Summary Report

on the role of cultural tourism in the development of place identities, the appreciation of “otherness” and the impact on minorities

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Authors: *Claire Wallace, John Shaddock, Stephanie Garrison*

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Purpose and scope of the deliverable

One of the SPOT project tasks was to collect comparative information on several themes. These themes are not directly part of the quantitative data collection but are a requirement for project reporting. We collected comparative data across the different case studies to put together a summary report. Given the nature of these data, we decided to collect them as "expert" assessments from teams This report focuses on the development of place identities, the appreciation of "otherness " and the impact on minorities in relation to cultural tourism. Since these are a heterogenous cluster of ideas, they have each been addressed separately in this report. The report is based on notes from a series of online and face-to-face workshops held during April and May 2022 among project partners (WS3 and WS4) and from an online series of focused questions circulated in August 2022. Each country is referred to by the international notation, but we should note that data was collected from case studies within countries, rather than the country as a whole. For this reason, we have included a table below indicating how country notation is used and to which case study it refers. Due to the diversity of case studies, we have often highlighted one or two examples as illustrative rather than comprehensively including them all. The SPOT project focused mainly on more rural and less visited areas as case studies, so this has influenced the kinds of findings that have emerged.

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Notation used in this report

Country	Country notation	Case study area
Spain	ES	Barcelona Art Nouveau
Romania	RO	Buzău Carpathians
Greece	EL	The Cyclades Islands
Estonia	EE	Ida-Verumaa region
Netherlands	NL	Kinderdijk Windmill area
Hungary	HU	Komáron region of the Danube
Germany	DE	Lausatia region
Slovenia	SL	Ljubljana
Poland	PL	Lower Silesia
UK	UK	Doune and Abbotsford in Scotland
Slovakia	SK	Nitra region
Italy	IT	Piedmont Literary Park
Czech Republic	CZ	Southern Moravian region
Austria	AT	Styrian Iron Route
Israel	IL	Beit She’an Valley

1. The contribution of cultural tourism to place identities

Place identity is an idea that emerged out of environmental/geographical psychology and became a very popular academic term in the 1990s-2000s. Proshansky was one of the first to develop the concept in his studies of people and the city (Proshansky, Babian et al. 1983, Proshansky 1978). He was interested in how individuals are shaped by places. The idea was further developed notably by Paasi (Paasi 2013, Paasi 2003), especially in a European context and with the rise of regionalism. Paasi defined two elements of place identity: first, the relationship between the individual and the place and secondly the identity of the place itself. In the former sense, there is a focus on the individual, how they grow up and they develop an effective relationship to place as part of their biography. In the second sense, there is a focus on more objective aspects of a place including language, physical features, history and so on. Subsequent debates have tended to move on from these individualistic approaches to looking at social and collective aspects (Peng, Strijker et al. 2020) and how a place identity is embedded in and mediated by social relationships and social networks (Kneafsey 1998, Hubbard, Lilley 2000) or by policy initiatives (Dredge, Jenkins 2003). More recently, discussions of belonging and the rise of nationalism at a regional as well as the national level have highlighted the importance of belonging and community in discussions of place identity as well as contemporary politics (Guibernau 2013, Furedi 2018).

Place identity is being promoted by the EU (and national governments) as a way of creating a sense of community that was otherwise threatened by industrialisation, globalisation and increased mobility (Delanty 2003). In this way, a sense of place is a synergistic approach, which is assumed to improve the quality of life and well-being of residents. A strong sense of community-based on a place is associated with resilience, enabling people to overcome hardships through solidarity and self-help (Wallace, Townsend 2020). Although this might be a policy goal, it is clear that it is not something that can simply be declared but springs more organically from residents. Civil society networks would play an important part in this by knitting people together through associations and giving them a stake in the community (Beel, Wallace 2020). It seems that some places never develop a place identity or ability to mobilise populations on the basis of place (Skerratt, Steiner 2013), whereas others do. Cultural heritage and a shared investment in local history can play a part in this (Beel, Wallace et al. 2016). However, it can also be facilitated by modern digital communications such as Facebook groups, WhatsApp, email lists etc. (Wallace, Vincent 2017, Miller 2016).

