet occupation in the 1950s and continues today. Following WWII period, some recoverable heritage ruins were systematically destroyed (Alatalu 2009). Whereas, some areas became sites for then new Stalinist-style buildings, although the architectural style was considered a milder version when compared with other cities in the socialist block (Kalm 2001). The next wave of development would later see architectural styles also incompatible with the

Tallinn's small-scale medieval edifices. Some damaged properties are still empty today in 2019 as the debates on further development are continuing (Alatalu 2012).

The restoration of the Tallinn's Old Town built heritage, or really any other heritage areas in the city, was not a priority after WWII. The resources were rather allocated to industries and new housing as 56.2% of the Tallinn residential space was damaged during WWII (Bruns 2016). In addition, there was a demand for housing for new immigrants from other parts of the Soviet Union having moved to Estonia in the course of profound political, social and economic restructuring of the society (Paadam 2003). The first post-war general plans envisioned a massive demolition and re-planning that fortunately, remained mostly unrealised (Alatalu 2009). Further demolition and ill-proportioned new structures were avoided in Tallinn's Old Town and in a number of other towns in Estonia thanks to the rising authority of heritage protection organisations in the 1960s (Alatalu 2009).

Nevertheless, it is generally acknowledged that deficit and poverty during the Soviet times (Alatalu 2009), in addition to the provincial status of Tallinn during earlier periods prior to the founding of the Republic of Estonian were crucial factors for the Old Town to preserve its unique architectural space. However, several post-WWII activities were enabled to preserve the Old Town. In 1947, the official list of architectural monuments in Estonia was approved and two architectural–historical protection areas were created: Upper Town of the Old Town or Toompea in Tallinn and the old town of Narva (Alatalu 2016). The reconstruction plan of the Old Town as an integral unit was composed in 1959 and approved in 1971. Once this plan was launched, proceeding with the regeneration process was a chance to reconcile the old built heritage whilst adhering to modern requirements (Alatalu 2009). Key here was the preservation and restoring of historical architectural values, sometimes concomitantly changing the function and intended purpose (Alatalu 2009). By the mid-1960s, the cultural value of the Old Town was scientifically proven on research financed by the Tallinn City Government (see Bruns 2016). In 1966, the protection zone of the Old Town of Tallinn was created, and it was the first of its kind in the Soviet Union and can also be counted among the earliest ones in entire Europe (Alatalu 2016). This turned out to be the first step on the long way towards the inscription of the Old Town on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1997 (Bruns 2016).

Despite regulations, the established protection zones or other activities, there was no guarantee that the heritage of the Old Town is preserved for a number of reasons. In the Soviet system, the preservation and restoration of heritage buildings, as part of the nationalised property, was the responsibility of the heritage administration (Alatalu 2012). However, uncoordinated and often irresponsible activities of different ministries and enterprises, as well as limited capacity and funding, led to harmful actions including demolitions, partial restorations and emptying of buildings for refurbishment and revitalisation before the 1980 Olympic Games Regatta (Alatalu 2009, 2012).

Tallinn's Old Town as a tourism product was seen as a valuable asset. Tallinn regeneration plans in the 1970s foresaw the Old Town to be recreated as an open-air museum by moving offices and displacing residents (Alatalu 2012). This was possible

due to the fact that all property was nationalised by the Soviet regime. Fortunately, the comprehensive plan failed due to continuous housing deficit and resistance of some companies (Alatalu 2012). The significant part of the buildings was though converted into museums, restaurants and shops (Alatalu 2012).

By the end of the Soviet times, the Old Town of Tallinn as a heritage site had become something of high symbolic value for local people. Strengthened by the movement of Heritage Societies from 1986, which promoted Estonian history and national heritage (Alatalu 2012), the Old Town became the symbol of the Estonian national movement and restoration of independent statehood (Alatalu 2009). Despite its troublesome history, the Old Town of Tallinn maintained its unique architectural space to a great extent. At Estonia's return to a capitalist system in 1991, built heritage became the basis for capitalisation.

5.3 The Modern Story

The restoration of a democratic Estonia from 1991 onwards saw profound social and economic transformations. This especially concerned the property reform which involved restitution of properties expropriated during the Soviet regime (Paadam 2003; Paadam and Ojamäe 2015). The Tallinn Old Town was one of the areas of high concentration of restituted properties and became one of the first attractive investment sites to the newly established residential market (Paadam 2003; Paadam and Ojamäe 2015). This transformation that subsequently concerned the functional change of heritage buildings was enhanced by ever-growing demands for tourism (Alatalu 2012) drawing on the iconic status of the Old Town as a medieval heritage landmark (Lähdesmäki 2014). Together with another highly valued heritage district, Kadriorg (which has a seaside park area with a number of public buildings and residential quarters), Tallinn's Old Town was subjected to the first wave of gentrification in the city (Leemet and Paadam 2002; Paadam 2009). Restitution of property actually started the process of gentrification in Tallinn and Estonia (Leemet and Paadam 2002; Paadam 2009), with also its downside effects, including the displacement of former residents (Davidson and Lees 2010) and a tendency towards heritagisation under the pressure of tourism (De Cesari and Dimova 2019). More problems emerged soon when the gentrification-led refurbishment of heritage revealed the weakness of local urban policies and heritage protection strategies of the respective institutions (Leemet and Paadam 2002; Paadam 2009); power struggles would emerge between the state and city institutions as well as limited skillsets of craftsmen to deal with complex heritage structure architectures and building designs (Alatalu 2012). Additional concerns relate to the new residents or business actors' differentiated knowledgeability of the cultural and economic value of heritage and willingness to invest in building restoration, made even more vulnerable once property developers' brought visions of modernisation to satisfy gentrification demands and contemporary taste in interior design (Paadam et al. 2017).

However, as argued by Sequera and Nofre (2018), the relationship between heritage tourism and gentrification in the context of urban regeneration needs to be

conceived in particular societal and cultural circumstances. The cause and effect of these processes are not always evident. Concerning Tallinn's Old Town, it is suggested that the contemporary intensity of the growth of tourism (and touristification) can be traced back to the societal transformation in 1991, influenced by property reform and, in particular, the kick-off role of property restitution. As noted, the economic growth in Tallinn from the 1990s onwards was stronger than in that of Western or other Central and Eastern European capitals. This is because Tallinn sought to throw off the restrictions of the Soviet era and catch up with the West, and thus, the de-industrialisation and urban regeneration process was compressed into a relatively short period of time (Unt et al. 2014). The experts have estimated that when the market opened, most of the transactions (over 70%) took place in Tallinn and in the surrounding county (Paadam 2003).

As of 2011, most of the buildings in the Old Town are used for business purposes (41%), followed by residential (36%) and public purposes (23%) (Pindi Kinnisvara AS 2011). The three main owner types are Estonian legal persons (31%), Estonian private individuals (21%) and Tallinn city (17%) (Pindi Kinnisvara AS 2011). The value of the Old Town for tourists and local people, especially business people and tourism destination managers alike increased with the inscription of the Old Town being recognised on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Estonia made first steps towards inclusion on the UNESCO World Heritage List as early as 1988 when the first tentative list of Estonian historical monuments and sites deemed worthy of World Heritage nomination was assembled and sent to Moscow by the Estonian Culture Foundation (Tamm 2018). Because of the growing and thus threatening pressure of development ambitions, the World Heritage protected area borders of the Old Town of Tallinn were enlarged in 2008 (Alatalu 2012).

The Old Town was and remained to be until now under the constant pressure of the interests of private investors attracted by the profitability of the property market in the tourism-dominated space of the Old Town. A liberal (ad hoc) urban planning of the early 1990s was gradually replaced by a more regulatory system in the 2000s. Here, the rights of landowners were increasingly yet not always comprehensively defined in advance; and, as of 2004, the market still primarily dictated Tallinn's urban development (Ruoppila 2007). The absence of a management plan of Tallinn's Old Town and necessary amendments to city bylaws enabled the occurrence of some problems by 2005, concerning ill-treatment of monuments and the use of buffer zone of the Old Town (Tamm 2018). As such, a new building was constructed next to the town wall. In the close vicinity of the Old Town, the problems circled round transportation and transhipment of dangerous goods as well as the (unrealised) plan to erect a 17-storey extension of Viru Hotel (Tamm 2018).

However, as Tamm (2018) claims, the inscription of the Tallinn Old Town on the UNESCO World Heritage List has helped preserve the authenticity of the medieval architecture by preventing or reducing the pressure from development plans of businesses or even the cultural institutions. By now, many listed and not listed buildings and properties have been restored and taken in active use. These include the five-star hotel Telegraaf or residential blocks converted from former headquarters of Soviet security agency and Estonian Railways.

The attractiveness of the Old Town for property developers, businesspeople and residents alike had been reflected in property market trends. Since the 1990s, the prices for renovated housing have gradually reached and raised to the upper-market level. The Old Town, with apparent socialist legacy of no-investments into pre-WWII residential heritage buildings at the beginning of the property reform, became one of the first elitist neighbourhoods in the city (Paadam 2009). Meeting the preservation requirements for poor-quality heritage buildings has been the main challenge to the owners because of differentiated knowledge and financial capacity. Another challenge is the circumstances surrounding the limited availability of public funding. The city's heritage conservation department, however, provides free advice on restoration to owners of heritage buildings (Paadam and Ojamäe 2015). The housing renewal grants offered by the state have been also less relevant for heritage buildings compared to mass produced blocks from the 1960–1980s, as the regulations on energy efficient renewal often contradict the restoration requirements (Paadam and Ojamäe 2015).

After the recovery from global property market crisis, the average square metre prices for residential property in the Old Town have shown similar trends of price increase as the housing market in Tallinn in general (Tallinna vanalinna arengukava 2014–2021 2014; Eesti Maa-amet 2019). The Old Town has, however, lost its position since 2012 as the most expensive housing market area in Tallinn alongside diversifying offers of newly built housing in different central parts of Tallinn and gradually increased interest in historical wooden residential areas surrounding the Old Town. Still, buying a flat in the area is affordable mainly to affluent clients as the renovation and restoration works demand considerable resources. During the last decade, the market turnover rate in the Old Town has been rather stable (Eesti Maa-amet 2019) with relatively low residential mobility (Terk et al. 2016). It has been assessed by property market experts that the area is increasingly attractive as a centrally located 'second home' for foreign or local higher-class residents (Terk et al. 2016). The growing number of temporary residents together with the already existing touristified reality makes the objective to achieve the balance between the expectations of the residents and the interests of tourism and entertainment businesses in the Old Town, as the Tallinn development plan for 2018–2023 sets out to achieve (Tallinna Linnavolikogu 2018).

The decline of the traditional residential function of heritage sites is observed in many European cities with unique heritage landscapes. The gentrified inner-city areas of Prague, Kracow, Dubrovnik or Budapest have become predominantly tourist oriented zones of entertainment, restaurants, bars, hotels and youth hostels or shopping malls and are taken over by short-term or weekend-type of residents (Murzyn 2008; Wise and Mulec 2012; Pawlusiński and Kubal 2018). A critical reflection from Martínez (2015) pictures the touristified scene in the Tallinn Old Town also as an exhausted space of a theme park, used for political purposes. At the same time, the local residents, whose contribution to the preservation of heritage buildings cannot be underestimated, are actively negotiating their interests in improving the quality of living in the Old Town (Michelson 2014; Michelson and Paadam 2016). The founding of a neighbourhood association has enabled the residents to communicate

their concerns as well as ideas to Tallinn city authorities. Their primary concerns relate to a low-level supply of daily services, a lack of modern conveniences (or high costs of creating them) and disturbances caused by night-life and short-term visitors (Tallinna vanalinna arengukava 2014–2021 2014; Michelson 2014; Michelson and Paadam 2016; Terk et al. 2016). Today, it has been acknowledged that preserving the residential function is essential for the sustainability of heritage destinations. However, as indicated in Michelson (2014), the negotiations on strategies for the Tallinn Old Town development have to be brought on a broader level of issues concerning the existing legislation, which in its specific aspects tends to prevent the respective decisions on the city level.

5.4 The Story Around

The Old Town of Tallinn in the heart of the city is surrounded by several districts built during different times each with their own unique stories of urban regeneration and gentrification. The central location of the Old Town makes it an integral part of the residential and consumption landscapes, transportation systems and peoples' movement trajectories.

Views on future developments of Tallinn were set by a simultaneous adoption of two influential strategic documents ten years ago, the thematic plans for the areas of milieu value in central Tallinn (Tallinna Kesklinna miljööväärtuslike … 2009) and high-rise buildings—both are related to the Old Town (Kõrghoonete paiknemine Tallinnas 2009). The pressure stemming from the ambitions of developers is considered one of the main reasons behind the necessity to formulate more concise principles for new constructions and spatial development in general. The preservation of cultural heritage is embodied in high-quality historical residential areas adjacent to the Old Town, therefore creating preconditions for retaining and appreciating diverse layers in urban space. The importance of the symbolic value of the Old Town and its silhouette were emphasised by establishing the corridors and sectors of view. Restrictions include height limits and locations for new building areas. The thematic plan also seeks measures to densify the city centre to limit urban sprawl by intensifying land use, promoting the construction of new residential areas in walking-distance from the centre and attracting new residents. Densification in turn contributes to reducing traffic load, increasing quality of living environment and attractiveness of downtown for local residents and visitors alike. Some of the goals have not quite yet been realised even ten years later, especially those concerning liveability and traffic load.

As of early 2019, the comprehensive plan for the central district of Tallinn together with the Old Town was initiated in order to update the masterplan for the whole city from the year 2001 and the afore-mentioned thematic spatial plans. The new plan introduces the idea of connectivity as an innovative dimension for spatial development on the strategic level, foreseeing its importance in preserving the neighbourhoods' specific identity and distinctive characteristics. The aim is to create a higher

coherence between different parts of central district, including seafront and the Old Town, and the surrounding areas by creating more convenient network of streets, which meets the needs of different user groups. To overcome the distracted nature of the central district, it is important to improve the quality of public space and facilitate different means of mobility. Overall, the new plan should enhance creating diverse human-scale residential and recreation spaces, reduce the need for transportation, enliven small-scale retail and strengthen the identity of Tallinn as a seaside town and the city's overall competitiveness.

In 2017, the winner of an international competition on the 2030 masterplan for the revitalisation of the Old City Harbour was announced. The aim of the initiative is to find comprehensive, long-term solution to connect the city and its public spaces with the port via the urban space that is both attractive and easy to traverse (Zaha Hadid Architects n.d.). City planners also want to re-establish and reinforce the links between the Port of Tallinn and the Old Town, as well as the city and the sea (Zaha Hadid Architects n.d.).

Somewhat less public attention has captured the architectural competition on Vana-Kalamaja street from 2017, but important in the context of regeneration of the central district. The project is especially remarkable because of its intention to create smooth connections for pedestrians and cyclists between the Old Town, the Main Railway Station and the adjacent historical residential neighbourhood Kalamaja with specific residential heritage architecture mainly from the beginning of the twentieth century and a few also from the end of the nineteenth century. The wider ambition of architects to connect Kalamaja neighbourhood into an integral part of the central district (Vallner et al. 2017) serves equally the interests of the Old Town in alleviating the tourism load by enlarging the scale of offers of easily accessible attractions in its vicinity.

5.5 The Future Story: Discussion on Prospects for the Old Town

The new strategic goals set in planning documents and individual flagship projects are only a few highlighted examples of contemporary urban regeneration, which by diversifying enjoyable spatial experiences support the sustainability of Tallinn's Old Town heritage. Moreover, the story of the historical development of Tallinn's Old Town from past to present demonstrates a significant trajectory that needs to be understood through profound societal transformations, their effect on the preservation of heritage and of the historic centre along the pathway with external and internal factors.

Despite weak heritage protection policies and war-damage in the previous century, and due to Tallinn's provincial status for centuries under the foreign rule, the Old Town maintained a considerable part of its unique medieval built heritage and spatial

structure. The exceptional architectural values, which became accessible to ever-growing number visitors after Estonia regained independence in 1991, turned the Old Town into an internationally recognised tourist destination and the most important tourism asset of both the city of Tallinn and Estonia. The Old Town was quickly acknowledged as a tool to generate income for both businesses and the city. The Old Town has undergone extensive regeneration efforts once the capitalist system was re-established in the country. This impacted property reform and most importantly the restitution of property which opened the area to rapid market development. The 1990s saw gentrification turn area into one of the first elitist neighbourhoods in the city, but dominated by tourism-orientated businesses. Touristification in many of its widely known respects has decreased the attractiveness of the area for living. However, the local community is continuously taking steps to improve the situation by negotiating their interests with the city government, which as finally reflected in the recently launched city development plan are hard to be achieved without widening the conceptional approach towards tourism and heritage space.

The solution for Tallinn and its Old Town has been found, both in the gradual regeneration of adjacent historical areas and the further development of the modern city centre. By integrating the Old Town into the system of neighbouring urban areas, this diversifies the tourism offer and attractions within the destination of Tallinn. Aside these developments, there is a continuous need for the care of heritage buildings in the Old Town, which calls for policies to focus on opportunities to generate funding for investments into conservation and restoration by enabling socioeconomic activities of product and service providers. This could lead to attracting more tourists and encouraging people to stay longer when visiting.

To conclude, Tallinn's Old Town with its internationally recognised unique heritage values will remain a focal attraction for tourists and thus businesses of the tourism industries and among property market developers. Therefore, there is a need for continuous surveying of the use of heritage buildings. Furthermore, the public needs to be consulted so that policy interventions can better enable and enhance the future sustainability of heritage in Tallinn's Old Town.

References

Alatalu R (2009) Vanalinnade kaitsetsoonid Eesti NSV-s. Linnasüdamete säilitamine totaalkaitse meetodil. Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi 18(3−4):79−93

Alatalu R (2012) Muinsuskaitse siirdeühiskonnas 1986-2002: rahvuslikust südametunnistusest Eesti NSV-s omaniku ahistajaks Eesti Vabariigis. Eesti Kunstiakadeemia, Tallinn

Alatalu R (2016) Tegusa muinsuskaitse eellugu. Võitlus Tallinna arhitektuuripärandi eest 1944–1958. In: Kreem J (ed) Vana Tallinn, vol 27/31. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Tallinn, pp 135–159

Bruns D (2016) Tallinna vanalinna kaitsetsooni sünd. In: Kreem J (ed) Vana Tallinn, vol 27/31. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Tallinn, pp 160–171

Davidson M, Lees L (2010) New-build gentrification: its histories, trajectories, and critical geographies. Popul Space Place 16(5):395–411. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.584

De Cesari K, Dimova R (2019) Heritage, gentrification, participation: remaking urban landscapes in the name of culture and historic preservation. Int J Herit Stud 25(9):863–869. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2018.1542334

Eesti Maa-amet (2019). Real estate transactions database https://www.maaamet.ee/kinnisvara/htraru/. Accessed 25 Sept 2019

Garcia-Hernandez M, de la Calle-Vaquero M, Yubero C (2017) Cultural heritage and urban tourism: historic city centres under pressure. Sustainability 9(8). https://doi.org/10.3390/su9081346

Jaakson R (1996) From Marx to market: deciding the urban form of post-Soviet Tallinn Estonia. J Urban Des 1(3):329–354. https://doi.org/10.1080/13574809608724390

Jimura T (2019) World heritage sites: tourism, local communities, and conservation activities. CABI, Wallingford

Kalm M (2001) Eesti 20. sajandi arhitektuur. Estonian 20th century architecture. Prisma Prindi Kirjastus, Tallinn

Kask T, Hinsberg A (2012) Tourism landscapes and heritage in change. Tallinn/Kadriorg case (Estonia). In: Kagermeier A, Saarinen, J (eds) Transforming and managing destinations: tourism and leisure in a time of global change and risks. Verlag MetaGIS-Systems, Mannheim

Kõrghoonete paiknemine Tallinnas (2009) Teemaplaneering. Tallinna Linnaplaneerimise Amet.

Leemet A, Paadam K (2002) Changing neighbourhoods in Tallinn: Mustamäe, Kalamaja, Kadriorg. TTU Press Tallinn, Tallinn

Lees L, Shin HB, Lopez-Morales E (2017) Planetary gentrification. Urban futures series. Polity Press, Cambridge

Lähdesmäki T (2014) Area-based identities and their audience reception in the European capital of culture events in Tallinn 2011. In: Hellrand M (ed) Culture! Capital. Change? Effects of the European capital of culture year on Tallinn's cultural life. Tallinn Creative Hub, pp 109–131

Martínez F (2015) Tallinn as a city of thresholds. J Balt Stud 46(2):127–155. https://doi.org/10.1080/01629778.2014.981673

Michelson A (2014) Destination branding and constructing symbolic capital in the reproduction of heritage space: the case of UNESCO designated hanseatic old towns. Tallinn University of Technology Press, Tallinn

Michelson A, Paadam K (2010a) Residential cultural heritage: constructing symbolic capital in the urban space. In: Amoêda R, Lira S, Pinheiro C (eds). Heritage 2010. Heritage and sustainable development. Green Lines Institute for Sustainable Development, Évora, Portugal, pp 1041−1050

Michelson A, Paadam K (2010b) The construction of commodity-signs upon medieval heritage architecture: spatial approach. In: Zhang C (ed) 2010 international conference on information and finance (ICIF 2010): 2010 international conference on business and economics research, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 26–28 Nov 2010. IEEE Press, Chengdu, China, pp 91−94

Michelson A, Paadam K (2016) Destination branding and reconstructing the symbolic capital of urban heritage: a spatially informed observational analysis in medieval towns. J Destin Mark Manag 5(2):141–153. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2015.12.002

Murzyn MA (2008) Heritage transformation in Central and Eastern Europe. In: Graham B, Howard P (eds) The Ashgate research companion to heritage and identity. Ashgate, Aldershot, pp 315–346

Nasser N (2003) Planning for urban heritage places: reconciling conservation, tourism, and sustainable development. J Plan Lit 17(4):467–479. https://doi.org/10.1177/0885412203017004001

Nurk R (2008) The heritage conservation in the Estonian Republic during the 1920–1930s. The case of Tallinn medieval town fortifications. Summary. In: Pullat R (ed) Vana Tallinn, vol 19/23. Tallinn, Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, pp 115–116

Nuryanti W (1996) Heritage and postmodern tourism. Ann Tour Res 23(2):249–260. https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(95)00062-3

Paadam K (2003) Constructing residence as home: homeowners and their housing histories. TPÜ Kirjastus, Tallinn

Paadam K (2009) Residential policy challenges in Estonia. In: Holt-Jensen A, Pollock E (eds) Urban sustainability and governance: new challenges in Nordic-Baltic housing policies. Nova Science Publishers, New York, pp 179–187

Paadam K, Ojamäe L (2015) Estonia: Learning through 'societal experiment'. In: Turkington R, Watson C (eds) Renewing Europe's housing. Policy Press, Bristol, pp 123–142
Paadam K, Siilak K, Gromark S (2017) The experience of converted spaces in Tallinn: symbolic change and becoming of identities. In: Gromark S, Ilmonen M, Paadam K, Støa E (eds) Ways of residing in transformation. Interdisciplinary perspectives. Routledge, Farnham, pp 77−101
Palmer C, Tivers J (2019) Heritage for tourism: creating a link between the past and the present. In: Palmer C, Tivers J (eds) Creating heritage for tourism. Abingdon, Oxon, Routledge, pp 1–12
Pawlusiński R, Kubal M (2018) A new take on an old structure? Creative and slow tourism in Krakow (Poland). J Tour Cult Chang 16(3):265–285
Pindi Kinnisvara AS (2011) Tallinna vanalinna kinnisvara turuülevaade. https://www.pindi.ee/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Turu%C3%BClevaade-2011.-Tallinna-vanalinna-kinnisvara.pdf. Accessed 12 Oct 2019
Ruoppila S (2007) Establishing a market-orientated urban planning system after state socialism: the case of Tallinn. Eur Plan Stud 15(3):405–427. https://doi.org/10.1080/09654310601017117
Sequera S, Nofre J (2018) Shaken, not stirred. City 22(5–6):843–855. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2018.1548819
Tallinn City Government (2019) Statistical yearbook of Tallinn 2019. Tallinna Linnakantselei, Tallinn
Tallinna Linnavolikogu (2018) Talllinna arengukava 2018−2023. https://www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/422062018026. Accessed 15 Sep 2019
Tallinna Kesklinna miljööväärtuslike hoonestusalade piiride ning kaitse- ja kasutamistingimuste määramine (2009) Teemaplaneering. Tallinna Linnaplaneerimise Amet
Tallinna vanalinna arengukava 2014–2021 (2014) https://www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/417062014022. Accessed 21 Sep 2019
Tallinna väliskülastajate uuring 2018 (2019) https://www.visittallinn.ee/static/files/093/tallinna_valiskulastajate_uuring_koondaruanne_2018_270319_web0415.pdf. Accessed 22 Sep 2019
Tamm J (2018) 20 Years of Old Town of Tallinn as UNESCO World Heritage Site. In: Kreem J (ed) Vana Tallinn, vol 29/33. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Tallinn, pp 221–222
Terk E, Sakkeus J, Lassur S, Tafel-Viia K (2016) Vanalinna püsielanike uuring. Tallinn Ülikool, Tallinn
Unt A-L, Travlou P, Bell S (2014) Blank space: exploring the sublime qualities of urban wilderness at the former fishing harbour in Tallinn Estonia. Landsc Res 39(3):267–286. https://doi.org/10.1080/01426397.2012.742046
Vallner S, Peil I, Niisuke K (2017) Kasvulava. Vana-Kalamaja tänava tänavaruumi arhitektuurivõistlus, seletuskiri. https://www.telliskiviselts.info/sites/default/files/kasvulava_seletuskiri.pdf. Accessed 22 Sept 2019
Vatter O (2014) Communication in destination marketing case study: Tallinn European capital of culture 2011. Procedia - Soc Behav Sci 148:170–176. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.07.031
Wise NA, Mulec I (2012) Headlining Dubrovnik's tourism image: transitioning representations/narratives of war and heritage preservation, 1991–2010. Tour Recreat Res 37(1):57–69
Zaha Hadid Architects (n.d.) Port of Tallinn Masterplan 2030 for the Old City Harbour. https://www.zaha-hadid.com/masterplans/port-of-tallinn-masterplan-2030-for-the-old-city-harbour/. Accessed 22 Sept 2019
Zukin S (2009) changing landscapes of power: opulence and the urge for authenticity. Int J Urban Reg Res 33(2):543–553. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2009.00867.x
Zukin S (2010) Naked City: the death and life of authentic urban places. Oxford University Press, New York

Chapter 6
The Sweet Auburn Historic District in Atlanta: Heritage Tourism, Urban Regeneration, and the Civil Rights Movement

Costas Spirou, Shannon Gardner, Mary Spears and Adelina Allegretti

Abstract This contribution focuses on the role of heritage tourism as an economic (re)development tool by examining the development of the Sweet Auburn a Historic District located west of downtown in Atlanta, Georgia. In 1976, the site received the National Historic Landmark designation. In 1992, the National Trust for Historic Preservation identified the area as one of the most threatened historic places in the United States. The significance of Sweet Auburn derives from its position as a center of heritage for the city's African American population as well as its contributions to the civil rights movement. The Big Bethel A.M.E. Church, the Wheat Street Baptist Church, Our Lady of Lourdes Catholic Church, and the Ebenezer Baptist Church are all located within its boundaries. Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was pastor at the Ebenezer Baptist Church and his nearby boyhood home is part of the Martin Luther King, Jr National Historic Park (designated in 2018). Many African American businesses and organizations were established along Auburn Avenue in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including the first African American owned daily newspaper, the Atlanta Daily World (founded in 1928). The construction of the massive Downtown Connector (Interstate I-75/85) through Atlanta's urban core in the 1950s and early part of the 1960s divided the Sweet Auburn District. Disinvestment and urban decline followed, further accelerating social problems including population loss, housing decay, crime, and unemployment. The Historic District Development Corporation, an organization founded in 1980, has focused on revitalizing and preserving the area. Since then, the promotion of the historic designation, tourist attractions, and commercial opportunities, helped create a vibrant locale with eateries, bars, outdoor and indoor markets, museums, exhibits, and festivals. The recent addition of a stop by the Atlanta Streetcar has substantially increased the number of visitors, making this one of the most sought-after neighborhoods of the city.

Keywords Historic preservation · Civil rights movement · Urban revitalization · Atlanta · Sweet Auburn district

C. Spirou (✉) · S. Gardner · M. Spears · A. Allegretti
Georgia College & State University, Milledgeville, GA, USA
e-mail: costas.spirou@gcsu.edu

N. Wise and T. Jimura (eds.), *Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration*,
The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41905-9_6

6.1 The Preservation Movement and the Rise of Historic Districts

This chapter focuses on the Sweet Auburn District in Atlanta, Georgia, and examines its development first as a center of African American history and culture, its subsequent decline during the middle and latter part of the twentieth century, and its recent revitalization aided by heritage tourism connected to the civil rights movement. The re-emergence of the Sweet Auburn District is an example of the powerful role that the preservation movement can play in urban regeneration. A number of legislative acts and organizational initiatives following World War II set the stage for an increase in the number of historic districts across the country. For years, local citizen outreach drives through private sources operated separately from government, successfully identifying, protecting, and preserving the nation's historical places. These public and private efforts came together, initially through the formation of the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings, and later by the induction of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1949. The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 would prove the most important legislation. Enacted after a National Trust for Historic Preservation report released in 1965, the law called for a new direction. The document, titled *With Heritage So Rich*, urged for a renewed commitment across all levels of government to preserve important structures and settings. The document pushed for the completion of a national survey that would identify historically significant buildings, sites, and districts.

The National Historic Preservation Act's impact was extensive and included many other elements. It established the National Register of Historic Places and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and introduced the idea that historic districts should be certified. This allowed fund preservation activities to receive support from legislative acts. The result of this Act cannot be underestimated. By the mid-1980s, between 2,000 and 3,000 organizations were observed, engaged in preservation, education, advocacy, and restoration work. The National Trust for Historic Preservation saw its membership increase from 10,700 in 1966 to 185,000 in 1986. In addition, more than 35 university courses in various aspects of historic preservation appeared in the curriculums of colleges and universities across the country, professionalizing this field and employing more than 54,000 people in its administration (Stipe and Lee 1987).

The 1966, the Act also redefined historic districts. In previous years, only individual structures could receive that designation. However, the National Trust for Historic Preservation legislation recognized that historic objects often exist within a broader physical context, making the surrounding environment equally important. The notion that building groups could be identified in the designation proved unique, not only from a preservation perspective, but also from a tourist perspective, since visitors would be able to gain a more comprehensive understanding and appreciation for the location. Subsequent legislative acts, the Tax Reform Act (1976) and the Revenue Act (1978), helped further solidify the preservation movement. The removal

of existing incentives to destroy deteriorated buildings was also significant. Instead, tax benefits would be offered for rehabbing historic structures.

These changes increased the number of national parks, monuments, and historical and military areas from 17 in 1940 to 277 in 1970. The number of tourists who visited parks after World War II also grew significantly, but these parks were lacking accommodations and visitor services. To meet the increased demand in this area, Congress provided more than $1 billion in the 1950s and 1960s. By 2004, more than 387 national park units were administered by the National Park Service. An upward trend has been observed in recent years. In 2009, the government designated nine new historic landmarks, bringing the total number of historical places close to 2,500. By 2017, the number of these designations increased to 2,600 (National Park Service 2019).

Interestingly, while these designations increased tourism, they also proved to positively impact economic development. Many cities looked to historic preservation as a way to revitalize their neighborhoods. In recent years, historic district properties have gone from 17,000 in 2000 to 34,400 in 2005. In Memphis, Tennessee, the number of neighborhood historic districts included from 2003 to 2005 doubled in comparison to those added in previous periods (Schaeffer Munoz 2006). According to the National Park Service, by the latter part of 2018, a total of 94,364 properties (i.e., districts, buildings, structures, sites, and objects) were listed in the National Register.

Historic districts have grown considerably in recent decades as the rise of the historic preservation movement helped their growth. Examples include the Georgetown Historic District in Washington, DC and the Martin Luther King Historic District in Atlanta, Georgia (Public Law 96-428). Officials have aggressively pursued local preservation ordinances to protect the historic character of buildings and neighborhoods. Slowly these initiatives are integrated into urban tourism policy development. The protection of special landmarks by halting demolition and upgrading streetscapes not only maintains the historic value of these areas, but it also creates growth potential and is central to the economic affairs of cities.

6.2 Rise and Fall: The Sweet Auburn District in Atlanta

Like many other cities in the southeastern part of the United States, Atlanta, GA has a unique history in reference to slavery, the Civil War, and the Reconstruction period. The city began in 1837 as a railroad terminus with a store, tavern, and blacksmith. During the early period, it was the end of the Western and Atlantic railroad line. At the time, centrally located Milledgeville, GA was the capital of the state and few thought anything would grow from this railway crossroads which was originally named Marthasville. However, the city grew rapidly and eventually emerged as a key commercial and cultural hub. The area, east of downtown Atlanta, evolved into a robust center of African American entrepreneurialism and social life (Auchmutey 2017).

With the ratification of the 13th Amendment, there was a need to educate newly freed slaves. Atlanta University was founded in 1865 and located approximately 2–3 miles from what became known as the Sweet Auburn District. Early classes were held in the Friendship Baptist church, where what later became Spelman College, an all-female school, started in 1881 (Lefever 2005). Morris Brown College, also established in 1881, started in the Big Bethel A.M.E. church and was the first college owned by African Americans (Evans et al. 2002). The Freedmen's Aid Society opened Clark University in 1869 and Gammon Theological Seminary, with help from the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1883 (Dorsey 2004). These early institutes of higher education included high school classes as there were no public high schools for African Americans at the time. As students graduated and became doctors, lawyers, and other professionals, places were needed for them to practice their trade.

In addition to being the location in the center of educational activity, the Sweet Auburn District has a long history of commercial activity. *Georgia Real Estate Loan and Trust Company,* established in 1890, was a joint investment firm. The main organizer, Floyd Crumbly, was a grocer with real estate investments. *The Atlanta Loan and Trust Company* and *The Union Mutual Insurance Company* were formed in 1891 and 1897, respectively. All were born from a lack of credit available to former slaves. When the 1895 Cotton Exposition took place, it was a chance for Atlanta to show off the "New South." Booker T. Washington was asked to give his now-famous speech, titled the Atlanta Compromise, to a mixed-group of Whites and Blacks, to show that Atlanta "was no longer racially divided" (Jean-Laurent 2014). The listeners were seated separately, which hinted at the idea of "separate, but equal." On the outskirts of the exposition, the Negro Building allowed students from nearby colleges, entrepreneurs, and many others to showcase their accomplishments; and allowed leaders to meet about civil rights and the future for America's African Americans. The building's entrance faced south toward the Auburn District.

Churches were some of the first large buildings in the district and played an important role in building up the area. Church buildings were not only used for worship, but also for the "economic and social needs of freed African Americans" (Dorsey 2004, 54). In 1840, land had been given to African Americans to build a place of worship. The church building was destroyed during the Civil War, but the property was returned after the war which was then sold to purchase another property on what would later become Auburn Avenue. The church, known as the Big Bethel A.M.E., housed the first African American public school in Atlanta in its basement. Many elementary schools began in churches until permanent buildings were found. Other churches were formed including Ebenezer Baptist Church in 1886 and Wheat Street Baptist Church in 1870. Nearby, Friendship Baptist Church was established in 1862 (Hamilton 2002; Dorsey 2004).

Tension between Black and White Americans in Atlanta was steadily increasing. Jim Crow Laws were already in effect and getting worse. African Americans were increasingly moving into the Auburn Avenue neighborhoods. In 1904, Henry Rucker, who had been born a slave, constructed Rucker Building on Auburn Avenue. The brick building consisted of retail space and professional offices and proved to be the first office building for African Americans, owned by African Americans in the city.

Benjamin Davis and the Grand Order of the Odd Fellows brought a new building to Auburn Avenue in 1912. There was space for businesses, including a pharmacy, office space, and an auditorium. The roof even had a garden. Booker T. Washington dedicated the Odd Fellows building in 1912. Unfortunately, the roof garden had to be closed due to an outbreak of the Spanish Flu in 1918. However, the building hosted many dances and other social affairs in the 1920s and 1930s (Hamilton 2002). In 1921, a branch of the public library opened on Auburn Avenue. The Auburn Branch of the Carnegie Library of Atlanta was the first in Atlanta for African Americans (Nosakhere and Robinson 1998). The branch was open until 1959 and was operated by African American women.

Across the street from the Odd Fellows Building, Alonzo Herndon constructed the Herndon Office Building in 1924, which was large enough to house around 60 offices, a handful of storefronts, and a hotel. A school for social workers was located there from 1925 through 1935. Other buildings erected around this time period include the Prince Hall Masonic Temple and Tabor Building in 1927 which housed the Prince Hall Masons. It was later used by Martin Luther King Jr. as the president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Women's SCLC in the adjacent Tabor Building (Hamilton 2002). A *Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA)* had been established in 1894 on Auburn Avenue to give young, Black men a place of recreation as well as a meeting place for older African Americans, and a Sunday afternoon prayer meeting. The property was sold in 1918 and a new site was built nearby on Butler Street (now Jesse Hill Street) (Hamilton 2002).

The *Atlanta Daily World* began in 1928 as a weekly newspaper for African Americans by African Americans. The newspaper's office was on Auburn Avenue from inception until 2008. Subscriptions were solicited in the Black community and businesses who extensively advertised in the paper. The Historic American Building Survey (HABS) recognized the Sweet Auburn District as "a center for black enterprise with established black religious institutions" in the late nineteenth century (HABS 1979, 6). Sweet Auburn was considered a springboard for many successful businesses and African American institutions. During segregation, "the neighborhood around Auburn Avenue became a symbol of black success in American society" because of "its religious institutions and fraternal organisations, its business enterprise and social activism, its famous citizens and anonymous ones" (HABS 1979, 15).

However, following World War II, the Sweet Auburn District was faced with problems that affected Atlanta in general. These included a declining population base, the erosion of neighborhood retail services, and the deterioration of the physical plant (HABS 1979). The fall of the Sweet Auburn District can be attributed mainly to two factors: the integration of Atlanta and the construction of the Downtown Connector, a massive highway cutting through the city's downtown. These developments caused Auburn Avenue to fall from its position as the height of African American excellence to a neighborhood filled with deteriorating buildings and lack luster curb appeal.

Chronologically, the first threat to Sweet Auburn's prosperity was the construction of the Downtown Connector. The project began with the Lochner Plan in the 1940s that was drafted as a solution to Atlanta's congestion and safety issues (Lichtenstein Consulting Engineers 2007). Construction began in 1948, but it was not until the

passage of the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 that the gravity of this project was realized. This Act provided the states with the necessary funds to expand the highway systems, and it brought interstates 75 and 85 to Atlanta. The Federal Aid Highway Act (1956) was the catalyst of the largest highway construction program in history. The plans for the highway specifically went through marginal neighborhoods, like Sweet Auburn, so the highway companies could acquire the land at a lesser cost. This also exemplified the intention of "slum clearance" that originated in the National Housing Act of 1949 and would become known as urban renewal. The construction of the Connector had major implications for the Sweet Auburn District because the highway ran directly through the middle of the neighborhood. This cut the neighborhood in half, and it made the area a less desirable place to live. Residents of the area expressed concerns about the construction, which unfortunately continued as planned. The highway made the Sweet Auburn District an unfavorable place to live, and it undermined the thriving African American community that had been established there.

Along with the construction of the Downtown Connector, the integration of Atlanta also impacted the future of the district. While integration was a monumental victory for the African American community, it also represented the nail in the coffin of the once flourishing neighborhood. Sweet Auburn was a hub of African American businesses and institutions, but this was a byproduct of necessity. During segregation, the community had to rely on itself, but once African American business owners saw opportunities outside the confines of the corridor, they took them. Upper- and middle-class citizens withdrew from the area, and this caused a loss of revenue. Working-class residents felt abandoned by the upper and middle class who had the ability to move away and take their business elsewhere (Inwood 2011). The middle class capitalized on the opportunity to move to the open spaces of the suburbs that had once been reserved for the white population. This left Sweet Auburn "as a decaying memorial to a bygone era" (Pomerantz 1996, 485). Businesses withdrawing,—coupled with the unattractive prospect of living near the Downtown Connector,—stunted any further growth in the area. The once prosperous community fell into disarray and had remained that way until its historic revitalization during the latter part of the twentieth century.

6.3 Heritage Tourism and the Revitalisation of the District

The Sweet Auburn District boasts historical significance well beyond old buildings, but the meaning of the landmarks is what drove the efforts in historical preservation. The Martin Luther King Jr. Historic Park is located in the Sweet Auburn District and is one of Atlanta's top tourists' destinations. The park includes Martin Luther King Jr's. birthplace which hosts an average of 300,000 visitors a year. The King Center is also a part of the park and is the final resting place of Dr. and Mrs. King. The Center houses a collection of King's papers and the documents of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Near his birthplace is Ebenezer Baptist Church, the church

Martin Luther King Jr. attended and led as a preacher. Finally, in the district is the Big Bethel A.M.E. Church. This church is a cornerstone of African American culture in Atlanta. All of these landmarks line the street of Auburn Avenue, and they provide a clear picture as to why this district holds significance in American civil rights history.

