



Tourism and Culture

Towards the 21st Century
**Conference
Proceedings**

Managing Cultural Resources for the Tourist

Edited by *Philippe J. Smith* and *David J. G. Carr*

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Managing Cultural Resources for the Tourist

edited by
Mike Robinson
Nigel Evans
Paul Callaghan



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Editor's Preface

In 1996 the Centre for Travel and Tourism and the successful BA (Hons) Travel and Tourism Management programme (the UK's first undergraduate Travel and Tourism degree) of the University of Northumbria celebrate 10 years of achievement. To mark this occasion we decided that an international conference would be a timely reminder of the importance we have attached to travel and tourism education, research and publications at the institution. The conference would also follow on from an earlier international conference 'Tourism in Europe: The 1992 Conference' organised by the Centre and held at Durham Castle in July 1992. This conference attracted over 150 delegates from 20 countries and included approximately 40 papers.

The theme of tourism and culture was chosen in recognition of growing interest amongst the academic community and also builds on staff interests in the field. Moreover, in the planning of the event we were mindful that 1996 was an apposite year in which to hold such a conference. The year was designated as 'The Year of Visual Arts', and the Northern Region of England was chosen to host a vast array of art exhibitions, events, festivals and commissioned art. The year also included the 100th Olympic Games and the European Football Championships hosted by England.

In the autumn of 1995 we sent out a 'call for papers' for the conference using a postcard bearing Seurat's 'A Sunday Afternoon at the Grande Jatte'. The Seurat, which today hangs in the Art Institute of Chicago, has proved a worthy symbol of the conference and hopefully makes the links between tourism and the arts.

We were overwhelmed and delighted at the response to the call for papers. Faxes, e-mails and good old fashioned post arrived from all corners of the globe, and when we were finally able to draw breath and count the numbers of abstracts, we found that very nearly 150 had been received from approximately 25 countries. We had clearly struck a rich vein of interest amongst academics, policy makers and practitioners.

The conference has attracted widespread interest and support, and we are particularly delighted to have received the endorsement of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for the event. In a letter of support, Federico Mayor, UNESCO Director-General, states:

"The theme of your conference ties in directly with UNESCO's programme concerns, not only in culture, but in environment as well. Our efforts focus on promoting forms of tourism that build intellectual appreciation, sustain and enrich the cultural and natural heritage and promote sustainable development. I support your initiative and wish you every success in your endeavour."

We are also pleased to have received the support of both the RT Hon Virginia Bottomley, UK Secretary of State for National Heritage, and the RT Hon Tony Blair, leader of Her Majesty's Opposition.

In selecting the papers for the conference, our panel did not attempt to be prescriptive regarding the terms 'culture' or 'tourism', or indeed the concept of 'cultural tourism',

deliberately leaving it to authors themselves to provide such frameworks. As long as the papers hit the quality mark, we welcomed diversity and broad interpretations. This is borne out by the variety of papers within these volumes which come from many parts of the world.

Such diversity has presented us with a problem of categorisation. After much deliberation, we have grouped the papers into four broad themes with a measure of uncertainty and inevitable overlaps. The four themes are:

- Culture as the tourist product;
- Managing cultural resources for the tourist;
- Tourism and Culture: image, identity and marketing;
- Tourism and cultural change.

The papers in these volumes are presented in a common style. However, the papers remain largely the work of the authors with only minor editorial intervention. In some cases authors were unable to deliver the full manuscript of their papers prior to our print deadlines, in which case we present them in summary form.

As interest in the field of tourism and culture continues to develop, we are delighted to bring you such a rich and diverse set of conference proceedings which we are sure will further stimulate this development.

Nigel Evans
Mike Robinson

Centre for Travel & Tourism
September 1996

Acknowledgements

Putting together over 100 papers for the Tourism and Culture Conference into four volumes, and *before* the event, is a challenge indeed. Faxes, emails, disks and manuscripts have arrived in our office from the four corners of the world, literally. Bringing order where there is chaos has required the assistance of a small band of volunteers. In particular we would like to thank Amanda O'Donnell for her help and support.

Inevitably, given our tight production schedules, deadlines have to be met and we extend our thanks to Gerard and Paul Callaghan, and the staff at Business Education Publishers Ltd who have provided us with excellent and timely service.

Finally, we would like to thank all the contributors to the volumes. Without your interest in this fascinating and diverse subject area there would not be a Conference and we would be tourists ourselves. Now, why did we not think of that earlier!

Mike Robinson
Nigel Evans

Introduction

Managing Cultural Resources for the Tourist

From a supply perspective, cultural resources range from physical sites and artefacts, to time and space specific events, to more intangible, people related aspects such as friendliness and ritual. From the demand side this plethora of cultural experiences usually requires some degree of organisation and interpretation, in order that the visitor gains a positive experience of enjoyment, appreciation and understanding. The individuals, agencies, policy makers and partnerships who are responsible for the future of cultural resources now recognise that in order to achieve and maintain commercial viability, they require increasingly sophisticated management. Whilst still very important, the aim of generating visitor revenue from our cultural resources increasingly needs to be complemented by wider social and environmental goals such, the preservation of the past for future generations, the preservation of national identity, the regeneration of our urban and rural environment and maintaining good community relations. Of course, attempting to address such a range of aims involves a variety of strategic and tactical management approaches and the application of positivistic and humanistic techniques. This is evident from the papers presented in this volume.

A powerful motivating resource which lies at the heart of global tourism is heritage. Heritage sites vary from apparently simple expressions of community pride, to national reminders of achievement and the tragic; from elaborate edifices of the exotic, to manifestations of the vernacular and the ordinary. Our attitudes to heritage are complex and emotive and our desire to experience the past is a strong determinant in our destination choice. It is a function of logic that as time progresses, our inherited past accumulates. Moreover, it is arguably a distinctive condition of 'being human' that we wish to connect with the symbols of the past.

The managers and policy makers involved with heritage sites face many challenges at different levels. At one level is the need to preserve sites and help generations to appreciate and understand their cultural and environmental significance through interpretation and education. On another level, there is an increasing need to promote heritage, encourage visitors and thus generate revenue in order to maintain sites. On another level still, managers have to achieve the balance between these two aims and somehow adopt a sustainable approach.

Successful management of cultural resources requires a consensus approach between owner (be it the state or a private individual), the local community and the tourist. The power of partnership can then be unleashed to assist in programmes of urban and rural regeneration using culture as a front line tool. Without this consensus conflict can occur. The papers here

look at both conceptual and practical issues surrounding how societies manage culture, with some highlighting what can be achieved and others pointing to the dangers which can be encountered.