In the development of cultural tourism, the search for authenticity and meaningful or special experiences has replaced the mass tourist gaze (Urry 1990, Richards 2018), which turns attention toward the unusual, off-beat and quirky experiences. Place identity can contribute in this respect. The emphasis that we placed on the involvement of local communities in the SPOT project means that place identity should be seen as an interaction between visitors and local residents in which both parties come together to create place identities. This means that it is neither the objective conditions of the place nor its subjective meanings that are important in any traditional or essentialist way. Rather, it is the co-creation of the idea of the place which is important.

In the SPOT project, we began with discussions about place identity in relation to our case studies. Hence these were bottom-up“ accounts or *emic* in nature – that is relating to the place itself and our studies of them rather than *etic* or deriving from external theories. Given the diversity of the case studies used in the SPOT project, this meant that some quite varied themes emerged and what might fit one case study did not fit another in the same way. Often place identities were complex or contested and therefore we refer to different country studies as we go through with some examples being described in more detail.

Three main themes emerged from the workshops: definitions of place identity, the contribution of tangible and intangible cultural heritage to place identities and finally, how visitors and local people gain a sense of place through cultural tourism. We illustrate some of these discussions with particular examples.

1.1. Definitions of place identity

Place identity is a very elastic term, and in the SPOT project, it was defined in a number of ways. There was not a consistent definition in this respect in the SPOT project. A place can be defined by anything from a feature within an area, to a city, county, region, state, or country, at various geographical scales. In one case study in Spain, this was the entire city of Barcelona, whilst in one of the UK case studies, it was a village with just 1000 inhabitants (Doune).

There are a number of ways of measuring place identity. In addition to questionnaire items we can look at other indicators – for example, measures of homogeneity or diversity, levels of participation in civil society, the use of symbols and intangible heritage, and websites and Facebook groups associated with the site (Wallace, Vincent 2017). These methods were not systematically employed in the SPOT project which looked instead at businesses‘, residents‘ and visitors‘ views of cultural heritage through a questionnaire survey. Place identity was not one of the questions asked but often emerged from conversations with residents and stakeholders.

Place identity involves creating a space as a place, either intentionally or unintentionally. Therefore to some extent, a place is a social construct, which might also be a deliberate part of national or regional policy. In some case studies, a sense of place is promoted and subsidised by the national or regional government as part of a nationalising strategy. This is the case in Hungary, where regional stories and memories are being promoted at a local level. In this way, collective memories are linked with communities and traditions symbolically. This construction of place as an organic and essentialist entity in which the national spirit resides is closely linked to nationalising movements, especially in recent decades (Furedi 2018). However, the place is also an imaginative construct, one which relies on imaginary geographies or „lands of the imagination“ (Reijnders 2011) often made sense of through stories, something we address in more detail below.

Identity is an equally problematic term. As noted by our partners, identities are multidimensional, fluid, mutable and constantly changing and are determined by the kind of „gaze“ directed at them. Zygmunt Bauman has described the concept of „liquid identity“ in a contemporary context whereby identities can be changed and reconstructed (Bauman 2000). This is certainly the case with some of our case studies (see below the example of Poland). Indeed, place identities can also be adopted by newcomers. In Doune (Scotland) there was a strong sense of community and place identity, although most of the inhabitants were not locals.

We should note that cultural heritage provides a rallying point for place identities for both insiders and outsiders (Nguyen, Beel et al. 2014). Whilst cultural heritage appears to refer to past legacies, it is clear from our case studies that this is not a given. Elements of cultural heritage can be allowed to die or resurrected according to contemporary political or economic interests or can be merged into more modern developments. For example, cultural heritage can be reflected in the architectural and aesthetic developments of the place. New building designs can reflect historical heritage by incorporating elements of regional culture and this forms part of a continuing debate (Amit-Cohen and Sofer 2016; Amit-Cohen 2018). Indeed researchers have explored the anxiety associated with these kinds of identities being wiped out in the process of globalization (Bauman 1998). We can also perhaps refer to *cosmopolitan place identity* as this could encompass insiders, incomers and visitors too, who may develop an attachment to the place. In fact, it is easier for small and ethnically homogenous communities to develop a sense of place identity.