In 2003, the Eastside Atlanta Stakeholders generated a redevelopment plan that incorporated the Sweet Auburn District. The associates argued that a tax allocation district was "essential to ensure that the City of Atlanta maintains its historical position as the commercial center of the metro region" (Invest Atlanta 2003). Mayor Shirley Franklin supported the idea through the Redevelopment Powers Act, which allowed for the area's property taxes to directly fund the district's revitalization plans. The City of Atlanta hoped the tax allocation district would protect authentic properties from the Civil Rights era and incentivize businesses to open in the Sweet Auburn area to increase tourism (Trubey 2018). In 2018, there was controversy surrounding the Atlanta City Council's choice for the Sweet Auburn District to receive another year of tax incentives, as some members thought it was time to move the tax allocation district from Sweet Auburn Avenue to another area of the state.

To help revitalize the area and keep traffic to a minimum, the Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA) added three streetcar stops near historical properties to assist tourists in reaching a variety of popular places around the city. These new stops, known as Sweet Auburn Market, the King Historic District, and Auburn at Piedmont, feature significant destinations like the Atlanta Daily World building, Martin Luther King Jr.'s birth home, and the APEX Museum. The City of Atlanta, in a partnership with MARTA (local transportation agency), spent a total of eight years strategizing and constructing the new streetcar route. Through government appropriations by the United States Department of Transportation in 2010, they were able to apply for grant funding for the Atlanta Streetcar system. The department awarded $47.6 million for an infrastructure plan using the Transportation Investment Generating Economic Recovery (TIGER) II program under President Barack Obama's administration (City of Atlanta 2010).

Another $50 million was raised by the City of Atlanta and other preservation organizations to cover further costs of installation and maintenance of the system (Ball 2015). By routing the streetcar through almost 3 miles of impoverished areas, the City of Atlanta laid the foundation for investment and commerce to occur around the new stops. This financial support had a positive effect on the regeneration of the Sweet Auburn District due to the amount of potential growth that could transpire from the project's outcome.

The Sweet Auburn Market stop offers visitors an inside look into the daily life of local residents through regional cuisine and the authentic flavor of the area. The destination is well known for its historical associations to the Sweet Auburn Curb Market, which helped revitalize the area after the Great Atlanta Fire in 1917 (Ward 2017). It survived untouched for decades until 1974 when it was threatened to be demolished. Local banks were able to finance renovations on the building for historical preservation purposes and it remained standing. However, it never reached its full potential again until the 1990s. Toward the end of the decade, the site's title was

changed from the Municipal Market to its current name to acknowledge the segregation that had once taken place there. The redevelopment of the market really picked up in 2010 with the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, when the national government gifted the city with a $1.8 million grant to renovate the building. The Sweet Auburn Curb Market has continued to grow as the revenue went from $7 million in 2012 to $9.5 million in 2016 (Cauley 2018). The Sweet Auburn Curb Market stays regularly visited by thousands of nearby Grady Hospital workers and Georgia State University students because of its central location and variety of cuisine from locally owned businesses (Cadmus Group 2019).

The Historic District Development Corporation was formed in 1980 with the purpose of revitalizing areas with historical significance which included the Sweet Auburn District. (Historic District Development Corporation 2018). This non-profit, redevelopment organization commenced their efforts with housing initiatives using a plan that slowly went from street to street, starting with the houses located closest to the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site. The volunteers would construct brand new homes on empty properties, but also improve the houses and establishments that were there prior to their work. Their efforts in the Sweet Auburn District have revitalized single-family living in over 120 homes and multi-family housing in nearly 500 apartments, while maintaining the same demographics of a majority African American population (Historic District Development Corporation 2018). To make the neighborhoods safer and more cost-effective around the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site, the HDDC has created spaces that join together apartment living with commercial businesses. Studioplex is one of the more sizable versions using this strategy (HDDC 2018). Through partnerships with financial entities, such as the Bank of America, HDDC was able to invest $18.5 million into the expansion of mixed-use complexes that cultivate economic success in low-income households. In the Old Fourth Ward, which borders the Sweet Auburn District to the north, the HDDC created 40,000 square feet of additional commercial space to help further boost the fiscal practices in Atlanta.

As more money was invested into the revitalization of the historic site, more people began to visit. Heritage tourists come from all parts of the world to experience the preservation district which includes the Dr. King Jr.'s birth home, Ebenezer Baptist Church, the Visitor Center, the "I Have A Dream" World Peace Rose Garden, and Fire Station No. 6. After a full interior and exterior restoration of the King family home was completed in 1982, the National Park Service, in a partnership with the King Center, began giving tours of the property. To ensure tourists had a quality, authentic experience, the National Park Service consulted with the King family to set up the original floor plan during Dr. King Jr.'s adolescence, even considering decor and furnishing details. After the National Park Service signed a five-year lease agreement for $50,000, the King Center was able to grant free tours to the general public (Suggs 2018). This lease also made the National Park Service responsible for the overall maintenance of the home on a daily basis. Because guided tours are also offered for the entire district, it becomes an attractive place for visitors looking for affordable destinations to visit. In 2018, the birth home was no longer owned by a member of the King family. The National Park Foundation bought the home

from Bernice King for $1.9 million (Suggs 2018). This made federal preservation funding for the historic site more accessible and allowed Ms. King to focus solely on enhancing the information and programs at the King Center.

Ebenezer Baptist Church, the religious home of Rev. King Jr., always struggled to get the necessary resources for crucial renovations until 1996 when the National Park Service took out a 50-year lease on the property (Southeast Region National Park Service 2001). However, the National Park Service could not start the redevelopment project immediately due to lack of funding. Eventually, then (NPS 2019) was awarded a combination of federal and private funding for their project. The building was completed in two stages. The cost for the overall structural improvements involved in stage one reached over $1.8 million, while stage two had a lower budget that focused more on furnishings and appearances of the church. After the renovation was completed, the National Park Service added it to their historic site tour route so visitors would gain a fuller understanding of Rev. King Jr.'s religious life.

A Visitor Center was added in 1996 when the area's popularity began to rise. The building houses multiple exhibits that help tell the story of Dr. King, Jr. and the Civil Rights Movement in Atlanta. Across from the Visitor Center lays a patch of flowers designed by the International World Peace Rose Garden that reminds viewers of Dr. King's work to pursue change through nonviolence and peaceful protest. Not only did this beautify the area, but it added one more public display for tourists to experience. In 2016, the Martin Luther King Jr. Historic Site earned $27.3 million in visitor spending, which generated over 450 jobs in the tourism industry (Pew Charitable Trusts 2017).

In order to increase the average number of tourists that come to the Sweet Auburn District, organizations stage numerous annual festivals that celebrate African Americans. The largest of these events is the Sweet Auburn Springfest which occurs in May. With over 350,000 attendees each year, the outdoor festival shut downs almost two miles of road in the Sweet Auburn District to set up a dozen stages for musical performers, tents for international vendors, and even a play area for children. The Atlanta Life Insurance Company, Citizens Trust Company, and Mutual Federal Savings & Loan Association, three of the biggest African American financial firms, began the festival around 35 years ago to bring attention to the community's assets and history. Because of heritage tourism, this event is an economic boon to the area.

A similar event held in October, the Sweet Auburn Music Festival, allows the community to come together over R&B, Hip-Hop, and Gospel music to celebrate Auburn Avenue's culture. The event also includes food vendors, a car and motorcycle show, and a kid's area. For over 26 years in the month of November, Auburn Avenue has closed for the Sweet Auburn Heritage Festival to allow vendors to promote their business which in turn encourages economic development. In July, the National Black Arts Festival promotes music and art, and celebrates African American humanities and culture. The festival began in 1988 and has hosted well-known figures such as Maya Angelou, Gladys Knight, and Alfre Woodard. Their success in the Atlanta community even received the attention of Congress in 2008, who called it a part of "the cultural fabric of greater Atlanta and all of America" (Pousner 2012, 14). To

appeal to international tourists, the festival brings in artists from all across the globe, including the Caribbean, Africa, and Latin America.

Sweet Auburn has started to revitalize because those in the area saw the historic value of the landmarks, street, and buildings and decided to capitalize on them. After the recognition of the tourism possibilities thanks to the important history housed there, it became apparent that the area's potential was significant. The streetcar expanded visitor access. Additionally, the annual history celebrations, musical festivals, and art shows have also become common activities. The Curb Market helped attract residents. The vibrancy of the shops, restaurants, and public spaces made Sweet Auburn a competitive neighborhood as regeneration continued. The Big Bethel A.M.E. church began a project named the Big Bethel Renaissance Walk. Their goal is urban revival to enhance the "vibrancy and economic success of the past by focusing on not only the African American character of the neighborhood but also on the spirit of cooperation between African Americans of different classes" (Inwood 2011, 157).

The growth of heritage tourism has helped re-create the Sweet Auburn District into what it once was. However, it takes consistency from the community and outsiders to keep the area maintained and growing. The National Trust for Historic Preservation listed the historic district as one of the United States' "Eleven Most Endangered Historic Places" in 1992 (Atlanta Preservation Center 2019). Soon after, the Atlanta Preservation Center (2019) brought awareness to the avenue by placing in on their list of "Most Endangered Historic Places" in 2005. Even after significant progress, it was put back on the list in 2009 and 2011. The historic area in eastern Atlanta has an authentic story to tell, including tourist sites that bring that story to life. Over the years, the area has continually formed partnerships with investors and organizations to educate the general public and build pride in the community.

6.4 Conclusion

Preservation has become less about a physical space or piece of architecture and more about the emotional and cultural significance of a place. It is about the cultural environment and its multiple manifestations. This pull toward historical preservation favoring the culturally important has also been coupled with an increased interest in catering to the cultural interests of minority groups. In what can be referenced as calls for "counter-public" sites, there has been increased attention paid to those areas that are important to the historically, non-dominant cultural groups. Counter-public sites are "alternative spheres of public engagement, where marginalised groups form alternative, oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs" (Inwood 2011, 148). Enclaves like this have always existed, but they have not merited the same historical awareness that some of the more obvious historical landmarks like memorials and mountains warrant. That is, however, until recently. Heritage tourism of these counter-public sites has sparked an interest in the economic value of smaller yet historically significant sites all across the United States.

The Sweet Auburn Historical District is a revitalized area based on its establishment as a trendy neighborhood. This particular district, however, merits a different kind of attention as well. Those redeveloping the area are capitalizing on the immensely important historical landmarks. The district's future rests on a delicate balance between, on the one hand, acknowledging the historical significance of the area while, on the other hand, fueling economic growth and urban change. Gentrification is also now emerging as a key concern. The Sweet Auburn Historic District near downtown Atlanta has benefitted greatly from both the increased interest in historically preserving culturally important areas and the gravitational pull of modern urban living furnished by urban revitalization. Heritage tourism helped set up the interest in the area and redevelopment projects have kept people in the area. The Sweet Auburn Historic District has become one of the most sought-after neighborhoods while revealing to residents and visitors one of America's most compelling chapters of history.

References

Atlanta Preservation Center (2019) Auburn & Edgewood Avenues Commercial District/Sweet Auburn. The National Main Street Center National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, DC

Auchmutey J (2017) 10 major moments in history that shaped the city of Atlanta and its people March/April. Living Intown Magazine, Atlanta

Ball J (2015) The Atlanta streetcar and revitalization of sweet Auburn's "Main Street". National Main Street Center

Cadmus Group (2019) Martin Luther King Jr. National Historical Park. https://www.pewtrusts.org/-/media/assets/2019/07/mlk_jr_white_paper.pdf?la=en&hash=04BE335B5F2809108692402660967B174B3FCEDE. Accessed 13 Dec 2019

Cauley HM (2018) Sweet auburn market serves 100 years of curb appeal. Atlanta Journal Constitution

City of Atlanta (2010) City of Atlanta receives $47 million from U.S. Department of Transportation for Streetcar Project: Press release

Dorsey A (2004) To build our lives together: community formation in black Atlanta, 1875–1906. University of Georgia Press, Athens

Evans AL, Evans V, Evans AM (2002) Historically black colleges and universities (HBCUS). Education 123

Hamilton F (2002) Sweet auburn avenue: triumph of the spirit. Thesis, The Georgia Institute of Technology School of Information Design and Technology, Atlanta

HABS (1979) Historical background essay on district. Washington, DC. https://lcweb2.loc.gov/master/pnp/habshaer/ga/ga0200/ga0207/data/ga0207data.pdf. Accessed 13 Dec 2019

Historic District Development Corporation (2018). HDDC. https://hddc.org/. Accessed 13 Dec 2019

Invest Atlanta (2003) Eastside Atlanta redevelopment plan & tax allocation district #5 eastside. Extending Atlanta's Urban Redevelopment Potential

Inwood J (2011) Constructing African American urban space in Atlanta. Georgia Geogr Rev 101:147–163

Jean-Laurent A (2014) Flashback: the 1895 cotton states exposition and the negro building. Atlanta Magazine

Lefever H (2005) The early origins of spelman college. J Blacks High Educ 1(Spring):60–63

Lichtenstein Consulting Engineers (2007) Historic context of the interstate highway system in Georgia. Georgia Department of Transportation, Office of Environment/Location, Atlanta
National Park Service (2019) Federal Register 84(41): 6996
Nosakhere A, Robinson S (1998) Library service for African Americans in Georgia: a legacy of learning and leadership in Atlanta. Georgia Lib Q 35(2):9–12
Pew Charitable Trusts (2017) Martin Luther King Jr. National Historic Site. https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/fact-sheets/2017/11/martin-luther-king-jr-national-historic-site. Accessed 13 Dec 2019
Pomerantz GM (1996) where peachtree meets sweet auburn: the saga of two families and the making of Atlanta. Penguin Books, New York
Pousner H (2012) Michael Simanga to lead National black arts festival. Atlanta Journal-Constitution
Schaeffer Munoz S (2006) Preserving the tract home: historic districts on the rise to boost property values, owners seek designation. The Wall Street Journal
Southeast Region National Park Service (2001) Ebenezer baptist church historic structure. Report. https://www.nps.gov/malu/planyourvisit/upload/malu_eb_hsr.pdf. Accessed 13 Dec 2019
Stipe RE, Lee AJ (1987) The American mosaic: preserving a Nation's heritage. U.S Committee, International Council on Monuments and Sites, Washington, DC
Suggs E (2018) Martin Luther King Jr.'s birth home sold to National Park Service. Atlanta Journal Constitution
Trubey JS (2018) Groups Fear Eastside Atlanta Development Incentive Could Go Elsewhere. Atlanta Journal Constitution: 6 June
Ward B (2017) At the sweet auburn curb market, history is also on the menu. Public Broadcasting Atlanta, Atlanta

Chapter 7
Winter Cities and Local Magic: Re-storying an Urban Ravine in Edmonton, Canada

Karen Wall

Abstract Festival experiences and environments are often marketed as magical, an appeal that marks expanding Winter Cities initiatives to rebrand forbiddingly cold climates as attractions for tourists, residents and investors. Edmonton, Canada's Flying Canoe Volant festival, named for a French-Canadian myth about a bewitched journey, offers 'magic' and 'mystery' over three February nights in a central urban ravine that attracts up to 40,000 participants each year in temperatures far below zero. A key quality of magic is transformation, and the ravine itself is part of a prior regeneration of early industrial zones that removed most traces of human habitation including by the city's minority founding groups: francophones, Metis and Indigenous Peoples. These groups, in turn, are the focus and drivers of the festival on the edge of a recently heritage-branded 'French Quarter'. This chapter considers themes of transformation in contexts of urban heritage, tourism and regeneration centred around a liminal urban space, cultural landscape or *terrain vague.* A central question is how green space as relatively undeveloped parkland cutting a deep groove through adjoining streets can contribute to goals of sustainable regeneration. As festival space, it fosters unpredictable, collaborative voices and community relations that endure beyond the event, with the important dimension of revisiting and recrafting certain entrenched historical narratives.

Keywords Urban regeneration · Winter cities · Minority groups · Festival · Terrain vague

7.1 Introduction

The Canadian city of Edmonton, Alberta, the most northerly metropolitan centre in North America, knows long, dark winters with temperatures reaching minus 30 Celsius. In 2013, the city adopted a 'Winter Cities' strategy aligned with an international movement to rebrand forbiddingly cold climates and extend the outdoor tourism and

K. Wall (✉)
Athabasca University, Athabasca, Canada
e-mail: kwall@athabascau.ca

N. Wise and T. Jimura (eds.), *Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration*,
The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41905-9_7

recreation season through design and activities such as festivals. One of seven different outdoor winter events, the 3-day Flying Canoe Volant (FCV) festival attracts up to 40,000 participants each February to a deep urban ravine. Named for a French-Canadian folktale about a bewitched midwinter journey by a group of fur traders, the event retails a magical environment, elements of solstice carnival transformation from darkness and cold to light and life. It also resonates with pragmatic economic programmes of urban regeneration and revitalization as transformative agents.

This chapter considers themes of transformation in contexts of urban heritage, tourism and regeneration as centred on a liminal urban space, cultural landscape or *terrain vague.* It does not attempt to quantify economic or policy outcomes, but examines interrelated issues in terms of the value of small community cultural phenomena that have unpredictable or inarticulate long-term impacts. A central question is how green space or relatively undeveloped parkland cutting a deep groove through adjoining streetscapes can contribute to goals of sustainable regeneration alongside or complementing new infrastructure. What relevant values and knowledges can be regenerated or emerge in or from a festival of intangible heritage? Physical, social and symbolic *terrains vague* may foster unpredictable, collaborative voices and community relations that endure beyond the event, with the important dimension of revisiting and recrafting certain entrenched historical narratives.

7.2 Culture-Led Regeneration and Historic Urban Landscapes

Although the two terms are often used interchangeably, revitalization emphasizes infrastructure whereas regeneration is more broadly about spinoffs such as jobs, investment and social or environmental improvement (Wise and Clark 2017). Even where 'creative city' driven branding incorporates heritage elements, homogenizing and generic production can sacrifice local specifics of place for mass audience spectacle, or devalue less tangible, or marginalized, aspects of local identity. The integration of local community in events and programmes is crucial to long-term sustainability and holistic regeneration of historic districts and landscapes. UNESCO (1993) has recommended citizen participation, collaboration and sectoral interdependency based in shared traditions and everyday creativity to complement instrumental strategies of urban regeneration. As local communities become leaders and drivers of projects they are themselves regenerated and strengthened on different levels (see Sepe and di Trapani 2010).

Smaller cities, in particular, need action aligned with homegrown criteria that sustain, not primarily neoliberal economic goals, but standards such as 'liveability' including access to green space and localized events such as festivals and collaborative art practices (Lewis and Donald 2010). Concepts of urban cultural landscapes, or historic urban landscapes, allow for the equal valuation of tangible and intangible elements of culture and heritage. Underused or marginal urban landscapes offer

spaces for ephemeral play and temporary activities capable of extraordinary impact with minimum permanent change and little financial investment (Buggey 1999). Intangible heritage such as festivals and events is especially significant in a city that comprises a relatively recent built environment retaining little physical evidence of its longer history, aside from the central feature of its river valley.

Edmonton's river valley ravines to great extent embody the *terrain vague*. This notion of *terrain vague* refers to liminal, hybrid or in-between space evoking disorder, surprise and sensuality, and forgotten or superseded materialities. As it exists outside the cultural, social, and economic circuits of urban life haunts the edges of streetscapes, the *terrain vague* resonates with indeterminate, innovative temporary uses (Barron and Mariani 2014; Bower 2015). The application of the concept to the natural landscape of the ravine highlights its character as a vessel for shifting activity patterns and temporary infrastructure including homes and industry over time. Wooden trestle bridges that once carried a railroad now shape the paths of hikers and cyclists who leave the street grid on its banks and descend to pass through, typically for recreational purposes rather than practical commuting routines. Fragments of building foundations and materials occasionally surface, and an archaeological dig recently revealed a squatters' camp from the Depression era; children out of adult sight construct fragile forts and role play at frontier life. Homeless people, primarily Indigenous, erect camps on sites of their traditional homeland until once more evicted. This complex interweaving of past and present, material and imagination, a semi-wilderness within an urban frame, suggests that there are still spaces to discover complex stories of place and heritage. The ravine thus contributes deep sociocultural dimensions to historical and current practices of regeneration not only of green space but also of the built city above, including potentially expanding understandings of negatively stereotyped or typecast communities in a rediscovery of local history.

7.3 Place and Peoples

Edmonton, with its history as a peripheral resource economy launched by the fur trade in the eighteenth century and later sustained by the oil industry, has long struggled to establish a firm place identity amid intersecting histories and agenda. The core heritage narrative, evolving around selective European exploration and pioneer settlement, reflects that of mainstream Canadian history as a celebration of conquest of the land and its Indigenous inhabitants, followed by the bestowing of civilization as represented by a dominant British culture and society.

The narrative, experiential and aesthetic content of the FCV festival draws, rather, upon the minority founding group histories and cultures of francophone and Indigenous peoples including the nehiyawak (Cree) and niitsitapi (Blackfoot) who knew the North Saskatchewan River valley for thousands of years. First Nations, Métis and Inuit people (FNMI) are all recognized as Indigenous in the Canadian constitution. Beginning with late nineteenth-century settlement around the fur trade fort, the city has sprawled out in a car-centred, low-density, suburbanized mass. Although the

area's population is almost one million, its core remains experientially a small-to-mid-sized city of distinct districts. Characterized by oil economy-driven urban flux, creative destruction and successive rebranding campaigns, its central feature is the extensive river valley that bisects it from east to west with a 2-km wide, 60-m deep green space known as the largest urban park in North America. Not easily assimilated into everyday city life on its banks, the valley evolved from Indigenous hunting grounds to fur trade routes to industrial zone and dumping grounds to conserved green space in the latter twentieth century (Edmonton 1990; Bower 2015).

In its turn, the Mill Creek Ravine running approximately 10 km south from the river serves as a dividing line between the revitalized historic and commercial district of Old Strathcona and the post-war Bonnie Doon neighbourhood to the east, now undergoing infrastructure revitalization (see the sketch detailed in Fig. 7.1). As in the main valley, several stages of reinvention have transformed the space. Traces of settler habitation and industry remain though past Indigenous presence is largely intangible. Today the city hosts the country's second largest Indigenous population

Fig. 7.1 Mill Creek Ravine and Bonnie Doon (French Quarter) Edmonton

(about 83,750 people in 2016 or around 6% of total population) of which the Métis, of mixed French-Canadian and First Nations ancestry, represent just over half (Statistics Canada 2006). Following their important roles in the fur trade, they were the first permanent settlers around Fort Edmonton; Mill Creek is named for the gristmill originally operated there by Metis businessman William Bird.

By the early twentieth century, most Indigenous peoples were forced out of the central city through colonial seizures of land rights and reserves. The Metis have lived in ambiguous relationships with both White and Indigenous peoples and have reclaimed identity rights on their own terms over a long history of political activism (see Quick 2015). Canadian public discourse following the 2015 Truth and Reconciliation Committee report increasingly affirms Indigenous presence and voices. Various projects support this social regeneration in terms of economic development, including tourism, as well as social identity, culture and language (Hunt 2016). The City of Edmonton has prioritized building Indigenous participation in its many progressive initiatives including arts and heritage policies that support cultural performances, spaces and events (EAC 2008, 2018b).

Also characterized by resilience and activism is the francophone culture in the Canadian Province of Alberta. The French language predominated in the fur trade, becoming secondary to English in Edmonton only in the late nineteenth century. The Michif language, a combination of Cree and French spoken by most Metis, was also prominent. In 1915, when Alberta francophones represented about 6% of the population, the province declared English the only language of public school instruction, but French has survived as a living language through strong resistance to assimilation (Behiels 2005). After WWII, most of the francophone community around the fort site relocated to the south side Bonnie Doon neighbourhood. In 2016, Edmonton had one of the largest bilingual (French and English) groups among urban centres outside of Quebec in Canada. Today 16.5% of the population are native French speakers, compared to around 2% in the country as a whole; international immigration has increased and diversified this presence (Bergeron 2007). Francophones are the largest minority ethnic group in Alberta, and ten thousand live near La Cite Francophone, a cultural and business centre which, as director Daniel Cournoyer explains (personal communication 26 Aug 2019), opened in 1997 and hosts 30 organizations, a café, theatre and art gallery.

From the late 1960s to the 2000s, the neighbourhood evolved from a working-class semi-rural district to a middle-class city-centre community with a median household income of $106,251, among the highest in the country. The 2012 creation of the Business Revitalization Zone (BRZ) rebranded it as the French Quarter and has focused on improved infrastructure and special events hoping to echo the past success of its previously revitalized neighbour to the west of the ravine. Old Strathcona has endured typical problems of gentrification driving out local businesses, and some Bonnie Doon businesses have also now closed due to rent increases and Cournoyer (2019) notes that retail growth has been slow. In its programme to leverage a unique

francophone character with the brand or motto 'joie de vivre', the district has not attempted to replicate generic 'French' or Quebecois streetscapes, but emphasizes rather its Franco-Albertan presence and intangible heritage (Stolte 2012).

Part of this mission includes the use of outdoor spaces for cultural activities. La Cite's cafe has created a snow patio to 'embrace' winter and 'change the mentality' but the major outdoor space is the adjacent Mill Creek Ravine where the keystone event is the FCV (pimihâw waskwayôsis) (Ramsay 2013). It is one of two winter events that celebrate the minority founding groups of Indigenous, francophone and Metis peoples, and various overlapping identities and traditions within them. People and cultures who were expected to 'vanish' (including FCV minorities) persist not necessarily in clearly bounded groups but in hybrid and creative identity formations. For example, a First Nations or a Metis individual may be identified with the same Indigenous background, while the Metis may also be identified as a francophone by language and culture. Currently, a growing self-identification of francophones as Metis accounts for sizeable census increases. A francophone may also be identified, for instance, as a Franco-Albertan, Quebecois or an Algerian-Canadian. Multiple other associations emerge and meld.

7.4 Festivals and Storytelling

Traditionally ritualistic, recurrent events, festivals or carnivals offer collective space to affirm values and identity in direct and oblique ways, typically characterized by license and merriment, bonfires and storytelling. The midwinter or solstice festival, in particular, focuses on transformation and rites of passage from dark to light, crossing thresholds both literal and metaphorical, embodying magical conversions of things and humans. In this sense, they are liminal zones of possibility and experiment, predicated on subsequent resumption of the stable social order (see Turner 2017). Today there are at least ten winter festivals held across Canada, including Indigenous events, and many others around the world (Indigenous Tourism 2018).

In modern societies, winter festivals still mediate individual and collective transformation, through both magical experience and economic development strategies. They serve to extend the summer tourism and recreation season, part of the international Winter City movement to attract year-round investment and immigration. It is a key element of Edmonton's 2013 Winter City Strategy, which has attracted international attention by packaging winter as the keystone of the city's history and identity, 'leveraging … winter assets …' for global competitive advantage (Edmonton 2013, 2019a). Promotions focus on overcoming 'barriers of attitude and lifestyle' by venturing outdoors to celebrate and 'embrac[e]' the 'season that defines us', rediscovering 'that childlike sense of delight and playfulness …' (Edmonton 2013) in 'the magic and beauty of winter' (Explore Edmonton n.d.) seeing 'the long nights, the winds, the snows and the cold as new companions instead of old enemies' (Edmonton n.d.).

Promotional exhortations to tell 'new stories about ourselves' (Edmonton 2019b) fit neatly into the myriad traditional cultures of winter as a time for storytelling, a

performance of intangible heritage passing on cultural protocols and shaping social identity. Cree writer Herman Michell recalls winter nights when.

> [s]acred and mysterious ancient voices from the land travel in whispers through air entering dreams and thoughts of storytellers…Winter is a time when certain stories are told in northern Bush Cree trapping families (Michell 2015, 171).

In living oral cultures, stories tend to remain fluid in content and performance, adapted to context and audiences and open to evolving interpretations, as opposed to stories or histories rooted in literate or print culture (Alivizatou 2011). As an evolving community experience, in certain cultures such activity involves participation by those in attendance, rather than passive audience reception. At Metis festivals and interpretive events, for instance, audiences typically contribute to stories and performance (Giroux 2016). Richardson (2006) argues that these events constitute 'third space', which Bhabha (2004) described as hybrid and transformative processes opening ethnic communities to new versions of histories, with ambiguous multiple narratives disrupting cultural binaries. In the context of touristic or festival events, third space and hybridity involve negotiated and dialogical experiences (Amoamo 2011). These may include practices akin to re-storying, a processing of individual imagination that can also have collective political implications.

In re-storying, themes and contents of past experiences or narratives are reframed or reformed, making new meaning that allows for transformative insights about origins and identities. Foote (2015) uses the metaphor of a river to illustrate the constantly changing unfolding of stories over time and retellings, with many applications including research and education. Such practices, for instance, have drawn on Indigenous oral histories of place to supplement or undermine mainstream or authoritative versions of heritage as part of decolonizing practices (Thomas and Stornaiuolo 2016).

A related approach is Indigenous metissage, working with multiple sources and contexts of knowledge about a place, emphasizing the post-colonial experience and identity as fluid and polysemic without rejecting any one strand. Such weaving or blending does not reduce complexity as strands remain in tension 'without the need to deny, assimilate, hybridize, or conclude' (Donald 2012, 536). From this perspective, storytelling about a city can mediate between past and present discourses of place and identity, reshaping often silenced or forgotten perspectives and experiences. Woven around the stories of founding peoples who have been largely written out of current versions of Euro-Canadian settlement history, the FCV is in effect re-storying or reweaving place, memory and identity within a season of reflection.

7.5 The Flying Canoe Volant Festival

The FCV is one of the few local festivals that directly concerns the land, the season, and its human and non-human history. Evolving from a 2009 Winter City ravine walk activity, it amalgamates local brand identifiers of 'festival city', 'river city' and 'winter city'. It is in part supported by the Edmonton Arts Council's grants programme, which in 2018 distributed $1,761,500 to 37 festivals. Almost entirely funded by the city, the agency has an annual budget of $14 million. The Edmonton Heritage Council, the Edmonton Community Foundation and volunteers also support the festival and other Cite Francophone activities (EAC 2018a, b).

Elements of 'magic' and 'mystery' infuse the ravine over three February nights. Cournoyer (2019) calls snow the 'canvas for light' as the space 'takes on a magical quality, lights dangling in the winter skies, dancers and music' during 'magical evening strolls' (Bell 2019). The 'magical evening walk' is a 2-km, illuminated trail between Mill Creek Ravine, a nearby school, and La Cité Francophone with costumed characters, bonfires and hot food stations as well as indoor events. The trail includes several Metis, First Nations and voyageur camps staging participatory dancing, storytelling, fiddling, drumming and bannock making, and a canoe race down a snow-covered hill. Woodsmoke and steam fill the crowded paths and 'public art bends and blends light, music, history, and politics with snow and trees and fire. Every now and then a few voyageurs, in pretend canoes and fake moustaches, holding tiny paddles, pass by to ask a series of absurd questions in English and French'. The festival 'at times … feels like a party … At other times it feels like an outdoor church' (Babiak 2017). A writer calls this 'very, very Edmonton' (ibid) suggesting that a spontaneous, irreverent embracing and reinterpretation of the tropes of heritage is a strong component of local identity.

Participants, mainly local families, are invited to 'celebrate your inner voyageur with light, music, legends and dance' in a **'**creative and interactive cultural event designed to celebrate local history and … a long winter's night' (Centre Communautaire d'Edmonton 2018). Further, it is promoted as an inclusive, open opportunity 'to be invited into some of our smaller communities' (as well as a 'testament to how much Edmontonians are embracing winter') (Global News 2019). It transforms audiences from observers to participants 'learning a little more about each other' (Cournoyer 2019). In 2015, the public was invited to leave comments on Indigenous reconciliation on slips of paper, messages that several years later were painted on 4-m permanent canvas lanterns. The installation captures transient thoughts and emotions in an enduring yet mobile medium for return visits and contemplation, a materialization of cultural dialogue in a time of social transitions.

The festival and the cultural centre focuses on building relationships and breaking down cultural silos, rather than fostering any one ethnic group. Practices of reconciliation, in particular, open space for Indigenous people, both in forms like art displays and through autonomy and creative freedom in festival programming. Performers have exerted these rights in ways including rejecting the fire department's installation of a tin stove for a cooking demonstration in a tipi, replacing it with the

traditional fire pit. Embodying the focus on connection, participants are led in dancing with partners and sharing food across cultures rather than simply talking about abstract ideals of reconciliation. Describing these events, Cournoyer (2019) appreciates that on the basis of this approach, Cree Elder Will Campbell has dismissed concerns about cultural appropriation in the festival events and displays.

Living practices of connection include exchanges of stories that can not only retrieve past knowledges about a place but also reframe parahistoric and unsettling components of histories and power relations (Prosper 2007). The oral tradition of storytelling accommodates ongoing variations, additions and inventions (see Ong 1982). For instance, performer Roger Dallaire tells a version of the Flying Canoe story about lonely oil industry workers north of the city who make a deal with the devil to fly their pickup trucks home. It is an appropriate story for the city, with its history of transient labourers including squatters in river valley shanty towns. Fur traders from Montreal who remained on Indigenous plains wintering grounds rather than returning home after summer hunts were known as *les hivernants* (winterers) (Foster 1994). And before all these came the tipi camps and later the canvas tents were raised by nomadic peoples and settlers.

The story of the flying canoe is appropriately situated along the river and its ravines. Indigenous territories are traditionally defined by usage, paths, trails and sites perpetuated by practice and memory rather than monument, text or boundary. The festival creating temporary yet sheltering spaces in the ravine echoes these mobile cultures much as storytelling adapts to place, audience and temporal context. As a cultural landscape, the ravine is an archive of the interaction of physical environment with human thought and activity, intangible and overlooked phenomena, particularly relevant to cultures with a minimal or absent material imprint on the land (Jones 2003).

7.6 Winter Cities and Everyday Transformation

The Winter Cities initiative represents the recognition of the season as a key part of that landscape and a generator of local cultural heritage. From its start, the city of Edmonton has marketed itself and the region as a winter destination; carnivals were held here and around the province through the Depression and WWII to boost morale and spending. A 1937 event offered ‘fun for all, and buying opportunities galore’ (Walker 2013). Ominously, though, while winter tourism and branding strategies commonly advise ‘embracing’ the season as medium of magical experience, traditional winter stories around the world often involve monsters and witches such as the Snow Queen whose cold embrace can transform or consume humans. Herva (2014) notes that these ideas, while to some extent based in colonial ‘othering’, also suggest the haunting of the present by relegated possibilities to rethink or broaden perspectives on these relationships. Cree and Anishinaabe winter stories featured the Wetigo or Wendigo, a cannibal giant of ice, a figure of psychosis that evolved in the colonial era to stand for the newcomers’ greed and cruelty (Brightman 1988). In

turn, non-Indigenous participants in a present-day storytelling event will encounter new interpretations of their own memories and knowledges.

Appadurai (2003) reminds us that the production of locality always involves colonization through seizure from prior inhabitants in events later routinized and legitimated, one strand of which is the historical complex of the European fur trade celebrated in the FCV. In terms of relationality, we know that the ravine is year-round home to both human and non-human animals. Although pre-contact, fur trade and industrial habitats and economic systems have been superseded and replaced by heritage versions, residual spaces such as the ravine still host complex human networks including transient homeless people, mostly Indigenous (Rossi and Vanolo 2013; Sorensen 2010). The tent structures that house FCV activities, reflecting and embodying these dynamics, occupy a destination that incorporates both actual and imaginary or mythical phenomena transformed from the everyday through narrative and magical effects. Of course, heritage tourism today is typically imbricated in material and economic transformation of urban space. In Edmonton, while some evidence shows increased participation in winter city festivals, in general, instrumental benefits of such events are often exaggerated and under-researched, as are impacts such as social cohesion and sense of place (del Barrio et al. 2012; Edmonton 2019; Mair and Whitford 2013; Quinn 2005). Visitors to the FCV number in the tens of thousands, but it is unknown whether those people experience a new sense of identification with city or community, or otherwise feel their everyday lives transformed through neighbourhood regeneration programmes.

Nevertheless, while urban transformation through property and land interventions often result in problems such as inequitable gentrification, the festival at the least opens space for participation and cultural citizenship and education, suggesting incremental transformation through redefining or relabeling place and histories over time. Diverse practices and imaginings in a mobile fragment of space and time can juxtapose celebrations of heritage with present-day consequences of those histories in terms of resilience and reconciliation. Daniel Cournoyer notes that La Cite and agencies such as Native Social Services and Metis cultural groups are rooted in ongoing infrastructure and communities beyond the immediate BRZ or 3-day festival. As creative cultural programming potentially rearticulates forms of identity and relationships, the group itself must control imagery and performance. Broad coalitions of interest are effective in the shift away from tangible to intangible competitive advantage, with relational forms of tourism based on creativity and embedded knowledge. A shared long-term vision in a community can help mitigate displacement and identify evolving needs and opportunities (McLean 2014; Wise 2017).

7.7 Conclusion

In Edmonton's river valley, decades of regeneration following industrial decline as well as adjacent neighbourhood renewal programmes have involved the partial restoration of pre-colonial cultural landscapes including natural areas. Within urban

cultural landscapes, underused or marginal spaces permit ephemeral activity less restricted than routines amid quotidian streetscapes. As *terrain vague*, we can see the ravine and festival within shifting networks of meanings and uses: 'absence marks the presence of complex relations, contiguous, accumulating, radiating outwards, endless, and compositive' (Stewart 2015). Green space as relatively undeveloped parkland or *terrain vague* offers few visible traces of local cultures or histories but carries rich veins of stories that intersect along regional waterways that can contribute to sustainable and broad concepts of regeneration in adjoining urban space.

This discussion has focused primarily on the context and discourses about the Flying Canoe Volant festival and its communities, and further accounts of the content of intangible heritage traditions, stories and memory must come from minority founding group members who produce them. As a settler scholar, I base this necessarily incomplete account not on immediate claims to related cultural knowledge or viewpoints but on public discourses and records of encounters and histories. Although festival stories and events reflect the past of the cultural landscape, they are not necessarily specific history teachings but dramatic and often theatrical interpretations of human experience and value systems or cultures. The image of a flying canoe driven by a team of paddlers also points to the importance of diverse long-term community involvement in sustainable shared and re-woven knowledges. Creative industries and creative city strategies originating externally result mainly in serial reproduction, whereas we need to look to local creativity in tourism and culture-led regeneration. An understanding of cultural heritage as part of political, cultural and social production in post-colonial contexts importantly includes performative, intangible and affective expressions of evolving identity (Ashley and Terry 2018; Winter 2013).

As an element of a complex urban cultural landscape, the Flying Canoe Volant festival brings together layers of tourism, cultural and natural (as well as tangible and intangible) heritage, urban regeneration and placemaking. Themes of magic and transformation, as much as the content of heritage practices and stories, reflect the history of the ravine as a long process of reinvention, from Indigenous hunting and habitation grounds to settler industrial zone, regenerated as recreational parkland and currently part of a Business Revitalization Zone. This is less the 'magic bullet' of creative city economic development rhetoric and more the sense of magic as an ephemeral, multivocal assemblage of imaginative power, depths of traditional knowledge about place and the power of ideas to animate or regenerate the stories we tell about ourselves.