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Integration Policies Between Culture and Tourism in a Re-emerging City: The Case of Naples*

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Introduction

In the international tourist market, the competitive environment is becoming increasingly uncertain, dynamic and turbulent with the emergence of new tourist origins and destinations. This stems from market globalisation, intensification of technological innovation and the growing differentiation of supply and complexity of demand. In this context, Italy which has long reaped the benefits of its *factor conditions* (Porter, 1991) consisting of climate, scenic beauty and a unique cultural, historical and artistic heritage, must now exploit its attractive elements in a strategic and managerial way to obtain a defensible competitive advantage. As

a matter of priority, tourism in cities and smaller centres should be supported, both to give full access to our cultural heritage (through the system of *città d'arte*), with its ability to attract the better educated and more selective demand segments, and to develop *non-tourist cities*, such as Milan or Turin, whose multifunctional contexts are characterised by multipurpose demand.

Urban tourism is currently enjoying an expansion phase in Europe¹ and in the Italian market it is a specific strong point together with beach destinations.

Cultural urban tourism, "which is forecast to increase considerably in the next twenty years, represents the greatest potential of the made in Italy² product, that is a moment (of tourist enjoyment) which combines artistic beauty, tourist activities and productive capacities"³

On the *città d'arte* circuit, Naples has recently recovered competitiveness and may be defined as a re-emerging city touristically speaking. For long a quality and prestige destination on the Grand Tour, Naples suffered a serious tourist crisis from the 1960s onwards. The city was for some time unaffected by the tourist increase recorded in the other artistic centres, serving merely as a sorting office for its famous surroundings. Following some key initiatives in 1994⁴, it is now in the recovery phase although lacking strategic structure and support.

This paper starts from the hypothesis that this revitalisation phase in Naples is to be sustained through improvements to the urban tourist product or new utilisation policies. In particular, we hypothesize that, in the construction of this new positive image, public policies are currently banking on cultural heritage and cultural identity as a distinctive strong point.

Starting from the above hypothesis, we aim to ascertain whether and to what extent the city's image is undergoing a process of change and which elements are decisive.

The paper is organised in two parts: starting from the case of Italy, the first part theoretically examines the peculiarities of urban tourism, Italy's position in the arts and culture segment, and the development stages in urban tourism. In the second part, using both statistical sources and an empirical survey, we analyse on the one hand the increase in cultural and tourist flows and, on the other, the factors determining the attraction of Naples as a tourist product.

Urban Tourist Development and Italy's Incoming Positioning

Urban tourism arose and developed with the advent of the post-industrial society: while the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation had caused a decline in interest in the city, which was considered an origin of tourist flows rather than their destination, the subsequent phenomenon of de-industrialisation and the progressive transition towards a service economy led to considerations of tourist potentialities in regenerating city centres and suburbs, both in terms of new employment and induced activity in related areas. Academic interest in urban tourism began in the mid 1970s, when the urban tourist market began to grow rapidly, both due to the increase in conference and business tourism and because, with the average holiday

length decreasing, cities became "an ideal destination for a short, secondary, holiday" (Costa, Manente, Van Der Borg 1993). Moreover, in response to an ever greater search for an active tourist dimension, the city appears capable of concretising and stimulating various composite interests.

However, the city's multifunctional nature and multipurpose demand make it difficult to analyse and categorise purposes, behaviour and opportunities⁵.

If the city is conceived as a place in which tourist demand and opportunity is distinguished, the city's active role is overlooked. Urban tourism is a particular form of tourism, but it is also an active and integral part of urban life: on the demand side, every opportunity is thus only an element in the whole tourist package while, on the demand side, tourism represents only one of the functions in a multifunctional market context (Ashworth, 1989, 50).

Furthermore, the charm of a city is not fixed in time but evolves according to the model of the tourist business life-cycle: a start-up phase is followed by phases of growth, maturity and decline (and possible revitalisation) characterized by qualitatively and quantitatively different visitor flows, by costs (rising) and benefits (decreasing), until a process of progressive deterioration in non-reproducible resources is reached (Costa, Manente, Van der Borg, 1993). Some cities are world-famous and exercise a strong attraction (consolidated and extended by the mass-media) insofar as they have an endowment of unique non-renewable and non-imitable resources (such as historical buildings or art collections), while others are less factorially endowed: in this case, new products can be developed to supplement existing ones and increase their attraction, or already existing products can be developed so as to become better known.

In general, the power of a city to attract visitors therefore varies in time and nature, depending on:

1. the peculiarities of supply (resources, attractions, facilities);
2. the nature of demand.

As regards the supply, the global urban tourist product, as perceived by the tourist, is given by a set of tangible and intangible components including (Middleton, 1988, pp.86-88; 1989, p.573):

- the city's attractive elements, whether natural, artificial (monuments), cultural (museums, theatres, festivals, special events) or social (opportunities to socialise, the residents' language and lifestyles);
- services and facilities (hotels and restaurants, sports facilities/activities, retail outlets, other facilities and services);
- accessibility (transportation modes and infrastructures);

- the city's image, as an intangible element of the product (which affects, and is strongly affected by, the images of each service/activity operating in the city): the image constitutes the central logic in promoting the destination, in that it communicates expectations and acts as a filter on the tourist's perception and degree of satisfaction (Grönross, 1994, pp.173-174). A city's image is implicitly fragile as any errors in producing or offering the product are difficult to repair (thus widening the gap between expected quality and perceived quality) insofar as the tourist consolidates the acquired image, which persists in time (given the interval which usually occurs, with the customer/tourist, between two experiences in the same locality);
- price: given by the combined cost of travel (transport), accommodation, board and use of selected facilities.

Such determinants may also be described by using a "hierarchical" criterion, distinguishing between primary, secondary elements and accessories (Jansen-Verbeke, 1988): the first represent the primary purpose of the tourist experience and include the city's environmental and socio-cultural characteristics as well as its cultural and recreational facilities; by contrast, the secondary elements contribute to the image of the global product but do not represent the trip purpose (eg. hotels, restaurants, shops, etc.); accessories further enhance supply (accessibility to the city and tourist facilities such as information offices, tourist guides, etc.).

As regards demand, "the multifunctional city serves a multipurpose user" (Ashworth, 1989, p.45). As centres for concretising and stimulating many different interests, cities are poles of attraction for a great variety of purposes: *city users*⁶ comprise commuters, metropolitan businessmen, day-trippers, students and tourists, in a composite, changing universe which shares and competes with residents for the use of urban resources and services.