However, place identities from the point of view of tourism are often constructed as an aspect of or may not relate to how residents experience it and can even create a consumption-oriented sense of place which is at odds with the real one through a process of Disneyfication. This has been the experience of Barcelona for example or Loch Ness in Scotland.

These interpretations of place identity can also change and shift as heritage is contested. The Estonian and Romanian teams gave us examples of an Eastern Europe dynamic of time, where interpretation of place identity is altered depending on what is ‘good’ and ‘bad’ at the time for example in the context of Communist and post-Communist societies. Under Communism, only aspects of cultural heritage were emphasised that

fitted the communist narrative. For example in Romania, castles and mansions were incorporated into industrial and agricultural landscapes as more fitting with the Communist notions of progress. Since the fall of Communism, there has been a re-evalution of the cultural heritage in a longer and more nuanced view of history and national identity, so these castles have now been reclaimed and restored, especially given their potential to attract tourism. In Estonia, the fascination with cultural heritage that was destroyed during the Second World War has led to virtual reconstructions of castles that had previously existed at the case study site.

Physical geography was also referenced in the making up of place identity. The Greek team pointed to common elements of place by labelling parts of Greece as the 'Greek islands', despite having varied cultural practices and contexts. The same can be said of the Scottish Highlands which are constructed as part of the „romantic gaze" (Urry, Larsen 2011) and yet encompasses a variety of regional cultures and histories. This was also problematised with examples from Estonia where a particular view of nature is promoted as Estonian, yet misses out on other components of the country's complex identity.

Some places have stronger place identities than others. Whilst it might be believed that smaller and ethnically homogenous places might find it easier to develop a place identity, our case studies indicate that this was not necessarily the case. For example, Eilat in Israel on the Red Sea has a strong sense of place identity whilst Beit She'an (the case study area) does not. It is difficult to build a sense of place identity in Beit She'an because young people have been moving away since there are no jobs for them. The main population are immigrants from North Africa nurturing a historic sense of injustice and neglect within Israel and they do not identify with the place. Tourism has not taken off enough to provide a good living for them and they are not very motivated to improve the place and promote tourism there, despite having rich cultural and archaeological assets. Yet within the area, Kibbutzim have a strong sense of identity-based upon work, industry and the legacy of stories associated with the area.

This suggests that place identity is also linked to the demography and settlement patterns within a place. However, it can also depend upon development planning and how local planning offices can help or hinder the construction of a place. This leads us to the idea that place identity was often seen in different ways by different community members. In the Leoben district of Austria, the effort to promote tourism has focused upon a heritagaisation of the industrial past. Yet many community members see this as part of a living industrial identity (Harfst et al. 2021). They are not interested in other aspects of heritage, which has made cultural tourism difficult to establish, although the COVID lockdowns of 2020 and 2021 encouraged visitors to seek more remote settings rather than well-frequented ones, which helped to put the area on the map (Sandriester et al. 2022). In Israel, the views of many of the residents of North African origin are different to those of the Kibbutzniks and regional council. In Scotland, there were conflicting views about Galashiels where the Great Tapestry of Scotland created a new cultural tourism destination. The alternative sense of community held by many residents made them antipathetic to this development, refusing even to go inside the building. The creation of a sense of identity-based upon a common Scottish history (portrayed in the Tapestry) or of the picturesque Borders region was in contrast to the older feelings of solidarity based upon sport (supporting rugby) and work in the declining textile industry. However, new layers of identity were being built up at the time of the study as smaller cultural entrepreneurs were attracted to the area in the form of cafes, artisan wool shops and display areas for local arts and crafts. Some of these conflicted identities suggest distinctions of social class and cultural capital as much as region (Bourdieu 1984).