References

Alivizatou M (2011) Intangible heritage and erasure: Rethinking cultural preservation and contemporary museum practice. International Journal of Cultural Property 18(1):37–60

Amoamo M (2011) Tourism and hybridity: revisiting Bhabha's third space. Ann Tour Res 38(4):1254–1273

Appadurai A (2003) Illusion of permanence. Perspecta 34:44–52
Ashley S, Terry A (2018) Critical heritage studies in Canada/Études critiques du patrimoine au Canada. J Can Stud 52(2):1–4
Babiak, T (2017) You need to see how Edmonton turned winter into the most fun time of the year. *Travel Alberta* 26 Sept. https://www.travelalberta.com/au/articles/2017/07/edmonton-ultimate-winter-city/. Accessed 12 Aug 2019
Barron P, Mariani M (eds) (2014) Terrain vague: interstices at the edge of the pale. Routledge, London
Behiels MD (2005) Canada's francophone minority communities: constitutional renewal and the winning of school governance. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal
Bell, J (Feb 2019) Mystery and majesty: This festival returns to the Mill Creek Ravine—and you won't want to miss it. Avenue: Edmonton*:* 16.
Bergeron J (2007) Francophone minorities: from a homogeneous representation to the construction of a plural identity. American Review of Canadian Studies 37(3):371–385
Bhabha HK (2004) The location of culture. Routledge, Abingdon
Bower SS (2015) The affordances of Mackinnon Ravine: fighting freeways and pursuing government reform in Edmonton, Alberta. Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine 54(1–2):59–72
Brightman RA (1988) The Windigo in the material world. Ethnohistory 35(4):337–437
Buggey S (1999) An approach to aboriginal cultural landscapes. Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Ottawa
Centre Communautaire d'Edmonton (2018) Flying Canoe Volant. https://www.flyingcanoevolant.ca/apropos. Accessed 12 August 2019.
Cournoyer D (2019, April 26) Personal communication, Edmonton
del Barrio M, Devesa M, Herrero LC (2012) Evaluating intangible cultural heritage: the case of cultural festivals. City Cult Soc 3:235–244
Donald D (2012) Indigenous métissage: a decolonizing research sensibility. Int J Qual Stud Educ 25(2):533–555
Edmonton (1990) The ribbon of green concept plan: North Saskatchewan River and Ravine concept systems. https://www.edmonton.ca/projects_plans/parks_recreation/ribbon-of-green-concept.aspx
Edmonton (2005) Urban aboriginal accord declaration. https://www.edmonton.ca/city_government/documents/PDF/EdmontonUrbanAboriginalAccord Declaration.pdf. Accessed 12 Sept 2014.
Edmonton (2013) *For the love of winter: Winter Cities implementation plan.*https://www.edmonton.ca/city_government/documents/PDF/TheLoveofWinter-ImplementationPlan.pdf. Accessed 14 July 2019
Edmonton (2015) 2016–2018 Operating budget. City council discussions, Edmonton, City of Edmonton. https://www.edmonton.ca/city_government/documents/PDF/Budget%20Overview%202016-2018%20Operating%20Budget.pdf. Accessed 14 Jan 2016
Edmonton (2019a) Keep the snowball rolling: Winter Cities strategy evaluation and report. https://www.edmonton.ca/city_government/documents/COE_WinterCity_Evaluation_Report_FINAL.pdf. Accessed 14 July 2019.
Edmonton (2019b) Winter City Strategy. https://www.edmonton.ca/city_government/initiatives_innovation/wintercity-strategy.aspx
Edmonton (n.d.) A community profile: Bonnie Doon. Census Documents. https://censusdocs.edmonton.ca/DD34/MultiSource/Neighbourhood/BONNIE%20DOON.pdf. Accessed 3 July 2019
Edmonton Arts Council (2008) The art of living: a plan for securing the future of arts and heritage in the City of Edmonton 2008–2018. https://www.edmontonarts.ca/static_media/pdfs/files/artofliving/cultural_plan.pdf. Accessed 20 July 2019
Edmonton Arts Council (2018a) Grants distribution lists. https://www.edmontonarts.ca/static_media/pdfs/files/eac_misc/EAC-AR-2018-GrantsLists.pdf. Accessed 29 June 2019

Edmonton Arts Council (2018b) Connections and exchanges: A ten year plan to transform arts and heritage in Edmonton. https://issuu.com/edmontonartscouncil/docs/connections_and_exchanges. Accessed 20 July 2019
Explore Edmonton (n.d.) Deep freeze: a Byzantine winter festival. https://exploreedmonton.com/whats-on/festivals/deep-freeze-a-byzantine-winter-festival. Accessed 20 July 2019
Foote LS (2015) Re-storying life as a means of critical reflection: the power of narrative learning. Christ High Educ 14(3):116–126
Foster JE (1994) Wintering, the outsider adult male and the ethnogenesis of the western plains Metis. Prairie Forum 19(1):91–104
Giroux M (2016) "Giving them back their spirit": Multiculturalism and resurgence at a Metis cultural festival. MUSICultures 43(1):64–88
Global News (5 Feb 2019) In photos: 2017 Flying Canoe Volant wraps for another year. https://globalnews.ca/news/3228285/in-photos-2017-flying-canoe-volant-wraps-for-another-year/. Accessed 10 June 2019.
Herva V (2014) Haunting heritage in an enchanted land: magic, materiality and Second World War German material heritage in Finnish Lapland. J Contemp Archaeol 1(2):2051–3429
Hunt D (2016) Nikîkîwân: contesting settler-colonial archives through Indigenous oral history. Can Lit 230(231):25–42
Indigenous Tourism (24 Jan 2018) Embrace winter in Canada with these Indigenous experiences. https://indigenoustourism.ca/en/embrace-winter-canada-indigenous-experiences/. Accessed 20 Aug 2019
Jones M (2003) The concept of cultural landscape: discourse and narratives. In: Palang H, Fry G (eds) Landscape interfaces. Springer, Dordrecht, pp 21–51
Lewis NM, Donald B (2010) A new rubric for 'creative city' potential in Canada's smaller cities. Urban Stud 47(1):29–54
Mair J, Whitford M (2013) An exploration of events research: event topics, themes and emerging trends. Int J Event Festiv 4(1):6–30
McLean HE (2014) Cracks in the creative city: the contradictions of community arts practice. Int J Urban Reg Res 38(6):2156–2173
Michell H (2015) Bush Cree storytelling methodology: northern stories that teach, heal, and transform. IN Educ 21(2):171–178
Ong WJ (1982) Orality and literacy: the technologizing of the word. Routledge, London
Prosper L (2007) Wherein lies the heritage value? Rethinking the heritage value of cultural landscapes from an Aboriginal perspective. Georg Wright Forum 24(2):117–124
Quick S (2015) Red River jigging: "traditional", "contemporary", and in unexpected places. Can Folk Music 49(2/3):49–53
Quinn B (2005) Arts festivals and the city. Urban Stud 42(5–6):927–994
Ramsay C (15 Dec 2013) French bistro embraces winter in Edmonton with snow patio. Global News. https://globalnews.ca/news/1031827/french-bistro-embraces-winter-in-edmonton-with-snow-patio/. Accessed 15 July 2019
Richardson C (2006) Métis identity creation and tactical responses to oppression and racism. Variegations 2:57–71
Rossi U, Vanolo A (2013) Regenerating what? The politics and geographies of actually existing regeneration. In: Leary ME, McCarthy J (eds) The Routledge companion to urban regeneration. Routledge, London
Statistics Canada (2006) Aboriginal population profile for Edmonton. www.statcan.gc.ca. Accessed 18 Mar 2018
Sepe M, di Trapani G (2010) Cultural tourism and creative regeneration: two case studies. Int J Cult Tour Hosp Res 4(3):214–227
Sorensen M (2010) Edmonton Homeless Count. Homeless Trust Edmonton.
Stewart C (2015) Propositions from under Mill Creek Bridge. In: Piper, L and Szabo-Jones (eds) Sustaining the west: cultural responses to Canadian environments. Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, pp 241–258

Stolte E (2012). French quarter revitalization on deck. Edmont J, 17 June. https://www.pressreader.com/. Accessed 9 Sep 2019
Sugars C (2004) Strategic abjection: Windigo psychosis and the "postindian" subject in Eden Robinson's "Dogs in Winter". Can Lit 181:78–91
Thomas EE, Stornaiuolo A (2016) Restorying the self: bending toward textual justice. Harv Educ Rev 86(3):313–338
Turner V (2017) The ritual process: structure and anti-structure. Routledge, London
UNESCO (1993) UNESCO: Agenda 21 and UNCED follow-up. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000158480. Accessed 30 Sep 2019
Walker, E (15 Feb 2013) Winter fun in Edmonton. Transforming Edmonton. https://transformingedmonton.ca/winter-fun-in-edmonton-part-one/. Accessed 15 Aug 2019
Winter T (2013) Clarifying the critical in critical heritage studies. Int J Herit Stud 19(6):532–545
Wise N (2017) Local community and local economy: place, policies and power at the micro-scale. Local Econ 32(7):595–600
Wise N, Clark J (2017) Urban transformations: geographies of renewal and creative change, 1st edn. Routledge, London

Chapter 8
City on Fire: Deterritorialisation and Becoming at Edinburgh's Beltane Fire Festival

Claudia Melis

Abstract The focus of this chapter is to highlight the potential of festivals to deterritorialise and reterritorialise urban spaces. Deterritorialisation is able to expose urban spaces, albeit temporally and provisionally, to new re-organisation; it is conceptually understood by the theorists Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari as a movement producing change, which is immanent to space itself. The study context of this chapter is the Beltane Fire Festival in Edinburgh. It has been associated to the category of neo-pagan festivals, celebrated as revival of ancient Celtic rituals. Beltane is celebrated in Calton Hill, a contested place that is part of the UNESCO World Heritage Old and New Towns of Edinburgh site, situated at the fringe of Edinburgh city centre. Although Edinburgh's Beltane Fire Festival has been criticised for its 'playful deviance', these and other festivals that draw on Scotland's cultural heritage are increasingly appraised as powerful visitor attraction assets and therefore included within the destination's event portfolio strategies.

Keywords Deterritorialisation · Reterritorialisation · Fire festivals · Cultural heritage

8.1 Introduction

Calton Hill is a promontory accessible from the East end of Edinburgh city centre. The hill and its properties that are part of UNESCO World Heritage Old and New Towns of Edinburgh are well visible during the day but at nightfall, it is not illuminated like the other hills of Edinburgh city centre. Calton Hill almost disappears from the city night skyline once the sun sets. This is the case on all but one night of the year. On April 30, specially erected structures are set alight and a torchlight procession circumambulates the hill for the celebration of the Beltane Fire Festival. This festival is inspired by an ancient Celtic ritual connected to the changing of seasons. Beltane is a celebration of the rebirth of nature and returning of light after winter (MacCulloch 2009).

C. Melis (✉)
Liverpool John Moores University, Liverpool, UK
e-mail: C.Melis@ljmu.ac.uk

N. Wise and T. Jimura (eds.), *Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration*,
The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41905-9_8

The festival has been discussed for its carnivalesque character (Matheson and Tinsley 2016) and for its spiritual attitudes and visitors' motivations (Matheson et al. 2014). While it does not appear in the Edinburgh Festival programme, Beltane is currently listed in 'ICH Scotland', a Wiki style web inventory created for the development and support of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in Scotland (see Museums Galleries Scotland 2019). Compared to tangible cultural heritage, intangible cultural heritage was once less emphasised in academia and real world; however, this type of heritage has been much more respected as subjects of research and conservation in the past 15–20 years to value and conserve diverse kinds of cultural heritage (Jimura 2019). Here, the Beltane Fire Festival is spoken about in terms of a modern revival a Celtic tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Interestingly, it can be noted that, the festival lies in a grey area in-between an authorised Celtic heritage narrative (Smith 2006) and a less authorised contemporary neo-pagan revisitation. Together with this discursive perspective, this chapter aims at illuminating, through a Deleuzian appraisal (Deleuze 1987, 1994; Deleuze and Guattari 1987), the space of Calton Hill and how space is continuously deterritorialised and reterritorialised through festivals' spatial tactics (De Certeau 1984) and their politics. In terms of regeneration, the continual making and unmaking here is a form of cultural revival.

According to Paterson (2019), Calton Hill is regarded as a *symbolic intense oddity,* a marginal space within the urban fabric of Edinburgh. Despite its collocation within the city centre, the space is scarcely used, almost neglected. Thus from an urban regeneration standpoint, Calton Hill emerges as a contested space: on the one hand, for the presence of monuments, expressions of the Hellenization of the city of Edinburgh and symbols of the Scottish Enlightenment (as Calton Hill gained inclusion within the Edinburgh's UNESCO World Heritage site). On the other hand, Calton Hill has gained in time a controversial reputation. During the interwar period, the hill had been put on the spotlight for Queer subcultures gathering and sexual activity, at that time considered a threat to public order and actively prosecuted (Meek, 2015). More recently, the hill attracted media attention for episodes of crime and anti-social behaviour. Such urban spaces are often identified by urban planners as spaces to regenerate, as areas with monuments or amenities are seen as commercial spaces that can be creatively transformed (Wise and Clark 2017). However, the complexity of meanings associated to the hill might explain its current state of spatial (central) marginality and resistance to change. The presence of any newly built tangible features here could challenge the meanings associated with Calton Hill and any new developments could eventually be a threat for the survival of the Fire Festival held here.

Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) images of smooth and striated space and the concept of state and war machine, this chapter aims to highlight the dialogue between formal and informal urbanities (Villanueva 2013). Festivals are regarded as a force of deterritorialisation, in other words, a force of change able to convert space physically and discursively (Johansson and Kociatkiewicz 2011). The festival is also regarded as a war machine (Deleuze and Guattari 1987) for its ability to disrupt and counteract mainstream dominant discourses and at the same time impose and occupy space powerfully, through human festival practices as well as the deployment

of powerful non-human elements such as fire. The chapter opens with background information about the Beltane Fire Festival, and Edinburgh, which holds the city brand: the Festival City. Then, drawing on the philosophy of Deleuze (1987,1994) and his work with Guattari (Deleuze and Guattari 1987), the discussion will move to an analysis of the festival space and practices. At the end, final considerations and conclusions are drawn.

8.2 Edinburgh and the Beltane Fire Festival

The Beltane Fire Society, the organisation responsible for the Beltane Fire Festival, was found in 1988. Every year since then, on April 30, the festival is organised in Calton Hill and attracts thousands of people, both locals and tourists. The Beltane Fire Society was created as a community arts project, with the aim of creating an awareness of the general public in the traditions of the Celtic lunar calendar fire festivals as well their significance in today's society (Beltane Fire Society, 2018). Another aim is to promote the Scottish street theatre performances tradition.

To step back for a moment and consider some history linked to the event, in Ancient Gaelic the word 'Beltane' seems to be derived from *bel-tene*, or 'a goodly fire'. According to other theories Bel stands for *Bel-dine*, because apparently *dine* (newly born cattle) were offered in sacrifice to the divinity Bel. Beltane is known as an ancient Celtic holiday celebrated around May 1 each year, not only in Scotland, but also in Ireland and the Isle of Man (Monaghan 2014). For the Celtic populations, Beltane was a festival of life, celebrated to mark the return of the sun shining in his strength—thus represented by fire. Its celebration used to mark the beginning of summer. One of the main rituals at Beltane was the lighting of bonfires, often on hills. During Beltane every house had to extinguish their fire and a big bonfire used to be lit by a need fire up on a hill. The fire has a symbolic meaning. The belief was that fire can keep disease and evil away. According to MacCulloch (2009), cattle were driven between two fires lit by Druids in the credence that this would have ensured their health during the year.

Beltane was therefore used to celebrate the renewed fertility of the coming year. This festival or a revival of it has survived in Scotland where fires are lit across the region and private celebrations are held among groups of Pagans to mark the start of summer. The largest Beltane celebration in Britain is held in Edinburgh on Calton Hill. Upon nightfall, fires are lit and festivities associated with it are carried on until dawn. At the centre of attention are two main characters: the May Queen and the Green Man and their cortège of other groups of characters all symbolically connected with the two protagonists. The festival begins with a stage performance at the National Monument Acropolis. It continues with a procession to the top of Calton Hill led by the two main characters: the May Queen and the Green Man. After the National monument acropolis is lit on fire the procession continues and follows different stages. One of the main passages of the procession is the crowning of the Green Man by the May Queen. They then start a dramatic stage performance

where eventually the Green Man winter costume is removed so that he can reveal his spring costume. The two then engage in a wild dance before they are finally married. The whole scene culminates with the lighting of a huge bonfire that marks the beginning of summer. The beating of drums accompanies the Festival from start to finish (Beltane Fire Society 2018).

Despite the fact that the Beltane Fire Festival is described as a revival, its connections with ancient Scottish festivities are still an open debate (ICH Scotland 2019). It is described by the Scottish Intangible Cultural Heritage inventory as a robustly supported event, or one that is able to transmit intangible cultural heritage practices. Ancient and newly created festivals are therefore included within this inventory under the umbrella of intangible cultural heritage in Scotland. It is undeniable that the plethora of events included within the Scottish intangible cultural heritage inventory constitutes a powerful visitor attraction asset and one that can attract tourism beyond the high season as well as able to distribute touristic flows more evenly throughout the region—especially fitting for Edinburgh, known as the world's leading 'festival city' (Prentice and Andersen 2003). These events are increasingly included in portfolio strategies (Visit Scotland 2015) and used to promote Scotland as a festival and event tourism destination. From the realm of the popular tradition celebrated by the village community for the community itself, these celebrations are moving to the context of cultural heritage and tourism policy (the Scottish intangible cultural heritage inventory is an example of this). Spectacular festival imagery is increasingly used to expose and export the destination's brand globally to enrich the local visitor economy. Edinburgh is renowned for its fantastic range of purpose-built and non-purpose-built venues with events on throughout the year. The agenda of festivals in Edinburgh continues to grow year after year and attracts visitors from around the world.

8.3 Festivals and Smooth Spaces

While Deleuze's primary objective was to rethink philosophy and rethink the mechanics of Western thought, he is notwithstanding defined as the most spatial of all philosophers (Buchanan and Lambert 2005; Mould 2009; Johansson and Kociatkiewicz 2011). Space was in fact at the centre of his attention. Deleuze regards space as an entity, in a continuous state of becoming that presents a number of virtualities, possibilities and tendencies within (Conley 2010). The spatial images used by Deleuze are not only useful to understand his ideas of space but they also lend themselves very well to speak about Deleuze's idea of thinking as well as his idea of philosophy (Young 2015). Deleuze describes space in terms of degrees of smoothness and striation (Buchanan and Lambert 2005). The aim of this section is to illustrate the role of festivals in the dialectic between striated and smooth space.

Ideas associated to striated spaces are regulated, rectilinear and measurable. In their writing, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) identify that the city is the maximum example of a striated space because of its high degree of regulated distribution (see

also, Munro and Jordan 2013). Hierarchical arrangement comes into practice here because urban focal points are comprised of town centres or particular landmarks that catalyse flows. These settings and landmarks where flows exist can be predictable and predicted. The city as a striated space is characterised by fixed relations (Parr 2010). This means functional and mainstream buildings are built for a purpose and to accommodate the needs and expectations of a contemporary capitalist society. The city is therefore characterised by a mainstream arrangement as it presents itself as highly regulated and authorised by the state government or dominant religions. Pertinent to the conceptual arguments relevant in this chapter, urban festivals intersect this striated space. In other words, urban festivals are contained and constrained in urban striated space (Mould 2009).

An example of smooth space is the desert, but this image can also refer to other physiographic features including steppes and oceans. This space is called smooth for the absence of fixed relations (Parr 2010). In a smooth space, there are no privileged points of references, preferred flows or patterns. Its development can progress in any direction. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argue characteristics associated to smooth spaces are oceanic, boundless, without distinction within and non-hierarchical (as no place is privileged over another). Other terms associated to smooth space are informal and unpredictable. An example of smooth space mentioned by Deleuze is the shanty town or 'informal cities', slums (Villanueva 2013). Thus, smoothness is a fertile ground for renewal, a terrain that allows for thinking space anew (Deleuze 1994). For Deleuze change and becoming are not brought from elsewhere but they are immanent to space itself (Conley 2010).

Deleuze's intention is not to describe such a space physically or for its tangibility but actually to account for its intangible, symbolic, capacities, intrinsic and imperceptible forces. In other words, Deleuze describes space as more than physical as well as more than discursive. Degrees of smoothness and striated are not interpreted by Deleuze in opposition. Indeed, despite the fact that they present contrasting features, any striated space has within himself the potential to become smooth again by revoking its dominant attributes and prevailing tendencies (Kamalipour and Peimani 2015; Koster and Nuijten 2016). As an example, several areas of the post-industrial city present themselves as smooth spaces, this is the case of unused, only partially used or completely neglected districts. These have become marginal to the organisation and functioning (striated) space of society and often lack a clear use and identity (Shields 1991).

This seems to conceptually align with the case of Calton Hill in Edinburgh. Its peculiar position within the topography and morphology of the city makes it possible that it is located in the city centre because of its proximity to both the Old and New town, but at the same time in its periphery due to its accessibility as well as 'use' (McKee 2018). Interestingly, Paterson (2019) notes that Calton Hill is mainly known and celebrated for its view and landscape than for its architecture and symbolic value; in other words, it is a place that is mainly 'looked out from than seen' and appreciated for its use (Paterson 2019, 361). In the sixteenth century, Calton Hill was home to a monastery, converted after the reformation into a hospital for lepers. Calton Jail was then opened in 1817, and is today the headquarters of the Scottish Human Right

Commission. The period between the mid-eighteenth century to the early-nineteenth century saw the construction of the most notable buildings in Calton Hill including the National Monument and the Royal Observatory (McKee 2018).

This era corresponds to the Hellenisation of the city of Edinburgh (Lowrey 2001; Naik and Stewart 2007; Mckee 2015) whereby the desire to associate the city with Athens was not only in terms of culture but also through the physical characteristics of the city. In fact, this era saw the construction of neo-Greek monuments and buildings which led to the granting among other aspects the inclusion of Calton Hill as part of the World Heritage Old and New Towns of Edinburgh. Despite such a significant symbolism and an attempt to restore the National Monument after World War I, Calton Hill fell, since then into local oblivion and disuse (McKee 2015). Today Calton Hill is occasionally transformed into a festival venue but it still mainly known and regarded for its view and iconic Greek-inspired landscape (Paterson 2019). Moreover, as noted, Calton Hill has gained a controversial reputation over time because its seclusion (geographically) allowed the space to become a place of illegal and anti-social activities (e.g. drug consumption).

This is to say that the city and the urban space have in itself the potential to reverse its striated tendencies and become smooth again. In the same vein, Villanueva (2013) emphasises the fluid physiognomy of the contemporary global city characterised by the dynamic exchange between the informal, smooth urbanism (such as submarket economies and construction of slums) and formal, striated urban geographies. Therefore, striated and smooth, being not actual spaces, but rather more like a tendency, are reversible. Smooth spaces can be enacted within striated space. To this end, Mould (2009) mentions the example of parkour (a popular urban trend consisting of athletic practices such as jumping, climbing and free running over and through any terrain counting only in the abilities of the body). In the urban environment, this translates into activities such as free running on building and jumping between roofs. This practice has been interpreted as an alternative way to experience the urban environment that challenges its dominant, capitalist mainstream usage. Here, according to Mould (2009), traceurs are activating smooth spaces within a highly striated space.

Likewise, festival practices are interpreted for activating a smoothing-up process of urban space in Edinburgh. For example, Munro and Jordan (2013) draw on De Certeau's (1984) conceptualisation of spatial tactics opposed to spatial strategies to investigate practices that artists employ to create hybrid workspaces within public spaces at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival. While spatial strategies tend to manipulate space over time for the purpose of control, spatial tactics are provisional, and thus operate in an isolated fashion and create surprises (Munro and Jordan 2013). In other words, the festival space is in itself as smooth as it is defined by the spatial tactics by which a space is provisionally occupied.

The performers of the Beltane Fire Festival utilise a range of different spatial tactics. These are peculiarly characterised by the use of human and non-human elements. The human elements are represented by the main characters of the festival, namely, the May Queen, the Green Man as well as the groups of performers that form their entourage (Beltane Fire Society 2018). During the event the audience is a part of the festival performance as witnesses of the ritual as it follows the representation

since its start with the spectacular staging phase in the acropolis of the National Monument along the itinerant performance that culminates in an area in Calton Hill called the Bower where the performance of the festival comes to an end. Space is also appropriated through the use of non-human elements, in particular, the use of fire to illuminate the acropolis as well as the use of torches to guide the procession, and finally the lighting of the bonfire symbolising the returning of light (Beltane Fire Society 2018). These elements contribute to the co-creation of the performative field of the festival (Giovanardi et al. 2014) thanks to the practices of festivals volunteers, characters as well as the audience. The use of a non-human element made of props such as objects, costumes and other devices as the fire enables the performers' practices.

Another relevant feature of the Beltane Fire Festival is that this was born among other reasons also to celebrate Edinburgh street theatre tradition. The theatrical element has in itself the potential to convert space (Calder 2019). In fact, by definition, theatre is characterised by a 'double' as it has the ability to show the space in which it is enacted for 'what it is and what is not (or not yet and no longer)' (Calder 2019, 25). This is obtained by manipulating space and time and employing performances and embodied practices. The Beltane Fire festival, drawing as it does on an uncertain Celtic past, shows to use Calder's words (Calder 2019, 25), a 'mythologised pre-modern ideal', thus revealing that space for something that that space is not or no longer. Beltane rituals were traditionally celebrated on hills; temporarily and transitorily Calton Hill is converted for hosting a contemporary, neo-pagan version of the pre-modern Beltane tradition.

The second term of the equation in street theatre is the street. Calder (2019) defines street theatre as a comprehensive term encompassing theatrical forms performed in public streets. The street is an urban element that presents striated characteristics. It in fact directs and imposes flows of human and non-human elements, thus imposing a specific order. To this regard, the street determines hierarchy as it privileges specific places over others. It is disciplinary as it constrains and disciplines movement and flow. As such the street emerges as a site of power and by definition of resistance (which is immanent to power itself) (Foucault 1982). The fact that the Beltane Fire Festival has the street as a stage is significant. Namely, thanks to the theatrical element, it converts space transforming striated street space into a smooth one during the event (Calder 2019).

While the predominant argument is that festivals have the ability to convert striated spaces into smooth spaces, thus liberating the fixed relationship imposed by the tenets of capitalism (Johansson and Kociatkiewicz 2011; Munro and Jordan 2013), a counterargument (Smith 2017) maintains that festivals and events are increasingly used to leverage on their economic potential. Another way of conceptualising regeneration here in this case thus is the event transforms meaning and practice in space (even if for just one day each year). In terms of space, ticketed events staged in public non-purpose-built event venues (such as parks) have the effect of denigrating their publicness. Smith (2017) argues using public spaces introduces hierarchical and controlling mechanisms to spaces that are meant to be open and accessible to all (which confer back to that space striated characteristics).

In 2004, due to the increasing scale of the Fire Festival, in terms of audience, as well as licencing together with health and safety and security requirements, Beltane became a ticketed event (Beltane Fire Society 2018). Despite a partial neoliberalisation of the Beltane Fire Festival space, it is argued that festival tactics extend far beyond the ticketed space. Volunteers of the Beltane Fire Festival, in fact, engage in spatial practices even before (through street theatre performances in Edinburgh's city centre) and after the festival (in the occasion of non-advertised post-festival parties). This suggests that against the increasing tendency to neoliberalise the festival space, there are figments of the festival that can still be recognised as smooth, nomadic elements (Deleuze 1994). The concept of nomadism is better explained in the next section together with the concept of war machine (Deleuze and Guattari 1987).

8.4 Festivals and Urban Subculturalisation, State and War Machine

Daskalaki and Mould (2013) explore the process of urban subculturalisation. The authors argue that despite the chance of subcultures becoming solidified, institutionalised and ultimately assimilated by the mainstream, the city can be regarded as a fluid and continuous fabric of identities and exemplifies a state of continuous becoming. In other words, striated spaces are the generative force for the existence of smooth spaces. The Expression State and war machine, as conceived by Deleuze and Guattari (1987), encapsulate dialectics between the simultaneous co-existence of a mainstream striated urban order and subcultural smooth tendencies and forces. For the two philosophers, the State presents a central, arborescent, striated nature with branches and roots subordinated to a central stem and root (see also: Crociani-Windland 2011). The war machine presents a smooth nature and its main characteristic is that of nomadism. The State represents the tendency to control, manipulation, neoliberalisation of the urban space (Smith 2017), while the war machine corresponds to a force of insubordination to such an order. In the words of Deleuze and Guattari (1987, 386), 'each time there is an operation against the State-insubordination, rioting, guerrilla warfare, or revolution as act- it can be said that a war machine has revived, that a new nomadic potential has appeared'. The nomad is an image that emerges in several contexts: it is not used to describe actual nomadic people (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Deleuze 1994) but instead describes forms of subjectivity, or 'a disposition towards' war, that is activated (as a war machine) when there is an attempt to contain it (Deleuze and Guattari 1987).

Insubordination can be both physical and symbolical. For the war machine to be activated, a powerful force that unlocks change has to occur. Deterritorialisation can be described as a movement, a force that is able to produce change. It indicates a creative potential that is immanent to a space assemblage: 'to de-territorialize is to free up the fixed relations that contain a body all the while exposing it to new organization' (Parr 2010, 69). Festival practices and performances have been recognised for this

creative potential and for being a force of deterritorialisation not only physical but also discursive (Rofe and Woosnam 2016).

Specifically, mainstream and taken-for-granted meanings are, in fact, subverted by the introduction of new themes, under-represented actors and instances. Subcultural creative expressions that do not receive attention during the usual everyday life of the city become, during the festival, the focus of attention (Rofe and Woosnam 2016). Nomadic creative forms of expressions not formally recognised by the mainstream urban policies still survive in the suburbs of the city and are exposed and celebrated during the festival. While features of a festival associate with notions of liminality, concerning the festival space, Hetherington (1997) reworked this notion by regarding festivals as events that produce socially ambiguous spaces, or 'heterotopia'. For Hetherington (1997), heterotopia is a site where societal normative assumptions are brought into question. This is conceptualised through performances of alternative identities (Markwell and Waitt 2009; Wise 2014). To this end, Markwell and Waitt (2009) highlight how events such as the Gay Pride in Australia bring into question such normative assumptions through displaying the performance of drag queens and kings, or how Wise (2014) assesses how Haitian's and Dominican's use spaces that combat and transcend meaning to impose different layers in a single space based on contested identities.

As highlighted earlier in this chapter, Calton Hill is known for being involved in subcultural practices. It is argued that by hosting the Beltane Fire Festival this urban area is still a theatre for Edinburgh's urban subcultural expressions. In fact, the Beltane Fire Festival has been celebrated in Calton Hill since its beginning in 1988 (Beltane Fire Society 2018). Despite the fact that the festival is catalysing increased audience volumes, it does not appear in the official festival programme of the city and it is scarcely promoted. This suggests that the festival is constructed as subcultural, as there seem to be at present, tensions as for its inclusion within the official creative and cultural policies of Edinburgh (Matheson and Tinsley 2016). The festival presents elements of nudity and euphoria and it has been criticised for its 'Playful deviance' (Matheson and Tinsley 2016, 13) which appears in contrast with the uptight, striated and mainstream order of the urban context.

Drawing on Bakhtin (1984), as well as Matheson and Tinsley (2016), both highlight the Beltane Fire Festival presents carnivalesque elements. Bakhtin (1984) understands carnival as a suspension of social conventions that challenge hierarchal establishments and utilise sites for protests, resistance and transgression. Indeed, spatial tactics employed during the Beltane Fire Festival is regarded as a war machine, for the event discursively and physically presents elements of insubordination with respect to the mainstream order.

The origins of the fire festival themselves suggest its nomadic connections. The Beltane Fire Festival was born at a time when there were reactions to counteract the British Government's extreme conservativism. At the time, in the late-1980s, the government of Margaret Thatcher promoted a strong conservative stance with a traditional vision for Britain. Thatcherism was characterised as an authoritarian approach, marked by a strong emphasis on the respect of the law, discipline and social order. This political phase was also associated to a lack of willingness to

tolerate those who would not conform to the conservative ideal. Hill (2003) maintains that at that time also apolitical subcultural expressions, such as those associated to the Acid House project, became to be identified as the 'enemy within' and regarded as dangerous to the government project. Motives behind Beltane are the search of a human primal nature, the need to reconnect with land and nature, the contraposition of the chaotic and wild movements of the elements of life and nature in opposition to the over rationality and disciplinarian order of the central state at that time (Beltane Fire Society 2018).

Festivals in Scotland have a long history of resistance to the central power (situated in London). In fact, the Reformation and Calvinism period was for Scotland an engine of profound change, and recent work has considered the staging and performing of events as a form of (passive) resistance, for instance, the Exit Festival held in Serbia (see Wise et al. 2015). Calvinism eliminated festivities associated with Christmas, Easter and saints days (Houston 2008). However, in certain parts of Scotland like Perth, although the strong Calvinist influence did exist, festivities persisted as a manifestation of popular resistance. Celebrations of the patron saints days survived and together with them also other pagan celebrations such as Yuletide as well as May and midsummer festivities continued to be performed. In 1620, those practices were officially accepted by the authorities of the church in exchange for a fine (a tax on entertainment). This was the attempt by the Calvinists to accommodate aspects of popular celebration and as such compromise between the old and the new. The very evolutions of some of these festivals (such as Beltane) are still celebrated today. Other pagan festivals are celebrated throughout the year as revival or reinvention of ancient rituals dating back to the Celtic or Viking period. Examples are festivals linked to the cycle of season and of the harvest such as Beltane but also New Year's festivities linked to the Viking tradition that are still alive within the Shetland Islands (for example, Up Helly ha) in the Moray Region (the Burning of the Clavie), Aberdeenshire (Stonehaven Fireball Festival) and Perth and Kinross (Comrie Flambeaux).

On Calton Hill, the Beltane Fire Festival emerges as a place of contemporary resistance and nomadism (Deleuze 1994). In fact, McKee (2015) highlights that Calton Hill' monuments celebrating the values and ideals of the Scottish enlightenment symbolise Scotland's golden era romanticisation in a pre-union/pre-reformation stage. However, this era is often celebrated for its tangible legacy than 'as a cultural manifestation of any broader contemporaneous dialogue' (McKee 2015, 64). Calton Hill has, in fact, a highly symbolic value for Scotland's regionalist and nationalist aspirations. In 2004, it became the main theatre for the campaigns for Scottish devolution. The Calton Hill Declaration, Declaration of Scottish devolution, was proclaimed on the hill on the same year. This also suggests that one of the mechanisms that supports the Beltane Fire Festival and its staging in Calton Hill is also a non-declared sense of regional awareness, a deployment of spatial practices that seeks to unlock a quest for tradition and continuity in a fast-changing society (Devismes 2013).

8.5 Conclusions

This chapter endeavoured to discuss urban space and the way it interfaces with festival practices not only physically but also discursively. The conceptual focus of attention has been Deleuze's (1987,1994) and Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) spatial images. Space is not only understood for its tangible characteristics but also recognised for its intangible, symbolic capacities and tendencies, intrinsic imperceptible forces and rhythms. These tendencies and discourses are immanent in space itself in the form of imperceptible virtualities. In other words, drawing on Deleuze and Guattari space emerges as more than physical as well as more than discursive. This challenges us to understand how urban spaces are regenerated, or perhaps renegotiated, if only temporarily as spaces in transition for the purpose of power and consumerism are met with resistance, and thus regeneration does not take on a physical presence but is interpreted based on intangible meaning that marks chance and presence in space.

Urban discourses are becoming increasingly central to urban policy (Rofe and Woosnam 2016). Festivals are often explored in terms of their potential to induce and catalyse change, disclose alternative dimensions of cities, unlock counter-narratives against the more mainstream ones (Heath 2018). They are also represented as creative moments (Richards 2014), forces of experimentation (Olsen 2013) and spaces of Heterotopia (Markwell and Waitt 2009). However, such creativity does not always receive attention and there are sometimes tensions around its recognition within official programmes and policies (Rofe and Woosnam 2016).

Festivals provide a window which is contained and constrained within urban space (Mould 2009) and in which identities are constituted, negotiated and reframed. However, identities are not merely discursive, but also constituted through performances (Butler 1997). Such performances exceed the temporal and physical boundaries in which festivals and events are staged. This suggests the nomadism (Deleuze and Guattari 1987) of the festival space. While there is an increasing tendency to a neoliberalisation (Smith 2017) of space, in fact, it is argued that this mainly applies to the ticketed phases of festivals. However, as the example of the Beltane Fire Festival shows, the performative field of the festival is wider as it includes moments such as the pre- and post-event spaces that exceed the neoliberalisation tendency.

Specifically, the Beltane Fire Festival has been described as an expression able to open up a counter-public space for the organising community and its audience to gather, shape their identity and sense of belonging and express their critical stance. Somehow, therefore, the possibilities opened up by festivals evoke a transformative functionality, an eruption of forces and potentialities that are already immanent to the urban space itself but not evident in the everyday life of the city. The festival represents, therefore, a cutting edge, a force of deterritorialisation capable to provoke the eruption of these forces, or to echo Deleuze and Guattari (1987), to activate a war machine.

References

Bakhtin M (1984) Rabelais and his world, trans. Iswolsky H. Indiana University Press, Bloomington
Beltane Fire Society (2018) https://beltane.org/. Accessed Oct 2019
Buchanan I, Lambert G (eds) (2005) Deleuze and space. University of Toronto Press, Toronto
Butler J (1997) Excitable speech: a politics of the performative. Routledge, London
Calder D (2019) Street theatre and the production of postindustrial space: working memories. Manchester University Press, Manchester
Conley V (2010) Space. In: Parr A (ed) The Deleuze dictionary. University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, pp 261–263
Crociani-Windland L (2011) Festivals, affect and identity: a Deleuzian apprenticeship in central Italian communities. Anthem press, London
Daskalaki M, Mould O (2013) Beyond urban subcultures: urban subversions as rhizomatic social formations. Int J Urban Reg Res 37(1):1–18
De Certeau M (1984) The practice of everyday life, trans. Rendall S. University of California Press, Berkley
Deleuze G (1987) Dialogues with Clare Parnet, trans. Tomlinson H and Habberjam B. Athlone Press, London
Deleuze G (1994) Difference and repetition, trans. Patton P. Athlone Press, London
Deleuze G, Guattari F (1987) A thousand plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia, translated by Massumi B. Continuum, London
Devismes L (2013) Regional events and festivals in Europe: revitalizing traditions and modernizing identities. In: Merkel U (ed) Power, Politics and International Events. Routledge, New York, pp 47–66
Foucault M (1982) The subject and power. In: Dreyfus HL, Rabinow P (eds) Michel Foucault, beyond structuralism and hermeneutics, 2nd edn. University of Chicago Press, Chicago
Giovanardi M, Lucarelli A, Decosta PLE (2014) Co-performing tourism places: the "Pink Night" festival. Ann Tour Res 44:102–115
Heath T (2018) Saving space: strategies of space reclamation at early women's film festivals and queer film festivals today. Stsud Eur Cinema 15(1):41–54
Hetherington K (1997) The badlands of modernity: heterotopia and social ordering. Routledge, London
Hill A (1980s) Acid house and Thatcherism: contesting spaces in late 1980s Britain. Space Polity 7(3):219–232
Hobsbawm EJ, Ranger TO (1983) The invention of tradition. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
Houston RA (2008) Scotland: a very short introduction. Oxford University Press, Oxford
ICH Scotland (2019) https://ichscotland.org/. Accessed 30 Nov 2019
Jimura T (2019) World Heritage sites: tourism Local Communities and Conservation Activities. CABI, Wallingford
Johansson M, Kociatkiewic J (2011) City festivals: creativity and control in staged urban experiences. Eur Urban Reg Stud 18(4):392–405
Kamalipour H, Peimani N (2015) Assemblage thinking and the city: Implications for urban studies. Curr Urban Stud 3(4):402–408
Koster M, Nuijten M (2016) Coproducing urban space: rethinking the formal/informal dichotomy. Singap J Trop Geogr 37(3):282–294
Lowrey J (2001) From Caesarea to Athens: greek revival Edinburgh and the question of Scottish identity within the Unionist State. J Soc Archit Hist 60(2):136–157
MacCulloch JA (2009) Religion of the ancient celts. Routledge, London
Markwell K, Waitt G (2009) Festivals, space and sexuality: gay pride in Australia. Tour Geogr 11(2):143–168
Matheson CM, Rimmer R, Tinsley R (2014) Spiritual attitudes and visitor motivations at the Beltane fire festival, Edinburgh. Tour Manage 44:16–33

Matheson CM, Tinsley R (2016) The carnivalesque and event evolution: a study of the Beltane fire festival. Leisure Stud 35(1):1–27
McKee KC (2015) The Genius Loci of the Athens of the North: the cultural significance of Edinburgh's Calton Hill. Garden History 43:64–69
McKee KC (2018) Calton Hill. Birlinn, Edinburgh
Meek J (2015) Queervoices in post-war Scotland. Male homosexuality, religion and society. Palgrave MacMillan, New York
Monaghan P (2014) The encyclopedia of Celtic mythology and folklore. Infobase Publishing, New York
Mould O (2009) Parkour, the city, the event. Environ Plan D Soc Space 27(4):738–750
Munro I, Jordan S (2013) 'Living Space' at the Edinburgh festival fringe: spatial tactics and the politics of smooth space. Hum Relat 66(11):1497–1525
Museums Galleries Scotland (2019) https://www.museumsgalleriesscotland.org.uk/. Accessed 30 Nov 2019
Naik AS, Stewart MC (2007) The Hellenization of Edinburgh: cityscape, architecture, and the Athenian cast collection. J Soc Archit Historians 66(3):366–389
Olsen CS (2013) Re-thinking festivals: a comparative study of the integration/marginalization of arts festivals in the urban regimes of Manchester, Copenhagen and Vienna. Int J Cult Policy 19(4):481–500
Parr A (2010) The Deleuze dictionary. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh
Paterson L (2019) Calton Hill. Scott Aff 28(3):362–365
Prentice R, Andersen V (2003) Festival as creative destination. Ann Tour Res 30(1):7–30
Richards G (2014) Creativity and tourism in the city. Curr Issues Tour 17(2):119–144
Rofe MW, Woosnam CL (2016) Festivals as a vehicle for place promotion: cars, contestation and the creative city ethos. Landscape Res 41(3):344–359
Shields R (1991) Places on the margin: alternative geographies of modernity. Routledge, New York
Smith L (2006) Uses of heritage. Routledge, New York
Smith A (2017) Animation or denigration? Using urban public spaces as event venues. Event Manage 21(5):609–619
Villanueva (2013) The Urban (in) formal: reinterpreting the globalized city through Deleuze and Guattari. https://digital.lib.washington.edu/researchworks/handle/1773/22867. Accessed 30 Nov 2019
Visit Scotland (2015) Scotland the perfect stage. Scotland's event strategy 2015–2025. https://www.eventscotland.org/assets/show/4658. Accessed 20 Oct 2019
Wise N (2014) Layers of the landscape: representation and perceptions of an ordinary (Shared) sport landscape in a Haitian and Dominican community. Geogr Res 52(2):212–222
Wise N, Clark J (eds) (2017) Urban transformations: geographies of renewal and creative change. Routledge, London
Wise N, Flinn J, Mulec I (2015) Exit festival: contesting political pasts, impacts on youth culture and regenerating the image of serbia and novi sad. In: Pernecky T, Moufakkir O (eds) Ideological, Social and Cultural Aspects of Events. CABI, Wallingford, pp 60–73
Young E (2015) The Deleuze and Guattari dictionary. Bloomsbury Academic, London

Chapter 9
A Geospatial Approach to Conserving Cultural Heritage Tourism at Kumbh Mela Events in India

Kakoli Saha and Rachna Khare

Abstract Kumbh Mela (the festival of the sacred Pitcher) is the largest peaceful congregation of pilgrims, held in India. During this festival, participants bathe in a sacred river (UNESCO 2017). This study explores how Geographic Information Systems (GIS) can be used to focus on sites of urban regeneration for conserving cultural heritage tourism related to Kumbh Mela. This chapter focuses on the city of Ujjain (in the state of Madhya Pradesh), one of the four Indian cities that host the festival. Ujjain is considered one of the world's oldest religious cities, with over 5000 years of history. During the last Kumbh Mela in 2016, Ujjain City registered 80 million tourist visits. This paper discusses two approaches through which Ujjain City can enhance the Kumbh experience of pilgrims while they visit and stay in the city. The first approach talks about enhancing the universal accessibility of bathing in *ghat areas* using GIS. *Ghat* areas, situated along the sacred Kshipra River, are the most important as these places experience the maximum footfall during the Kumbh Mela event. The second approach discusses how geospatial approaches can be utilized to provide safety to pilgrims, which must be considered in future development planning, as the event is prone to stampedes given the number of visitors. Approaches thus proposed in this study may be adopted by other host cities of Kumbh Mela which will ultimately help conserve heritage aspects of the event.