On the international market, Italy's positioning with regard to incoming tourists (an exceptional 19.8% increase over the previous year⁷) is heavily characterised by the *città d'arte* system. The "arts and culture" segment has recorded the highest average increases during the recession in the early 1990s and is second now only to the consolidated domain of beach and lakeside destinations (Tab.1)⁸.

The cultural purpose behind travelling to Italy originates in the "Grand Tour"⁹, the prime factor being the importance and fame of Italy's museum, artistic and historical heritage. According to data published by ENIT¹⁰, a census was held of a total of 808 state institutes (201 museums, 26 art galleries, 581 monuments and archaeological sites), and 2830 non-public institutes (civil, private, ecclesiastic), making a grand total of 3638. However, such an impressive supply - in terms of quantity and quality - is matched by little resource accessibility, although there have recently been improvements above all in the museum sector¹¹ only just over half of the surveyed Institutes are regularly open, 33% are closed, and the remaining 15% are being restored, while the State allocates only 0.19 % of its budget to culture (Testa, 1995). Especially in southern Italy, where a high concentration of cultural

assets is to be found, the weaknesses in supply are more critical: poor cultural development policies, organisational inelasticity and management inefficiency.

In order to initiate a virtuous circle between economic growth and cultural growth in the city, on the Italian market an inflexible, anachronistic concept of merely conserving the asset must be overcome, in order to assign not only an educational role to cultural assets but also a dynamic and economically productive role, by introducing elements of efficiency into their management and developing them for tourism purposes.

In the urban tourism product, while models of analysis and development should be calibrated according to specific situations, the elements of attraction and consequent planning interventions must in every case be managed from a marketing viewpoint. This means that the use of resources, investments, technical and institutional development, must be harmonised and able to renew and regenerate the urban fabric with real, long-lasting effects.

Tab.1 - Visitors in the various types of tourist resorts. Absolute values (thousands), percentage distribution and percentage variations

Sites	Absolute (values)					Percentage (distribution)				
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
città d'arte	43,077	43,251	46,372	47,494	50,548	17.1	17.1	18.0	18.7	18.4
mountain	25,454	27,276	27,283	27,514	29,898	10.1	10.8	10.6	10.8	10.9
lake	14,950	15,670	14,479	14,185	15,808	5.9	6.2	5.6	5.6	5.8
sea	76,724	83,772	84,483	85,891	93,133	30.4	33.2	32.8	33.9	33.9
spa	13,573	13,936	13,417	12,159	12,525	5.4	5.5	5.2	4.8	4.6
hill and others	6,631	6,819	8,113	7,069	8,759	2.6	2.7	3.2	2.8	3.2
provincial capitals*	17,401	15,626	13,697	12,634	14,524	6.9	6.2	5.3	5.0	5.3
miscellaneous	54,407	53,574	49,520	46,668	49,563	21.6	21.2	19.2	18.4	18.0
total	252,217	259,924	257,364	253,614	274,758	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Percentage changes over previous year and 1994 over 1990 and 1991

Sites	91/90	92/91	93/92	94/93	94/90	94/91
città d'arte	0.4	7.2	2.4	6.4	17.3	16.9
mountain	7.2	0.0	0.8	8.7	17.5	9.6
lake	4.8	-7.6	-2.0	11.4	5.7	0.9
sea	9.2	0.8	1.7	8.4	21.4	11.2
spa	2.7	-3.7	-9.4	3.0	-7.7	-10.1
hill and others	2.8	19.0	-12.9	23.9	32.1	28.4
provincial capitals	-10.2	-12.3	-7.8	15.0	-16.5	-7.1
miscellaneous	-1.5	-7.6	-5.8	6.2	-8.9	-7.5
total	3.1	-1.0	-1.5	8.3	8.9	5.7

*Provincial capitals considered *città d'arte* are not included

Source: 6th Report of Italian Tourism, 1995, 85.

From this standpoint, differentiated marketing policies must be defined according to the stage in the city's tourist development, in the case of cities which are emerging, in decline or to be revitalised: especially in the introductory phase (emerging cities with weak demand) development marketing policies should be set up; in the development phase the urban product quality should be improved with new attractions, focussing on new segments and broadening distribution channels; in the mature phase, selective marketing or demarketing policies should be adopted if demand exceeds the carrying capacity (eg. Venice and Florence), while in the phase of decline a marketing policy of flow maintenance or restoration should be implemented. Finally, in the case of re-emerging cities like Naples, the revitalisation phase should be supported by action to improve the urban product or by new utilisation policies.

Culture and Tourism in a Re-emerging *città d'arte*: the case of Naples

The image of Naples abroad¹² has fossilized in stereotypes and commonplaces which have tended to highlight traditional aspects of the city (camorra, pizza, spaghetti, Vesuvius). From the tourism and culture standpoint, since the 1960s it has changed progressively from being a prestigious destination on the Grand Tour in past centuries into a transit and sorting station for tourist flows towards Capri, Ischia and Sorrento, which in turn have become international tourist destinations.

Moreover, until 1994, cultural and scientific debate excluded Naples, despite its wealth of art and cultural heritage, from being a "*città d'arte*", given that "cultural tourism...(in the city) ... was poor both in terms of quantity and quality"¹³.

Since the "powerful" initiatives of G7 and the UN Conference (1994) which brought the city into the limelight of the international mass-media, policies implemented both privately and publicly have aimed to restore a distinctive and positive image of the city. Naples' recovery of credibility on an international level is also confirmed by the recent (November 1995) assessment of the American agency Moody's¹⁴, which assigned, for the very first time an "A1" rating to the Council Administration of Naples.

The creation of the city's new positive image originated in the "intervention and intuition of the new Naples Council administration to give its citizens the possibility of repossessing both physically and intellectually the city's historically cultural sites" (Mossetto, 1995, p. 41). This could trigger once again the virtuous circle which in the past had characterized the economy-culture relationship.

This work aimed to ascertain whether, and to what extent, the city's image is undergoing a process of change and what are its determinants. To this effect, the following methods were used:

analyses by means of statistical sources (EPT data - Provincial Tourist Board) of tourist and cultural flows recorded in Naples (arrivals and tourist stays from Italy and abroad, and statistics relative to museum visits);

empirical evaluation (by elaborations from a survey conducted by CIRM on the image and quality of tourism in Naples) of the attractive elements of the Naples tourist product, its strong and weak points, and the city's image;

- examination of the cultural policies set up by Naples City Council.

Analysis of tourist and cultural flows

The city of Naples has a resident population of 1,067,365 inhabitants and is, in terms of, size the third city in Italy after Rome (2,775,250) and Milan (1,369,231)¹⁵.