Keywords Kumbh Mela · GIS · Universal accessibility · Placemaking

K. Saha (✉)
Department of Planning, School of Planning and Architecture, Bhopal, India
e-mail: kakolisaha@spabhopal.ac.in

R. Khare
Department of Architecture, School of Planning and Architecture, Bhopal, India

N. Wise and T. Jimura (eds.), *Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration*,
The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41905-9_9

9.1 Introduction

The number of people visiting places of unique cultural and historical significance has been on the rise in the past decade (Timothy and Nyaupane 2009; Jimura 2019). Heritage tourism includes visitation to unique built cultural environments (e.g. monuments, historic public buildings and homes, farms and castles) and to experience intangible elements of culture (e.g. music, dance, festivals and events). Kumbh Mela (the festival of the sacred Pitcher) is one of such religious events and has been more or less continuous since the Gupta period from the fourth to the sixth centuries (Merhotra and Vera 2015). Owing to its importance to Indian culture and the culture as a whole, UNESCO has listed Kumbh Mela on its representative list of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2017. This month-long event is the largest peaceful congregation of Hindu pilgrims on earth, where participants bathe (or take a dip) in a sacred river. Prayagraj (Allahabad), Haridwar, Ujjain and Nasik Cities are the four locations for Kumbh Mela. While Haridwar, Ujjain and Nasik Cities are located at the bank of sacred rivers like the Ganges, Kshipra and Godavari, respectively, Prayagraj lies at the sangam (confluence) of the Ganga, Yamuna and mythical Saraswati Rivers.

The study has been conducted during the recent *Purna* (full) Kumbh Mela which was held in Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh (see map in Fig. 9.1) from the 22 April to 22 May 2016. Home to one of the twelve Jyotirlinga shrines to the god 'Shiva' (Mahakaleshwar), Ujjain (also historically known as Ujjayini) is one of the seven sacred cities of the Hinduism (Sapta Puri—seven holy pilgrimage centres in India). About 3 million annual tourist visits, Ujjain is a prominent pilgrimage destination in India. The footfall of pilgrims increases many fold during the occasion of the Kumbh Mela. Since bathing/taking a holy dip is the most important ritual of Kumbh pilgrimage, the study is concentrated along main bathing *ghats* of Kshipra River.

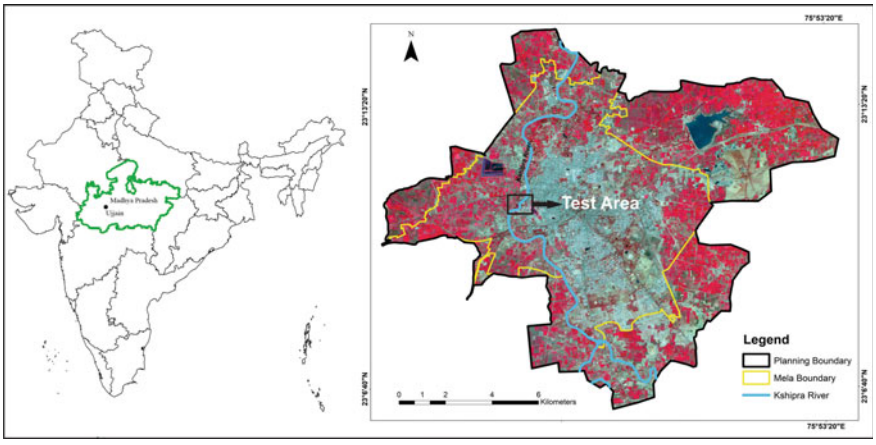

Fig. 9.1 Location of Ujjain City and location of Mela boundary within Ujjain City

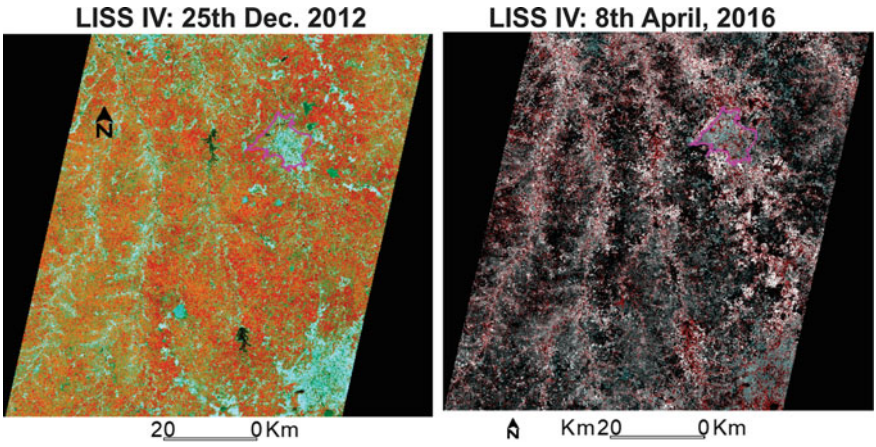

Fig. 9.2 LISS IV data of temporal resolution (Data details, Coordinate System: UTM, Datum-WGS1984; Satellite ID: IRS-R2; Spatial resolution: 5.8 m; Lower left corner: 23.402000N, 75.223000E; Upper right corner: 22.639000N, 76.045000E; Spectral Bands [band width] B2: Green [520–590 μm], B3: Red [620–680 μm], B4: Near-Infrared or NIR [770–860 μm])

Concerning the data used in this chapter, two satellite images acquired by Linear Imaging Self-Scanning (LISS) IV sensor have been used in this research. One image was acquired on 25 December 2012 and another was acquired on 8 April 2016 (see Fig. 9.2, specific information about the data is provided). The potential of geospatial technique to conserve the cultural heritage of Kumbh is explored in three ways: 1. by performing universal accessibility assessment of *ghat* areas, 2. by documenting facilities and amenities during the Kumbh event and 3. by analysing placemaking exercises around *ghat* areas.

Intangible cultural heritage refers to practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills, as well as instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated with communities, groups and in some cases, individuals (Jimura 2019). Moreover, intangible cultural heritage is transmitted from generation to generation and is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and changing history, providing people and associated places with a sense of identity and continuity—thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. The domain of cultural heritage includes oral traditions and expressions, language, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe as well as traditional craftsmanship (Stefano et al. 2014).

There are three versions of Kumbh Mela held in India. Maha (great) Kumbh Mela happens once every 144 years and is only held in Pragraaj (Allahabad). It is a once in a lifetime event for those who are able to attend during their lifetime. Purna (full) Kumbh Mela happens once every 12 years, and the event rotates among the four host cities in India mentioned above. Ardh (half) Kumbh is held every 6 years in India and is held in 2 places: Haridwar and Prayagraj. The most recent *Purna* Kumbh Mela

took place from 22 April to 21 May 2016 in Ujjain, with an estimated attendance of 80 million people. The pilgrimage is completely funded by the central and state government, and the 2016 Kumbh had a budget of $428 million (Ujjain Smart City Proposal 2016). The money was mostly spent on infrastructure to facilitate the above-mentioned footfall during this month-long event, and thus the government investing heavily in tourism-led regeneration of that will receive high amounts of footfall, so to accommodate the pilgrims.

This paper explores the potential for using GIS to explore and identify sites of urban regeneration to assist planners with conserving cultural heritage tourism related to Kumbh Mela. Since universal accessibility and safety are two important factors associated with Kumbh, GIS techniques are proposed to optimize both parameters. Universal accessibility and safety will enhance tourism aspect of the Kumbh Mela event, ultimately helping regenerate sites (e.g. bathing in *ghat* areas along Kshipra River) within Ujjain City where they experience maximum footfall during the event (this helps with spatial planning and managing high concentrations of visitors during these events).

9.2 Understanding Kumbh Mela

Scholars have studied the origin of the Kumbh Mela and found its mention in the *Skanda Purana* (Bonazzoli 1977; Dubey 2001; Lochtefeld 2004). Puranas mean 'old stories' passed down and amplified in one version after another. According to scholars, puranas also mention auspicious occasions of ritual bathing that liberate human from the circle of life (Hindus believe in rebirth). Due to this belief, a holy dip in rivers during Kumbh has the most spiritual value. The pilgrims dip fully into the water thrice and take the waters in their cupped hands to pour it again into the river as an offering to the gods and to the ancestors. They make offerings of flowers and oil lamps, floating them into the current of mother waters (Merhotra and Vera 2015).

Apart from bathing in the sacred waters, pilgrims flock to Kumbh Mela to receive blessings of the ascetics. Those who engage in ascetic practices in a difficult environment devote their life to Hindu deities and are believed to have a supernatural power. As these ascetics live in remote mountainous areas, there are limited opportunities for common people to see these ascetics. Kumbh Mela is one of such rare opportunities and characterized by the massive presence of the orders of the ascetics. These orders are referred to as Akharas and there are 13 represented at the Kumbh Mela, both Shaivite (worshiper of Lord Shiva) and Vaishnavite (worshiper of lord Vishnu). As the dates of the Kumbh Mela approach, each of the Akharas receives a formal invitation to the mela from the government authorities in charge. The Akharas was allotted a land within Kumbh Mela grounds, nearly adjacent to the riverbank where they reside in a camp set by authorities. Each camp raises a huge flagpole to symbolize the deity of the Akhara. To transform the space for the event and surplus of visitors, great gateways are built along one of the main roads to mark the entryway into the

Akhara. In their mela conclaves, the Akharas initiate members, discuss policies and elect officers. *Shahi Snan* (the Royal Bathing Days) are astrologically auspicious, each of these Akharas take out Royal Procession. The head of Akharas, the monastic orders of renunciants ride atop elephants, tractors or flatbed trucks, elaborately decorated with flowers and surmounted by the umbrella of royalty. Behind them follow the members of the Akhara, carrying the insignia of their order, their scantily clad or completely naked bodies besmeared with ash for the sacred bathing (Merhotra and Vera 2015).

The great Kumbh Mela is a pop-up megacity of roads, bridges and shelters temporarily regenerated for the event and pilgrims. In addition, temporary hospitals, markets, police stations and social centres are put in place, each replicating the functions of a permanent city. The accumulation of units converges in an endless texture of textiles, plastic, plywood and several other materials, each organized in a smart infrastructural grid that articulates roads, electricity and waste. The pavilions constructed along the main street of the Kumbh City have colourful gateways, decorated with flags, flashing lights and spinning fluorescent pinwheels. Halls are provided where hundreds of pilgrims may sit for the discourses of a famous teacher. Gurus sit with their disciples and interpret sacred texts. Yogis demonstrate their spiritual accomplishments. Popular singers and musical artists are invited to perform. Some of the great pavilions are built especially to house the theatre troupes that perform the religious plays (*lilas*) in which actors enact favourite scenes from the major epic of ancient India, typically Ramayana or the life of Hindu deities such as Krishna. These performances occur twice a day, in the morning and evening, and conclude with worship times, religious songs and a ceremonial lamp and flower offering to the principal actors who portray the deities. Pilgrims can also buy their daily necessities and various wares and trinkets of religious life from the shops laid on Mela grounds or mobile shops on the cart. Thus, Kumbh Mela combines the festivity of a festival and a fair with the intention and devotion of a pilgrimage (Merhotra and Vera 2015).

9.3 Kumbh Mela and Cultural Heritage Tourism

Cultural tourism is recognized as a form of special-interest tourism, where culture forms the basis of either attracting tourists or motivating people to travel (Stebbins 1996; McKercher and Du Cros 2002). Cultural tourism can be experienced in purpose-built facilities (such as museums, art galleries or heritage theme parks) or purpose-designed cultural settings (such as dance shows or indigenous ritual performances). When cultural heritage is used by tourism as an asset, it is called cultural heritage tourism (McKercher and Du Cros 2002). The event of Kumbh encapsulates the science of astronomy, astrology, spirituality, ritualistic traditions and socio-cultural customs/practices, making it extremely meaningful to those involved and rich in knowledge production and consumption for those attending as onlookers. In India, its primary bearers, however, belong to Akhadas and ashrams, which are the religious organizations. The teacher–student relationship of the sadhus in the ashrams

and Akhadas remains the most important method of imparting and safeguarding knowledge and skills relating to Kumbh Mela (UNESCO 2017).

Several scholars have studied Kumbh in different perspectives. Maclean (2009) found Kumbh pilgrims have always incorporated an element of tourism into their religious journey, highlighting that while Indian pilgrims seem to cross the boundary into tourism rather seamlessly, the transition from Indian tourist to pilgrim is perhaps not so fluid. Mela managers in the 1940s, under pressure from conservative religious interests, including the Sadhu Akharas, responded to this by positioning the non-religious elements on the fringes of the mela area (where the attendant fair can still be found today). Maclean (2009) further argues that the distinctions between pilgrim and tourist are not always easy to discern and that it is possible to experience an event like the Kumbh across both modalities. Since 2001 the mela administration encouraged tourism to the Kumbh Mela, advertising it in such a way to make it appeal to the alternative tourist. It is now listed as one of the 100 Things to Do Before You Die, a guidebook of 'must-have' experiences for serious adventurers. Lonely Planet recommends that the intrepid traveller hires a boat at the sangam 'with Indians on pilgrimage'. This way, while on board the boat, the tourist can experience the mela as authentically as possible (Maclean 2009).

There has been a significant increase in foreign tourist activities offered during the event. To accommodate visitors and maximize the economic benefits, the city has found ways to prepare. Kumbh Mela is now widely advertised in a number of tourist publications. To facilitate tourists, the Mela launched an official website which contains information about travel packages and guided tours, as well as a list of trained tour guides and the different languages offered (with fees and charges set by the tourism department). New developments were also observed along these very transit lines as well as in the heart of the city. There were about 467 hotels, lodges and guest houses to accommodate the concentrations of pilgrimages who utilize local and tourism offers and opportunities in and around the city. According to the 2011 census, there were 22 non-star hotels, 25 hostels (Dharamshalas) and one hotel with star ranking before Kumbh Mela in 2016. Most of these hotels have been upgraded and a range of accommodations have been built using investment made under Kumbh 2016. Out of which, two 3-star hotels were built by the Madhya Pradesh State Tourism Development Co-operation Ltd., and four others were constructed by private parties. The state tourism department also registered eight homestays. Other than hotels, out of total 563 km of city roads, 279.55 kms of existing roads were redeveloped (with road user facilities) to ease the movement of people and traffic during Kumbh (Ujjain Smart City Proposal 2016). There were nearly 34,000 toilets made available during Kumbh for sanitation purposes. Widespread arrangements were made to collect nearly 2,000 metric tonnes of litter during the Kumbh event.

Given the extensive regeneration efforts to prepare Ujjain for the event and the high concentrations of tourists, a challenge that cultural tourism destinations face is finding the best balance between catering to and accommodating tourism/tourists and cultural heritage management. Regenerating spaces and places is complex given the need to accommodate social and environmental demands while focusing on the economic impact of the event (Wise 2016). This concerns that balance between the

consumption of extrinsic values by tourists and conservation of the intrinsic values of cultural heritage (see Jimura 2019). Tourists, as interested and legitimate users of an area, in many destinations today make the conservation of cultural heritage resource a demanding process, and a necessary priority as visitors and eventgoers seek a unique experience (see also Wise and Mulec 2015).

To meet this demand, Information and Communication Technology has long been used for the protection and enhancement of cultural heritage particularly when dealing with significant monumental complexes and especially tourist yields. Apollonio et al. (2017) list projects implemented in Italy to document and assist with the management of cultural monument restorations. Hadjimitsis et al. (2013) used remote sensing and GIS to explore natural and anthropogenic risk of cultural heritage in Cyprus. Brovelli et al. (2013) explained how NASA World Wind virtual globe can be shaped to increase awareness of cultural history and in turn enhances the touristic experience. With these examples, we get a sense of how web-based GIS has been used to build large archives. GIS can make use of 2D geometric information (vector data), alphanumeric ones (text documents, hypertext and semi-structured text in different categories, external data attached to system forms) and raster images as the reference background. Such storing of data is ideal for documenting spaces, as noted, and likewise helps to identify spaces where planners need to concentrate regeneration efforts.

So far, geospatial technology has never been applied to Kumbh Mela to assess and conserve cultural heritage tourism. To do so, the first approach discusses to use GIS technique to assess universal accessibility of *ghat* areas of Ujjain City. Since pilgrimage in Hindu tradition is always seen as a form of penance and indeed even today imposed as punishment or relief for offenses, persons with disability and aged are a significant part of the pilgrims at Kumbh Mela. In this context, universal accessibility of host cities of the Kumbh Mela needs to be reviewed. In this research, GIS is used to assess the accessibility status of bathing *ghats* of Ujjain City which experience maximum footfall during the event.

Because of influx of millions of pilgrims, Kumbh Mela is always prone to man-made disasters. Merhotra and Vera (2015) have listed disaster risks at Kumbh in their book '*Kumbh Mela: Mapping the Ephemeral Megacity*'. They note that wet and slippery bathing *ghats* pose risk of disaster. If there is a tragedy on a *ghat*, there is a chain reaction and people slip in. There is also a risk of stampedes at bottlenecks where the input end is much smaller than the output end. The 1954 Kumbh Mela stampede has been the deadliest since India's independence, with an estimated 1,000 deaths. The 2003 Kumbh Mela stampede killed 39 people in the city of Nashik, and seven were killed during the 2010 Kumbh Mela in Haridwar. Most recently, in 2013 Kumbh of Allahabad, 42 people were killed and 45 people were injured due to stampede. To safeguard pilgrims and tourists from the stampede, the meticulous attention to detail, from layout and geospatial distribution of facilities and resources need to be mapped on a dynamic basis in response to ground-level clientele feedback. In this context, the second approach discusses how geospatial technology can be used to map geospatial distribution of facilities and resources provided at Kumbh to avoid man-made disaster like a stampede.

9.4 Universal Accessibility Assessment of *Ghat* Areas

The concept and framework of universal accessibility in context of tourism is a neglected area in India (Mullick 2011). As a result, very little information and knowledge is available in this context. At the government level (especially), hardly any credible documentations are available to provide a clear understanding of the subject (Problems and Prospects of Accessible Tourism in India 2010). The methodology for assessing universal accessibility of *ghat* area for pilgrims with disability is comprised of four steps: 1. selecting road stretches around *ghat* area, 2. preparation of an audit checklist (audit checklists were prepared to assess universal accessibility of selected road stretches), 3. performing the universal accessibility audit (accessibility audit was performed using purpose-made checklists) and 4. GIS analysis (performed to prepare maps showing hierarchy of accessible zones around the *ghat* area within Ujjain City). To select road stretches around the *ghat* area, three bathing *ghats* were identified (Site 1. Ramghat to Chakrateerth *ghat*, Site 2. Ramghat to Mahakaal Temple and Site 3. Narsingh *ghat* area) as shown in Fig. 9.3.

To prepare the audit checklist, a National Council of Applied Economic Research study helped to reveal the socio-economic and touring behaviour of Indian households (but it was short of specific information on persons with reduced mobility and the disadvantaged groups). The Indian Institute of Tourism and Travel Management published a report on Problems and Prospects of Accessible Tourism in India (2010). The main objectives of the study were set to examine various socio-economic and travel-related attributes of the tourists with reduced mobility, including their major issues and constraints during different stages of travel and the potential of developing inclusive tourism market as special-interest visitor segment. Six attractions within

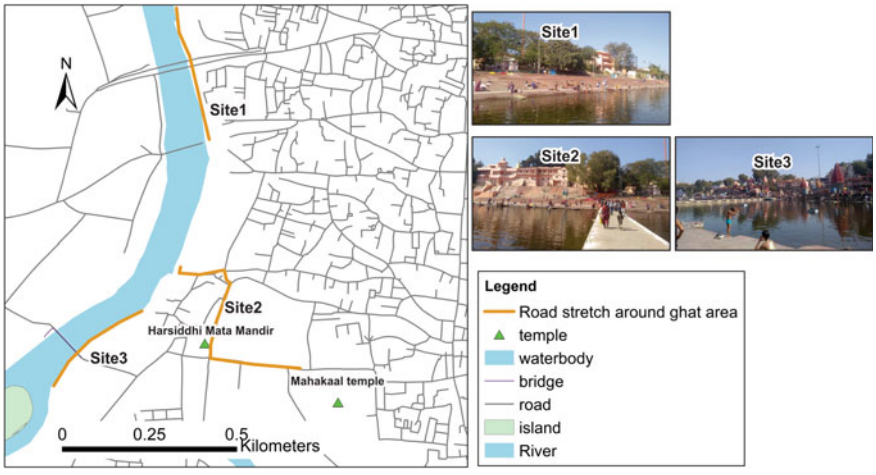

Fig. 9.3 Location of selected road stretches around *ghat* area for universal accessibility assessment (Photographs by authors)

India were selected and a total of 1,205 tourists with reduced mobility were surveyed as part of the study. The study found that disabled tourists have to face many barriers at booking stage itself (Problems and Prospects of Accessible Tourism in India 2010). Besides this report focusing on India, other relevant guidelines and checklists were also referred such as Access—improving the accessibility of historic buildings and places (2011), Code of practice on improving access to heritage buildings (Martin 1999), Accessible routes in heritage cities (Ambrose et al. 2013) and Ministry of Urban Development (2016).

Using the above-mentioned references, 10 parameters, such as signages, kerb ramps, tactile guiding and warning blocks, traffic signals, parking space, approach to building, planned pedestrian routes, subways and foot overbridges, barriers and hazards and planned pedestrian routes included in the checklist. While making the checklists, disabilities considered were cognitive impaired, complete and partial blindness, elderly, hearing impaired, persons with missing limbs, speech impaired and persons in wheelchairs.

To assist with performing the universal accessibility survey using the checklists, a group of students helped to conduct the survey (they were each trained on universal accessibility and universal access audits). Student assistants were then sent to cover road stretches of the *ghat* area with the checklist. The checklist had three columns. First contained the main parameter and associated sub-parameters. The second column contained standards according to Ministry of Urban Development (2016) published by Govt. of India. In the third column, students recorded information against each sub-parameter in terms of 'Yes' or 'No'. Each 'Yes' is counted as one, and the ones are added up to give the total score for each parameter, for example, parameter like 'subways and foot overbridge' has five sub-parameters. As a result, the maximum score for that parameter is then five. If the particular road stretch around the *ghat* area has two of those five sub-parameters, then the score will be two for that parameter. In this way, scores were given under each parameter for entire stretch and total accessibility score was calculated for each stretch. After calculating the total accessibility score, relative percentage score was calculated (see Table 9.1). Then, on the basis of the relative accessibility score in percentage, parameter-wise ranking was done for each site. In case of similar scores, same ranks were assigned and next ranks were skipped (Table 9.1). These rankings were then further used in GIS analysis to look at targeting spaces to regeneration to improve accessibility.

Finally, the GIS analysis was performed in three steps. First, the parameter-wise accessibility rankings within the stretch were incorporated in a GIS platform. Second, raster maps were prepared for each accessibility parameter. Third, separate weights were given to each accessibility parameter and overlay analysis was performed. The final output of overlay analysis shows the hierarchy of accessible zones around the *ghat* area. For the purpose of the GIS analysis, first the road network around selected sites was digitized in ArcGIS platform. Using the fishnet tool in ArcGIS, the *ghat* area was divided into 50 m $\times$ 50 m grids. Each grid has a central point or centroid. Grids which were overlapping road stretches of City Entry Points were selected and saved as separate layer. Parameter-wise ranking within stretches was then added in the attribute table of centroids of selected grids.

Table 9.1 Relative accessibility score and parameter-wise accessibility ranking

Relative accessibility score (based on percentage)

Site	Subways and foot overbridges	Traffic signals	Kerb ramps	Tactile guiding and warning blocks	Barriers and hazards	Parking space	Approach to building	Planned pedestrian routes	Signages	Sidewalks/Footpaths	Total score
Site 1	7.69	0	3.85	0	7.69	15.38	0	3.84	50	11.54	100%
Site 2	5.00	5.00	7.50	0	12.50	12.50	0	7.50	42.50	7.50	100%
Site 3	6.52	2.17	15.21	6.52	6.52	10.87	4.35	6.52	34.78	6.62	100%

Parameter-wise accessibility ranking

Site	Subways and foot overbridges	Traffic signals	Kerb ramps	Tactile guiding and warning blocks	Barriers and hazards	Parking space	Approach to building	Planned pedestrian routes	Signages	Sidewalks/Footpaths
Site 1	12	1	2	1	3	8	1	5	10	9
Site 2	6	12	6	1	10	6	1	12	8	6
Site 3	11	7	10	12	2	5	4	10	3	3

Since there were 10 parameters to assess universal accessibility, thematic maps were generated using the Inverse Distance Weighted (IDW) tool in ArcGIS to interpolate a surface from points (ArcGIS Desktop Help). The weight is a function of inverse distance. Thus, nearby data will have the most influence, and the surface will have more detail. Ten classified maps containing high, medium and low accessibility zones were further added to the weighted sum tool, which is an ArcGIS geoprocessing tool that overlays several rasters, multiplying each by their given weight and summing them together. Weights were assigned to the individual layers of accessibility parameter on the basis of expert opinions. The group of experts consisted of academicians and stakeholders. As there were 10 parameters, weights were given in the order of 10 to 1. 'Planned Pedestrian routes' got the maximum weightage of 10, while 'accessible parking lot' got the minimum weightage of 1. The weighted sum tool multiplied each raster layer by their given weight and summed them together. This helped us to identify zones of high, medium and low accessibility around the *ghat* area (see Fig. 9.4).

From the map in Fig. 9.4, it can be concluded that Site 1 belongs to low accessibility, while Sites 2 and 3 fall within the zone of medium accessibility. Site 1 scored zeros in three accessibility parameters, including traffic signals, tactile guiding and warning blocks, approach to building. Improvement in these parameters is necessary as this site often experiences mass gatherings of pilgrims. Site 2 scored zero in tactile guiding and warning blocks and approach to building parameter. Although Site 3 did not see any zero scores in any parameter, it scored the lowest in barrier and hazards and signages among three stretches (refer back to Table 9.1 concerning these mentioned parameter scores for the three sites). During Kumbh Mela, these three stretches along the *ghat* area are most important to pilgrims as they take a holy dip in the Kshipra River and then visit the temples. Improvement in identified parameters is necessary to enhance both pilgrimage and Kumbh Mela tourism experiences.

9.5 Documentation of Facilities and Amenities During Kumbh Mela

Besides making the *ghat* area accessible, the cultural tourism experience of Kumbh can also be enhanced by making it safe. Safety is an important part of tourism regeneration and planning. As mentioned earlier, Kumbh Mela is prone to disasters like stampedes with the high concentrations of pilgrims and visitors in the *ghat* areas (especially during the days of *Shahi Snan*). Disasters can be avoided if the pilgrims are informed about the facilities and services available around the *ghat* area during the Kumbh Mela. Since facilities including emergency services are temporary structures, they do not appear on geospatial maps that are available online. Also, Kumbh Mela authorities provide maps showing proposed locations of amenities and services around *ghat* areas. Those proposed locations often differ from the actual location, and thus these maps may not be useful to prevent disasters. In this research,

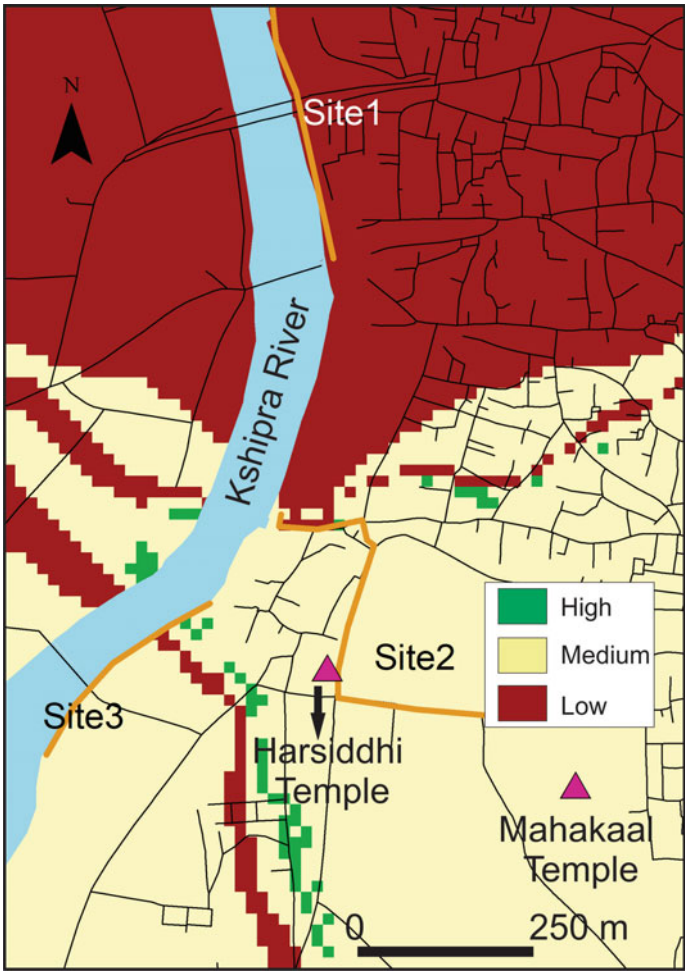

Fig. 9.4 Map produced in GIS showing zones of high, medium and low accessibility around the *ghat* area

existing temporary structures around *ghat* areas were marked using the geospatial tool. To understand the amenities and services used by pilgrims and tourists around the *ghat* area during the Kumbh Mela, an activity flow shows the use and designation of spaces. Given the high concentrations of tourists, insight from this case is transferrable because it can be adapted and applied to other cases hosting (very) crowded events, as it can be a challenge for destinations that accommodate high numbers of pilgrims and tourists. Then these destinations can adapt a similar approach to managing spaces and targeting key spaces that need to be regenerated or changed.

To address the spatial configurations and changes that need to be addressed, the Kumbh Mela activity flow begins with pilgrims and tourists reaching the *ghat* area,

approaching the steps to walk down to take a holy dip in the Kshipra River before climbing up to the changing rooms (temporarily built on the top of steps or at the beginning of steps). After changing clothes, they then visit the temple to offer Puja (worship). Pilgrims often require facilities such as toilets, drinking water, tea stalls and open areas. In the event of an emergency, they look for services like police stations, help desks, fire stations and shelters, so it is important that these are clearly identified as key attributes in the maps. After understanding this behaviour, or routine of each pilgrim, a group of professors from School of Planning and Architecture, Bhopal, India, then visited the Kumbh Mela held in Ujjain City in 2016 to document facilities and amenities using GPS devices. The location of these temporary structures was then imported on the LISS IV images of the site (see again Fig. 9.2).

Figure 9.5 shows location of major landmarks, exits, changing rooms and amenities along with corresponding photographs. A map showing location of the *ghat*, changing rooms, exits and temples will facilitate a pilgrim with or without disabilities to plan his/her visit. On the other hand, location of necessary amenities like toilet and drinking water on a map will help the pilgrims to understand their proximity from those amenities. Figure 9.5 also shows location of major landmarks and services along with corresponding photographs. Location of public parking area near the *ghats* shows access towards the *ghats*. Location of police stations, help desk and fire stations will help pilgrims with disabilities to understand the proximity of emergency services. On the other hand, location of *shivirs* (shelter) and open space will

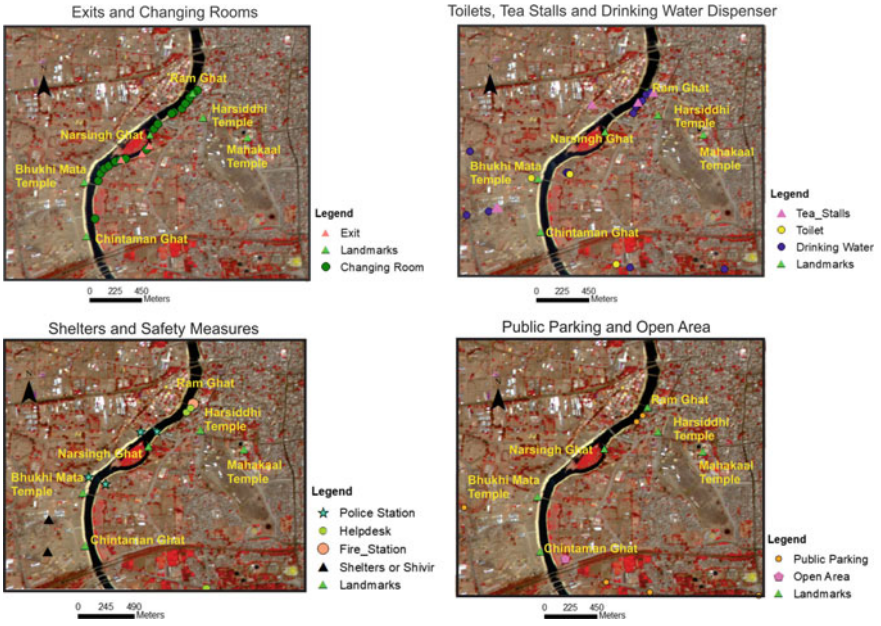

Fig. 9.5 Location of exits from *ghat* and amenities around the *ghat* area (top two images) and location of facilities around the test area (bottom two images)

provide the information on place to take a rest or refuge during the stampede like emergency. The main advantage of geospatial technique is that it can provide a platform where detailed layout and geospatial distribution of amenities and services can be mapped on a dynamic basis. Empowering pilgrims about the exact location of amenities and services can make their Kumbh experience safer.

9.6 Discussion and Conclusion

The Kumbh Mela is the largest religious gathering on earth (Merhotra and Vera 2015). For more than a month every 12 years, this sacred tradition brings tens of millions of people to the banks of sacred rivers in four host cities in India. Kumbh Mela plays a central spiritual role in the country, exerting a mesmeric influence on ordinary Indians. During more recent events, western travellers have been attracted to seek and experience spiritual India. Owing to its importance to Indian culture, UNESCO has designated Kumbh Mela on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. In spite of growing interest in Kumbh Mela, there is a dearth of consolidated research on the dynamics of cultural heritage tourism in the Kumbh Mela. This knowledge is vital for the conservation of cultural heritage and the longevity of tourism concerning this event, especially when it comes to spatial planning, regeneration and universal accessibility. This paper details the potential of using GIS to conserve cultural heritage tourism of Kumbh Mela. For the purpose of the study and to show how this can be used, we focused on Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh as a case study.

The geospatial approaches discussed in this paper are proposed in the context of Ujjain City. The approaches can be adopted by other host cities of Kumbh Mela mentioned above which will ultimately help to conserve cultural heritage aspect of Kumbh, and in other cases. As a method to conserve cultural heritage tourism using GIS, this paper talks about two approaches. The first approach deals with GIS technique to assess universal accessibility of *ghat* areas of Ujjain City. The final output of the analysis was a map showing the hierarchy of accessible zones ranging from high to low. The extracted zones will help the Kumbh authorities to identify and prioritize areas that are needed to be improved to enhance both pilgrimage and cultural heritage tourism experience of the Kumbh Mela. The analysis also identifies accessibility parameters which need immediate attention to improve the accessibility status of *ghat* area, which is important to consider in studies assessing tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration. The second approach talks about making Kumbh safer by using geospatial technology to map those temporary structures which provide facilities including emergency services. The final output of this analysis also maps showing location of exits from *ghat* area and location of emergency services which pilgrims can avail in case of emergency. If these types of maps with corresponding photographs are prepared during Kumbh it will not only facilitate both tourists and pilgrims, but also help the local authorities for smooth organization of the event.

The Kumbh Mela has evoked endless fascination and scrutiny by observers dating back to the Chinese and Arab itinerant scholars from centuries past, to contemporary academics now making use of geospatial technologies. This multi-century old cultural heritage needs to be conserved, which is a demanding process given the high concentrations of pilgrims and cultural tourists. While GIS has been used to address the conservation of heritage, its application is minimal when attempting to assess cases focusing on intangible cultural heritage (like the Kumbh Mela). Therefore, this chapter explores and discusses the potential of using GIS as a tool to conserve cultural heritage tourism. The approaches proposed for Ujjain City can be adopted in other host cities. If all host cities of the Kumbh better attempt to make the Kumbh Mela universally accessible and safe it will ultimately help to conserve the intangible cultural heritage value and experiences gained by attending the event.

Acknowledgements The research has been funded by 'Universal Design Innovation for Heritage' project under Design Innovation Centre (DIC) of School of Planning and Architecture, Bhopal, India. DIC is funded by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India. Authors like to thank the DIC team members for collecting data at Kumbh Mela.

References

Access-improving the accessibility of historic buildings and places (2011) National Disability Authority. Dublin, Ireland

Ambrose I, Balmas S, Barragán I, Medina H, Orejas M (2013) Accessible route in historical cities. Maria European Foundation Centre, Brussels, Belgium, pp 1–40

Apollonio FI, Rizzo F, Bertacchi S, Dall'Osso G, Corbelli A, Grana C (2017) SACHER: smart architecture for cultural heritage in Emilia Romagna. In Italian research conference on digital libraries. Springer, Cham, pp 142–156

Bonazzoli G (1977) Prayaga and its Kumbha Mela. Parana 19(1):81–160

Brovelli MA, Hogan P, Minghini M, Zamboni G (2013) The power of Virtual Globes for valorising cultural heritage and enabling sustainable tourism: NASA World Wind applications. International Archives of the Photogrammetry, Remote Sensing and Spatial Information Sciences 4:W2

Code of Practice-on Accessibility of Public Services and Information (2006) Public bodies—national disability authority. Dublin, Ireland

Problems And Prospects Of Accessible Tourism In India (2010) Commissioned by: Ministry of Tourism (Govt. of India), Indian Institute of Tourism and Travel Management (An Organisation of Ministry of Tourism, Govt. of India)

Dubey SK (2001) Kumbh City Prayag. Centre for Cultural Resources and Training

Hadjimitsis D, Agapiou A, Alexakis D, Sarris A (2013) Exploring natural and anthropogenic risk for cultural heritage in Cyprus using remote sensing and GIS. Int J Digit Earth 6(2):115–142

Jimura T (2019) World heritage sites tourism. Local Communities and Conservation Activities, CABI, Wallingford, UK

Lochtefeld JG (2004) The construction of the Kumbha Mela. South Asian Popul Cult 2(2):103–126

Maclean K (2009) Seeing, being seen, and not being seen: pilgrimage, tourism, and layers of looking at the Kumbh Mela. CrossCurrents 59(3):319–341

Martin EJ (1999) Improving access to heritage buildings—a practical guide to meeting the needs of people with disabilities. Australian Council of National Trusts, Canberra, Australia, pp 1–69

McKercher B, Du Cros H (2002) Cultural tourism: the partnership between tourism and cultural heritage management. Routledge, London
Merhotra R, Vera F (eds) (2015) Kumbh Mela: mapping the ephemeral megacity. Hatje Cantz
Ministry of Urban Development (2016) Harrmonised guidelines and space standards for barrier free built environment for person with disability and elderly person. Government of India, Ministry of Urban Development report
Mullick A (2011) Uniting differences—universal design for exploring the world heritage sites in India. In: Khare R, Khare A. SPA Press, Bhopal, India
Stebbins RA (1996) Cultural tourism as serious leisure. Ann Tour Res 23(4):948–950
Stefano ML, Davis P, Corsane G (eds) (2014) Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, vol 8. Boydell & Brewer Ltd., Woodbridge, UK
Timothy DJ, Nyaupane GP (eds) (2009) Cultural heritage and tourism in the developing world: a regional perspective. Routledge, New York
Ujjain Smart City Proposal (2016) Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India
UNESCO (2017) Kumbh Mela. https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/kumbh-mela-01258. Accessed 19 Sept 2019
Wise N (2016) Outlining triple bottom line contexts in urban tourism regeneration. Cities 53:30–34
Wise N, Mulec I (2015) Aesthetic awareness and spectacle: communicated images of Novi Sad (Serbia), the exit festival, and the petrovaradin fortress. Tour Rev Int 19(4):193–205

Chapter 10
Changing Faces of Tokyo: Regeneration, Tourism and Tokyo 2020

Takamitsu Jimura

Abstract Tokyo has been Japan's capital since the beginning of the Meiji period (1868). Since then, the first incident to completely change Tokyo's cityscape was the Great Kanto earthquake in 1923. Soon after recovering from the 1923 earthquake, Tokyo was destroyed again by WWII. Tokyo 1964 Olympics was a great opportunity to showcase its recovery from the war and the nation's ability to present a developed country to the international audience. Many imperial and military properties were converted to sports facilities and hotels in preparation for the 1964 Games. Japan's economy reached its peak in the late 1980s, but has suffered from deflation after that. The Tokyo 2020 Olympics and Paralympics are expected to improve this situation. The ongoing regeneration includes construction of a new main stadium, redevelopment of urban districts and verticalisation of buildings. Along with recent inbound tourism boom and diverse cultural heritage of the city, current urban regeneration linked to Tokyo 2020 is expected to revitalise Tokyo and Japan as a whole.