In 1960 the city was a prestigious destination of international tourism and hosted more than 1 million tourists, which is a considerable number given that there was no mass tourist market 35 years ago. Since the 1960s the city has been progressively excluded from tourist circuits while the neighbouring boroughs have severely eroded the city's market share¹⁶ (Tabs. 2 and 3).

Considering tourist flows in the city, we limit our analysis to recording hotel tourist demand¹⁷, grouped into the two distinct classes of Italian and foreign demand (Tab. 4). On analysing the arrivals trend from 1960-1993, a constant decrease in overall tourist flows is noted. A more marked decline is found in Italian arrivals between 1980 and 1981 (between the two years a 24.5 % decrease was recorded). This steep decrease is attributable to the 1980 earthquake¹⁸. After the Football World Cup in 1990 an increase in arrivals at Naples was forecast, though it never occurred¹⁹.

Tab.2 - Italian and foreign hotel stays in Capri, Ischia and Sorrento (1961*=100)

Year	ITALIAN			FOREIGN		
	Capri	Ischia	Sorrento	Capri	Ischia	Sorrento
1961	100	100	100	100	100	100
1970	118	165	167	95	226	187
1980	167	297	219	99	549	379
1981	175	332	220	83	439	223
1982	212	353	343	101	572	361
1983	203	341	449	101	544	370
1984	212	324	377	89	530	356
1985	226	386	466	79	509	366
1986	252	418	519	66	598	339
1987	256	469	552	76	605	384
1988	275	526	526	75	635	391
1989	294	611	577	76	593	417
1990	285	668	607	70	547	406
1991	282	733	575	64	544	401
1992	292	754	527	62	475	405
1993	272	770	588	62	447	423
1994	279	921	569	80	590	542
1995	254	948	686	83	713	550

* Elaborations prior to 1961 of the Naples E.P.T. do not contain the current differentiations between Italian and foreign tourists.

Source: our elaboration of E.P.T. data

Tab.3 - Italian and foreign tourist flow in hotels at Capri, Ischia and Sorrento from 1961 to 1995.

<i>YEAR</i>	ITALIAN		FOREIGN	
	<i>arrivals</i>	<i>stays</i>	<i>arrivals</i>	<i>stays</i>
1961	67,710	332,796	162,540	736,297
1970	90,591	514,047	230,121	1,299,852
1980	157,363	819,472	373,937	2,683,175
1981	163,198	886,080	260,866	1,911,969
1982	211,496	1,057,822	364,542	2,691,098
1983	224,627	1,121,381	389,005	2,647,274
1984	218,321	1,038,258	404,479	2,548,268
1985	264,372	1,230,986	421,242	2,509,205
1986	284,301	1,350,355	358,364	2,619,492
1987	297,741	1,467,807	404,085	2,792,693
1988	316,936	1,556,832	415,626	2,887,812
1989	353,730	1,758,001	414,233	2,863,370
1990	367,038	1,873,689	416,351	2,705,324
1991	375,437	1,953,497	390,320	2,669,623
1992	374,658	1,955,370	406,052	2,509,969
1993	390,567	2,019,002	417,187	2,496,209
1994	409,235	2,263,229	516,704	3,241,278
1995	417,220	2,390,443	544,324	3,574,106

Source: our elaboration of EPT data

Tab.4 - Italian and foreign tourist arrivals and average stays in hotels in Naples, from 1960 to 1995.

Year	ITALIAN			FOREIGN			TOTAL	
	arrivals	stays	AS*	arrivals	stays	AS*	arrivals	stays
1960	781,411	1,497,595	1.9	288,080	765,534	2.7	1,069,491	2,263,12
1970	702,917	1,626,765	2.3	253,730	613,289	2.4	956,647	2,240,05
1980	527,991	1,306,678	4.0	210,711	575,708	2.7	738,702	1,882,38
1981	419,875	1,318,692	3.1	171,425	508,125	3.0	591,300	1,826,81
1982	413,444	1,185,047	2.9	215,814	580,740	2.7	629,258	1,765,78
1983	414,605	1,167,939	2.8	207,314	576,176	2.7	621,919	1,744,11
1984	400,489	1,181,672	3.0	212,767	574,601	2.7	613,256	1,756,27
1985	402,479	1,235,683	3.1	229,526	641,096	2.8	632,005	1,876,77
1986	403,189	1,369,983	3.4	149,683	453,598	3.0	552,872	1,823,58
1987	392,447	1,272,820	3.2	163,940	554,937	3.4	556,387	1,827,75
1988	414,885	966,764	2.3	186,336	592,393	3.2	601,191	1,559,15
1989	407,165	924,291	2.3	182,022	671,106	3.7	589,187	1,595,39
1990	376,752	871,919	2.3	181,420	630,724	3.4	558,172	1,502,64
1991	373,400	780,645	2.1	159,306	525,868	3.3	532,706	1,306,51
1992	389,173	742,996	1.9	154,865	536,229	3.5	544,038	1,279,22
1993	360,748	650,363	1.8	151,956	464,557	3.1	512,704	1,114,92
1994	383,925	727,468	1.9	164,813	487,502	2.9	548,738	1,214,97
1995	423,262	755,171	1.8	186,496	534,601	2.9	609,758	1,289,77

*Average stay

Source:our elaboration of E.P.T. data

Considering the historical series of index numbers (tab.5) the city's serious crisis situation emerges, especially with regard to the Italian component, which in 1993 recorded only 43% of stays compared with 1960, while the equivalent foreign component amounted to 60%.

**Tab.5 -Italian and foreign hotel stays in the city of Naples:
(1960=100)**

Year	ITALIAN	FOREIGN
1960	100	100
1970	109	80
1980	87	75
1981	88	66
1982	79	76
1983	78	75
1984	79	75
1985	82	84
1986	91	59
1987	85	72
1988	64	77
1989	62	88
1990	58	82
1991	52	69
1992	50	70
1993	43	60
1994	48	64
1995	50	70

Source: our elaboration of E.P.T. data

Compared with the other traditional *città d'arte* (Florence, Rome, Venice), during the period 1970-1980, while an increase in Italian stays was recorded in hotels in Venice (+28.49%), Florence (+39.1%) and Rome (+9.93) in Naples the flow decreased by 19.68%. This confirms that the city found itself outside the cultural tourism circuits. The importance of tourism in the *città d'arte* may also be measured by using the summarised index given by the ratio between tourists and residents. With regard the above ratio applied to hotel flows, in 1991 there were 1.8 tourists per resident in Milan, 11 in Florence, 4.3 in Rome, 13 in Venice and only one in Naples²⁰.

If we also analyse the average stay of Italians in Naples throughout the period 1960-1995, from 1960 to 1980 it increases (from 1.9 to 4.0), decreasing in 1995 (1.8). The average stay of foreigners maintains a fairly stationary trend throughout the period (2.7 in 1960 and 2.9 in 1995), despite declining numbers of arrivals in the city.

However, since 1994 statistics confirm a tourist recovery phase in the city, albeit at its initial stages and still far from levels recorded in the 1960s. During 1994-1995 for the first time, the negative trend of tourist traffic is inverted and an increase is recorded in Italian (16.1%) and foreign (15.0%) stays, while the index number rises, respectively, to 50 and 70.

Cultural statistics also confirm a recent positive trend (Tab. 6). As regards visitor flows to museums in Naples, while the period 1985-1993 registered a variation of + 27.4% for the National Museum of Naples, -83.5% for the Capodimonte Museum, and +144% for the Royal Palace, between 1993 and 1995 increases in visitor flows amounted to +27.4%, +299.2% and +274.8%, respectively. In particular, the figures for visitors to Capodimonte in 1995 (120,891) only refers to the four months (from September to December) after the reopening of the museum, restricted to the rooms on the *piano nobile*²¹. The positive data in the last two years confirm the progressive revitalisation of the city. In this phase, it is important to structure a system for planning the exploitation of cultural heritage and cultural identity, by means of cultural initiatives capable of making an impact economically and socially, and by not pursuing the traditional formula of occasional and exceptional events.

Tab.6 - Visitors to museums, archaeological and natural site in Naples and its Province 1985 and 1995.

Site/Year	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Naples											
<i>Catacombs of Saint Januarius</i>		4.984	6.016	7.889	9.188	9.540	6.677	6.057	5.843	7.668	9.877
<i>Royal Palace, Naples</i>	21.556	21.076	45.082	40.996	53.415	39.782	33.516	40.733	52.668	137.012	197.375
<i>Nat. Museum Naples</i>	133.979	149.322	158.472	136.636	137.412	135.005	135.506	140.230	170.747	191.311	217.555
<i>Nat. Museum, San Martino</i>	57.456	35.728	39.915	45.659	43.441	42.142	32.071	37.722	42.375	52.323	67.370
<i>Nat Mus. Capodimonte*</i>	183.096	52.918	73.882	33.039	37.381	19.039	15.627	21.720	30.280	3.540	120.891
<i>Castel Nuovo**</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25.619	45.224	81.944
Total	401.071	265.060	325.240	265.518	281.189	242.645	222.777	246.248	329.357	439.287	699.019
Archaeological sites in the Province											
<i>Pompeii</i>	1.309.163	1.164.579	1.263.069	1.383.416	1.467.839	1.398.978	1.205.822	1.296.633	1.351.357	1.575.377	1.785.219
<i>Herculaneum</i>	176.089	169.579	202.972	201.218	230.207	212.813	176.184	176.880	194.415	201.235	209.641
Total	1.485.252	1.334.158	1.466.041	1.584.634	1.698.046	1.611.791	1.382.006	1.473.513	1.545.772	1.776.612	1.994.860
Natural curiosities											
<i>Blue Grotto, Capri</i>	326.409	241.082	283.033	218.142	249.509	196.814	201.387	221.715	225.547	246.497	221.572
<i>Solfatara Pozzuoli</i>	100.628	104.745	106.187	102.898	110.093	106.910	94.455	107.297	111.764	117.325	119.143
Total	427.037	345.827	389.220	321.040	359.602	303.724	295.842	329.012	337.311	363.822	340.715

*The Capodimonte Museum was closed for works from February 1994 to August 1995, inclusive.

** The Castel Nuovo Museum was activated in 1993.

Source: our elaboration of E.P.T. data.

From analysing the overall data, the more modest increase in tourist flows, in comparison with cultural flows, may be ascribed partly to the phenomenon of day excursions (school trips, organised groups) but also to the considerable flow of visitors residing in Naples and the province who have recently rediscovered the city. The latter case shows the progressive identification of the city's value with its cultural heritage, in the perception which the city has of itself, without merely referring to the representation given by the media. The rediscovery of its cultural heritage by its residents, which is an essential part of cultural identity, is a specific factorial resource for the physical and economic reconstruction of the city. In this sense, the case of "Napoli Porte Aperte" (May 1993- 1994- 1995 - 1996) should be considered, an initiative which has launched a process of new cultural awareness of the city. A chief characteristic of this experiment, the first of its kind in Italy, has been to restore to its citizens the *knowledge* and *awareness* of the city, enabling them to enjoy the historical and artistic heritage which is not usually accessible to the public (due to restoration or lack of attendants). The initiative was supported by public and private institutions, professional associations, schoolchildren under the project "The school adopts a monument". The aim of the initiative was to enable the city's inhabitants to discover their city, so that they could

experience it in the sites and monuments which retain the marks of its history, vital memories to start up the process of awareness and cultural identity which precedes the exploitation of the asset (instilling pride and a sense of belonging, strengthening the link between the citizens and the works of art in their area).

Trip purposes and the city's image

At this stage, it was evaluated whether the increase in tourist flows and the increase in visitors to Neapolitan museums may be related to the process of change in the city's image.

To this effect some results were elaborated from a CIRM survey (The image, quality and prospects of tourism in Naples -1996)²². The first area surveyed concerns the purposes behind visits to the city (cfr. note 22, no.1).

The data show that while 32.6% of visitors chose to visit the city out of curiosity for the new mayor and its new image, 38.7% chose the city for its appeal, 28.7% for other purposes (work, study, etc.).

The "appeal" purpose was chosen by 34.4% of Italians and 49% of foreigners. Thus for foreigners, the appeal of political and administrative renewal and the city's new image is clearly not as strong, while the more "traditional reasons" for visiting the city persist (cheerfulness, climate, Vesuvius, amounting to 14.1% of purposes), which appear to be of little importance for Italians (4.4% of purposes).

The above fact should be positively evaluated as it highlights trip purposes which are not tied to contingency but to a real interest in the city.

However, it is worth noting a certain "resistance" of foreign demand to being captivated by the new image of the city which is currently being proposed. This trend appears confirmed by the percentage of those stating they are motivated to visit the city by the new image of Naples as a place of art and culture.

While such a purpose influenced the Italians (59.3%) either "greatly" (28.3%) or "a fair amount" (31.0%), 39.2% of foreigners stated they were "not at all" influenced in their choice to visit Naples by this purpose.

Considering that foreigners appear less sensitive than the Italians to the appeal of Naples' renewed image, the city's main attractions were further investigated in the mental associations of Italians (cfr. note 22 no. 3).