Keywords Tokyo · Tokyo 2020 · Tokyo 1964 · Olympic Games · Paralympic Games · Urban regeneration · Inbound tourism

10.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the historical transition of Tokyo, Tokyo 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Games, and Tokyo's tourism as dynamics of changing faces of Tokyo. Tokyo has been Japan's capital since the beginning of the Meiji period (1868–1912). Tokyo Metropolitan Prefecture (TMP) is located in the Kanto region, an eastern part of the Honshu (main) Island. TMP forms the Greater Tokyo Area (GTA) together with its neighbouring prefectures, namely Kanagawa, Chiba and Saitama. Today, TMP consists of 23 special wards (*ku*) (SWT), 26 cities (*shi*), 5 towns (*cho*) and 8 villages (*mura*). TMP is the largest prefecture in Japan in terms of its population and gross domestic product (GDP). SWT is significant and discussed throughout this chapter, because 23 SWT has been the political and economic centre of Tokyo and

T. Jimura (✉)
Liverpool John Moores University, Liverpool, UK
e-mail: T.Jimura@ljmu.ac.uk

N. Wise and T. Jimura (eds.), *Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration*,
The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41905-9_10

the whole of Japan since 1868. The population of TMP is around 13.89 million as of April 2019 (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 2019). Although Japan's population started decreasing since 2015, those of TMP and other three prefectures in GTA have been increasing as social increase has been exceeding natural decrease. In 2015, the GDP of TMP accounts for 19.09% of Japan's GDP (Cabinet Office 2019).

10.2 Tokyo from the Late Nineteenth Century to Tokyo 1964

As a result of the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japan's national system was totally altered. The owner of state power was changed from *shogun* (general) to *tenno* (emperor). Along with this, Tokyo was designated as Japan's capital, although the capital has never been 'officially' moved from Kyoto to Tokyo. Consequently, Tokyo has been functioning as the capital of Japan since 1868. Also since around that time, Tokyo has been developed and regenerated physically and spiritually, with constant change reflecting the changing times. Being Japan's new capital has since signified the accumulation of a range of industries, resources and opportunities for the city. The 23 SWT area of the city most notably has benefitted from enhanced existing infrastructures and facilities and newly built ones. Initially, major examples of large development projects in Tokyo were confirmed mainly in three central wards of today's Tokyo (Chiyoda, Chuo and Minato), particularly in the Chiyoda ward.

For example, the first train service officially began in 1872 between Tokyo and Yokohama, and the original Shimbashi station was built in the Minato ward in 1872 as the terminal station in Tokyo. Forming of a district for Central Government offices was also an extensive urban planning project during the Meiji period. At that time, the Central Governmental quarter (*kancho-gai*) was divided into two boroughs, Otemachi (Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Home Affairs and Board of Audit) and Kasumigaseki (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Army and Supreme Court of Judicature of Japan) (see Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism 2014). Both Otemachi and Kasumigaseki are located in the Chiyoda ward. In addition, state guest houses, Rokumei-kan (Chiyoda) and Geihin-kan Akasaka-rikyu (Minato), were completed in 1883 and 1909, respectively. Both were Western-style buildings and they intended to welcome and entertain ambassadors of foreign countries residing in Tokyo and state guests visiting Japan. The changes in Tokyo's landscapes in the Meiji era were not limited to the aforementioned various examples of 'developments', but also included 'redevelopments' and/or 'regenerations'. As asserted by several scholars (e.g. Siodla 2015; MacKenzie 2017), great fires and wildfires can be the primary reasons for initiating redevelopment works and/or regeneration of a certain district or a whole city. In Tokyo, the Ginza district in the Chuo ward experienced two great fires at the beginning of the Meiji period (1869 and 1872). The Meiji government utilised these

fires as opportunities to regenerate Ginza as a Western-style quarter with red brick buildings and modern atmosphere (Tokyo Ginza Official n.d.).

During the subsequent Taisho period (1912–1926), Tokyo's urban development rapidly advanced. In 1914, for instance, Tokyo Station (Chiyoda) was completed and became the starting point of the Tokaido Main Line connecting the Kanto region (Tokyo) and the Kansai region (Kobe). Construction of the current National Diet Building (Chiyoda) commenced in 1920 and was completed in 1936 (Showa period: 1926–1989). It has been noted that the majority of Japanese people agree that the Great Kanto earthquake (magnitude 7.9) which occurred in 1923 was the most critical incident during the Taisho period regarding alterations of Tokyo's landscapes and its regeneration (Schencking 2008). This earthquake can also be regarded as Tokyo's first major disaster of the twentieth century (Kitsnik 2016), as this disaster significantly changed the urban landscape with buildings, houses and transportation infrastructure heavily damaged. Cities and towns in Kanagawa prefecture, typically Yokohama, were also destroyed. The earthquake sparked a massive fire which killed the majority of the 105,000 victims (Ishigaki et al. 2013). Despite such devastating destruction, the reconstruction of Tokyo was planned and promptly conducted, led by the Central Government as a foremost national project. As Ward (2010) implies, one of the key advantages of the top-down approach such as government-led redevelopment is its efficiency, although this approach may not give enough opportunities to local communities to express their opinions. According to Nakabayashi (2006), the main recovering period from the damages of the Great Kanto earthquake was between 1923 and 1930. This also implies that the rebuilding of Tokyo was carried out over two different eras, Taisho and Showa. By the end of the Taisho period (1926), metropolitan bus services started operating with two routes in 1924 and a railway loop line in central Tokyo (Yamanote Line) opened in 1925 (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 2018). The reconstruction process occurred alongside land-readjustment projects (Nakabayashi 2006). A series of events and processes associated with spatial transformation triggered the move of people and relocation of factories and religious buildings from central Tokyo to its suburban areas (Nakabayashi 2006).

As stated above, Tokyo recovered promptly from the widespread devastation caused by the Great Kanto earthquake. In the early Showa period, Tokyo was advanced further as the capital of Japan. Such revitalisation and further development of Tokyo can be testified by the inauguration of the first metro service in Japan (the Ginza Line by today's Tokyo Metro) (1927), completion of Tokyo International (Haneda) Airport (1931), and openings of the Tsukiji Market (1935) and the Port of Tokyo (1941) (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 2018). However, World War II (WWII) broke out in 1939 and the Pacific War began in 1941, which cast a dark shadow over a newly recovered Tokyo (and Japan as a whole). Tokyo had been constantly bombed by the United States Armed Forces (USAF) since November 1944 until the end of WWII. Of these, the bombing executed on 10 March 1945 was exceptionally grand-scale, generally called the 'Bombing of Tokyo'. These bombings of Tokyo can be understood as the second main disaster Tokyo faced in the twentieth century (Kitsnik 2016), undoing the previous restoration efforts.

In 1936, Tokyo was officially selected to host the 1940 Summer Olympic Games by the International Olympic Committee. It should have been a memorial Olympic Games, and the first Olympic Games hosted by a non-Western nation. However, Japan gave up the right to hold the Games largely due to military opposition. After WWII, Tokyo and Japan as a whole, particularly Hiroshima and Nagasaki, began to work quickly to recover from the extensive damages of WWII. Post-war, Tokyo officials and planners began work towards bidding to host the Summer Olympic Games. Thanks to such efforts, in 1959, Tokyo was chosen as the host city of 1964 Summer Olympic Games. Key examples of Tokyo's redevelopment from the end of WWII (1945) and Tokyo 1964 can be summarised as follows:

- 1949 April—Tokyo Metropolitan University was established.
- 1956 August—Tokyo Metropolitan Gymnasium was completed.
- 1957 February—The first building of Tokyo Metropolitan City Hall was built in Marunouchi (Chiyoda ward).
- 1957 December—Landfilling operation of Yumenoshima the disposal site started.
- 1960 December—Toei started operating their first metro service (part of today's Asakusa Line).
- 1964 September—Tokyo Monorail was opened between Hamamatsucho and Tokyo International Airport.
- 1964 October—Tokaido Shinkansen was opened between Tokyo and Shin-Osaka Stations in Osaka prefecture just before the opening ceremony of Tokyo 1964 (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 2018).

In addition to the developments listed above, more transport infrastructures, various facilities for competitions and accommodation facilities were built, expanded or renovated for Tokyo 1964; examples of such facilities include:

- Metropolitan Highway and other main roads in and around Tokyo
- Nippon Budokan arena (Chiyoda ward)
- Tokyo National Stadium (Shinjuku ward)
- Komazawa Olympic Park (Meguro ward and Setagaya ward)
- Tokyo Prince Hotel (Minato ward)
- Hotel New Otani (Chiyoda ward)
- Hotel Okura Tokyo (Minato ward).

These rapid redevelopments of Tokyo's landscapes were led primarily by the national government, and financially supported by what is referred to as the Japanese economic miracle (*kodo keizai seicho*) (1955–1973). The self-pride of the Japanese government at that time can be summarised by a famous phrase, 'Japan no longer suffers from the aftermath of WWII' (included in Japan's white paper on economy, issued July 1956).

The Tokyo 1964 Olympic Games represented a fantastic opportunity for Japan to showcase its WWII recovery efforts, and brand the nation as a 'new' developed country to the global audience. Concerning the groundwork for the Games, it should be noted that a number of imperial and military properties were converted to sports and

accommodation facilities in the preparation stages for Tokyo 1964. Such transfigurations in both tangible (e.g. cityscapes) and intangible (e.g. purposes) aspects of the properties are key features of the development and regeneration of Tokyo soon after WWII. 1964 is also a significant year in relation to outbound and inbound tourism. In 1964, the Japan National Tourism Organisation (JNTO) began to collect data on annual numbers of overseas tourists arriving in Japan as well as Japanese tourists heading abroad. As of 1964, the former was 352,832 and the latter was 221,309 (Japan National Tourism Organisation 2018a). Needless to say, these numbers were much smaller than those of 2017, 28,691,073 and 17,889,292, respectively (Japan National Tourism Organisation 2018a). The next section (Sect. 3), in contrast, investigates the regeneration of Tokyo from 1964 to 2020 (the timespan between the city's two Summer Olympic Games).

10.3 From Tokyo 1964 to Tokyo 2020

The nature of Olympic and Paralympic Games can be comprehended as 'planned events', although researchers sometimes suggest different typologies exist (e.g. Getz 2005; Connell and Page 2015). Olympic and Paralympic Games are categorised as 'sports competitions' according to Getz (2005), whereas Connell and Page (2015) would call these 'hallmark events'. There are many possible benefits and drawbacks to hosting hallmark sporting events like the Olympic and Paralympic Games. For instance, holding international mega-events can be a great honour for those who are supporters of a destination hosting the events (Hiller 1998), as pride in place is an important intangible benefit of tourism- and event-led regeneration efforts (Wise 2016). For instance, in the case of Beijing 2008, hosting a hallmark event could only have limited impacts on the city's brand from the viewpoint of local residents and visitors to the city (Zhang and Zhao 2009). However, concerning Tokyo 1964, given the rapid efforts to redevelop Japan, hosting a mega-event was deemed crucial for the nation as it helped boost people's confidence and pride in their country (The Japan Times 2013). This must have been especially crucial for Japanese people in the post-war time as most of them were totally devastated by the damage of WWII and lost confidence in themselves and their nation.

Tokyo kept changing even after Tokyo 1964 as the country benefited from continuous economic growth and development. The Japanese economic miracle (*kodo keizai seicho*) that commenced in 1955 continued well beyond Tokyo 1964. This signifies that a large number of Japanese people moved to Tokyo, especially SWT. This phenomenon had been particularly prominent in the 1960s and early 1970s. This social issue denotes that at that point the supply of new houses within SWT could not meet the ever-increasing demands for new houses, as SWT house prices significantly increased. To keep up with the housing demands, what resulted was private housing companies developed new residential areas in suburban Tokyo (but without having a well-considered or comprehensive urban development plan). This situation was criticised as 'urban sprawl' (Sorensen 2000) and a key concern of TMP.

Between 1963 and 1966, TMP worked on planning 'Tama New Town'. This new residential complex shared an extensive area in the western part of TMP, extending across four different cities: Inagi, Hachioji, Machida and Tama. The plan here was to prevent uncontrolled urban sprawl by providing new residents with quality houses at affordable prices. This extensive housing development plan was officially approved in 1966 and stared accepting new residents in 1971 (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 2018). In the middle of the period referred to as *kodo keizai seicho*, it was natural that the number of cars and traffic accidents increased within TMP, particularly within SWT, as an increasing number of people began to reside and work there. Considering this condition, in August 1970, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government pedestrianised the centres of Ginza, Shinjuku, Ikebukuro and Asakusa districts, all within SWT, on Sundays and public holidays during the daytime (Eguchi 2014). Pedesterisation helped energise the designated quarters by attracting more people to walkable and safe car-free environments. Despite this unique planning approach to pedestrianise spaces, one challenge is that it can worsen traffic congestion in immediate surrounding areas. Today, such temporary pedesterisation of Tokyo's urban centres can be seen in three different SWT districts: Akihabara, Ginza and Shinjuku (Metropolitan Police Department 2019). Figure 10.1 shows people enjoying the pedesterised Ginza district on a Sunday. Another important theme that should be discussed here is environmental pollution. Keihin Industrial Belt (KIB) has been one of Japan's traditional industrial areas extending over TMP, and Kawasaki city and Yokohama city

Fig. 10.1 Pedestrianised Ginza district (photograph by Takamitsu Jimura)

in Kanagawa prefecture. An increasing number of factories had been established in KIB, especially in Kawasaki, during the 1960s and 1970s. Together with this, diverse environmental problems emerged. Of these issues, discharged water and smoke from factories were particularly serious, and relevant organisations were sued by a group of sufferers from health problems and their (bereaved) families in 1982 (Kawasaki Pollution Litigation).

In Japan, it is generally agreed that the economic miracle ended in 1973. It is also safely stated that there were some chief reasons why the Japanese economic miracle finished. The Nixon Shock occurred in 1971, and this sparked recession driven by *endaka* (the strong Japanese yen against other major currencies). The Oil Shock hit Japan's economy in 1973 and Japan experienced high inflation rates in 1974. Bank of Japan decided to raise the official discount rate to control the inflation. In this year, Japan experienced negative economic growth, a first for the country since WWII. Nevertheless, Japan's economy started growing again from 1975. Concerning Tokyo's regeneration, infrastructures continued to greatly expand since the 1970s. For example, the third subway line by Toei, the Toei Shinjuku Line, opened in 1978. As the economy of TMP, particularly SWT, had grown and the number of residents living there had also increased, SWT had begun to suffer from waste problems. Within SWT, historically, most incineration plants and waste disposal facilities had been located in the Koto ward. However, Koto and its residents could not cope with numerous issues caused by an ever-increasing amount of wastes such as fetidness, traffic congestion and waste fires in the early 1950s. Since that time, therefore, TMP had made efforts to build an incineration plant in each SWT. Although there have been several disagreements regarding this plan, there are 21 incineration plants in SWT, including two currently under reconstruction, as of September 2019 as a result of a long process for conciliation. Japan's economy peaked in the late 1980s. In the view of ordinary people, however, Japan has been suffering from continuous recession and deflation since that time (Takahashi 2019).

The impacts of this deflation on GTA seem to have been rather limited. On the other hand, this has been a serious issue for most of other prefectures of Japan, negatively affecting the areas and people living there together with a lack of job opportunities, out migration of young people, depopulation and an ageing society. Tokyo 2020 is expected to break through such a stagnant situation, although it is not clear how the hallmark event taking place mainly in Tokyo and the Kanto region can contribute to revitalisation of other regions of Japan (especially rural and/or remote areas). Together with the abovementioned regeneration, a wide variety of sport facilities were developed, expanded or renovated. Of these, several facilities from the 1964 Games will be used as venues in 2020. The ongoing major regeneration includes construction of a new main stadium (Shinjuku and Shibuya wards), redevelopment of urban districts (e.g. Ariake and Toyosu districts) and verticalisation of buildings (e.g. Marunouchi district).

According to Tokyo 2020 (n.d.a), the majority of venues for the Olympic and Paralympic Games are situated within the GTA area, and most of them are located within TMP. Tokyo 2020 (n.d.a) divided the core region where the venues are situated into two zones, namely 'Heritage Zone' and 'Tokyo Bay Zone'. The former includes

several historic districts and can present 'traditional elements' of Tokyo to the athletes and audience, whilst the latter chiefly consists of 'modern components' of Tokyo and show them to their visitors. In total, 42 venues are set for Olympic Games and 21 venues are prepared for Paralympic Games (Tokyo 2020 n.d.a). 20 out of 21 venues for Paralympic Games are also utilised as those for Olympic Games. The only venue used for the Paralympic Games specifically is Makuhari Messe Hall C, used as playing fields of goalball (Tokyo 2020 n.d.a); Makuhari Messe Halls A and B are utilised for both Olympic and Paralympic Games. The Olympic and Paralympic Village where athletes stay during the Games period is located on the border of Heritage Zone and Tokyo Bay Zone, and this should be helpful for the athletes to get to their competition venue easily.

After the Games, residential buildings of the village are planned to be renovated and sold as apartments together with newly built tower blocks (Tokyo 2020 n.d.a). This idea represents a sustainable use of new infrastructure, originally developed for Games in the long run, if all goes as planned. The magnitude of such a sustainable usage of the infrastructure for the Olympic and Paralympic Games have been well recognised, primarily because many host cities failed to utilise the facilities constructed for the event in an effective way after the Games ended, for instance, observed following Sydney 2000 (e.g. Mangan 2008) and Athens 2004 (e.g. Gratton and Preuss 2008). Tokyo's organising committee fully acknowledges problems and issues surrounding future sustainability. To this regard, the organising committee developed the Tokyo 2020 Games Sustainability Plan, intending to make a contribution to achievement of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals through the delivery of the event (Tokyo 2020 n.d.b). One of the actions adopted in the preparation stage of the Games to fulfil this objective is 'utilising existing venues' (Tokyo 2020 n.d.b). Such existing venues contain, for instance, Tokyo Metropolitan Gymnasium (under refurbishment between July 2018 and January 2020) used for table tennis (Olympics and Paralympics), Yoyogi National Gymnasium for handball (Olympics) and Badminton and wheelchair rugby (Paralympics), Nippon Budokan for judo (Olympics and Paralympics) and karate (Olympics), Tokyo International Forum for weightlifting (Olympics) and powerlifting (Paralympics), and Equestrian Park (Tokyo 1964 Olympics legacy venue) for equestrian (dressage, eventing and jumping) (Olympics) and equestrian (Paralympics) (Tokyo 2020 n.d.a).

On the contrary, several venues have been newly built mainly in Tokyo Bay Zone. Osada et al. (2015) assert that Tokyo 2020 can bring positive economic impacts to Japan through an increase in public and private investments for relevant construction. Such investments include not only the investments for direct demands (e.g. construction or renovation of Tokyo 2020 venues) but also those for indirect demands (e.g. creation or makeover of accommodation facilities, redevelopment of urban cores, commercial facilities and traffic infrastructure) (see Osada et al. 2015). Examples of the aforementioned new facilities in Tokyo Bay Zone include Ariake Gymnastics Centre for gymnastics (Olympics) and boccia (Paralympics) (see Fig. 10.2), Tokyo Aquatics Centre for aquatics (swimming, diving and artistic swimming) (Olympics) and aquatics (swimming) (Paralympics), and Ariake Arena for volleyball (Olympics)

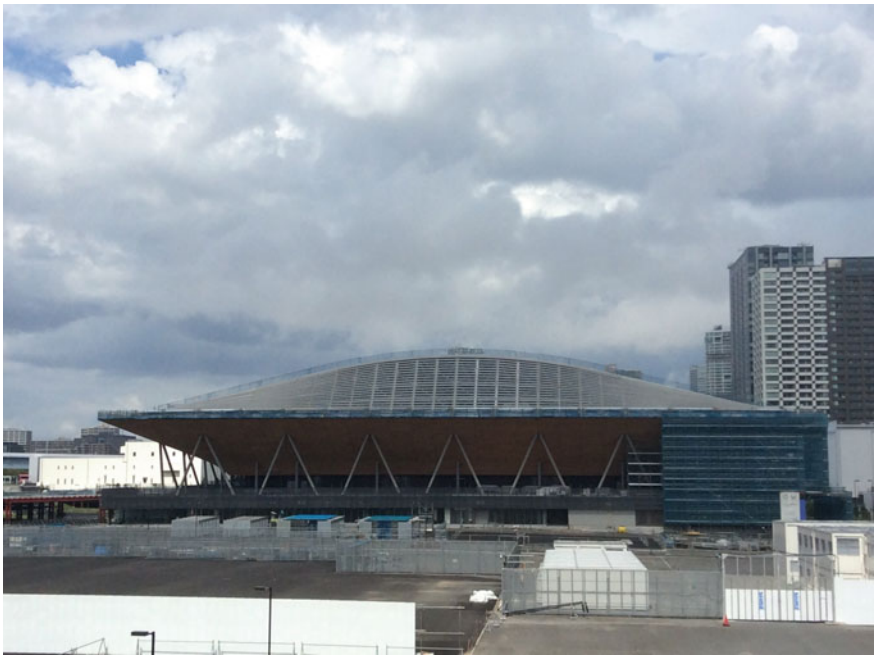

Fig. 10.2 Ariake Gymnastics Centre (photograph by Takamitsu Jimura)

and wheelchair basketball (Paralympics) (Tokyo 2020 n.d.a). Of these venues, Ariake Gymnastics Centre is makeshift and planned to be demolished after the Games (Tokyo 2020 n.d.a). In contrast, the most noticeable example of newly built venue located in the Heritage Zone is the Olympic Stadium (see Fig. 10.3). Initially, the design of Dame Zaha Hadid had been adopted, but was withdrawn later, mainly due to its construction costs. At the end of the day, the design of Kengo Kuma was employed and this design requires the use of a lot of timber for construction. The usage of the Olympic Stadium after Tokyo 2020 is also somewhat unclear (as of September 2019). Originally, it was said that the stadium's running track would be removed after the Games, and the stadium would be used exclusively for ball games. Later, however, it became clear that the track would not be removed after Tokyo 2020, aiming to maximise the use of the venue for ball games (especially football), athletics, and entertainment events (e.g. concerts). As of September 2019, it remains difficult for planners to decide which would be a better usage in terms of economic and socio-cultural sustainability of the stadium.

Fig. 10.3 Olympic Stadium (photograph by Takamitsu Jimura)

10.4 Tourism and Tokyo 2020

Japanese international travel was liberalised in April 1964, and in the same year JNTO started collecting data about annual numbers of outbound and inbound tourists. According to Leiper (1979)'s Tourism System model, there are three different regions in tourism activities, namely tourist-generating regions, transit routes and tourist-destination regions. Traditionally, Japan had been recognised much more as a tourist-generating region rather than a tourist-destination region. It is evidenced by the fact that the number of outbound tourists had been larger than that of inbound tourists for more than 40 years (1971–2014). 2015 was the first year in the past 45 years that the latter (19,737,409) surpassed the former (16,213,766) (Japan National Tourism Organisation 2019). Regarding the tourism balance of payment for Japan, 2014 was the year that Japan's tourism balance of payments turned positive first time in 55 years (Nikkei Asian Review 2015), thanks to the recent and still ongoing inbound tourism boom (Jimura 2019). Along with recent inbound tourism growth and diverse cultural heritage of Tokyo and Japan, Tokyo 2020 is expected to trigger further prosperity of Tokyo and revitalisation of Japan as a whole. In fact, Osada et al. (2015) also argue that Japan can obtain economic benefits via an increase in the demand of inbound tourism.

Of 47 prefectures of Japan, Tokyo can be regarded as the prefecture that benefits most significantly from inbound tourism. According to Japan National Tourism Organisation (2018b), 46.2% of inbound tourists visited TMP. This highest proportion is followed by Osaka prefecture in the Kansai region (38.7%), Chiba prefecture in the Kanto region (36.0%) and Kyoto prefecture in the Kansai region (25.9%) (Japan National Tourism Organisation 2018b). As the proportion of inbound tourists visiting the fifth most popular prefecture, Fukuoka (in the Kyushu region), is 9.8%, it

could be stated that most inbound tourists visited only the Kanto region (particularly Tokyo and Chiba) and/or Kansai region (especially Osaka and Kyoto), and visits made by overseas tourists do not appear to have been evenly distributed across different regions of Japan. In addition, it would also be a concern for Japan's tourism industry and people working there that overseas tourists' average length of stay has been decreasing from 6.3 to 5.2 nights between 2012 and 2017 (Japan National Tourism Organisation 2018c). Moreover, the travel spending per foreign traveller while they stay in Japan has also started shrinking in 2016 and then in 2017 (¥176,167 (JPY) in 2015, ¥155,896 in 2016 and ¥153,921 in 2017).

The figures noted in the previous paragraph are a worrying trend for Japan's tourism industry. Agarwal and Yochum (1999) state that visitors will spend more during their trip as their length of stay increases. Therefore, it could be stated that their point is backed up by the overall trend of international tourists coming to Japan between 2015 and 2017. Nevertheless, it could still be concluded that Japan, including Tokyo, has been enjoying its huge success in inbound tourism and its economic benefits as a way to obtain foreign currency. It could also ensure that Tokyo 2020 will be able to boost inbound tourism and the level of its economic benefits even further at least until the Games finish. However, it is rather doubtful that such positive economic impacts can be really brought to the regions outside TMP, GTA or the Kanto region. That is mainly because the number of competitions held at the venues outside Kanto is limited. Only some of football and baseball games and cycling competitions are held outside the Kanto region, in Hokkaido, Miyagi, Fukushima and Shizuoka prefectures (Tokyo 2020 n.d.a). In October 2019, the marathon and race-walking were decided to be moved from Tokyo to Hokkaido for cooler climate.

When Tokyo 2020 is examined in relation to tourism, socio-cultural and environmental impacts as well as economic impacts need to be considered. Foremost, current issues in tourism, typically 'overtourism' must be discussed, and it is deeply associated with both socio-cultural and environmental impacts. Nowadays, overtourism is a global concern (see Dodds and Butler 2019). In Japan, Kyoto is a destination that has been most struggling with overtourism. According to the author's observations, however, some districts in Tokyo have also suffered from overtourism, which leads to both socio-cultural and environmental issues. The most representative example of overtourism in Tokyo should be the Asakusa district. Asakusa is a famous historic district in Tokyo and its main visitor attractions are Senso-ji temple and a range of shops on Nakamise (the main approach to the temple). The author has visited this area annually since 2012 and found that the number of international tourists has increased year-on-year, with Japanese visitors and local people now being excluded. Tokyo 2020 may escalate this problem and Japanese people may start to avoid visiting Asakusa. In fact, some Japanese visitors have already begun avoiding Kyoto (as of 2019). Eating while walking (*tabearuki*) is seen as a breach of manners in the Asakusa district, but many international tourists are ignorant of local customs. Tokyo 2020 can be used to make visitors aware of important local manners. In the face of the Games, Tokyo seems to have also been 'cleaning up' its urban areas by

clamping down on illegal adult-entertainment shops and touts, and removing homeless people in an indirect way. TMP would deem these as social pathologies, and thus should be 'hidden' from international tourists. While some see this approach as understandable; however, in the author's view this is not the authentic Tokyo, and international tourists may lose out on chances to see the real Tokyo. Of the abovementioned socio-cultural issues, *tabearuki* is a main factor concerning major environmental issues, rubbish on the street. Some overseas tourists complain about the small number of rubbish bins at Japan's tourist destinations. That is because these destinations expect tourists to eat or drink on site or take their rubbish back home. If Tokyo 2020 venues are not planned to be demolished after the Games, they should be fully utilised in a sustainable way. A variety of tourism activities and events can make a good contribution to the achievement of this crucial task.

During Tokyo 2020, in addition to Asakusa, overseas tourists will go to other districts in TMP that are relatively unknown to them at the moment. It is likely then that areas close to main event venues will see increased visitation. Such places would include Sendagaya where Olympic Stadium and Tokyo Metropolitan Gymnasium are located (Heritage Zone) and Ariake where four competitions venues are situated (Tokyo Bay Zone). Sendagaya is also relatively close to two large urban districts of Tokyo, Shibuya and Shinjuku; hence, there would be a high chance for Sendagaya to be a new tourist honeypot due to Tokyo 2020, although it may be a temporary phenomenon depending chiefly on how Olympic Stadium and Tokyo Metropolitan Gymnasium are managed after the Games. Currently, Ariake itself cannot be seen as a popular tourist destination. However, it is accessible from more established tourist destinations such as Odaiba and Toyosu by Yurikamome the automated guideway transit service. Odaiba is acknowledged as a founded tourist destination full with 'modern' visitor attractions by international tourists as well as Japanese ones. Odaiba also has the Games venue, Odaiba Marine Park, where aquatics (marathon swimming) (Olympics) and triathlon (Olympics and Paralympics) are held. On the other hand, Toyosu has been developed quickly since 2000 chiefly due to accumulation of newly built high-rise apartment buildings. They have exclusively changed the landscape of this bay area and a new residential district has emerged. The Toyosu Market took over a role as Tokyo's main wholesale market from the Tsukiji Market and opened in October 2018. Since that time, the Toyosu Market has also been functioning as a popular visitor attraction where people can enjoy exhibitions, galleries and onsite restaurants like the Tsukiji Market did. For this reason, it could be stated that the presence of the Market added a nature as a tourist destination to Toyosu. Tokyo 2020 and the four Games venues located in Toyosu will be able to encourage more visitors to explore Odaiba, Toyosu and Ariake together, and it could enhance the strength of ties amongst these three districts in Tokyo Bay Zone. Like Sendagaya's case, the success as an entire area as a large tourist destination would be affected by the attractiveness of Ariake, including the use of the venues, after Tokyo 2020.

10.5 Conclusion

Tokyo has been the capital of Japan for more than one and a half century since 1868. Since then, it has been kept changing its faces through continuous development and regeneration, as the city recovered from the great earthquake and WWII bombings, and through the Japanese economic miracle to deflation since the 1990s. Concerning the modern history of Tokyo, 1964 and 2020 are significant when we look at changing spaces in relation to Tokyo's development and regeneration. Tokyo 1964 not only advanced the development of and improvement in key infrastructure such as traffic, accommodation and sports facilities in and around Tokyo but also acted as a superb opportunity for Japan to present its recovery from WWII and ability to successfully host the most widely publicised international mega-event. 1964 is also an important year for Japan's tourism. In this year, overseas travels were liberalised and JNTO commenced to gather the data on Japan's inbound and outbound tourism. Japan's economy achieved its pinnacle in the late 1980s. Since that time, the majority of ordinary people would have never experienced an economic boom. Under such a situation, Tokyo and GTA have not been seriously affected by such negative economic conditions and have grown further as a megalopolis of Japan, attracting young people and businesses from other regions of Japan and foreign countries, and constructing and renovating a variety of infrastructure and related services. Furthermore, Tokyo and Chiba prefectures must have obtained significant economic merits, thanks to an increase in the number of overseas tourists visiting there. On the contrary, overall, other regions of Japan have been economically stagnating or declining for more than the past 30 years, although several prefectures such as Osaka and Kyoto, both in the Kansai region, have still been able to benefit economically from the current inbound tourism boom.

Going forward, Tokyo 2020 is anticipated to burst through this economically stagnated situation of Japan by acquiring positive economic impacts through further enhanced public and private investments and ongoing inbound tourism surge. However, it is not sure whether economic benefits generated through Tokyo 2020 can reach beyond the Kanto region. With inbound tourism increasing, Tokyo 2020 may lead to increased socio-cultural and environmental issues. Concerning socio-cultural problems, the exclusion of local people, international visitors breaching local manners and government-led 'purification' of social pathologies have already been observed in Tokyo. Hosting a mega-event can exacerbate this further. Environmental matters such as an upsurge in the amount of rubbish on street may also be aggravated by the Games and continuing inbound tourism upsurge. Likewise, the sustainable and effective usage of Tokyo 2020 venues after the Games is also quite important to prevent further environmental and socio-cultural problems if the venues are not flattened after the Games. Otherwise, these venues can become white elephants. Such little-used structures would not be economically, socio-culturally and environmentally sustainable, and may spoil the urbanscape of Tokyo and quality lives of residents living in its vicinity, which can deplete regeneration efforts and threaten local heritage. The presence of such white elephants could also decrease the level of

satisfaction of Japanese and overseas tourists, and it can lead to Tokyo's falling popularity as a tourist destination. For these reasons, Tokyo 2020's legacy and potential noted shortcomings need to be evaluated carefully if the event is going to achieve the sustainability agenda put forward by Tokyo's organising committee.

References

Agarwal VB, Yochum GR (1999) Tourist spending and race of visitors. J Travel Res 38(2):173–176
Cabinet Office (2019) Kenmin Keizai Keisan (Gross Prefectural Product) [in Japanese]. https://www.esri.cao.go.jp/jp/sna/data/data_list/kenmin/files/contents/pdf/gaiyou.pdf. Accessed 22 July 2019
Connell J, Page S (2015) Visitor attractions and events. In: Page S (ed) Tourism management. Routledge, London, pp 271–303
Dodds R, Butler R (eds) (2019) Overtourism: issues, realities and solutions. De Gruyter, Berlin
Eguchi N (2014) A review of street innovation by the theory of organization knowledge creation, vol 73. Bulletin of Department of Economics, Asahikawa University, pp 133–153
Getz D (2005) Event management and event tourism, 2nd edn. Cognizant, New York
Gratton C, Preuss H (2008) Maximizing Olympic impacts by building up legacies. Int J Hist Sport 25(14):1922–1938
Hiller HH (1998) Assessing the impact of mega-events: a linkage model. Curr Issues Tour 1(1):47–57
Ishigaki A et al (2013) The Great East-Japan Earthquake and devastating tsunami: an update and lessons from the past Great Earthquakes in Japan since 1923. Tohoku J Exp Med 229(4):287–299
Japan National Tourism Organisation (2018a) Visitor arrivals, Japanese overseas travelers. https://www.jnto.go.jp/jpn/statistics/marketingdata_outbound.pdf. Accessed 26 July 2019
Japan National Tourism Organisation (2018b) Visit rate ranking by prefecture. https://statistics.jnto.go.jp/en/graph/#graph--inbound--prefecture--ranking. Accessed 2 Sept 2019
Japan National Tourism Organisation (2018c) Find out about traveling to Japan. https://statistics.jnto.go.jp/en/graph/#graph--average--length--of--stay. Accessed 3 Sept 2019
Japan National Tourism Organisation (2019) Comparison with the Japanese overseas travelers. https://statistics.jnto.go.jp/en/graph/#graph--inbound--travelers--comparison. Accessed 3 Sept 2019
Jimura T (2019) World heritage sites: tourism local communities and conservation activities. CABI, Wallingford
Kitsnik L (2016) Scenario writers and scenario readers in the Golden Age of Japanese cinema. J Screenwriting 7(3):285–297
Leiper N (1979) The framework of tourism: towards a definition of tourism, tourist, and the tourist industry. Ann Tour Res 6(4):390–407
MacKenzie A (2017) Planning for the redevelopment after a fire event. Int J Disaster Resil Built Environ 8(4):344–356
Mangan JA (2008) Prologue: guarantees of global goodwill: Post-Olympic legacies–too many limping white elephants? Int J Hist Sport 25(14):1869–1883
Metropolitan Police Department (2019) Tokutei Kinshi-kuiki-kukan no Hokosha-yo Doro (Pedesterisation of Specific Urban Districts) [in Japanese]. https://www.keishicho.metro.tokyo.jp/kotsu/doro/hoko.html. Accessed 1 Sept 2019
Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (2014) Kasumigaseki Kancho no Shuseki to Ricchi no Rekishi wo Furikaeru (Reviewing the History of Accumulation and Location of Central Governmental Offices) [in Japanese]. https://www.mlit.go.jp/kokudokeikaku/iten/service/newsletter/pdf/77/i_02_77_1.pdf. Accessed 23 July 2019

Nakabayashi I (2006) Concentration and deconcentration in the context of the Tokyo Capital Region Plan and recent cross-border networking concepts. In: Hein C, Pelletier P (eds) Cities, autonomy, and decentralization in Japan. Routledge, London, pp 55–80

Nikkei Asian Review (2015) Japan's travel balance turns positive 1st time in 55 years. https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics-Economy/Economy/Japan-s-travel-balance-turns-positive-1st-time-in-55-years. Accessed 2 Sept 2019

Osada et al (2015) 2020 Tokyo Olympic no Keizai-koka (Economic Impacts of Tokyo 2020) [in Japanese]. https://www.boj.or.jp/research/brp/ron_2015/data/ron151228a.pdf. Accessed 4 Sept 2019

Schencking JC (2008) The Great Kanto Earthquake and the culture of catastrophe and reconstruction in 1920s Japan. J Jpn Stud 34(2):295–331

Siodla J (2015) Razing San Francisco: the 1906 disaster as a natural experiment in urban redevelopment. J Urban Econ 89:48–61

Sorensen A (2000) Land readjustment and metropolitan growth: an examination of suburban land development and urban sprawl in the Tokyo metropolitan area. Prog Plan 53(4):217–330

Takahashi Y (2019) Reiwa ni defure dakkyaku dekirunoka (Will Japan be able to recover from deflation?) [in Japanese]. https://www.zakzak.co.jp/soc/news/190502/soc1905020001-n1.html. Accessed 20 Sept 2019

The Japan Times (2013) Tokyo, nation see chance to rebuild pride. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2013/09/25/national/tokyo-nation-see-chance-to-rebuild-pride/#.XYS1vvBKi01. Accessed 20 Sept 2019

Tokyo Ginza Official (n.d.) History. https://www.ginza.jp/en/history Accessed 26 July 2019

Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2018) Tokyo-to Nenpyo (History of TMP) [in Japanese]. https://www.metro.tokyo.jp/tosei/tokyoto/profile/gaiyo/nenpyo.html. Accessed 26 July 2019

Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2019) Tokyo-to no Jinko no Gaiyo (Summary of Population of Tokyo Metropolitan Prefecture) [in Japanese]. https://www.metro.tokyo.jp/tosei/hodohappyo/press/2019/04/26/11.html. Accessed 22 July 2019

Tokyo 2020 (n.d.a) Venues. https://tokyo2020.org/en/games/venue/. Accessed 1 Sept 2019

Tokyo 2020 (n.d.b) Sustainability. https://tokyo2020.org/en/games/sustainability/. Accessed 1 Sept 2019

Ward P (2010) Participatory development in Jamaica: does it work in practice? Soc Econ Stud 59(4):167–196

Wise N (2016) Outlining triple bottom line contexts in urban tourism regeneration. Cities 53:30–34

Zhang L, Zhao SX (2009) City branding and the Olympic effect: a case study of Beijing. Cities 26(5):245–254

Chapter 11
(Re)Building a Bridge: Landscape, Imagination and Memory in Mostar

Nicholas Wise

Abstract Stari Most ('Old Bridge') is one of Mostar's most iconic structures and highly regarded as the symbol of the city. Stari Most was destroyed during the Balkans War in 1993, where it collapsed in the Neretva River below. It must be noted that for Mostar to attract visitors, Stari Most was reconstructed (completed in 2004). While this bridge symbolises the city's heritage, memories of its destruction during war remind visitors not to forget the tragic events of the early-1990s. Insight from the geography literature helps us explore conceptual meanings of cultural heritage landscapes, geographical imaginations and memory—to help critically understand crucial turning point in Mostar's recent history. The chapter frames what Mostar and Stari Most endured during the brunt of war (where its unique heritage met a tragic fate, at least temporarily) to the (re)building of Stari Most and its defining presence as the city's key attraction once again.