The CIRM interviewers posed two open questions. In one, interviewees were asked to indicate what in Naples aroused the greatest interest. In the other, there was a free association game to discover the deep mental association of the city. The responses were aggregated by thematic area. A description of Naples was thus obtained which included the following areas (Tab.7).

The data show that, in terms of mental associations, the image of Naples as a place of art and culture has not yet taken root, while this *has* occurred in the rational sphere of interest. In particular, the city's more traditional positive image as a place of natural beauty still persists strongly in the emotional sphere.

Tab. 7 - "Rational" and "mental association" representation of the city

Theme	What aspect of Naples arouses greatest interest in you? (<i>rational sphere</i>)	If I say "Naples", what is the first thing you think of? (<i>mental association</i>)
Culture	32%	1.5%
Natural beauty	18.2%	35.9%
City architecture	2.3%	2.6%
Sites	11.8%	14.6%
Environment	18.3%	7.6%
Traditions	5%	5.4%

With further regard to the city's image, among all the themes emerging under "interest" there is a considerable "environment" factor (which may generically refer to the city's "socio-cultural" attractions) which amounts to 18.3% (13% may be ascribed to "the people", 2.4% to "the city's vitality", 1.6% to "lifestyle").

Finally, expectation and satisfaction levels were considered (cfr.note 22, no.1). The total of positive opinions regarding the visit to the city is 88.1% ("good" 62.9% and "excellent" 25.2%), comprising 90.3% of Italians and 82.1% of foreigners.

Starting from the consideration that «the perceived total quality level is not only determined by the dimensions of technical and functional quality, but rather by the gap between the quality expected and that perceived» (Grönroos, 1994, 43), such data are correlated with the analysis of expectations and satisfaction levels.

The sample was asked to evaluate with a score from 1 to 5 their expectations of their trip to Naples and, with the same method, to what extent such expectations were fulfilled. 76.5% of the sample used "4" or "5" to indicate the degree of expectation (average = 4). 85.5% of the sample used "4" or "5" to indicate the degree of satisfaction (average = 4.3).

It is therefore the gap between expectations and satisfaction which partially corrects the 88.1% of favourable opinions on the city. Pleasantly surprised compared with his/her expectations (albeit already high), the tourist is prone to judge the city leniently, seeing its shortcomings as being inevitable in a revitalisation phase. This highlights a critical area: after its novelty has worn off and the current moment of "fashion" has passed, Naples will face competition. It is thus of great urgency to bring the qualitative supply of services and the quality of life in Naples up to the same standards as those of other tourist cities. In this sense,

particular attention must be paid to the opinions of those (31.9%) - when asked to indicate the reason for not returning to the city - responded that they "would not return" because of the traffic and smog (12.9%), crime (9%), the city's disorganisation (7.1%) and public transport inefficiency (2.9%). Consideration must also be taken of the 14.3% who said - when asked about possible reasons for returning to Naples - that they would return "to see if it had really changed" (17.3% of whom were Italian, 7.1% foreign).

Cultural policies of Naples City

The relationship between culture and the economy in large città d'arte may be modelled in time in various forms (Mossetto, 1995, p.41):

- A- Economy-dependent models

a1- Culture is a consequence of the economy: consumption and demand for art and culture are generated by the city's overall economic growth, which generates "superfluous" needs. Flows of people are motivated by the city's economic importance, but city users will also consume art and culture, if they have the possibility.

a2 - Culture is an instrument for the economy, like investing in image to increase profits. Flows of people are encouraged by this policy.

- B- Culture-dependent models

b1. - Beneficial dependence. Culture is a productive factor which is integral to the growth of the city, as it represents a stable human and social characteristic. Flows of people have both cultural and non-cultural purposes. Those who visit cities often participate in cultural production.

b2 - Harmful dependence. The cultural capital of the past is consumed in the urban productive process without being reproduced. Flows of people - culturally motivated or non-motivated - take part in the consumption and progressive destruction of their heritage.

- C- Residual models

c1- Culture and art originate residually from non-cultural political decisions. Flows of people depend on the capacity of the city to maintain or develop its political and administrative role.

c2 - Culture and art are all that remain in the city when it no longer has its own historical roles to play. Flows of people are attracted by culture and art from a specialist viewpoint (Mossetto 1992, pp. 65-84).

Naples historically belongs to the type c1 residual model, although it has developed and maintained throughout the centuries its attraction potential for tourist flows independently of its political and administrative role.

Furthermore, in the 20th century Naples has shown such a potential for cultural and artistic productivity (above all in relation to theatre) that it aims for inclusion under the b1 type of model. However, to achieve this, the city would need to adopt strategies integrating culture and tourism, according to the model that Mossetto calls "from art to art" (1992, pp.133-139) in which « the capital good "art of the past" may be used not to produce "flows" but new artistic assets.» (p.136)

A production of "art" and more generally culture, may become possible in Naples by exploiting the current positive trend and by trying to channel economic flows from exploitation of the artistic heritage into the creation of new art and new culture.

There is currently under way in Naples a process of identity reconstruction, a rediscovery of pride and dignity which is based on the key aspect of historical, cultural and artistic heritage.

It is no accident that the Culture Department in Naples City Council has been renamed «Department for Identity, Culture and Image Promotion», thereby linking identity and culture as components of the city's image.

This is an image which is employed at several levels: an internal level which seeks to promote social awareness of the need to reorganise the city and cooperate in this process. The very large number of voluntary initiatives to safeguard and develop Naples' tradition, art and culture, but also to tackle problems concerning the city's ordinary administration (traffic, petty crime, children "at risk", etc.) testify to how the city is responding actively to the invitation.

The city's image also has an external level, towards international markets so that the sale of local government bonds is successful, towards indispensable sponsors of cultural and non-cultural initiatives, towards large Italian and foreign companies which now enjoy privileged relations with Naples City Council, towards the European Union whose funds are indispensable in order to complete projects, and ultimately towards the "tourists" who "buy" this global image by choosing to come to Naples.

If culture (intended as heritage, but also as cultural production) thus mediates between the two poles of identity and image - as transpires from the Culture Department's new label - it needs to be ascertained whether and in what way the cultural policies undertaken by the City Council reflect upon the citizen's identity, on that of the city and its image, and become one of the "selling points" of the city on the tourist market.

The intervention policy plans of the Identity Department may be distinguished into two sectors: «on the one hand, working on «civitas», on the city as a community of citizens; on the other, working on «urbs, on the city of stone» (Nicolini, 1995, p.36). The plans in

question tend to reinforce supply by proposing a calendar of initiatives throughout the year while improving the network of structures and institutions to support the initiatives in question.

The intention is to bank on the city's capacity to react to new situations: from the supply of extremely symbolic spaces liberated from cars, such as Piazza Plebiscito, and to the use of themes to highlight what the city normally has to offer in terms of nightlife. The latter point is exemplified by a night entitled "Nessun Dorma" for San Valentino. Such a positive cultural exploitation of what the city's assets, on the one hand, develops the inhabitants' identity with the city and, on the other, exploits the above-mentioned socio-cultural factor (people, emotions, lifestyle).

Furthermore, calendars of events have been set up as well as a continuity of supply "to visit Naples", by increasing and staggering tourist flows, through new versions and reinventions of festivals which - like that of Piedigrotta - were internationally renowned.

Parallel to this urban development is the promotion of a new type of private initiative, which must become independent of the City Council and find new interaction modes with more traditional structures for culture. The aim is to set in motion the culture industry in Naples so that culture as elaborated in large traditional production centres (Universities, theatres, foundations, etc.) finds ways and means of being produced and implemented economically, ensuring that this process, with its induced benefits, is created in Naples and not elsewhere, as usually happens nowadays.

In brief, such intervention policies materialise in privatisation of the economic management of cultural assets, in great use of new information technologies, in reinforcing tourist information structures, and generally in a constant effort to create economic activity (commercial and services) connected to the enjoyment of cultural assets and culture.

These planned interventions are fully consistent with the picture described by Mossetto's beneficial dependence model (b1), in which culture becomes «productive factor which may be reproduced by the total supply itself (or production) as well as by the productivity of culture » (Mossetto, 1992, p. 71).

On the one hand, this model raises the city's cultural supply for its own inhabitants: a supply based on the study, conservation, protection, but also on the creative use of tradition and heritage and - thus - strictly linked to the city's cultural identity.

On the other hand, considering the problem of tourist exploitation of cultural assets, the model in question avoids the danger of implosion (inherent in the "harmful dependence" model of the economy on culture, b2) caused by intensified use of the cultural endowment which heavier tourist flows entail. Moreover, it reduces the risk of the city's cultural supply becoming "banal" (both as regards residents and tourists), which is inherent in the intensive exploitation of cultural heritage. Finally it attracts a particular type of tourist, that is those who visit a city to come within the sphere of its artistic and cultural production.

Conclusions

Overall analysis shows that, on the one hand, public institution policies are focussing on an image of the urban tourist product "Naples" summarizable as "Naples - city of art and culture". This formula sums up the double investment which the city is making both in its art, museum and history heritage and its cultural identity. The latter is exemplified by several symbolic sites (eg. Piazza Plebiscito, the Decumani, etc.) which are "new entries" compared with those of the past (sea, sun and Vesuvius, etc.), emphasizing the scenery within the city's factor conditions (Porter, 1991), from investment in nature to that in culture, and then to investment in (and promotion of) the city's overall cultural productivity - both past and present (from theoretical research to artistic performances).

On the other hand, the above image (although since 1994 cultural and tourist flows have recorded a positive trend), does not yet appear firmly anchored in the tourist-customer (least of all, in the foreigner).

In particular, in free associations regarding the city, Naples' image as a place of art and culture has not yet taken root, and the "traditional" attraction of the city as a place of natural beauty still persists strongly.

Although investment in the city's art, history and museum heritage and its cultural identity is revaluing the city's image perceived by its own inhabitants, and although action should be taken to confirm and affirm the city's new image as a place of art and culture on the Italian, but especially foreign tourist market, the presence of factors relative to natural beauty and socio-cultural characteristics should not be overlooked (the "people" and the "emotions" which the city and its lifestyle can arouse).

Naples City Council's cultural policies aim, on the one hand, to improve the city's cultural supply for its own inhabitants and, on the other, to avoid the risk of implosion caused by intensification of the use of its cultural heritage.

However, though in the cultural sphere the intentions and initiatives seem to be going in the right direction, too little is still being done in terms of communication²³, exploitation of cultural and environmental assets as well as control and planning interventions.

Current policies must thus involve entrepreneurial and financial energies, integrating public and private forces. Achieving development planning lines as those laid down in the city's public policies, also requires investments in "human capital", but above all in services and infrastructures, which are decidedly lacking at the moment.

A planning system should thus be set up in which the State's central structures, local governments, cultural institutions and small and large entrepreneurship all join forces.

The aim is to manage the attractions of the urban tourist product both strategically (long term) and managerially, focusing not only on the *contents* of the single projects (which

should however be defined around a clear entrepreneurial idea), but also on the necessary *processes* to bring them to fruition.

Such processes are to be set out with "city marketing" logic able to *sell* the overall *city product*, optimising its strong points in seeking balance and consistency between resources (both limited and exhaustible, which can be given costs and prices also in the case of cultural assets) and sustainable development.

In the case of Naples, the city's factor conditions, which have historically defined its identity, has its strong points in its exceptional cultural and artistic heritage, its scenic beauty and in socio-cultural characteristics (cordiality of its residents, cultural liveliness, arts and crafts, folklore, etc.).

However, efficiency margins need to be improved, starting with the weak points in the supply, namely inaccessibility, traffic, pollution, urban congestion, petty crime. In brief, the following steps are necessary:

- choose few objectives (and adhere to them for some time), to promote an image which is followed up by immediately perceivable concrete actions;
- reconcile the dichotomy between permanent and occasional cultural supply from a managerial and marketing viewpoint, to make culture a spectacle to create cultural hospitality²⁴, insofar as the consumer seeks access, completeness of information and a pleasurable environment;
- undertake control and planning interventions.

Paradoxically, the delay which the city has accumulated in structuring policies of tourist development and cultural heritage exploitation may become a chance to design the city's tourist policy from a preventive rather than reparative viewpoint.

In the case of the *città d'arte*, where *rare* if not unique resources converge, which are both non-renewable and *non-substitutable*, the concentration of tourist flows involves unsustainable congestion levels (as happens, for example, in Florence and Venice). This causes, in balancing tourist activities in the long term, the often irreversible degradation of environmental assets which are destructively consumed.

Delay, like *chance*, may avoid related damage as below:

- the intensive use of cultural heritage. Situations may thus be prevented in which «the cultural capital of the past is only used to be progressively consumed in order to produce increasingly low-quality tourist services at ever lower added value » (Mossetto, 1995, p.41);

- making the heritage of cultural identity *banal*, liable to becoming an inelastic stereotype in cultural events with their historical, cultural and social roots.