Keywords Mostar · Bosnia and Herzegovina · Landscape · Imagination · Memory · Imaginative memorialisation

11.1 Introduction

Mostar, located in central-southern Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), is a city with a cultural landscape initially influenced by Ottoman and Moorish architectural design. Stari Most, displayed in Fig. 11.1, is the most significant remnant of engineering and architecture in Mostar. This bridge is also figurative because the city is named after its bridge keepers (Rukaj 2011). This suggests a form of symbolic heritage embedded in the city's name, tangibly and intangibly. When the bridge was destroyed in 1993, this ended (or temporarily eliminated for almost 11 years) that defining feature in the city's cultural landscape that spanned the Neretva River since 1566 (Yarwood 1999). This then became a symbolic casualty of Mostar's tangible, and intangible, heritage. The person who ordered the bridge's destruction was Slobodan Praljak, a former Bosnian Croat forces commander, and who famously committed suicide live on trial

N. Wise (✉)
Liverpool John Moores University, Liverpool, UK
e-mail: N.A.Wise@ljmu.ac.uk

N. Wise and T. Jimura (eds.), *Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration*,
The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41905-9_11

Fig. 11.1 Stari Most, the old bridge in Mostar spanning the Neretva River (photograph by Nicholas Wise)

in a courtroom at The Hague. He was quoted as saying 'it's just an old bridge' in 1993 (Radio Liberty 2019). In 2013, Praljak was found guilty and accused of ordering the destruction of Stari Most in Mostar, but these actions and the criminality of the offence remain complex and contested. When we consider change in Mostar today, what we see is a new bridge that looks old, but we need to consider some of the deeper narrative(s) at play here surrounding the making, unmaking and (re)making of Stari Most as a symbolic heritage feature in Mostar's urban landscapes. BiH and Mostar were devastated by brutal conflict in the early-to mid-1990s, and this took a toll on elements of heritage across the country.

As this chapter will conceptualise, (re)building Stari Most (Old Bridge) was the first step towards regenerating tourism in Mostar. This chapter addresses each of the themes covered in this book, namely tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration. First, some insight and inspiration from the geography literature concerning landscapes, geographical imaginations and memory and how this helps us critically and conceptually understand these crucial turning points in Mostar's recent history have been addressed. The chapter frames what Mostar and Stari Most endured during the brunt of war (where its unique heritage met a tragic fate, at least temporarily) to the (re)building of Stari Most and its defining presence as the city's key visitor attraction once again. We live in a world that is continually being built. New buildings are planned while others are rebuilt, or (re)built. I use (re)building in its post-modern sense in this chapter because one could argue that aesthetics are simply arbitrary and subjective. Landscapes change as well as meanings, but from a cultural heritage point of view, are we speaking back to something by (re)embedding memory back into a landscape that was destroyed as a way of connecting people and a place with

the past. Or is rebuilding merely for spectacle and/or attraction purposes, which in turn challenges us to look at a landscape and consider it a 'heterotopia' (see Foucault 1986; Relph 2001). Conceptually, we need to question if a newly built bridge in Mostar truly replicates (the original) Stari Most. While it may appear the same at the surface (tangible), does it still hold the same symbolic meaning (intangible)? Or are there now more defining powerful forces in play, beyond or even weaved into its contemporary narrative that now begins to commodify a cultural landscape just so that people can gaze upon something that once was. Therefore, can something be truly rebuilt, or is it merely (re)built, knowing that the imagination can be simply a way of remembering something. For the visitor who had never connected with, seen or crossed the original bridge, does the new bridge just act as a tourism relic that one can visit to reconnect time and space?

11.2 The Cultural Landscape and 'Imaginative Memorialisation'

Research on memorialisation has received much attention among social and cultural geographers who interpret landscapes (Schein 1997; Foote 2003; Dwyer 2004; Hoelscher and Alderman 2004; Dwyer and Alderman 2008; Wise 2011; Wise and Mulec 2015). Past memories embedded in landscapes contribute supplemental meaning to a place identity, existence and heritage (see Barthel 1996; Hoelscher 1998; Alanen and Malnick 2000; Osborne 2001; Bélanger 2002; Whitehead 2009; Jimura 2019). In conceptualising memorialised landscapes and tragic influence, Foote (2003) presents a four-fold typology noting that such spaces can often relate to one of the following themes: sanctification, designation, rectification and obliteration. Such insight is complemented through the notion of symbolic accretion, which focuses on supplemental meanings that extend the narrative of landscape scenes and associated memory (see Dwyer 2004). Both perspectives will be used as reference points to support/position meanings encountered in this chapter and some images are included to supplement the narrative that is detailed. Such landscapes are symbolic to narrations of the past, similar to intended features such as plaques or dedicated monuments, but contexts are represented subliminally. Through representation, Schein (1997, 660) suggests 'discourse materialized'. This perception refers to features in the landscape, both tangible and intangible, because these are powerful intermediaries of place, history and memory.

Imaginative geographies help refer us to specific places landscapes and meanings are constructed through contexts of knowledge and representation (Agnew and Duncan 1989; Duncan and Ley 1993; Said 1993; Gregory 1994; Guy 2004). Gregory (1994, 11) states: "discourse refers to all the ways in which we communicate with one another, to that vast network of signs, symbols, and practices through which we make our world(s) meaningful to ourselves and others". Therefore, memories embedded in the landscape communicate to us past events and thus become insightful narratives of

time and space, past and present, thereby reinforcing images and establishing imaginations. Drawing from Said (1993, 7), by relaying historical experiences, he suggests there is "a new urgency about understanding the pastness or not the past, and this urgency is carried over into perceptions of the present and future". To expand on this idea, landscapes and places are often defined, over time, by the events that unfold. Whether events are expressed through the media, via images, or textual accounts, these presentations act as intermediaries influencing how landscapes and places are imagined (see Agnew and Duncan 1989). For example, Robertson and Hall (2007, 20–21) argue: "heritage, identity and cultural landscapes draw on discursive practices that are, of themselves, complex and contradictory, so we must view such landscape representations as similarly capable of generating contestation and conflict".

By integrating contexts presented in the literature on landscape memory and imaginative geographies, this chapter suggests that depicted landscapes can be conceptualised as 'imaginative memorialisation'. Discourses of memory mediate knowledge and understanding of past events, whether positive or tragic, to reinforce place images and imaginative geographies. However, memories of the past are not always immediately memorialised. Imaginative memorialisation in this sense then suggests post-war landscapes reinforce tragic images and memories—and therefore communicate remembrance, whereas rebuilding is seen as a way of recovering (Wise and Mulec 2012). Moreover, imaginative memorialisation suggests further critical engagement with the image of a place, acknowledging semblances of heritage and change, from a geographical landscape perspective. This relates to Steinberg and Taylor's (2005) suggestion that we need to focus our attention on the legacies of conflicts and how landscapes narrate place imaginations. As a result, the remaining war-torn landscape preserves and disseminates meaning, and then when attempts are made to rebuild then we must (re)interpret the landscape.

11.3 A Bridge in the (Cultural) Landscape of Mostar: Geographical Imaginations and Place Memory

Built and situated on the Neretva River in the south of BiH, the city of Mostar was planned and developed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In its early days it was considered an Ottoman frontier town (UNESCO 2019). Stari Most was a defining feature of Mostar, the capstone of the city as it connected traders and townspeople for centuries. To conceptualise the cultural landscape, we are directed to the work of Denis Cosgrove who talks about landscapes, spaces and places as modes of production that have social and economic value (Cosgrove 1984, 1998). From here we can understand that landscapes are symbolic and embedded in the fabric and everyday place narratives as a form of expression (Schein 1997; Adams et al. 2001). Meanings inscribed into landscapes are complex, plural and multi-layered (Robertson and Hall 2007; Wise 2014). This multi-layered meaning will begin to become more apparent later in this chapter, as meanings embedded in spaces, places

and landscapes change over time. If we consider Stari Most from the perspective of Foucault (1986), who contends that time is linear, thus interpretations significantly alter based on points in history (or a critical continuum of time and space). Stari Most constructed in Mostar was a continuation of an Ottoman Landscape. This bridge was erected as a cultural expression and a landscape feature based on the diffused architectural style at the time of construction. What we will see, as time evolves through this paper, is that the bridge is interpreted differently. Stari Most, as a target during a time of war, shows how its interpretation by the opposition forces saw such a landscape feature as something reflecting what they sought to destroy, and thus its symbolic presence then was seen as something that needed obliterated from the landscape. Later, with desires to (re)construct the bridge, its symbolic presence was now one of value, and the landscape becomes something that could be gazed upon and commercialised for profit and place promotion to (re)store a memory of the (re)connected people.

When the Ottomans arrived in Mostar, there were already bridges spanning the Neretva River. But when Stari Most was constructed in 1566 this signified the start of a town that would come to look inherently Ottoman. Yarwood (1999, 1 *original emphasis*) writes that from the mid- to late-1500s "a typical Ottoman town emerged at this time on both banks of the river, with a bazaar, public baths, *hans*, thirty mosques, seven *medreses*, residential quarters or *mahallas* and fortifications". With each of these symbolic Ottoman townscape elements placed in Mostar on both sides of the Neretva, the bridge was more than just a defining architecturally relevant structure. It existed to ease mobility through a rugged terrain whereby materials, ideas and goods could be transferred, built in a style that conformed to the cultural landscape at the time—thus reflecting time and place. Mostar's economic situation was said to have peaked around about the late-1600s to early-1700s, correlating with the declining influence of the Ottoman Empire. By mid- to late-1878, the Austro-Hungarians annexed Hercegovina and sought to modernise Mostar. Yarwood (1999) explained the city was transformed "from an oriental backwater into a European city in a very few years". This push by the Austro-Hungarians to modernise Mostar saw a new cultural landscape layered amidst the Ottoman cultural features, thereby blending landscape features and architectural styles depicting different times. Despite the Austro-Hungarian influence, the Ottoman character would remain, but divided. The west of the city would transform with a neo-classical urban plan, and the east side also saw some intervention with a new hotel, baths and a music school build, but in Moorish style (Yarwood 1999).

Between WWI and WWII, urban development was yet again influenced by new actors, with the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Post WWII, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–1963) and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1963–1992) saw Mostar transformed again. Mostar became an influential regional city after WWI. It was the capital of Herzegovina, and new powers brought nascent changes to the built urban landscape. Le Corbusier-style high-rise residential buildings began to dominate the city, especially to the north and west to accommodate growth and allow for the wide boulevards common with socialist urban planning. Beyond the high-rises, as expansion continued west, villas with large gardens were

where wealthier residents would settle on the city's periphery. People moved to Mostar as industrialisation commenced during the Yugoslav period, with significant expansions to industry made during the 1950s–1960s. According to Yarwood (1999) larger companies manufactured aircraft parts, cars and computers, and factories emerged for aluminium, wine, tobacco and food processing. While Mostar was experiencing growth through manufacturing and processing plants, a large amphitheatre was constructed. Another unique attraction of Mostar is its iconic physical setting in the mountains that helped the city attract visitors. Mostar had a truly diversified economy by the end of the 1960s, but with influence and opportunity, this resulted in the city becoming increasing ethnically diverse as well. However, Yarwood (1999) found that the city residents lived in unison, education was fully integrated and friendships/acquaintances regularly crossed socially constructed ethnic boundaries. But beyond Mostar there existed wider forces that clearly did distinguish among diverse groups and this resulted in geopolitical and ethnic disputes over territory (Dahlman and Tuathail 2005) and this ethnic diversity is what led to tensions and made Mostar a key focal point during war in the Balkans in the early 1990s (Klemenčič and Žagar 2004). To show this diversity, in 1991 a census of Mostar showed that the city comprised 126,067 residents, "divided into 29 per cent Croats, 34 per cent Muslims, 19 per cent Serbs, 15 per cent Yugoslavs and three per cent other groups" (Yarwood 1999, 2).

Social and cultural geographers concerned with heritage would argue that today what we see is a heterogeneous landscape hodgepodge, with styles spatially adjacent to one another in a place transformed over time. The placing of a bridge and its early significance is important despite the centuries of change in Mostar. The geographical imaginations at play and the place memory of the bridge since the Ottoman's influence seemed to wane from the narrative amidst this brief history of Mostar's expansion. Different groups brought different influences and this transformed the urban planning of the city. There was much happening around the city as it grew and as new industry brought regional and international export earning potential to Mostar. But despite all this growth, Stari Most, even if not a focal point of different waves of expansion, sustained its tangible presence in the middle of Mostar connecting the old towns on either side of the river. Attention and issues concerning memory and narratives of cultural heritage became distracted, but the presence of the bridge remained embedded in the fabric of Mostar's cultural landscape. Perhaps as economic expansion became the focus, the bridge remained as a relic of times of the past. According to Schama (1995, 14), landscape and memory is "a way of looking; of rediscovering what we already have, but which somehow eludes our recognition and our appreciation". Cultural landscapes offer insight into human imprints based upon history and change, or pertinent to the focus of this study, tragic events and war (Foote 2003), as we will see in the next section. The landscape has the power to define heritage and become an imaginative discourse; however, much complexity is added when researchers examine memorialisation and change over time (see also, Hoelscher and Alderman 2004; Dwyer and Alderman 2008; Wise 2011). Heritage and imaginative discourses are narratives that may be continuous or may become frozen in time, or as we see in Mostar from 1993, a new focus on built cultural heritage challenges us to

focus once again on something as symbolic as the Stari Most. Given Mostar's urban morphology, the focal point of Stari Most would become prevalent again as war in BiH erupted in April 1992 and the bridge at the centre of Mostar's symbolic centre would meet its fate as Croat mortar shells destroyed the bridge on 9 November 1993.

11.4 Stari Most Caught in the Crossfire: The Impact of War on Cultural Heritage

War threatens the cultural and historical heritage of places, especially symbolic landscapes (see Lunn 2007; Figal 2008; Winter 2008; Wise and Mulec 2012). Moreover, war and tragedy casts burdening images/imaginations of fear, deterring people from visiting affected places (Ashworth and Hartmann 2005; Clouser 2009). As mentioned above, there has been much scholarly research focusing on place image and post-war landscape memory over the last decade. Numerous discourses influence place imaginations and communicate images consumed by outside audiences. In some places, war is commemorated, while other places attempt to remove images of war and violence by putting more emphasis on heritage preservation (Vitic and Ringer 2007). But what links these discussions in the literature is the focus on heritage, as heritage represents an important component of European preservation agendas, as attention is dedicated to 'old town' quarters, monuments and defining historical landmarks (see Goulding and Domic 2009; Wise and Mulec 2012).

Mostar was a zone of conflict during the Bosnian War of the Balkans from 1992 to 1995 and saw its heritage, old town and old bridge threatened. As noted, Stari Most met its fate in November 1993 when it was destroyed at point-blank range by Croat forces. Slobodan Praljak famously (but casually) referred to Stari Most as 'just an old bridge', and as the previous section suggests, as Mostar expanded, perhaps there was some symbolism to that statement that this was just an old bridge as the new areas of the city expanded and played an important role in Mostar's industrial and economic growth. This war had an adverse impact not only on the city's image, but also its heritage. Thus, symbolic cultural landscapes would be targeted by oppositional forces.

As narratives of the war continued to emerge in Mostar, the focal point was increasingly linked back to the city's old quarter around the iconic Stari Most. Across Mostar the impacts of the siege during war in the Balkans were clear, and as the city emerged from conflict the memories of war were not possible to dismiss. Bevan (2006), for instance, examines the annihilation of symbolic structures. When structures symbolising heritage, tradition and identity are impacted or removed from the landscape, Bevan (2006, 8) suggests this is "to deny a people its past as well as a future". Contrary to this thought, this chapter suggests, conceptually, Mostar's urban scene represents a manifested memorial of the Bosnian conflict of the early 1990s. Transposed layers of the landscape take on alternative forms of meaning altering images of places. Moreover, and pertinent to critical interpretations, insight into the meaning of landscapes

transformed through war suggests addition by destruction as scars of conflict remain, post-war. As we know from the above section, much of the heritage 'old town' core of Mostar (present day tourism area) mixes memories of the city's unique Ottoman heritage alongside remaining physical impacts of the Balkans War. In recognising the importance of interpreting layers of meaning, Mostar's urban landscapes during the early- to mid-1990s were symbolic with memories of war and semblances of heritage, communicated as depleted, offering an imaginative geography of violence and destruction, or this unmaking of Mostar.

What needs questioned here is: why is symbolic cultural heritage caught in the crossfire during war? Stari Most was specifically targeted based on what Foote (2003) would refer to as the obliteration of memory, or what Tyner (2009) would perhaps interpret as the erasing of space. As conflict intensified in the Balkans between the different forces, sides began to take aim not only at the killing of opposition forces, but to also take down elements and tangible features in the landscape that was symbolic to the history of the opposition group, and this is where this significance of Stari Most to the Muslim history of Mostar links to the Croats taking aim at the bridge. But the bridge arguably was not simply targeted because it was built during the Ottoman times, it had come to represent more than that and it was a symbol of a multi-cultural city renowned for a place where numerous ethnic groups resided peacefully. War, however, can alter mindsets and change or challenge previous meanings. Thus destroying Stari Most in Mostar is not just an attack on the heritage or identity of one group, but it could be perceived as an attack on something that was a symbol of multi-culturalism, and thereby attempting to alter this narrative of togetherness in an attempt to rewrite a future narrative of a city in favour of one more dominant group. Thus, these 'anti-geographies', as Tyner (2009) explains, are an attempt to un-write or erase the past so that a new future can be constructed.

11.5 (Re)Building as Regeneration: 'If You (Re)Build It, (Will?) They Will Come'

Academics have addressed issues linked to war tourism, post-war tourism, memories and destination image formation/promotion in the former Republic of Yugoslavia countries (see Hall 2002; Hughes 2008; Rivera 2008; Wise 2011; Wise and Mulec 2015; Forde 2016). As these issues have been addressed elsewhere, this chapter now conceptualises how rebuilding, or (re)building, as a form or regeneration is an attempt to restore a narrative of heritage and reconnect people with a place's unique symbolism. Regeneration then in this sense needs to be considered as both tangible and intangible. It is tangible in the fact that the presence of the bridge exists and now once again connects Mostar's old town across the Neretva River, and is intangible in the sense that Stari Most can once again symbolise the city's namesake and its image is used as a means of attracting visitors to see and understand the history of the bridge as that iconic centrepiece of Mostar since 1566.

Tourism is a chance for people to explore landscapes and associate memories. However, it is important to preserve and convey memories that tell time and preserve history so that the focus is not only on an object as an attraction, but as something that serves a functional purpose. Stari Most, as repeated in this chapter, was more than a centre point as it connected the city and allowed for the flow of ideas and early trading. But once something is destroyed and rebuilt, can the narrative ever be the same? This is why there is a need to further conceptualise landscape and memory, while recognising geographical imaginations, because once something is rebuilt, it may serve a similar purpose of function, but it also becomes an attraction. Post war, landscapes become memories, and they visually convey insight into a place's tragic or contested past. Clouser (2009, 7) suggests, "the power of a landscape can be seen in its ability to mold thoughts, evoke memories and emotions, reinforce and create ideologies, and to relay to the world the values and priorities of place". To visitors, landscapes not only have the power to guide interpretations of war/conflict, but they offer perceptive analysis into these imaginative geographies that may be dedicated towards heritage preservation. This is made evident by UNESCO (2019), where it states online: "the reconstructed Old Bridge and Old City of Mostar is a symbol of reconciliation, international co-operation and of the coexistence of diverse cultural, ethnic and religious communities". Jimura's (2015) work would confirm this point given the impact heritage attractions have on place and local identities. Here this coexistence once again enters the narrative, but while UNESCO is reiterating the historic significance of Stari Most, can we also consider that (re)building something as a form of regeneration plays along with attempts to attract visitors, and thus regenerate an urban tourism agenda to restore an economy going forward. Without the bridge Mostar is without a key part of its symbolic cultural heritage—and thus sits without a key focal attraction.

It was evident that a new bridge that needed was constructed over the Neretva River. Rebuilding Stari Most as it once was, was seen as a symbolic gesture. As the memory of war in the Balkans persisted in the mind of those looking to make vacation/holiday plans, many saw the countries like Croatia, BiH, Serbia and Montenegro as countries recovering from conflict, so it would be a slow start when trying to re-attract tourists to the region. Studies conducted by Mulec and Wise (2012) and Wise and Mulec (2012) found when looking at the image of destinations in Serbia and Croatia, respectively, that people were initially hesitant to travel to the region even in the early-2000s. BiH and destinations with potential recovering from war were arguably left at a disadvantage because memories of war were preserved in the landscape, even though destinations across Croatia sought to fade memories of war (see Wise 2011). Wise and Mulec (2014) then considered the impact of war on BiH looking specifically at Sarajevo since 2005 found that images and memories of war were still found a decade later. However, destinations across BiH presented themselves as cities recovering and wishing to educate visitors. Cities across BiH were described as 'open-air museums' in the media, while other media sources encouraged people to come and see the impact of war and learn about how the destination has developed since the war ended. While many places that people visited across BiH were considered what Wise (2011) referred to as 'landscape remembrance', Mostar's

city officials took a different approach when deciding to rebuild Stari Most. Planners in Mostar began restoration and (re)building efforts of Stari Most on 7 June 2001 and the bridge once again reconnected both sides of the Neretva River on 23 July 2004, more than a decade after its obliteration. According to Armaly et al. (2004) the cost to rebuild Stari Most was USD $15.5 million.

Reconciliation can help people in a place symbolically reconnect with a tragic event, but one can also argue that rebuilding/(re)building also results in new commercial value (Armaly et al. 2004). The presentation of Stari Most on the BHTourism (2019) website explains: "when the Stari most, or Old Bridge, collapsed from tank shelling in 1993 it was like the heart was ripped out of most Mostar natives". Moreover, a large mural displayed on a build in Mostar depicted this complex journey (or maze) towards reuniting both sides of the Neretva River, shown in Fig. 11.2. While

Fig. 11.2 Mural depicting a maze from both sides of the Neretva River to connect Mostar once again by Stari Most in 2004 (photograph by Nicholas Wise)

this display does reiterate the importance of the bridge to Mostar and its people, from a more critical and capitalist standpoint, creating a replica of Stari Most as it once was arguably makes the bridge a commercial spectacle. This means it becomes a vantage point for promotion and profit, and a chance for those within close proximity to use it for its earning potential. Tourism and being within proximity of a destination capstone attraction means businesses can once again commence, or what we see is investment in restoring proximate surrounding areas. The bridge sparked investment here, and thus was a catalyst for subsequent regeneration of surrounding buildings to give owners and investors new earning potential, with new restaurants and hotels offers vantage points of Stari Most, gaining income off a restored cultural landscape. Bridge jumping is something that people have done here for years, jumping off Stari Most 27 metres into the river below. Given this history and popularity of bridge jumping here, since 2015 one of the Red Bull Cliff Diving World Series events happens here—using the iconic bridge for its iconic value and as a spectacle for entertainment.

A bridge of rubble has no commercial value, nor does a city without an attraction. Regeneration is the transformation of space to enhance the value and profitability of a space, for industries such as events and tourism (see Wise 2016; Wise and Harris 2017). So for Mostar, (re)building is regeneration in the sense that the city can now restore its image, it can now market a defining cultural attraction (the new Stari Most) to attract tourists from around the world who once watched the destruction of Mostar and BiH. They can now visit, consume and take pictures of, and walk across the bridge that was a cultural tragedy of war in the early-1990s. Perhaps (re)building a new bridge in Mostar would not have been as symbolic if they did not salvage what they could from the original bridge.

11.6 Concluding Thoughts

Can we conclude that memory, image and attraction led to the urban-regeneration of Mostar's cultural heritage? Or does this symbolic (re)building of Mostar lead us to interpret a new confluence of tourism and tradition? These are questions that are not only important in Mostar, but in other chapters in this book where times of war and destruction/atrocity led to new touristic activity where people are brought back to learn about the un-makings in place and the reconstruction of a new narratives that seeks to encourage us not to forget. This is evident in Mostar when someone crosses the bridge from east to west they see a stone from the original bridge setting there telling and reminding us: "DON'T FORGET '93" (see Fig. 11.3).

After Stari Most was reconstructed, tourism began to surge in Mostar as it was an opportunity to see an iconic bridge steeped in cultural heritage and learn about the war that devastated the city. The confluence of tourism and tradition represents an opportunity to rebuild a new service economy as the city sought ways to tell their story. However, while confluence is appropriate when we consider a new local tourism economy that has emerged, there are some that feel tourism is threatening

Fig. 11.3 Don't forget '93 engraved on a stone from the original bridge placed at the entrance way to the bridge as you enter to cross Stari Most (photograph by Nicholas Wise)

again the city's heritage as high concentrations of tourists flocking to see the new old bridge see this as a threat to maintaining everyday semblances of local life and culture (Rukaj 2011).

War as memory is part of the city's narrative and image, and because the city has recovered this lends to appeal, which results in an iconic attraction. Thus war has become a legacy and tourism part of the image regeneration that is reshaping the urban narrative and continued transformation of Mostar. In some respects, the destruction and subsequent rebuilding of Stari Most in Mostar led to the appeal of the destination alongside restoring its meaning to the immediate resident population. While the symbolism and namesake of Mostar has been restored, tangibly through its physical presence in the landscape and intangibly as a signifier of the city's identity, Mostar's appeal as an attraction is seen by some as a new threat. This

observation aligns with Wise and Mulec's (2012) findings concerning the remaking of Dubrovnik's tourism industry as a contemporary threat to the unique and fragile heritage that has been restored in the Balkans. A city that was said to look beyond ethic and religious divisions saw the reconstruction of the bridge as a symbolic of reuniting the populations where the flow of goods and exchange of ideas can now continue along with the flow of tourists who visit the city to see and learn about Mostar's past and present as the city strives for a sustainable future.

References

Adams PC, Hoelscher S, Till KE (eds) (2001) Textures of place: exploring humanist geographies. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis

Agnew JA, Duncan JS (eds) (1989) The power of place: bringing together geographical and sociological imaginations. Unwin Hyman, Boston

Alanen AR, Malnick RZ (2000) preserving cultural landscapes in America. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD

Armaly M, Blasi C, Hannah L (2004) Stari Most: rebuilding more than a historic bridge in Mostar. Museum Int 56(4):6–17

Ashworth G, Hartmann R (eds) (2005) Horror and human tragedy revisited: the management of sites of atrocities for tourism. Cognizant Communication Corporation, New York

Barthel D (1996) Getting in touch with history: the role of historic preservation in shaping collective memories. Qual Sociol 19(3):345–364

Bélanger A (2002) Urban space and collective memory: analyzing the various dimensions of the production of memory. Can J Urban Res 11(1):69–92

Bevan R (2006) The destruction of memory: architecture at war. Reaktion Books, London

Clouser R (2009) Remnants of terror: landscapes of fear in post-conflict guatemala. J Lat Am Geogr 8(2):7–22

Cosgrove DE (1984) Prospect, perspective and the evolution of the landscape idea. Trans Inst Br Geogr NS 10:45–62

Cosgrove DE (1998) Social formation and symbolic landscape. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison

Dahlman C, Tuathail GÓ (2005) Broken Bosnia: the localized geopolitics of displacement and return in two Bosnian places. Ann Assoc Am Geogr 95(3):644–662

Duncan J, Ley D (eds) (1993) Place/culture/representation. Routledge, New York

Dwyer OJ (2004) Symbolic accretion and commemoration. Soc Cult Geogr 5(3):419–435

Dwyer OJ, Alderman DH (2008) Memorial landscapes: analytic questions and metaphors. GeoJournal 73(3):165–178

Figal G (2008) Between war and tropics: heritage tourism in postwar Okinawa. Public Hist 30(2):83–107

Foote KE (2003) Shadowed ground. University of Texas Press, Austin

Forde S (2016) The bridge on the Neretva: Stari Most as a stage of memory in post-conflict Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Coop Confl 51(4):467–483

Foucault M (1986) Of other spaces. Diacritics 16:22–27

Goulding C, Domic D (2009) Heritage, identity and ideological manipulation: the case of Croatia. Ann Tour Res 36(1):85–102

Gregory D (1994) Geographical imaginations. Blackwell, Oxford, UK

Guy S (2004) Shadow Architectures: war, memories, and Berlin's futures. In Graham S (2004) Cities, war, and terrorism: towards an urban geopolitics. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, UK, p 75-92

Hall D (2002) Brand development, tourism and national identity: the re-imaging of former Yugoslavia. Brand Manag 9(4–5):323–334
Hoelscher S (1998) Tourism, ethnic memory and the other-directed place. Ecumene 5(4):369–398
Hoelscher S, Alderman DH (2004) Memory and places: geographies of a critical relationship. Soc Cult Geogr 5(3):347–355
Hughes HL (2008) Visitor and non-visitor destination images: the influence of political instability in South-Eastern Europe. Tourism 56(1):59–74
Jimura T (2015) The relationship between World Heritage designation and local identity. In: Bourdeau L, Gravari-Barbas M, Robinson M (2015) World heritage, tourism and identity: inscription and co-production. Ashgate, Farnham, UK, p 81-91
Jimura T (2019) World heritage sites tourism, local communities and conservation activities. CABI, London
Klemenčič M, Žagar M (2004) The former Yugoslavia's diverse peoples. ABC-Clio, Oxford, UK
Lunn K (2007) War memorialisation and public heritage in Southeast Asia: some case studies and comparative reflections. Int J Herit Stud 13(1):81–95
Mulec I, Wise N (2012) Foreign tour operators and travel agents knowledge of a potential tourism destination: the Vojvodina region of Serbia. Manag Glob Transit Int Res J 10(2):171–187
Osborne BS (2001) Landscapes, memory, monuments, and commemoration: putting identity in its place. Can Ethn Stud 33(3):39–77
Radio Liberty (2019) Mostar, then and now. https://www.rferl.org/a/bosnia-herzegovina-politics-war/25160035.html Assessed 13 Dec 2019
Relph E (2001) The critical description of confused geographies. In: Adams PC, Hoelscher S, Till KE (2001) Textures of place: exploring humanist geographies. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, p 150–166
Rivera LA (2008) Managing "Spoiled" national identity: war, tourism, and memory in Croatia. Am Sociol Rev 73:613–634
Robertson I, Hall T (2007) Memory, identity and the memorialization of conflict in the Scottish Highlands. In: Moore N, Whelan Y (2007) Heritage, memory and the politics of identity: new perspectives on the cultural landscape. Ashgate, Aldershot, p 19–36
Rukaj M (2011) Mostar: the čaršija and the bridge. Osservatorio Balcani e Caucaso Transeuropa, 12 October. https://www.balcanicaucaso.org/eng/Areas/Bosnia-Herzegovina/Mostar-the-carsija-and-the-bridge-96715. Assessed 13 Dec 2019
Said EW (1993) Culture and imperialism. Vintage Books, New York
Schama S (1995) Landscape and memory. Alfred A. Knopf, New York
Schein RH (1997) The place of landscape: a conceptual framework for interpreting the American scene. Ann Assoc Am Geogr 87(4):660–680
Steinberg M, Taylor M (2005) Public memory and political power in Guatemala's postconflict landscape. Geogr Rev 93(4):449–468
Tyner J (2009) Imagining genocide: anti-geographies and the erasure of space in democratic Kampuchea. Space Polity 13(1):9–20
UNESCO (2019) Old bridge area of the old city of Mostar. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/946/. Assessed 13 Dec 2019
Vitic A, Ringer G (2007) Branding post-conflict destinations: recreating Montenegro after the disintegration of Yugoslavia. J Travel Tour Mark 23(2–4):127–137
Whitehead A (2009) Memory. Routledge, New York
Winter T (2008) Post-conflict heritage and tourism in Cambodia: the burden of Angkor. Int J Herit Stud 14(6):524–539
Wise N (2011) Post-war tourism and the imaginative geographies of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia. Eur J Tour Res 4(1):5–24
Wise N (2014) Layers of the landscape: representations and perceptions of an ordinary (shared) sports landscape in a Haitian and Dominican community. Geogr Res 52(2):212–222
Wise N (2016) Outlining triple bottom line contexts in urban tourism regeneration. Cities 53:30–34
Wise N, Harris J (2017) Sport, events, tourism and regeneration. Routledge, London

Wise N, Mulec I (2012) Headlining Dubrovnik's tourism image: transitioning representations/narratives of war and heritage preservation, 1991–2010. Tour Recreat Res 37(1):57–69
Wise N, Mulec I (2014) Semblances of 'war tourism' in Sarajevo, post-2005. Am J Tour Manag 3(1B):1–9
Wise N, Mulec I (2015) Aesthetic awareness and spectacle: communicated images of Novi Sad, the exit festival and the event venue Petrovaradin Fortress. Tour Rev Int 19(4):193–205
Yarwood JR (1999) Rebuilding Mostar urban reconstruction in a war zone. Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, UK

Chapter 12
Urban Regeneration and Rural Neglect: The Pall of Dark Tourism in Cambodia

James A. Tyner

Abstract Between 1975 and 1979 upwards of two million men, women, and children died in the Cambodia genocide. Decades after the cessation of direct violence, the question of reconciliation in Cambodia remains fraught, in part because of competing claims over the meaning of reconciliation; and also because of the 'authorship' of Cambodia's past. Coincident with the contestation over the meaning and memory, there has been an effort to promote the genocide as an investment strategy, that is, to cultivate the growing number of 'dark tourists' wanting to visit sites associated with the genocide. Simply put, to not forget, in this context, is to profit. In this chapter, I consider both the positive and negative aspects of the marketing and memorialization of the Cambodian genocide from the standpoint of urban regeneration. The genocide was largely rural in practice, as urban areas were depopulated, with men, women, and children forced onto agricultural cooperatives. Sites of remembrance, however, are largely urban-based. The promotion of dark tourism in Cambodia, ironically, potentially facilitates urban regeneration to the neglect of rural areas. This has profound implications, both for the authorship and interpretation of the genocide and for the survivors.

Keywords Dark tourism · Collective memory · Cultural heritage · Genocide · Phnom Penh · Cambodia

12.1 Introduction

The Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK; also known as the Khmer Rouge) is considered one of the most brutal and oppressive regimes of the twentieth century. Between April 17, 1975 and January 7, 1979, the CPK carried out a program of mass violence in Democratic Kampuchea (as Cambodia was renamed) that resulted in the death of approximately two million people (Vickery 1988; Kiernan 1990; Heuveline 1998). Upwards of one million men, women, and children died from direct violence:

J. A. Tyner (✉)
Department of Geography, Kent State University, Kent, USA
e-mail: jtyner@kent.edu

N. Wise and T. Jimura (eds.), *Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration*,
The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41905-9_12

torture, murder, and execution. The remainder died from starvation-related causes, lack of medical care, and exhaustion (Kiernan 1996; Tyner 2017a).

Decades after the cessation of direct violence, the question of reconciliation in Cambodia remains fraught, in part because of competing claims over the meaning of reconciliation; and also because of the 'authorship' of Cambodia's past (Ledgerwood 1997; Williams 2004; Chandler 2008; Hughes 2008; Sion 2011; Brown and Millington 2015). Coincident with the contestation over the meaning and memory, there has been an effort to promote the genocide as an investment strategy, that is, to cultivate the growing number of 'dark tourists' wanting to visit sites associated with the genocide. Simply put, to not forget, in this context, is to profit. In this chapter, I consider the dissonance that arises between the marketing and memorialization of the Cambodian genocide from the standpoint of urban regeneration. The genocide was largely rural in practice, as urban areas were depopulated, with men, women, and children forced onto agricultural cooperatives. Sites of remembrance, notably the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum (shown in Fig. 12.1), are largely urban-based. The promotion of dark tourism in Cambodia, ironically, potentially facilitates urban regeneration to the neglect of rural areas. This has profound implications, both for the authorship and interpretation of the genocide and for the survivors.

Fig. 12.1 The site of former S-21 Security Center now functions as the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum (photography by James A. Tyner)

12.2 Urban Regeneration, and Cultural Heritage, and Dark Tourism

Recent years have witnessed a flurry of attention directed toward the regeneration of post-conflict cities (Hocking 2011; King and Flynn 2012; O'Dowd and Komarova 2011; 2013; Ramsey 2013; Martinović and Ifko 2018). To this end, tourism, especially (dark) heritage tourism, "can be the catalyst of radical changes in the economy, morale and appearance of a city in transition" (Owen 1990, 194). As Della Lucia et al. (2017, 180) explain, tourism may act as a lever of urban regeneration with the potential to capitalize on urban heritage to contribute both to communities' development and well-being in terms of employment, accessibility, knowledge and social innovation, and higher quality public spaces. Indeed, the instrumental use of heritage in urban regeneration is a global phenomenon, often linked into both strategies seeking to develop the so-called cultural industries and a process of 'place-making', the latter a term variously used by urban designers and planners in establishing attractive physical locales as part of the backdrop of successful social space and, more critically, to be synonymous with place-branding (Pendlebury and Porfyriou 2017, 429).

Conceptually, however, the elision of cultural heritage and urban regeneration is fraught with difficulty, in part owing to the contested understanding of both terms. On the one hand, the term 'regeneration' is often used as a near synonym for economic development, and yet, there are often "different motivations and stimulations for changing place through a process of regeneration" beyond capital accumulation (Pendlebury and Porfyriou 2017, 429). On the other hand, as Hardy (1988, 333) writes, conceptual difficulties surround the "understanding of the meaning of *heritage* itself." For example, in common usage, the term refers to those things—artefacts, ruins, cultural traditions—that are inherited from the past; however, heritage is also understood as "a value-loaded concept, embracing (and often obscuring) differences of interpretation" (Hardy 1998, 333). To this end, contestations arise over the 'authenticity' of heritage, a contest that frequently plays out over the urban landscape.

Given that monuments, memorials, and museums, for example, are important symbolic sites in the articulation of urban space, the decision to commemorate or even to obliterate a site is frequently made by individuals and institutions of some importance. Often, and especially for those in the heritage industry, "truth is revealed by experts, aesthetes and professionals to produce an authenticated past" (Watson and Waterton 2010, 85). Indeed, many prominent memorials, monuments, and museums constitute official or state-sanctioned actions designed to promote a particular vision of the past in an attempt to provide legitimacy for present and future rule. This is often associated with efforts to formally designate certain places as 'heritage' sites, that is, those deemed worthy of preservation (Harrison 2013). Through this process, consequently, an *authorized discourse* which reproduces its concerns, priorities, and content also emerges (Watson and Waterton 2010, 85–86). Here, the concept of an 'authorized heritage discourse' calls attention to the power and performativity of narratives. Smith (2006, 58) explains:

> There is a hegemonic 'authorized heritage discourse', which is reliant on the power/knowledge claims of technical and aesthetic experts, and institutionalized in state cultural agencies and amenities societies. This discourse takes its cue from the grand narratives of nation and class … privileges monumentality and scale, innate artefact/site significance tied to time depth ... social consensus and nation building… to establish claims about itself that make it real [which] … disconnects the idea of heritage from the present and present-day values and aspirations so that it becomes something confined to 'the past'.

One of the most intriguing aspects of heritage studies "has been a focus on heritage sites with a controversial history including locations of war, atrocity, and horror" (Hartmann 2018, 377). In other words, attention increasingly centers on the 'dark tourism' industry and the concomitant promotion of grief, misery, and death as part of a culture's heritage (Lennon and Foley 2000; Bowman and Pezzullo 2010; Ashworth and Isaac 2015; Buda 2015; Hartmann 2014; Light 2017). As such, scholars—but also urban planners, museum staff, and myriad other stakeholders—are grappling with the "dissonant heritage" that appears when human suffering is promoted as a means of capital accumulation, that is, the pain of the past is promoted for profits in the present.

In the remainder of this chapter, I argue that a crucial form of dissonant heritage exists between the material legacies of mass violence as exemplified by state-sanctioned memorials that, on the one hand, cater to a largely Western clientele of 'dark tourists' and, on the other hand, hidden landscapes of past violence that are lived in the everyday by survivors and descendants of mass violence. Specifically, I highlight the disconnect that exists between the authorized heritage discourse of Cambodia's dark tourism industry and the materiality reality of the genocide itself. Simply put, the promotion of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Cambodia's capital city Phnom Penh—as an 'authentic' site of atrocity—overshadows the geographic scope of the genocide itself. Thus, while dark tourism may contribute to the urban regeneration of Phnom Penh, other, more rural sites of atrocity remain 'unmarked' and 'unremarked' on the landscape (Steinberg and Taylor 2003; Edensor 2005, 2008; DeSilvey 2007; Tyner et al. 2012, 2014; Colls 2015; Tyner 2018).

12.3 Authorized Heritage Discourses and the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum

In January 1979, Vietnamese Colonel Mai Lam traveled throughout Eastern Europe in search of inspiration. Weeks earlier, troops of the Vietnamese Seventh Division and Khmer Rouge defectors crossed the border into Democratic Kampuchea, routed the Khmer Rouge forces, sending the remnants of the Communist Party of Kampuchea into hiding along the Thai border. Now, Mai Lam, who served also as the director of the recently built Museum of American War Crimes in Ho Chi Minh City, was to establish a new museum (Chandler 1999).

The military victory over their former ally and challenging neighbor to the east presented a political problem for the Vietnamese government, in that the military

actions of the Vietnamese was perceived by many members of the international community, including the United States, as an invading force. It was imperative for the Vietnamese, and the subsequent People's Republic of Kampuchea government installed by the Vietnamese, to legitimate their actions. Ideological glitches marked also Vietnam's global political optics in that, ostensibly, one communist government overthrew another communist government. Potential justifications for the ouster of the CPK could potentially backfire and call to question Vietnam's own system of government. It was necessary to distance Vietnamese communism from Khmer communism. Thus, when two photojournalists accompanying the Vietnamese army stumbled across a former school converted into a secret detention and torture center, the Vietnamese saw their opportunity (Sánchez-Biosca 2015, 104).