Urban tourist revitalisation policies, as well as those for developing cultural heritage, must aim at the following:

- on the one hand, at development models which allow both income growth and the control/reduction of environmental, economic and social loads connected with land use by tourism;
- on the other, to ensure that culture represents a *stable* characteristic of the city, a productive factor which is necessary for its economic growth.

The current risk is that of wasting an opportunity. It is a greater risk precisely in the positive moment which the city is experiencing in terms of image and media coverage. "Good publicity accelerates the death of a poor product" (Vecchia, 1995). The supply of culture and services, but especially the quality of the urban environment and life in Naples, must be stabilised in accordance with European standards, because the novelty-effect and its new positive image may not survive long unless they are supported by concrete action.

By contrast, once it has been consolidated, image constitutes a powerful tool of communication, it tends to reinforce itself and even fulfil itself: "Images which generate firm, visible and successful action have a prophetic charm: they are self-fulfilling" (Normann, 1985, p.137).

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Endnotes

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1. This direction is being pursued by German cities (with policies to consolidate ancient towns or business centres), Dutch cities (with a more aggressive policy), French (focussing on charm) and newly-emerging Far Eastern cities.
2. Considering only hotel stays, compared with a 5.3% average increase in 1993-1994 (+2.8% Italian, + 10% foreign), the *città d'arte* recorded a 6.2% increase (+ 1.5% Italian, +10.5% foreign) while business centres had a 5.9% increase (+3.1% Italian, +11.6% foreign); Federalberghi, 6th Italian Tourism Report, 1995, 476.
3. 6th Italian Tourism Report, 1995.
4. The G7 Summit meeting (July 1994) and the UN Conference on organised crime (November 1994), which recalled international attention to the city.
5. This is why the scientific debate on the subject has been neither very systematic nor organic, producing a series of sub-disciplines which consider separately the various aspects of tourism, and has focussed on definitions and taxonomies of opportunities and behaviours, sometimes resulting in the isolation of demand and supply from their

functional and morphological context. In particular, academic approaches to in-depth analysis since the 1970s can be grouped into four lines of research (Ashworth, 1989, p.35): supply studies, geographical and spatial studies, demand-focussed studies, and policy-focussed studies.

6. For an in-depth analysis, see Martinotti (1993).
7. The latest recently published report on Italian tourism (6th Report, 1995, p.60) confirms a very positive trend in incoming tourism (against a stationary trend in residents' flows) which amounted to 16.9 million visitors in 1994 and exceeds figures recorded at the end of the 1980s (38.3% of total visitors in 1994 compared with 35% recorded in 1989). It appears to be the highest increase recorded in the last 40 years.
8. The gravitational poles of Rome, Venice, Florence and Naples account for about one third of all hotel flows from abroad (6th Report on Italian Tourism, p.83).
9. As is well-known, the "Grand Tour" represented for the European aristocracy and bourgeoisie at the end of the last century a form of cultural education in the process of initiation and passage to adulthood.
10. Report no.7, September 1993.
11. In particular, the Ronchey law (L.14.1.93 no.4 and the relative implementing regulation of 31.1.94), provides for privatising the management of peripheral services (catering, merchandising, sale of books and objects) and introduces extensions of opening hours.
12. On the image of Naples inferred from articles in the Italian and foreign press, see the article by M.L. Castellano "L'immagine di Napoli città d'arte", in: *La rilevanza economica dei Beni culturali nel Mezzogiorno: il caso Napoli*, Fondazione Napoli 99, 1994, pp.299- 330.
13. Giura V.- di Maio A. - Marrelli M. (eds) (1994), *La rilevanza economica dei Beni Culturali nel Mezzogiorno: il caso Napoli*, op. cit.
14. The agency assesses debt positions. In particular, the score acknowledges the reliability of the bond in lira issued by the City Council and in general represents a clear appreciation of the work conducted under the administration of Bassolino, the city's mayor.
15. ISTAT (Istituto Centrale di Statistica), Population Census, 1991.

16. In relation to hotel flows recorded in some *città d'arte* compared with the corresponding amount in the province, in 1992 in Milan the proportion of hotel flows was 70%, in Venice 39%, Florence 82%, Rome 92% and in Naples only 18%.
17. The data on non-hotel accommodation are not historically homogeneous, due to the various recording methods which have changed several times over the years, and because since 1989 most of the rented accommodation is not registered. Moreover, since 1987, there has been a further marked decline in non-hotel visitors due to the closure of the campsite "Città di Napoli":
18. Besides causing serious material damage to hotel facilities, the earthquake meant that the latter had to be used by the authorities for housing the homeless. The situation caused by the emergency continued for considerable time with hotels like "Il Turistico" housing the homeless until 1987 and subsequently closing down as hotels. Source: *Annuario Alberghi, Naples and Province*, 1988/ 1994.
19. Despite the fact that Naples hosted the World Cup semi-final between Italy and Argentina.
20. This index may be used to evaluate the carrying capacity of the city in situations of particular and high tourist flows. Becheri, *Turismo a Firenze*, p. 67.
21. In the first two months alone after reopening, there were 40,000 visitors and hundreds of bookings from every part of Italy. The following were enthusiastically appraised: the new choices for exhibitions, the arrangement of the paintings in the Farnese Gallery, the choice of objects and furnishings in the Royal Apartments ... an unexpected success for the museum's directors, for years accustomed to a few dozen visitors a month. (Spinosa, Monuments and Fine Arts Officer, Naples, 1995).
22. The survey conducted by CIRM, a well-known Italian institute for research and surveys, was commissioned by the Neapolitan Hoteliers Association and had the following objectives:
 1. Analysis of the Italian and foreign tourist who visited Naples during the New Year holiday 1995-1996 (Survey of 310 Italian and foreign tourists present in Naples at the end of 1995 interviewed *face to face* and disaggregated by geographical area of origin, sex and age.)
 2. Analysis of the recollection of Italian tourists who visited Naples in the last two years (Survey conducted on 614 Italians, interviewed telephonically and disaggregated by sex, age and area of residence)
 3. Analysis of the image of Italians with regard to Naples (Survey conducted on 614

Italians, interviewed telephonically and disaggregated by sex, age and area of residence)

4. Short- and medium-term predictions of international tour operators regarding tourist flows towards Naples.(interviews with 11 tour operators).

23. According to Nasa sources, in 1994 to publicise the city of Naples in Italy, 137 million lira was spent. In the same year, the resort of Monte Generoso invested Lit. 332 m, Vienna Lit 2,993 m ; Cyprus Lit 3,268 m (all these figures only refer to expenditure in Italy). Cfr. Marco Vecchia, 1995, p. 84

24. For example in the USA, on the new "commercial" role of American museums, cfr. Law, pp.70- 74.