A solution appeared as Vietnamese troops occupied Phnom Penh and, until recently, the heart of the CPK's state apparatus. In the days following the defeat of the Khmer Rouge, two Vietnamese photojournalists were walking through Phnom Penh when the smell of decomposing bodies drew them toward a former school. There, the photojournalists discovered the bodies of several recently murdered men, with some bodies stilled chained to iron beds in rooms that once had been classrooms. Over the next several days, as the Vietnamese and their Cambodian assistants searched the former school, they recovered thousands of documents: mug-shot photographs and undeveloped negatives; thousands of written confessions, hundreds of cadre notebooks; numerous DK publications, and myriad instruments of torture and detainment. The Vietnamese had uncovered S-21, one of approximately 200 security-centers established by the Khmer Rouge throughout Democratic Kampuchea.

Leadership of the PRK immediately saw a political opportunity at S-21. According to Hughes (2003, 26), the long-term "national and international legitimacy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea hinged on the exposure of the violent excesses of Pol Pot … and the continued production of a coherent memory of the past, that is, of liberation and reconstruction at the hands of a benevolent fraternal state." In the Vietnamese effort to build Cambodia's collective memory of its recent, violent past, S-21 was to shoulder the heavy lifting. Simply put, providing evidence to the outside world that the invasion by the Vietnamese army was indeed a liberation was the primary concern of those who designed Tuol Sleng as a museum (Ledgerwood 1997, 87).

Thus, Mai Lam visited former Nazi concentration camps and extermination camps, in an attempt to recreate S-21 as an 'Asian Auschwitz' and returned to Phnom Penh "with a display tailored to attract international sympathy in a time of isolation and to legitimize the new authorities, depicted as good Marxist-Leninists who had saved the Khmer people from the 'fascist' clique of Democratic Kampuchea" (Benzaquen 2014, 793; Ledgerwood 1997; Williams 2004). From the beginning, Vietnamese officials designed Tuol Sleng "to provoke outrage through a primarily sensory experience rather than to enlighten" (Benzaquen 2014, 792). As Sánchez-Biosca (2015, 107) explains, the Vietnamese strategy consisted of displaying an improvised archive of objects, fetishes and representations with which they hoped to present the Khmer Rouge as a gang of criminals who had committed genocide on their own people.

Simply put, as Sánchez-Biosca (2015, 107) writes, it was "a strategy of offending the eye and scandalizing the spirit."

Much has been written on the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum (see Ledgerwood 1997; Williams 2004; Hughes 2008; Sion 2011; Benzaquen 2014; Tyner 2014; Brown and Millington 2015; Sirik and Tyner 2016). The power of Tuol Sleng, as a memorial site, lies in its purported authenticity. As a museum, S-21 was kept largely intact with only minor modifications to the compound made. Surrounded by a corrugated tin fence topped with coils of barbed wire, Tuol Sleng consists of four three-story concrete buildings arranged in a U-shape pattern around a grassy courtyard dotted with palm trees. There is little textual material; most photographs and exhibits are unmarked. Such a minimalist approach was (and is) deliberate. At one level, the museum seemingly provides an 'authentic' experience, one where visitors can enter into cells or interrogation rooms *just as the rooms were* when prisoners were actually detained and tortured. The intent is clear: to signify that these crimes took place.

Guttormsen and Fageraas (2011, 449–450) suggest that "heritage as cultural capital becomes symbolic capital when master narratives, images and monuments are used in the construction of … a national … identity and for branding products, places and peoples." Tuol Sleng, as a materialized, authorized discourse, capitalizes on the site's authenticity—it is, after all, the actual building in which prisoners were detained, tortured, and often forced to confess prior to their execution. However, as an authentic site, S-21 is very much a 'dead' space. As Chhabra (2005, 65) explains, "authenticity is often staged and commodified to meet the needs of the tourist," and in fact, S-21 has been highly commodified to serve alternative purposes (Tyner 2018).

The initial establishment of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Phnom Penh was initiated not to promote economic development through tourism or even to promote national reconciliation but rather primarily for political purposes. This is a key point when tracing the history of the memorialization of genocide and mass violence throughout Cambodia. As Light (2017, 283) explains, tourism at places of death and suffering can overlap with, reinforce or collide with the use of those places for broader political projects and agendas. Thus, although Mai Lam and his colleagues gave a nod to the Cambodian people, they (apparently) designed the museum primarily for foreign consumption, modeled after Holocaust sites, including Auschwitz (Ledgerwood 1997, 89). It is fitting that Mai Lam drew inspiration from Auschwitz. Auschwitz, as Mandel (2001, 203) writes, has come to represent the Holocaust for contemporary imagination. She (203–204) explains, "When we say 'Auschwitz,' we do not mean the concentration camp in occupied Poland, or we do not mean merely that; we also refer to the vast network of bureaucracy, regional and personal politics, personal and impersonal betrayals and hatreds, German nationalist and racist presumptions that found expression in National Socialism and a leader in Hitler, the scapegoat mentality and delusional ideology produced by a centuries-old anti-Semitism—in short, the immense, cumulative, complex, profound, prosaic, stunning, and disturbingly banal process that produced what is known as the Holocaust."

What do tourists understand when confronted with Tuol Sleng; and especially when Tuol Sleng is portrayed as the 'Asian Auschwitz'? The formal establishment of the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum set the memory-work of the Cambodian genocide

on a path it has hardly strayed. From its opening to the present day, the intended audience of Tuol Sleng has been an international audience, initially for political purposes and more recently as an economic resource. Accordingly, the museum was, from its inception, designed to promote a particular narrative of the past, a past based not on the historiography of Democratic Kampuchea but instead of a homogenized appropriation of Holocaust-related sites. As Ledgerwood (1997, 87) explains, providing evidence to the outside world that the invasion by the Vietnamese army was an act of 'liberation' was the primary concern of those who designed Tuol Sleng as a museum. Indeed, a report from the Ministry of Culture, Information and Propaganda dated October 1980 stated that the aim of the museum was "to show the international guests the cruel torture committed by the traitors to the Khmer people" (Benzaquen 2014, 791).

In an ironic twist, however, the promotion of Tuol Sleng as the locus of the Cambodia genocide belies the reality of the genocide itself. Under the Khmer Rouge, towns and cities were forcibly evacuated, as the men, women, and children were displaced into agricultural collectives and myriad work-camps dispersed throughout the country. It is to this disconnect between the promotion of Tuol Sleng in Phnom Penh and the materiality of rural-based mass violence I now turn.

12.4 The Hidden Sites of Mass Violence

Once in power, the senior leadership of the Khmer Rouge premised that economic success—and, by extension, political success—depended on its agricultural sector. As explained in its 'Four-Year Plan', developed between July 21 and August 2, 1976, the CPK identified two economic objectives. The first was "to serve the people's livelihood, and to raise the people's standard of living quickly, both in terms of supplies and in terms of other material goods" (Communist Party of Kampuchea 1988a, 51). This was to be accomplished through the satisfaction of a second objective, namely to "seek, gather, save, and increase capital from agriculture, aiming to rapidly expand our agriculture, our industry, and our defense" (Communist Party of Kampuchea 1988a, 51). Therefore, to achieve *industrial* self-sufficiency—including both light and heavy industry—the CPK decreed that they would "only have to earn [foreign] capital from agriculture" (Communist Party of Kampuchea 1988a, 96).

For the CPK, agriculture—but especially rice—was determined to be the country's comparative advantage (Tyner 2017b). During a speech delivered in June 1976 at an assembly of cadres of the Western Zone, the speaker (most likely Pol Pot) discussed the importance of rapid agricultural development. The speaker explains "National construction proceeds along the lines laid down by the Party. The important point of this is building up our agriculture, which is backward, into modern agriculture within ten to fifteen years" (Communist Party of Kampuchea 1988b, 27). This point is developed in greater length in the Four-Year Plan, whereby it is noted that Democratic Kampuchea is replete with "such things as land, livestock, natural resources, water sources such as lakes, rivers and ponds" and that these "natural characteristics have

given us great advantages compared with China, Vietnam, or Africa. Compared to Korea, we also have positive qualities" (Communist Party of Kampuchea 1988a, 46). Paramount among these, of course, was agriculture. From a competitive standpoint, rice was the clear choice. And while other agricultural products were identified, including rubber, corn, beans, fish, and forest products, these were largely gratis.

To facilitate the rapid expansion of rice production, senior leaders of the Khmer Rouge initiated hundreds of irrigation projects throughout the countryside. These, in turn, were supported by myriad work-camps, as the populace was forced to clear forests, dig canals, build dikes, and excavate reservoirs. In total, over 7,000 km of irrigation channels and upwards of 350 reservoirs were constructed in under four years (Tyner et al. 2018). Significantly, the material remains of these projects remain on the landscape but are largely unknown or unrecognized to outsiders. These sites remain hidden in plain sight and yet retain an enduring day-to-day presence, both for those old enough to have lived through the violence and for those who continue to earn their livings on and around these sites of brutality, for many of the reservoirs, dams, and canals constructed with forced labor continue to function. Farmers still obtain water from these structures; and fisher-folk continue to catch fish in the reservoirs. The presence of these material sites contributes to the ongoing writing and rewriting of Cambodia's historical geography, in that their material afterlife remain as constant reminders of the country's violent past (Tyner 2017a). Here, we understand that the landscape of the Cambodian genocide is the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them (Ingold 1993, 156; Sirik 2016).

Remarkably, many of these paths lie beyond the walls of Tuol Sleng, but often circle back and intersect with Tuol Sleng in important ways. S-21 was never autonomous from the rest of Democratic Kampuchea. Workers and soldiers, that is, those men, women, and children detained and tortured at S-21, were arrested from across Democratic Kampuchea. In this way, hundreds—if not thousands—of villages and communes were attached viscerally, through the embodied detainees, with S-21. One such site is the Trapeang Thma Dam and Reservoir. Located in Phnom Srok District, Banteay Meanchey Province, during the Khmer Rouge regime cadres of Region 5 of the Northwest Zone administered the site. According to Pann Chhuong, a former Khmer Rouge cadre who served as Deputy Chief of Region 5, a Khmer Rouge official named Val (alias Aok Haun) wanted initially to build a road to Thailand. It is possible that these transportation systems were preferred as a more effective means to transport rice and other resources. Perhaps also these indicate a desire to increase international trade with Thailand. Pann Chhuong recalls that during the early months of 1977 work-teams began clearing forests in anticipation of road construction. At the same time, cadre also undertook surveys for the formulation of plans to develop a rail line. In the end, however, senior officials suspended both of these projects, as they determined that a network of irrigation projects was more important (OCIJ 2010, 86). Consequently, Val undertook the supervision, management, and construction of the dam and reservoir at Trapeang Thma. Other individuals responsible for the management of the project included Hat (member of the Phnom Srok District

Committee), Man Chun (alias Hoeung; Secretary of Region 5), and Muol Sambat (alias Ta Nhim; Secretary of the Northwest Zone).

The Trapeang Thma project was widely seen as a key milestone in the development of CPK water management practice. Once completed, the main dam—located some 50 km northwest of the town of Sisophon—was approximately 10 m wide at the top, 18 m wide at the base, and between three to five meters in height; it formed a reservoir approximately 70 km^2 in size (OCIJ 2010, 86). Khmer Rouge cadres held an inauguration ceremony in December 1977, with several high-ranking officials, including Pol Pot and a delegation from China in attendance. As described in an official CPK publication, the dam composed part of a nation-wide labor offensive whereby workers "sacrificed everything for maximum rice production" (OCIJ 2010, 86). Survivors recall that Khmer Rouge musical troupes performed at the ceremony, that cows and pigs were cooked, and that everyone had much to eat.

The official Khmer Rouge remembrance of the ceremony belies the horrific conditions endured by those who labored to build the dam and reservoir. Countless people died. People were bitten by poisonous snakes and succumbed to a host of diseases, including malaria, dysentery, and hermeralopia. Hermeralopia is an ailment also known as 'day blindness'; it refers to an inability to see during the day time. Those suffering from the disease were not excused from work; rather, they were required to help pass buckets of dirt from the excavation site, much as volunteer fire-brigades once shuttled water. Most witnesses remember that hunger and thirst were always present (OCIJ 2010, 89). To supplement these meager rations, many former workers describe having to scavenge for food, for example catching frogs or gathering wild mushrooms. Workers were subject to swift punishment and execution for any number of fractions—including the scavenging for food. Soeu Saut recalls how Khmer Rouge cadres discovered a worker to have caught a rat to eat and quickly executed the person. Indeed, cadre often killed outright persons found guilty of moral offences and other perceived infractions against the Party. Reports of sexual and gender-based violence also exist. Witnesses recall, for example, "pregnant women being beaten, killed and thrown into the reservoir basin, as the CPK cadre would say that 'the dam would hold firmly only if pregnant women were killed and placed at the sluice gate'" (OCIJ 2010, 90).

The Trapeang Thma Dam—and hundreds of other structures—remains on the landscape and, in many respects, assumes a prominent place in the lives of many Cambodians. Banteay Meanchey Province currently is home to over 55,000 households, for a population in excess of 250,000 persons. Upwards of 55,000 people live and work in the immediate vicinity of the dam, residing in an estimated 99 villages. Currently, many of the secondary canals built during the Khmer Rouge-era have fallen into disrepair; however, the overall scheme remains in use. Farmers in the neighboring villages cultivate rice on fields located south, east, and north of the reservoir. During the rainy season, roughly between June and December, the reservoir fills with water and rice is cultivated in the flooded areas. During the dry season, irrigation allows farmers to utilize a smaller area to the east for rice cultivation. In addition, for many local residents, the reservoir provides the main source of water,

protein, and income (Loeung et al. 2015). Many households, for example, supplement their diet and income through fishing, the gathering of aquatic plants, and the collection of water snakes.

Today, Trapeang Thma is also a nature preserve and thus receives international tourists, including, no doubt, many who visit the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum. However, the foreign visitors who hire paddleboats or purchase food are unaware that the surrounding rice fields and intricate system of bunds, dikes, and canals constitute a landscape of genocidal violence. Visitors are unaware that the Khmer Rouge detained and tortured at S-21 many of the men and women responsible for the building of Trapeang Thma Dam, including Val, Hat, and Man Chun.

The myriad infrastructure projects, such as the Trapeang Thma Dam and Reservoir initiated by the Khmer Rouge problematize the presumption that a site only becomes fully authentic when marked (Tyner 2018). Indeed, while many of these structures have been rehabilitated, they largely retain the same functions as they did during the Khmer Rouge regime. Consequently, the daily act of farming, or fishing, or gathering water provides a tangible link between the past and the present. In this way, the remnants of Khmer Rouge infrastructure develop remain palpable on the landscape even as the dominance of Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum casts a pall on these sites of past atrocities. Neither marked nor memorialized, these structures are 'hidden in plain sight', their past visible only to those who experienced first-hand the horrific conditions occasioned by the Khmer Rouge. Efforts are underway to document these experiences, of past-and-present workings on the landscape. The Documentation Center of Cambodia, for example, has conducted thousands of interviews, both with Khmer Rouge cadre and non-Khmer Rouge survivors. Other non-profit organizations, such as Youth for Peace, have facilitated survivors to reflect upon their experiences as a means of conveying their memories to the next generation (Tyner 2017a, 2018).

12.5 Conclusions

Called to play a more established international role, the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum must adjust to standards of worldwide memorial institutions (Benzaquen 2014). Indeed, the museum must respond to the expectations of foreign visitors accustomed to a certain form and style of 'atrocity' sites. However, and regardless of changes both substantive and cosmetic to Tuol Sleng, for the vast majority of international tourists the site remains one of only two officially recognized and 'authentic' locations that constitute the Cambodian genocide (Hughes 2008). To this end, Tuol Sleng performs a function not dissimilar from Auschwitz, in that the former Khmer Rouge security-center, paired with the 'Killing Fields' at Cheoung Ek, has become the iconic signifier of the Cambodian genocide. However, the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum marks but one of myriad sites associated with the Cambodian genocide. The material ruins of Democratic Kampuchea remain ever-present, both in the memories and in post-memories of the survivors and their descendants. Many of these ruins also

remain viable and continue to serve their original functions. They are, effectively, living landscapes; and herein lies the problem. Much like Auschwitz, the Cambodian genocide extends beyond the walls of Tuol Sleng and includes thousands of kilometers of irrigation canals, hundreds of reservoirs, hundreds of security centers, and countless cooperatives and work-camps. Some of these sites retain a physical presence; many do not.

Moving forward, the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum will invariably occupy a central position in Cambodia's tourist industry. As such, the potential economic benefits accruing from the promotion of the museum as a key destination for 'dark' tourists will remain ever-present. However, the centrality of Tuol Sleng means also that other, rural-based sites will remain neglected. This, in-and-of itself poses additional dissonance. On the one hand, it is positive, in that the pain and suffering of those who endured the genocide is not commodified; but, on the other hand, there is the danger that their stories remain muted and whatever benefits might accrue from tourism will bypass them entirely.

References

Ashworth GJ, Isaac RK (2015) Have we illuminated the dark? Shifting perspectives on 'dark' tourism. Tour Recreat Res 40(3):316–325

Benzaquen S (2014) Looking at the Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocidal Crimes, Cambodia, on Flickr and YouTube. Media Cult Soc 36(6):790–809

Bowman MS, Pezzullo PC (2010) What's so 'dark' about dark tourism? Death, tours and performance. Tour Stud 9(3):187–202

Brown C, Millington C (2015) The memory of the Cambodian genocide: the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum. Hist Compass 13(2):31–39

Buda DM (2015) The death drive in tourism studies. Ann Tour Res 50:39–51

Chandler D (1999) Voices from S-21: terror and history in Pol Pot's secret prison. University of California Press, Berkeley

Chandler D (2008) Cambodia deals with its past: collective memory, demonization and induced amnesia. Total Mov Polit Relig 9(2–3):355–369

Chhabra D (2005) Defining authenticity and its determinants: toward an authenticity flow model. J Travel Res 44:64–73

Colls CS (2015) Uncovering a painful past: archaeology and the Holocaust. Conserv Manag Archaeol Sites 17:38–55

Communist Party of Kampuchea (1988a) The Party's four-year plan to build socialism in all fields, 1977–1980. In: Chandler D, Kiernan B, Boua C (eds) Pol Pot plans the future: confidential leadership documents from Democratic Kampuchea, 1976–1977. Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, New Haven, pp 36–118

Communist Party of Kampuchea (1988b) Excerpted report of the leading views of the comrade representing the party organization at a zone assembly. In: Chandler D, Kiernan B, Boua C (eds) Pol Pot plans the future: confidential leadership documents from Democratic Kampuchea, 1976–1977. Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, New Haven, pp 9–35

Della Lucia M, Trunfio M, Go FM (2017) Heritage and urban regeneration: towards creative tourism. In: Bellini N, Pasquinelli C (eds) Tourism in the city. Springer International, Switzerland, pp 179–191

DeSilvey C (2007) Salvage memory: constellating material histories on a hardscrabble homestead. Cultural Geographies 14:401–424

Edensor T (2005) The ghosts of industrial ruins: ordering and disordering memory in excessive space. Environ Plan D: Soc Space 23:829–849
Edensor T (2008) Mundane hauntings: commuting through the phantasmagoric working-class spaces of Manchester, England. Cult Geogr 15:313–333
Guttormsen TS, Fageraas K (2011) The social production of 'attractive authenticity' at the World Heritage site of Røros, Norway. Int J Herit Stud 17:442–462
Harrison R (2013) Heritage: critical approaches. Routledge, New York
Hartmann R (2014) Dark tourism, thanatourism and dissonance in heritage tourism management: new directions in contemporary tourism research. J Herit Tour 9(2):166–182
Hartmann R (2018) Dark tourism and heritage landscapes. In: Stone PR (ed) The Palgrave handbook of dark tourism studies. Palgrave Macmillan, London, pp 377–380
Heuveline P (1998) 'Between one and three million': towards the demographic reconstruction of a decade of Cambodian history (1970–1979). Popul Stud 52:49–65
Hocking B (2011) Transforming the stone: reimagining Derry's diamond war memorial in the new 'post-conflict' Northern Ireland. Ir J Anthropol 14(2):19–25
Hughes R (2008) Dutiful tourism: encountering the Cambodian genocide. Asia Pac Viewp 49:318–330
Kiernan B (1990) The genocide in Cambodia, 1975–1979. Bull Concerned Asian Sch 22:35–40
Kiernan B (1996) The Pol Pot regime: policies, race and genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975–1979. Yale University Press, New Haven
King T, Flynn MK (2012) Heritage and the post-apartheid city: Constitution Hill, Johannesburg. Int J Herit Stud 18(1):65–82
Ledgerwood J (1997) The Cambodian Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocidal Crimes: national narrative. Mus Anthropol 21:82–98
Lennon JJ, Foley M (2000) Dark tourism: the attraction of death and disaster. Continuum, London
Light D (2017) Progress in dark tourism and thanatourism research: an uneasy relationship with heritage tourism. Tour Manag 61:275–301
Loeung K, Schmidt-Vogt D, Shivokoti GP (2015) Economic value of wild aquatic resources in the Ang Prapeang Thmor Sarus Crane Reserve, north-western Cambodia. Wetl Ecol Manag 23:467–480
Mandel N (2001) Rethinking 'after Auschwitz': against a rhetoric of the unspeakable in Holocaust writing. Boundary 2 28(3):203–228
Martinović A, Ifko S (2018) Industrial heritage as a catalyst for urban regeneration in post-conflict cities Case study: Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Cities 74:259–268
O'Dowd L, Komarova M (2011) Contesting territorial fixity? A case study of regeneration in Belfast. Urban Stud 48(10):2013–2028
O'Dowd L, Komarova M (2013) Three narratives in search of a city: researching Belfast's 'post-conflict' transitions. City 17(4):526–546
Owen C (1990) Tourism and urban regeneration. Cities 7:194–201
Office of the Co-Investigation Judges [OCIJ] (2010) Closing Order, Case File No.: 002/19-09-2007-ECCC-OCIJ. Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, Phnom Penh
Pendlebury J, Porfyriou H (2017) Heritage, urban regeneration and place-making. J Urban Des 22(4):429–432
Ramsey P (2013) 'A pleasingly blank canvas': urban regeneration in Northern Ireland and the case of Titanic Quarter. Space Polity 17(2):164–179
Sánchez-Biosca V (2015) Perpetrator images, perpetrator artifacts: the nomad archives of Tuol Sleng (S-21). Cinéma Cie 15(24):103–116
Sion B (2011) Conflicting sites of memory in post-genocide Cambodia. Humanity 2:1–21
Sirik S (2016) Everyday experiences of genocide survivor in landscapes of violence in Cambodia. Documentation Center of Cambodia, Phnom Penh
Sirik S, Tyner JA (2016) Violence and memorialization in Cambodia. In: Brickell K, Springer S (eds) The handbook of contemporary Cambodia. Routledge, New York, pp 368–377
Smith L (2006) Uses of heritage. Routledge, London

Steinberg MK, Taylor MJ (2003) Public memory and political power in Guatemala's postconflict landscape. Geogr Rev 93:449–468
Tyner JA (2017a) From rice fields to killing fields: nature, life, and labor under the Khmer Rouge. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse
Tyner JA (2017b) Landscape, memory, and post-violence in Cambodia. Rowman & Littlefield International, London
Tyner JA (2018) Official memorials, deathscapes, and hidden landscapes of ruin: material legacies of the Cambodian genocide. In: Muzaini H, Minca C (eds) After heritage: critical perspectives on heritage from below. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, pp 22–43
Tyner JA, Brindis Alvarez G, Colucci A (2012) Memory and the everyday landscape of violence in post-genocide Cambodia. Soc Cult Geogr 13:853–871
Tyner JA, Sirik S, Henkin S (2014) Violence and the dialectics of landscape: memorialization in Cambodia. Geogr Rev 104:277–293
Tyner JA, Munro-Stasiuk M, Coakley C, Kimsroy S, Rice S (2018) Khmer Rouge irrigation schemes during the Cambodian genocide. Genocide Stud Int 12(1):103–119
Vickery M (1988) How many died in Pol Pot's Kampuchea? Bull Concerned Asian Sch 20:377–385
Watson S, Waterton E (2010) Reading the visual: representation and narrative in the construction of heritage. Mater Cult Rev 71:84–97
Williams P (2004) Witnessing genocide: vigilance and remembrance at Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek. Holocaust Genocide Stud 18(2):234–254

Chapter 13
Cultural Heritage and Tourism Stimulus: Regional Regeneration in Southern Africa

Portia Pearl Siyanda Sifolo

Abstract The historical background of Southern Africa and the failure by contemporary heritage managers to develop a locally relevant practice for cultural heritage has been identified as one of the limitations to promote inclusive tourism across the region. Tourism is one of the leading economic activities globally, however, regional or local challenges such as cross boarder issues affects tourism development and beneficiation. Therefore, effective motivational regional tourism strategy is essential to obtain maximum benefits from the sector. Framed within the concept of Maslow' Hierarchy, motivational theory, this chapter argues that to develop a locally relevant practice in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region, tourism, as one of the key pillars of economic growth, can contribute to urban regeneration and gentrification. Evidence from cultural heritage sites in the SADC region, including cultural villages, that promote urban regeneration will be presented and discussed.

Keywords Tourism · Cultural heritage · Urban gentrification · Motivation theory · Southern African development community

13.1 Introduction

With travellers demanding authentic experiences, this has resulted in fierce global competition challenging countries to enhance their competitive advantage as tourist destinations. This is especially important in Africa. Doing business on the African continent is not always simple or straightforward because "Africa is the most heterogeneous continent linguistically, culturally and ethnically" (Swanepoel 2019, 234). Apart from the fact that Africa is home to 55 countries, the culture, the languages and people are diverse. For instance, there are over 1,000 languages spoken across Africa. However, through the existence of the African Union (AU) as well as eight Regional Economic Communities (REC), cooperation and planning for future growth is increasingly becoming possible.

P. P. S. Sifolo (✉)
Centre of Sustainable Development, Tshwane University of Technology, Pretoria, South Africa
e-mail: SifoloPS@tut.ac.za

N. Wise and T. Jimura (eds.), *Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration*,
The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41905-9_13

According to the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), tourism offers the African continent one of the most promising opportunities for development (see UNWTO 2018). Evidence includes existence of the UNWTO and the fact that the year 2017 was the international year of tourism for sustainable development. According to Lyon, Hunter-Jones and Warnaby (2017), sustainable tourism development affects some societal aspects relating to quality of life concerns such as empowerment, stakeholder equity, community participation, protection of cultural heritage and authenticity, support for and continuation of identity, and the culture, local values and interests of indigenous peoples. Therefore, their invaluable and unique cultural heritage must be preserved and conserved for future generations to enjoy in both urban and regional/rural areas. According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), heritage and tourism stakeholders both share the responsibility for conserving common cultural and natural heritage of Outstanding Universal Value (UNESCO 2019a). According to SADC (2012, 7), "tourists are attracted by ethical values relating to social, cultural and environmental responsibility within the places they visit and the products they use". This point is also alluded to by Viljoen and Henama (2017), who note that cultural heritage tourism has emerged as one of the fastest growing competitive segments in the market, and helps showcase an authentic destination. It is this phenomenon that warrants commitment from countries across SADC. This way the nations across SADC can influence society and the tourism industry at large so that they can create cultural heritage opportunities across the region (a map highlighting the 16 SADC countries is shown in Fig. 13.1).

13.2 Cultural Heritage Tourism

Culture is often a primary motivation for tourists to visit a destination. Blending culture and heritage with tourism (or cultural heritage tourism) features strongly in the international agenda. Heritage constitutes a source of identity and cohesion for communities (Jimura 2019). Cultural and heritage tourism offers a great platform to promote engagement in the SADC region. Heritage tourism, defined by Fyall and Garrod (1998), is an economic activity that makes use of socio-cultural assets to attract visitors. Cultural heritage alternatively is an important stimulus to tourist demand (see Girard and Nijkamp 2012). Throsby (2016) notes that a cultural tourist is one who is, or wants to be informed, educated and become more aware of cultural values and how its presence affects a destination. According to New Urban Agenda (2016), "culture and cultural diversity are sources of enrichment for humankind and provide an important contribution to the sustainable development of cities, human settlements and citizens".

Culture, both as a sector of activity and as a resource, aligns with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (specifically Goal 11) which aims to 'make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable' and, in particular, in target 11.4 on 'safeguarding the World's cultural and natural heritage'

Fig. 13.1 Map showing the SADC nations in Africa (map produced by Nicholas Wise)

(UNESCO 2019b). Building on this from a practical standpoint, "tourism heritage organisations aim to protect and preserve cultural sites that bring social benefits to society and future generations" (Wells et al. 2016, 3).

It is estimated that by 2020 the number of regional travellers in Africa will exceed 50 million and this is anticipated to be a force for the transformation of tourism on the continent (Rogerson and Kiambo 2007). The African Travel and Tourism Association (2019) reported that Africa was mainly (71%) leisure-driven, with the remainder (29%) being business-driven in 2018; whilst across Africa calculated tourism figures found that 56% of tourists were domestic and 44% international.

The tourism sector is dynamic in nature, and requires continuous and consistent monitoring (and corresponding management) to ensure competitive advantage. This will assist the destinations that strive to achieve and meet the ever-increasing (and ever-changing) customer expectations/demands. The impact of tourism on the

economies of African countries cannot be understated. According to the WTTC (2017, 65), tourism provides 10% of the world's GDP, 7% of global trade and as many as one in every 11 jobs globally. This is a clear indication that the tourism sector is crucial for development, particularly in the case of Africa. The African Development Bank (2019) reported that, in 2016, the African continent earned US$36.2 billion in revenue from 62.9 million international visitors.

In practice, tourism remains among the key contributors to the economic activity in the development of any country. Therefore, achieving the sustainable solutions for local economic development while creating sustainable urban cities or towns proves to be an insurmountable exercise. However, the theory suggests otherwise; it is often suggested that tourism is fragmented (Kastarlak and Barber 2012); and the industry has the heterogeneous mix of many different organisations. The fragmented nature of the tourism industry limits destinations' capacities and motivations to innovate. As a result, more attention on stakeholder engagement in tourism industry is desirable towards addressing the inclusion of all the stakeholders throughout the tourism supply chain (Sifolo 2017). The fact that the industry draws from different disciplines, strategic regional coordination is required among the stakeholders to ensure sustainability, as focused on and argued in this chapter.

13.3 Motivational Theory as a Means to Find Common Process of Commodifying Cultural Heritage in the SADC Region Through Value Presentation and Recognition

There is a fundamental relationship between motivations and tourist visits. Tourists play crucial roles when it comes to preserving local-made product's authenticity and the destination's identity (Nguyen and Diekmann 2019). People travel to satisfy certain wants and needs (Mokhtarian, Salomon and Singer 2015). To better explain the process of commodifying cultural heritage in the destination, this chapter adopts Nguyen and Diekmann's (2019) approach and interpretation of commodifying cultural heritage through value presentation and recognition (see Fig. 13.2). Drawing from the Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs is paramount, this conceptual approach is commended because it helps in determining the appropriate mix of possible travel decision-making and influential factors (see Tikkanen 2017). Maslow's theory, or often referred to as the theory of motivation, explains how people experience needs according to five levels (the guest, awareness, showing interest, acknowledgement and culture appreciation). According to Yousaf, Amin and Santos (2018, 201), Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs "helps clarify travellers' varied motivations and thereby explain tourists' travel behaviours".

Maslow's theory argues that humans have a series of needs, some of which must be met before they can turn their attention towards others. Maslow's theory has been extensively used to explain tourist motivations in different contexts. To ascertain the

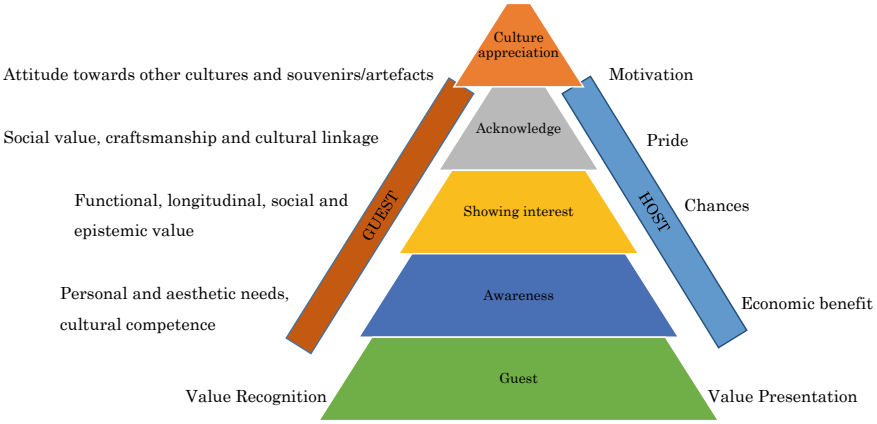

Fig. 13.2 Process of commodifying cultural heritage through value presentation and recognition. *Source* Adaptation from Maslow's Hierarchy by Nguyen and Diekmann (2019)

role of tourists on the preservation of local-made products (such as cultural artefacts) that are authentic and relate to a place and/or SADC regional identity, it is not only fitting but compelling to start with a theory of motivation to understand these consumer wants and needs. For instance, value recognition relates to attitude towards other cultures and souvenirs/artefacts, social value, craftsmanship and cultural linkage, functional, longitudinal, social and epistemic value, personal and aesthetic needs, and cultural competence. Likewise, value presentation offers insight on motivation, pride, chances, and economic benefits (see Nguyen and Diekmann 2019). One of the main aims for the SADC region is to focus on destination marketing and improved regional competitiveness, an approach considered in previous research concerning regions in the case of Italy (Aquilino and Wise 2016).

The first set of motives in Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs is 'physiological needs', which are associated with individuals' basic needs, such as food, shelter and water. In the process of the commodification of cultural heritage, the guest recognises the value in the destination. The destination identifies and presents a valuable service of a product to the guest. Yousaf, Amin and Santos (2018, 201) concur that "physiological needs are the basic needs that travellers expect destinations to meet". Destinations must be aware of the security needs of the guest as a host. Furthermore, Yousaf, Amin and Santos (2018) note that to attract increasing numbers of visitors, a destination needs to showcase and provide a safe/secure environment so travellers feel protected from threats during their stay. Social belonging is the third level in the cultural tourism identity where the guest can relate to functional, longitudinal social value. Economic and social cohesion at a regional level is critical for tourism as one of the key pillars of economic growth, especially in Africa.

To achieve tourism success, the SADC region aims to increase the number of tourists through sustainable development initiatives, whilst promoting effective destination marketing and improved regional competitiveness. Therefore, investing in

understating what motivates tourists to visit each country is critical to promote regional competitiveness, as each country must invest in destination development and marketing. Then, creating a cohesive cultural identity within SADC can serve as a unique selling point for the region. In relation to the Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, cultural identity can serve as the motivation for the host to cater for the wants and needs (pertinent to consumer attitudes) of the guests, by offering say cultural, experiences/encounters and souvenirs/artefacts. People travel for several reasons, some include impressing friends, visiting relatives, being in social groups and to gain higher social status. It becomes easier for the host to have pride in their place when they can satisfy the social wants and needs of the guests, whilst displaying craftsmanship in a way that the guest identifies cultural linkage in a destination. Heritage tourism can be promoted and marketed to cultural tourists so as to satisfy the personal and aesthetic needs (Wise and Mulec 2015). The guest must feel either the functional, longitudinal, social and epistemic value when partaking in the cultural or exercise at the destination. There should be *Value Presentation* (from a destination's perspective) and *Value Recognition* from the guest's perspective for a successful quality service (Yousaf, Amin and Santos 2018). Therefore, understanding the motivational forces behind tourist behaviours could help service providers to augment and adjust their offers to become more appealing to (and relate more to) target tourists.

13.4 SADC Regional Tourism Integration

Regional integration is an economic and a political decision that countries need to make with the intension of promoting cross-border collaboration for economic, social and conservation benefits. Africa experienced strong economic growth rates (averaging 4.6% annually, higher than Latin America and the Caribbean with 2.8%, yet lower than developing Asia with 7.2%) (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2018). Africa has tripled its trade with other emerging partners, especially China and India. Tourism serves as a tool to create closer bonds between countries, cultures and people in a globalised world (Acha-Anyi 2018). SADC is a REC in Africa comprising Angola, Botswana, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eswatini, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The region has approximately 272 million people growing at a rate of about 1.7% per annum, expected to reach approximately 350 million by 2027 (SADC 2012). The SADC report also recognises the urgent need to improve tourism infrastructure to prepare for forecasted growth that could see the SADC region receiving approximately 58% of Africa's tourism traffic by 2027 (SADC 2012).

Like any other region of the world, SADC has its own attainments and limitations. According to the SADC (2019), there has been significant progress in regional infrastructure development, including regional transport and communication infrastructural improvements. Both of these are fundamental to cooperation and enhancing tourism in the SADC region. The SADC region's largest city, Johannesburg, South

Africa, has a key airport for the region, and many other airports in SADC cities are currently being upgraded, as part of transport infrastructural regeneration. O. R. Tambo International Airport in Johannesburg is SADC's largest airport, operating as a regional hub for flights coming into the region and to connect passengers intra-regionally. Other countries are seeking to improve their airports to increase connections, for instance, "Angola is engaged in a major expansion of its airports and the terminals in Gaborone, Kinshasa, Windhoek, Victoria Falls, Kariba and Buffalo Range Airports are currently being expanded" (SADC 2012, 9). Urban tourism, shopping in particular, is becoming an increasingly common travel motivation for tourists visiting the region. Cities in urban centres have seen the emergence of urban tourism from the cities such as Arusha (Tanzania), Mauritius, Seychelles, Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town (South Africa) just to name a few (Rogerson 2013). Cities are increasingly been viewed as engines for growth that contribute to the competitiveness of countries. As noted by Rogerson (2013), urban tourism is growing largely because of non-leisure forms of tourism. Although tourism is referred to as a 'desirable diversifier' for local/regional economies, Brouder (2012) warns against the 'monocrop' of tourism in poor or remote localities. This suggests the need to focus on urban regeneration in SADC region aligned with the delivery of cultural heritage tourism.

The limitation in attracting international tourists is based on the region's periphery and all require long-haul flights with irregular connections (Acheampong and Tseane-Gumbi 2016). Sector-specific licences are also an entry barrier and an additional cost to business, and the policies relating to consumer protection in different countries can be complex due to jurisdiction laws. For example, tourist guides must be adequately trained and officially registered. However, the caveat here is they may only register in the geographical area they are from and can only officially conduct and guide tours based on the type of guiding noted on their certificate (see Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2017). The SADC region also tends to demonstrate varying sensitivity to local knowledge systems and culture. Observing and applying different practices or knowledge systems may affect integration in the region, which in turn may negatively affect cultural heritage tourism in SADC region.

According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2017), the main recommendations on regional integration are as follows:

- Reduce non-tariff barriers within the region.
- Lead the harmonisation of competition rules among SADC countries and promote competition in infrastructure-related services across countries.
- Simplify and adopt a single set of rules of origin in the forthcoming tripartite free trade area.
- Provide special economic zones with better infrastructure and develop their linkages with local economies.
- Upgrade information technology at custom posts and improve the interconnectivity of systems within SADC.
- Create a regional fund for infrastructure and increase private sector participation in infrastructure projects.

These six points are crucial for tourism development in the region, and must be integral to urban/regional regeneration strategies. The implementation of effective regional integration in the SADC may have positive impacts to the local residents. For example, according to the study conducted by Nguyen and Diekmann (2019), tourism development brings positive influences to individual local residents through new employment opportunities and improved public infrastructure. Rodríguez-Pose and Tselios (2015, 31), harmosise that "regional development policy assists with reducing interpersonal inequalities and interregional disparities, and promotes greater economic, social, and territorial cohesion through a harmonious, balanced and sustainable development".

In April 2016, Statistics South Africa (2016) reported tourism and migration figures noting 97.4% of all African tourists to South Africa come from SADC countries, which the majority coming from landlocked Lesotho. They are regarded as regional tourists since they come from neighbouring countries. One of the initiatives that transformed the tourism sector in the SADC region is the Transfrontier Parks (which are indicated in the map displayed in Fig. 13.3 and details of the map are explained in Table 13.1) that extend into the hinterlands of urban areas. Also referred

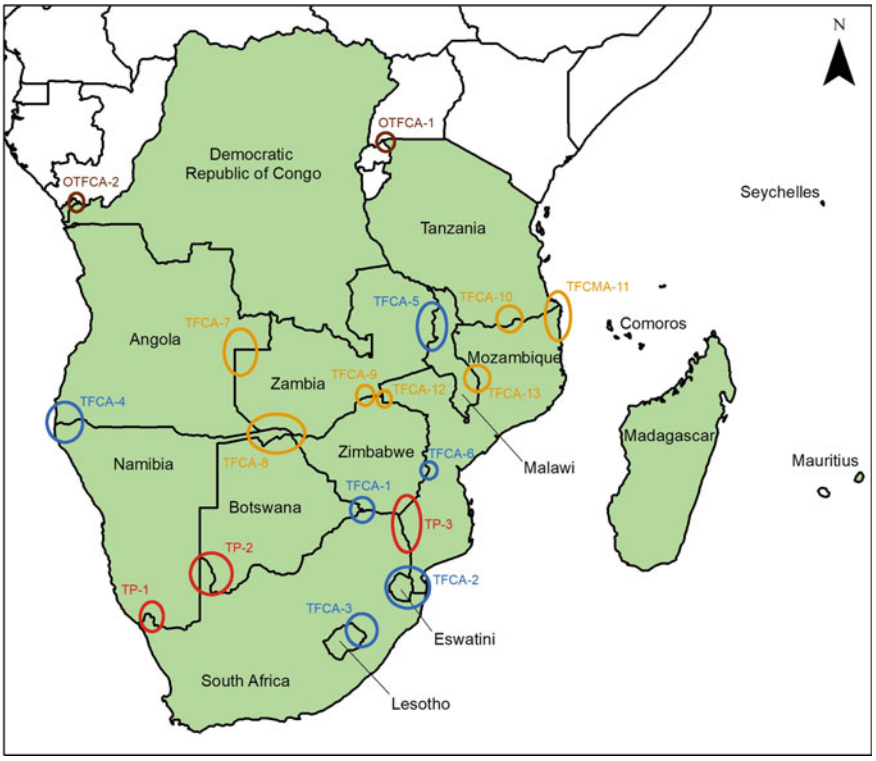

Fig. 13.3 Transfrontier areas in the SADC region (map produced by Nicholas Wise based on SADC 2012). Details of each of the transfrontier areas are outlined in Table 13.1

Table 13.1 The corresponding transfrontier parks (TP), transfrontier conservation areas (TFCA), transfrontier conservation marine area (TFCMA) and other noted transfrontier conservation areas (OTFCA) observed in Fig. 13.2

Type of agreement		
Figure 13.2 code	Name of park or area	Between nations
Transfrontier parks (TP) with a signed treaty		
TP-1	ǀAi-ǀAis/Richtersveld	Namibia and South Africa
TP-2	Kgalagadi	Botswana and South Africa
TP-3	Great Limpopo	Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe
Transfrontier conservation areas (TFCA) with signed memorandum of understanding		
TFCA-1	Limpopo-Shashe	Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe
TFCA-2	Lubombo	Mozambique, South Africa and Eswatini
TFCA-3	Maloti-Drakensberg	Losotho and South Africa
TFCA-4	Iona-Skeleton Coast	Angola and Namibia
TFCA-5	Malawi-Zambia	Malawi and Zambia
TFCA-6	Chimanimani	Mozambique and Zimbabwe
Transfrontier conservation areas (TFCA) and transfrontier conservation marine area (TFCMA) that is in the conceptual phase of development		
TFCA-7	Liuwa Plain-Kamela	Angola and Zambia
TFCA-8	Kavango-Zambezi	Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe
TFCA-9	Lower Zambezi-Mana Pools	Zambia and Zimbabwe
TFCA-10	Niassa-Selous	Mozambique and Tanzania
TFCMA-11	Mnazi Bay-Quirimbas	Mozambique and Tanzania
TFCA-12	Zimoza	Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe
TFCA-13	Liwonde-Lichinga	Malawi and Mozambique
Other noted transfrontier conservation areas (OTFCA) with nations within and nations outside of SADC		
OTFCA-1	Kagera	Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda
OTFCA-2	Malombe Forest	Angola, Congo and Democratic Republic of the Congo

to as Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCA), these are a "large ecological region that comprise the boundaries of two or more countries encompassing one or more protected areas and multiple resources-use areas" (SADC 2012, 20).

The vision of cross-border collaboration gives effect to the stated objectives of SADC to promote regional economic, social and conservation synergy. Cross-border collaboration promotes joint management regarding matters concerning conservation, safety and security, finance, human resources and legislation to promote regional tourism growth. Cross-border collaboration allows visitors with cross-border access within the perimeters of the TFCAs. For example, the |Ai-|Ais/Richtersveld Transfrontier Park has 6,222 km^2 in extent, with 1,902 km^2 (31%) in South Africa and the majority in Namibia. Another example is that of the Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier Conservation Area, 4,872 km^2 in extent, with 2,561 km^2 (53%) in South Africa, 1,350 km^2 (28%) in Botswana and 960 km^2 (19%) in Zimbabwe. There is also a Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (formerly Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou Transfrontier Park) that is 35,000 km^2 in extent, with 10,000 km^2 is in Mozambique, 20,000 km^2 in South Africa and 5,000 km^2 in Zimbabwe. Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation and Resource Area is 4,195 km^2 in extent, with 317 km^2 (8%) in Eswatini, 2,783 km^2 (66%) in Mozambique and 1,095 km^2 (26%) in South Africa. The Maloti-Drakensberg Transfrontier Conservation and Development Area: 8,113 km^2 in extent, with 5,170 km^2 (64%) is in Lesotho and 2,943 km^2 (36%) in South Africa. There is also a Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (KTP), 37,991 km^2 in extent, with 9,591 km^2 (27%) in South Africa and the remaining area in Botswana (Fig. 13.3).

Such initiatives are likely to promote Intra-Africa regional trade which is motivated by business and a dominant Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) market, and helps with regenerating the image of cities and the region. It has been found that a significant number of international tourists to South Africa are regional tourists drawn from other sub-Saharan African countries (see Rogerson 2013). Rogerson and Kiambo (2007, 508) add "the emergence of South Africa's new democracy and reintegration into the international economy triggered a wave of regional tourist arrivals from across Africa, particularly for purposes of business". There has been a surge in both formal and informal business travel for the vast majority of arrivals from Africa coming to South Africa by land as opposed to air travel. In order to ensure increased expenditure from regional tourism, entrepreneurs must research the needs of regional tourists and this may extend to language service offerings that include French, Swahili and Portuguese.

13.5 Is Urban Regeneration Possible in the SADC Region?

The concept of gentrification is complex, and it has been largely affected by the different theoretical and political underpinnings. Visser (2003, 80) defines gentrification as a "powerful and often rapid process which plays an important role in refashioning the physical, economic and social characteristics of inner-city areas". Although the concept of gentrification has been covered widely in the developed world, particularly in the United States of America, there is limited literature on urban gentrification in the African continent. One of the reasons is because many African nations experience land annexations driven by off-shore interests, called investments by some and land-grabs by others (Geisler 2012). These enclosures entail millions of acres and affect millions of African lives. Extraterritorial ownership and control of sub-Saharan African land has a long and troubled history.

However, due to a growing population in Botswana and South Africa, this has led to lower-income groups selling their houses to middle-income groups, thus resulting in gentrification (Kampamba et al. 2018). This trend has also been noted in South Africa where "landowners have the ability to influence income and employment levels, thereby affecting economic sustainability" (Lyon, Hunter-Jones and Warnaby 2017, 238). In SADC, the concept of gentrification is described differently. One may argue that gentrification without displacement has had its successes and failures. In some communities, gentrification evokes instant distrust. Kampamba et al. (2018) warn us that those with lower-incomes will become displaced or homeless in near future—thus creating an opportunity for illegal settlements to develop.

13.6 The Role of Cultural Heritage Sites and Villages in the SADC Region Sub-Saharan Africa to Promote Regeneration

Tourism development and cultural heritage promotes stakeholder participation. As a UNESCO World Heritage Site, Richtersveld Cultural and Botanical Landscape management planned to refurbish |Ai-|Ais Hot Springs Resort in 2009 to promote adventure tourism and showcases the unique landscape and the region's rich cultural heritage (SADC 2019). The Kavango-Zambezi (KAZA) Transfrontier Conservation Area within the borders of Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe includes 36 formally proclaimed national parks and a host of game reserves, forest reserves, game management areas, and conservation and tourism concession areas to display natural resources (SADC 2019). In this TFCA, local communities were not required to re-settle outside the boundaries of the park, but remained encompassed within the park, with the aim of improving socio-economic conditions through routing tourism development and conservation projects. It is these initiatives mentioned above that make gentrification that enhances cultural heritage possible—with new opportunities on the horizon.

Other tourism opportunities such as the proposed cross-border Shingwedzi Cliffs Wilderness Trail between South Africa and Zimbabwe promote the concept of walking tourism. According to SADC (2019), activities to encourage tourism include: an annual Shangaan festival in July; a Rio Elefantes Canoeing Trail down the Olifants River; a Palarangala Wilderness Trail through pristine wilderness; the Lebombo Hiking Trail; and the Elefantes Gorge Backpacking and Fishing Trail. The Shingwedzi Trail is a cross-border adventure trail implemented through public–private community partnerships that aim to benefit communities in both countries (SADC 2019). Such initiatives are some of the unique approaches relevant to the region. The study conducted by Jimura (2016) identifies similar initiatives such as the "michi-bushin" programme (the footpath maintenance organised by regional and local governments) at the Kii mountain range in Japan; which is arranged for the conservation of the pilgrimage routes and enables locals and tourists to be involved in the conservation activities as volunteers. Therefore, being creative or innovative is critical in tourism to promote regional heritage regeneration. In turn, this will contribute towards achieving Sustainable Development Goal 11 (referred to above).

The mission of World Heritage Sites includes encouraging participation of the local population in the preservation of their cultural and natural heritage (Jimura 2019; UNESCO 2019c). 'Tourism for Good' outlines an ambition of managing tourism in a responsible way for the benefit of locals, travellers and the planet, as well as being a driver for positive change. The SADC region can embrace the rich history of struggle, displacement and cultural innovation that has resulted to a positive sense of identity and companionship. Embracing heritage in the region is possible by understanding African business practices such as working in teams; meaning that there is significance in operating in groups where the value of 'Ubuntu' is shared. The spirit of Ubuntu in SADC presents destination uniqueness/richness based on an African philosophy of life and an important part of the region's diverse cultural heritage. Cross-border trades, and other cultural exchange initiatives are important to TFCA local communities who share many of the same traditional values whose efforts help enhance community beneficiation.

Cultural heritage tourism can promote participation through inclusiveness. Although the concept of inclusive growth is contested, it is adopted by the World Bank to reduce poverty and inequality through rapid economic growth (see Hampton, Jeyacheya and Long 2018). While there is limited literature on tourism and inclusive growth in the SADC region as a collective, some studies assess different destinations. According to Bakker and Messerli (2017), one of the main criticisms of the inclusive growth approach is that it represents no substantial difference from the pro-poor growth approach, because, the latter. Solely focuses on people below the poverty line. Inclusive growth aims to benefit people from a large proportion of a country's labour force through productive employment and entrepreneurship. There is a call for inclusive growth development from a project-level approach (which is sometimes referred to as pro-poor tourism initiatives) towards the macro-level in SADC because it promotes cohesion which is regarded as a key driving force for the integration of people and territory (Rodríguez-Pose and Tselios 2015; Bakker and Messerli 2017). According to Hampton et al. (2018, 3) inclusive growth policies

must "allow people from different groups – gender, ethnicity, religion – and across sectors – agriculture, manufacturing industry, services, to contribute to, and benefit from economic growth".

13.7 The Concept of Gentrification in Townships in South Africa

Tackling infrastructure bottlenecks and improving business regulation to support job creation is a priority to the South African government. "Pervasive apartheid policies had implications that impacted urban development, segregation and social polarization" (Mengich 2011, 12). Such arrangement affected the residential areas of the black population in South Africa, where they were normally located away from city centre and residential areas of the white population. These places were named townships. They were exclusively reserved for non-whites: referring to black, coloured and Indian South Africans. These locations were demarcated on the periphery of cities. Since South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, township tourism has been growing rapidly with international tourists eager to see how the country has progressed.

Rogerson (2013) suggests that townships have become spaces of leisure consumption in the context of urban tourism. The South African government has managed to introduce a programme to revitalise old industrial parks located in poor black urban settlements across the country to move jobs to poor urban neighbourhoods (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2017). For example, townships experiences in attracting tourism in South Africa includes: Vilakazi street in Soweto (where there are attractions such as the Apartheid Museum and Winnie Mandela's home); Cape Flats, Alex Township and the Rastafarian Township Tour in Cape Town; and KwaMashu in Durban (one of the oldest townships in Durban). These are some of the examples where gentrification was a success in South Africa.

According to Yoon and Park (2018, 2), there are four stages of gentrification which are as follows:

- In the first stage, a small number of people in the middle class move into the residential area of the working class or low-income class and improve the environment.
- In the second stage, as the middle class moving into the area grows, real estate investment increases, and original residents are displaced.
- In the third stage, property values rise, and full-scale displacement of original residents occurs as mass media pays attention to the area.
- In the fourth stage, as competition among the middle class who migrated to the area and the surge in property investment occur, those who initiated the change relocate to other areas.

All of the above stages do occur when revitalising the townships. Rogerson (2013) cogitates that township tourism is a potential vehicle for inclusive urban tourism

and/or pro-poor tourism development. There is a school of thought among academics and businesses who indicate that culture is one of the reasons why tourists visit townships. A study conducted by Booyens (2010) indicates that tourists were interested in seeing and experiencing more diverse cultural heritage such as cultural attractions, music and dancing, arts and crafts, museums and art galleries and other performing arts. Moreover, studies by Rolfes et al. (2009) and Steinbrink (2013) point out the reasons why tourists visit townships, which include their interest in the local culture, history and the local people. These studies show that there is a demand for the supply of cultural tourism in townships.

13.8 Conclusion

An Afrocentric paradigm was adopted in this chapter (see Thabede 2008). Recent work suggests that an Afrocentric paradigm ensures that those working in the community have a framework in which to apply it. Drawn from a social science paradigm, an Afrocentric epistemological relevance is a panacea to achieve intellectual agency in which the motivational theory was adapted to describe social and cultural change in SADC. Moreover, an "Afrocentric methodology serves as a guide for research with other marginalised and indigenous peoples because it addresses issues pertinent to most formerly colonized societies" (Chilisa and Chilisa 2012, 185). In this chapter, evidence from TFCA cultural heritage sites in the SADC region serves as a fragment of experiencing a destination whilst engaging both tourism and local people, nature and culture.

Whether it is possible for cultural heritage to drive urban regeneration, it is beyond the questions and points proposed in this chapter. SADC cultural tourism routes and cultural villages could have been discussed; however, the focus of this chapter was mainly on TFCAs. In developing countries, the relationship between local people, parks and tourism is linked to sustainable tourism development and conservation efforts. In conclusion, since the well-being of the community has a direct impact on their tourism development, it is critical to support, diversify and develop tourism programs that preserve and promote regional cultural values; they have been referred to as social tourism regeneration (see Wise 2018). A key point for a destination or region to be sustainable is tourism agendas and developments must respect socio-cultural authenticity, conserve built living environments, embrace cultural/traditional heritage and values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance. Preserving cultural heritage can promote serendipitous relationships between sustainable tourism and cultural pride among the locals and assist in promoting wider regional development. Therefore, encouraging transnational companies to adopt sustainable practices and to integrate sustainability information into their reporting cycle can never be understated.

References

Acha-Anyi P (ed) (2018) Introduction to tourism planning and development: Igniting Africa's tourism economy. Van Schaick, South Africa

Acheampong K, Tseane-Gumbi L (2016) Tourism in the SADC region and challenges facing the youth market: the Mozambican experience. Afr J Hosp Tour Leisure 5(4):1–15

African Development Bank (2019) African economic outlook 2019. Macroeconomic performance and prospects; jobs, growth, and firm dynamism; Integration for Africa's Economic Prosperity. https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/2019AEO/AEO_2019-EN.pdf. Accessed 14 Dec 2014

African Travel and Tourism Association (2019) An analysis of Africa's tourism market for April 2019. https://www.atta.travel/news/2019/04/an-analysis-of-africas-tourism-market-for-april-2019/. Accessed 01 Oct 2019

Aquilino A, Wise NA (2016) Evaluating the competitiveness of the northern and southern macro-regions of Italy. AlmaTour J Tour Cult Territ Dev 7(13):23–47

Bakker M, Messerli HR (2017) Inclusive growth versus pro-poor growth: implications for tourism development. Tour Hosp Res 17(4):384–391

Booyens I (2010) Rethinking township tourism: towards responsible tourism development in South African townships. Dev South Afr 27(2):237–278

Brouder P (2012) Creative outposts: tourism's place in rural innovation. Tour Plan Dev 9:383–396

Chilisa B, Chilisa R (2012) Community researchers in an adolescent risk reduction intervention in Botswana: challenges and opportunities. In: Goodson L, Phillimore J (eds) Community research for participation: from theory to method. Policy Press, Chicago, IL, pp 269–282

Fyall A, Garrod B (1998) Heritage tourism: at what price? Manag Leisure 3:213–228

Geisler C (2012) New Terra nullius narratives and the gentrification of Africa's "Empty Lands". J World Syst Res 18(1):15–29

Girard LF, Nijkamp P (eds) (2012) Cultural tourism and sustainable local development. Ashgate, Oxford, UK

Hampton MP, Jeyacheya J, Long PH (2018) Can Tourism promote inclusive growth? supply chains, ownership and employment in ha long bay, Vietnam. J Dev Stud 54(2):359–376

Jimura T (2016) World heritage site management: a case study of sacred sites and pilgrimage routes in the Kii mountain range Japan. J Herit Tour 11(4):382–394

Jimura T (2019) World heritage sites: tourism, local communities, and conservation activities. CABI, Wallingford, UK

Kampamba J, Kachepa S, Nkwae B, Matlhogojane NG, Outule T (2018) Housing delivery to the low income in Botswana. Int J Hous Mark Anal 11(2):356–385

Kastarlak BI, Barber B (2012) Fundamentals of planning and developing tourism. Prentice-Hall, Upper Saddle River, NJ

Lyon A, Hunter-Jones P, Warnaby G (2017) Are we any closer to sustainable development? Listening to active stakeholder discourses of tourism development in the Waterberg biosphere reserve, South Africa. Tour Manage 61:234–247

Mengich O (2011) Township tourism: understanding tourist motivation. Thesis, Gordon Institute of Business Science, University of Pretoria, Johannesburg, South Africa

Mokhtarian PL, Salomon I, Singer ME (2015) What moves us? An interdisciplinary exploration of reasons for traveling. Transp Rev 35(3):250–274

New Urban Agenda (2016) "THE NEW URBAN AGENDA". In: The United Nations conference on housing and sustainable urban development (Habitat III) held in Quito, Ecuador

Nguyen TT, Diekmann A (2019) Value presentation and recognition during the "Moment of Truth" in the process of commodifying cultural heritage: the role of tourists on the preservation of local-made product's authenticity and destination's identity. In: 10th international conference on sustainable niche tourism, Da Nang, Vietnam, pp 26–28

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2017) OECD economic surveys: South Africa. www.oecd.org/eco/surveys/economic-survey-southafrica.htm. Accessed 15 Sep 2019

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2018) Africa's development dynamics 2018: growth, Jobs and Inequalities. OECD Publishing, Paris
Rodríguez-Pose A, Tselios V (2015) Toward inclusive growth: is there regional convergence in social welfare? Int Reg Sci Rev 38(1):30–60
Rolfes M, Steinbrink M, Uhl C (2009) Townships as attraction: an empirical study of township tourism in Cape Town. University of Potsdam, Germany. https://opus.kobv.de/ubp/volltexte/2009/2894/pdf/pks46.pdf. Accessed 13 Dec 2019
Rogerson CM, Kiambo W (2007) The growth and promotion of regional tourism in the developing world: the South African experience. Dev South Afr 24(3):505–520
Rogerson CM (2013) Urban tourism, economic regeneration and inclusion: evidence from South Africa. Local Econ 28(2):188–202
SADC (2012) Regional infrastructure development master plan executive summary, August 2012. https://www.sadc.int/documents-publications/show/Regional_Infrastructure_Development_Master_Plan_Executive_Summary.pdf. Accessed 14 Dec 2019
SADC (2019) SADC TFCA fact sheet. https://www.sadc.int/files/2514/2122/3333/SADC_TFCA_Fact_Sheetsv_final.pdf. Accessed 13 Dec 2019
Sifolo PPS (2017) Stakeholder engagement in the tourism industry of South Africa: the case of the Northern Cape province. Doctoral dissertation, The University of KwaZulu Natal Graduate School of Business Leadership, Durban, South Africa
Steinbrink M (2013) Of voyeuristic safari tours and responsible tourism with educational value: observing moral communication in slum and township tourism in Cape Town and Mumbai. DIE ERDE—J Geogr Soc Berl 144(2):161–174
Swanepoel E (2019) Entrepreneurial management. In: Van Aardt I, Bezuidenhout S, Bendeman H, Clarence W, Naidoo P, Sifolo P, Swanepoel E, Van Aardt C (eds) Entrepreneurship and new venture management, 6th edn. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp 227-254
Thabede D (2008) The African worldview as the basis of practice in the helping professions. Soc Work/Maatskaplike Werk 44(3):233–245
Tikkanen H (2017) Leader personality, managerial attention, and disruptive technologies: the adoption of the battlecruiser concept in the Royal Navy, 1904–1918. Manage Organ Hist 12(1):47–75
Throsby D (2016) Tourism, heritage and cultural sustainability: three 'golden rules'. In: Fusco Girard L, Nijkamp P (2016) Cultural tourism and sustainable local development. Routledge, London, pp 13–30
UNESCO (2019a) World heritage and sustainable tourism programme. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. https://whc.unesco.org/en/tourism/. Accessed 26 Oct 2019
UNESCO (2019b) Safeguarding cultural heritage. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. https://www.unesco.org/new/en/venice/culture/safeguarding-cultural-heritage/. Accessed 25 Oct 2019
UNESCO (2019c) World heritage. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. https://whc.unesco.org/en/about/. Accessed 26 Oct 2019
Viljoen J, Henama US (2017) Growing heritage tourism and social cohesion in South Africa. Afr J Hosp Tour Leisure 6(4):1–15
Wells VK, Smith DG, Taheri B, Manika D, McCowlen C (2016) An exploration of CSR development in heritage tourism. Ann Tour Res 58:1–17
Wise N (2018) Editorial: tourism and social regeneration. Soc Sci 7(12):262
Wise N, Mulec I (2015) Aesthetic awareness and spectacle: communicated images of Novi Sad, the exit festival and the event venue petrovaradin fortress. Tour Rev Int 19(4):193–205
World Travel and Tourism Council (2017) Travel and tourism: economic impact 2018 world. World Travel and Tourism Council
UNWTO 2018. 2019 visa openness report for Africa. https://www.e-unwto.org/doi/book/10.18111/9789284421039. Accessed 13 December 2019

Yoon J, Park J (2018) Stage classification and characteristics analysis of commercial gentrification in Seoul. Sustainability 10:2440

Yousaf A, Amin I, Santos JA (2018) Tourists' motivations to travel: a theoretical perspective on the existing literature. Tour Hosp Manage 24(1):197–211

Chapter 14
Expanding Perspectives in Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration

Takamitsu Jimura and Nicholas Wise

Abstract This concluding chapter considers some research directions and expanding perspectives for researchers who are looking to align research in the areas of tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration. Each of the themes outlined in this chapter is closely associated with multiple aspects of tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration such as spaces and places for the supply and demand sides of tourism, tangible and intangible cultural heritage, and the past, current and future of historical spaces and urban regenerations. Ten key themes emerged from this book and we encourage authors writing across these areas to consider these as points of reflection to take new ideas forward given the holistic research avenues in tourism, cultural heritage studies and urban studies, independently or inter-dependently.

Keywords Tourism · Cultural heritage · Urban regeneration

14.1 Introduction

The chapters presented in this collection all highlight the links between tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration. Prior to writing, we, editors, did not suggest contributors to follow any specific theoretical framework or adopt a certain approach when they develop their chapters. Instead, we encouraged contributors to identify and utilise theoretical underpinnings and approaches that were most significant and relevant to the particular cases they examined. This helps our readers and fellow researchers realise the connections and wider transferability of research that helps connect the areas this book brings together. Moreover, this interpretive stance and inductive approach was appropriate and effective for this co-edited book comprising of chapters that deal with diverse case studies from different regions of the world. By bringing together contributors with several different disciplinary and cultural backgrounds, this collection could critically examine interrelationships between the

T. Jimura (✉) · N. Wise
Liverpool John Moores University, Liverpool, UK
e-mail: T.Jimura@ljmu.ac.uk

N. Wise
e-mail: N.A.Wise@ljmu.ac.uk

N. Wise and T. Jimura (eds.), *Tourism, Cultural Heritage and Urban Regeneration*,
The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41905-9_14

collection's three main pillars: tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration. This enables us to explore how 'spaces' utilised for various purposes of human activities have been changing in their historical settings. We do hope that this collection could provide the reader with various viewpoints towards the analysis and understanding of dynamic interactions between tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration. The following section reviews the content of each contribution and presents key themes appeared through this process.

14.2 Key Themes Emerged

By understanding the content of each chapter and the whole picture of this collection, diverse key themes have emerged with regard to the interrelationships between tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration. All of these main themes are also associated closely with multiple aspects of tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration such as spaces and places for the supply and demand sides of tourism, tangible and intangible cultural heritage, and the past, current and future of historical spaces and urban regenerations. Subsequent sub-sections go over the contents of chapters referring to the three pillars of this book.

14.2.1 Tourism

It is evident from this collection that a wide variety of cultural heritage has been utilised for tourism purposes, mainly as man-made tourism resources. This is echoed by one of the widely accepted contemporary tourism phenomena, emergence and development of 'new' types of tourism. New types of tourism can be understood as an antonym of traditional types of tourism. Traditional types of tourism cover rather limited variety of people's interest and attraction factors such as seaside resorts and festivals. They are usually well associated with the concept of mass tourism and have been implemented, typically, as package holidays. However, new types of tourism, often bracketed as niche tourism, have appeared to meet more personalised and specialised needs that differ by tourist than those of mass tourists. This shift in the main stream of tourism is pointed out well by scholars (e.g. Novelli 2005; Marson 2011; Shoval 2018). The word, niche tourism, derived from a marketing term, 'niche marketing'; and, niche tourism can be categorised into macro-niches and micro-niches (Novelli 2005). The concept of niche tourism and two different kinds of niches are confirmed in the chapters in this collection as follows, macro-niches and micro-niches, respectively:

- Chapter 2—Music and blues music
- Chapter 3—Drink and beer
- Chapter 4—Sport and football

- Chapter 5—Heritage and World Heritage
- Chapter 6—Heritage and historic district
- Chapter 7—Festival and winter festival
- Chapter 8—Festival and ethnic/religious festival
- Chapter 9—Festival and religious festival
- Chapter 10—Sport and Olympics and Paralympics
- Chapter 11—Heritage and World Heritage
- Chapter 12—Dark (tourism) and genocide
- Chapter 13—Heritage and historic district

As can be implied from the above, the macro-niches (and micro-niches) of tourism products overlap each other. Nowadays, the number of places in the world that can be comprehended as a tourist destination is countless with new destinations emerging in the tourism market every year. This means that many tourist destinations have similar destination portfolios, particularly with regard to their attraction factors. This is especially true in the highly globalised era like today.

Considering the arguments above, key themes stem chiefly from the investigation of tourism at the destinations looked at in this collection and its relationships with cultural heritage and urban regeneration are as follows:

- Increase in highly personalised and specialised interests and needs different by tourist, and
- Uniqueness of destination portfolios peculiar to or prominent in each tourist destination.

14.2.2 Intangible Cultural Heritage

First, it is confirmed from several chapters that intangible cultural heritage can play an important role in revitalising local communities, enhancing local economy, developing tourism and/or facilitating urban regeneration. Of various kinds of intangible cultural heritage, the power and potential of festivals or events are evidenced in five chapters. Regarding events and festivals, a wide range and scale of events and festivals are discussed in this collection and each festival celebrates something important and unique to a certain locality. Zang et al. (Chap. 3) confirm the potential of local festivals featuring local beverage culture, beers, as a powerful tourism resource of Qingdao, Shandong in China. On the other hand, the main characteristics of local festivals Wall (Chap. 7) examines are winter magic and mystery in severely cold climate and culture of indigenous people, Metis, in relation to urban regeneration and visitor attractions in Edmonton, Alberta in Canada. The link between a specific culture and a certain festival confirmed in Wall's contribution can also be verified in the chapter by Melis (Chap. 8), which looks at the Beltane Fire Festival in Edinburgh, Scotland in the UK. The festival can be understood as a pagan festival that has been celebrated as revival or reinvention of ancient Celtic rituals. Although this festival

is criticised because the festival's playful nature may deviate it from its original purpose, the festival is still valued as embodiment of local culture and an appealing tourism resource. Saha and Khare (Chap. 9) also take up a festival associated with a certain religion. Kumbh Mela is a Hindu festival held in four different Indian cities. They explore the effectiveness of geographic information system (GIS) to enhance pilgrims' accessibility to bathing activities and their safety at an urban regeneration site in Ujjain City during the festival. With regard to preparations and urban narratives associated with mega-sporting events, Jimura (Chap. 10) looks at the 1964 and 2020 Tokyo Olympic and Paralympic Games in Japan and examines how these mega-events utilised existing cultural heritage and triggered spatial transformation and urban regeneration in Tokyo. Tokyo 2020 is expected to rejuvenate Tokyo, and the whole of Japan is working together to prepare for and be able to accommodate Japan's inbound tourism boom. Holding mega-events can be perceived as a great honour for local residents who support the events (Hiller 1998). Festivals and events can also function as tourism resources that can attract visitors domestically and internationally, and this would enable local people to rediscover and revalue cultural heritage their community have and foster their pride in their place of residence (Jimura 2019). Wise (2016) also points out that local inhabitants' pride in place is a significant intangible advantage of tourism-led and event-led regeneration, which is a chance for people to embrace new opportunities.

Jimura's chapter signifies the meanings of sports as well as events as intangible cultural heritage for the historical place in relation to tourism and urban regeneration. Such magnitude of sports is also endorsed by Uvinha et al. (Chap. 4). They examine football as a key element of Brazilian culture and history, and discuss how this intangible cultural heritage has been functioning as a nucleus of development and renovation of football stadium and museum in São Paulo. Their chapter also demonstrates the importance of Brazil's national sport, football, and its relevant facilities in shaping and enhancing national culture and identity and in developing and fostering domestic tourism. Like sports, music is also intangible heritage that could have a solid association with a certain place such as Merseybeat and the United Kingdom and reggae and Jamaica, and could have a power to develop tourism and enhance urban regeneration. Hensall (Chap. 2) clearly demonstrates the capability of Blues music, which can play a central role in changing the faces of downtown Clarkdale; and, discusses how this type of intangible heritage having a strong bond with a specific place is also well embedded in the tourism industry. As the discussion so far indicates, intangible cultural heritage includes what normal people enjoy in their everyday lives such as sports and music. The centre of Zhang et al. (Chap. 3) is a drink, beer, and this is also part of ordinary people's daily lives. The beer heritage Qingdao has conserved works as a driving force for urban regeneration of this Chinese city, reusing existing buildings and structures for fresh purposes and involving a wider audience such as tourists through beer festivals and a host of tourism opportunities linked to the Tsingtao brand and brewery. In addition, intangible cultural heritage includes human behaviours and actions more broadly. Chapter 6 by Spirou et al. investigates a predominantly African-American neighbourhood in Atlanta, Georgia, Sweet Auburn, by looking at the transformation of the living environment and the

civil rights movement that defines the history of this neighbourhood. Spirou et al. shed light on the historical changes that have unfolded in places and discuss how this once rather neglected neighbourhood of Atlanta is valued and revitalised through the recognition by the National Trust for Historic Preservation based on the neighbourhood's connections with local residents and the civil rights movement. The dignity of human beings can be enhanced through their own actions and activities such as civil rights movements, but can also be severely damaged by their actions and activities. Tyner (Chap. 12) focuses on such a negative aspect of people's behaviours through genocide in Cambodia that occurred between 1975 and 1979 and reveals an ironic situation the country currently has. Although the genocide occurred mainly in rural areas, many of the sites commemorating the victims are located in urban areas. This signifies rural areas that are actually closely associated with the tragic event have been neglected, whilst urban areas that have many war-related sites have experienced urban regeneration and have enjoyed their prosperity as destinations of dark tourism. The nature of such war-related heritage is usually contested and the use of this kind of heritage for tourism purposes can be criticised as commoditisation of tragic events. On the other hand, the motivations and aspirations of 16 countries belonging to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) is the focus of Sifolo (Chap. 13). Through the SADC, an inter-governmental organisation founded in 1992, these nations have been working together to develop their economy, utilising cultural heritage they have and adopting inclusive tourism as a development tool. However, this chapter also exposes their challenges in reconciling different motivations and aspirations each key stakeholder has, although such challenges must be overcome or at least mitigated to attain cross-border benefits coming from development of cultural heritage tourism and urban regeneration in a sustainable manner.

Here, we can summarise the key themes that emerged chiefly from the investigation of intangible cultural heritage and its relationships with tourism and urban regeneration as follows:

- Power of festivals and events
- Potentials of ordinary people's everyday cultures, and
- Implications of humans' thoughts and behaviours.

14.2.3 Tangible Cultural Heritage

The key themes that emerged through the examination of intangible cultural heritage are also well related to tangible cultural heritage. It is evident from the chapters that both types of cultural heritage can affect or can be affected by tourism activities and/or urban regeneration. First, what we can identify from this collection is that intangible cultural heritage is often embedded in tangible cultural heritage in the forms of, for example, historic buildings at micro-level and/or urbanscapes at macro-level through the processes and measures aiming to conserve cultural heritage and/or to revitalise certain places through tourism development and/or urban regeneration.

Through such procedures and means, the aforementioned tangible cultural heritage has been enhancing or changing its meaning and purpose internally and its faces and appearances externally. As can be seen from the collection, particularly from Chaps. 2–7, 10 and 11, these changes can be positive and/or negative for historical places. Overall, Chaps. 2–4, 6, 7, 10 and 11 indicate that the spaces in historical places have been conserved and/or revitalised through urban regeneration making the most of their cultural heritage and tourism. In relation to this, for example, Chap. 11 by Wise is insightful. This chapter looks at Mostar in Bosnia and Herzegovina, focusing on Stari Most ('Old Bridge'). The bridge had been serving for local people as an iconic structure and as their symbol until it was destroyed during the Bosnian War in November 1993. Through this incident, local people lost not only their tangible cultural heritage but also their emotional support. (Re)construction of Stari Most was conducted between 2001 and 2004, and the bridge and its surrounding area was listed as a World Heritage site in the following year (2005) as Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar. Such activities for revival and valuing of Stari Most helped local residents to enhance their identity and regain their pride in this tangible cultural heritage. These activities could also shine the bridge again as the city's key visitor attraction.

Chapter 5 by Michelson et al. discusses tangible cultural heritage of Tallinn, its medieval old town. This heritage has played a crucial role in enhancing the city's worldwide recognition and image, for example, through the listing of the old town as a World Heritage site. This indeed has made a good contribution to an increase in business and investment opportunities and tourism development. However, the high level of popularity of the place can also trigger social issues such as gentrification and commercialisation of historical space as evidenced in this chapter. On the other hand, Chaps. 12 and 13 tell us the issues associated with wider communities across the country (Chap. 12) and the national borders (Chap. 13). Chapter 12 demonstrates a serious disjuncture within Cambodia. Intangible cultural heritage such as people's memory of genocide exists in rural areas and it works as the origin of tangible cultural heritage such as war memorials. However, these properties and sites are often located in urban areas, and act as a driving force for tourism development and urban regeneration. On the other hand, the rural areas are neglected and do not receive enough attention and opportunities for tourism and regeneration. Chapter 13 signifies the challenges an inter-governmental organisation, SADC, faces. As the official website of SADC shows, "Towards a Common Future" is the organisation's slogan (Southern African Development Community 2019). Due to the dissimilarities in the degrees and varieties of cultural heritage portfolios, tourism practices and tourism-led urban regeneration amongst 16 member states, SADC does not seem to have successfully motivated all key stakeholders to pursue the common benefits for all of the 16 member states. To achieve this objective, SADC and its member states need to be united in making the most of their tangible cultural heritage, including pilgrimage routes and cultural villages, as catalysts for tourism development and urban regeneration in a harmonised and effective manner.

Now, we can recap main themes appeared chiefly from the investigation of tangible cultural heritage and its relationships with tourism and urban regeneration as follows:

- Intrinsic value of existing buildings, structures and districts as visual representations of unique cultures
- Internal changes of existing buildings, structures and districts such as the changes in their meanings and purposes (e.g. transition from places for production to those for consumption, shift from community purposes to tourism purposes), and
- External changes of existing cityscapes and landscapes such as the emergence of new structures (e.g. creation of tourist spaces, development of business districts).

14.2.4 Urban Regeneration

Urban regeneration is a significant contemporary phenomenon that can be observed across the globe as endorsed by the chapters in this collection. Dynamics and ever-changing nature of urban landscapes surrounding us also need to be noticed. According to Roberts (2017, 18), for instance, urban regeneration is "comprehensive and integrated vision and action which seeks to resolve urban problems and bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change or offers opportunities for improvement". In relation to this definition, it could be stated that urban regeneration occurs not only in modern places but also in historical places, which is one of the main focuses of this collection. For historical places, conservation and management of cultural heritage are particularly important. In the real world, for instance, UNESCO adopts the concept of the Historic Urban Landscapes (HULs) in the context of World Heritage, and views it as a vital concept for the management and conservation of cultural heritage in the current urban context (Jimura 2019). HULs concern the magnitude of both past and current urban dynamics with interactions between the build and natural environment; the role of contemporary architecture; and, the economics and altering role of urban areas, highlighting the local process that involves non-local stakeholders such as tourism and urban development (Jimura 2019). Thus, it is fair to say that historical places would change their faces, considering the past, present and future of the places, utilising cultural and natural environment of the places, and involving various internal and external stakeholders. This point endorses both tourism and cultural heritage are crucial factors for urban regeneration, and can be confirmed in all the chapters in this book.

In light of the discussion above, key themes generated primarily from the enquiry of urban regeneration at the destinations examined in this book and its interplays with tourism and cultural heritage are as follows:

- Clear vision for the future of historical places based on respect for the past and understanding of the present, and
- Fair reflection of interests and concerns of key stakeholders in the planning and implementation stages.

14.3 Possible Future Directions for Research

To conclude, the 10 key themes that emerged in the previous section can evidence close interplays amongst tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration. We encourage authors writing across these areas to consider these as points of reflection to take new ideas forward given the holistic research avenues in tourism, cultural heritage studies and urban studies, independently or inter-dependently.

Tourism, cultural heritage and urban regeneration need to be beneficial for external stakeholders as well as internal stakeholders by making the most of advantage of each. For example, the level of conservation of cultural heritage can be enhanced and the use of heritage can be maximised by functioning as a key driver for tourism development and main tourism resource. This implies that the cultural heritage can be financially and socially sustainable by generating economic benefits for historical places and raising awareness amongst local people and tourists. However, it should also be noted that the original meanings and purposes of cultural heritage can be damaged or totally lost, and/or its appearance may be changed, if its value is neglected or overlooked. Cultural heritage, often together with tourism, can play a leading role in realising urban regeneration.

Nowadays, such heritage and/or tourism-led regeneration can be confirmed in many different regions of the world as this collection testifies. Here, it is vital for us to review the essence of urban regeneration. As cited above, urban regeneration can be defined as "comprehensive and integrated vision and action which seeks to resolve urban problems and bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change or offers opportunities for improvement" (Roberts 2017, 18). In light of this definition and also confirmed from this collection, urban regeneration should aim to create ideal spaces and places for local inhabitants, workers and tourists. All of these three types of people are important for urban regeneration. However, especially the views of the first two, particularly those of local residents, should be respected in both planning and implementation phases of urban regeneration. That is because urban regeneration should serve a long-term improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental state of an area where people live, work and come as Roberts (2017) suggests, and the area is home of local inhabitants.

In light of this point, possible future research, for example, may compare and contrast the opinions of local people, workers and tourists towards urban regeneration in a historical place in order to identify any important gaps amongst them. It is also ideal if such research is conducted as a longitudinal survey which looks at urban regeneration in the historical place at three different times namely planning, ongoing and completed stages of urban planning in order to find out how the views of the aforementioned three groups of people have changed over time.

References

Hiller HH (1998) Assessing the impact of mega-events: a linkage model. Curr Issues Tour 1(1):47–57

Jimura T (2019) World Heritage Sites: Tourism, Local Communities and Conservation Activities. CABI, Wallingford

Marson D (2011) From Mass Tourism to Niche Tourism. In: Robinson P, Heitmann S, Dieke P (eds) Research Themes for Tourism. CABI, Wallingford, pp 1–15

Novelli M (ed) (2005) Niche tourism: contemporary issues, trends and cases. Routledge, Abingdon

Roberts P (2017) The Evolution, Definition and Purpose of Urban Regeneration. In: Roberts P, Sykes H, Granger R (eds) Urban Regeneration, 2nd edn. Sage, London, pp 9–43

Shoval N (2018) Urban planning and tourism in European cities. Tourism Geographies 20(3):371–376

Southern African Development Community (2019) Home. https://www.sadc.int/. Accessed 12 Dec 2019

Wise N (2016) Outlining triple bottom line contexts in urban tourism regeneration. Cities 53:30–34