Tourism can be a stimulus to develop place identity. In Poland, for example, a local action group was set up that produced things to do with place identity. This included guidebooks, websites and maps for informing a new generation of Poles more detached from the wartime history, but also for informing residents about their own heritage. Tour guides (often independent and self-employed) tell the story about the place and can therefore help to tell a story of the place to the residents as well as to visitors. From this, it emerged that tour guides had a key role in creating these narratives and presenting them externally. In the last five years or so, the role of vloggers and bloggers has become increasingly important. The role materialises in different ways: from individual travelling and posting about experiences to planned promotion when the bloggers are hired by the official tourist offices to promote a specific (cultural) offer and „flare" for the destinations. In

this way, using digital resources could also be important to create different narratives around a place (Garrison, Wallace 2021; Klepej et al. 2022). This may also be the case in Romania, where bloggers have maintained and even stimulated the aura of mystery that has already been created around the study area, especially regarding the so-called „Luana's Land" – a legendary enchanted area in the Bužau mountains. In Slovakia, the emerging identity of Nitra as a place of tourism and recognition of its place in history along with the creation of a cultural route helped to establish its place as a cultural tourism destination.

However, in some cases, tourism fails to connect with place identities. In Beit She'an there are many Roman and archaeological ruins but they are not really treasured by local people. Tour busses cobusesand leave again. Tourists are sometimes quite antagonistic to the place, throwing the idea that "this is not yours" at Israelis. Indeed, place identities are connected to ideologies which in turn may connect with different private as well as collective/national memories – for example, the memories of the Kibbutzim of the 1930s that populated Beit She'an in Israel present a particular story which might not be the more classical one (Alon and Amit-Cohen 2011). To counter this, some Israelis have tried to create "slow tourism" to allow lingering over many different offerings of the region which are not so far connected up or presented as a coherent picture. This should include connections between landscape, nature and food. In this way, there are different layers of history and different layers of a population associated with a place, who have different constellations and different views of what is "ours". These kinds of place identities (or lack of them) do not necessarily cohere into one picture. In Germany, in the Lieberose region, cultural tourism has not coalesced into a place identity as it is known rather as a place to escape into nature.

There were also examples of contradictory place identities. The tartanisation of Scottish heritage based upon a romantic and rather commercialised projection of place identity is not necessarily something embraced by local communities. In the Czech Republic, there are fears that the promotion of cultural tourism will lead to a bland and homogenised product. In Barcelona, the features of modern architecture appreciated by local people can be different to those visited by international tourists and in Hungary, the community divided by the River Danube appreciate different features on the Hungarian and the Slovak side, features shaped by the different nationalism of the two countries in recent decades. In the Cyclades islands in Greece, the dominant theme of archaeological heritage is now being overlaid by more contemporary motifs, encouraged by distinctive aspects of gastronomy and viticulture on the Islands.

1.2. Tangible and intangible heritage related to place

The second topic to emerge was the relationship between tangible and intangible cultural heritage for creating place identities. Partners felt that tangible and intangible cultural heritage is inextricably linked to a sense of place. In some countries, such as Hungary, intangible cultural heritage is promoted and sponsored and takes the form of folklore, music and folk art. They tend to be associated with particular villages and localities. These things have even become quite fashionable among metropolitan populations, but they tend to simplify and essentialise local cultures.

A major theme emerging from the group discussions was the importance of intangible and tangible heritage in creating and supporting a place identity (Netherlands, Czech, Poland, Romania). This was discussed in the context of how festivals, traditional costumes, customs, etc. help reinforce place identity, especially in rural areas. Storytelling was also brought up as a tool to reinforce place identity for visitors. This is the case in places such as Scotland, where Americans who are part of the Scottish Diaspora view Scotland as a form of 'motherland' and a holiday to the country being a form of 'homecoming'. This storytelling and branding of Scotland as a motherland/homecoming was actively promoted by the national tourism board.

Partners felt that tangible and intangible cultural heritage is inextricably linked to a sense of place. However, some partners noted that while both tangible and intangible cultural heritage is important to creating a strong sense of place and place attachment, it is not always necessary (or possible) to have both present, depending on many different types of contexts (historic, geographic, cultural, social, economic, etc.). Storytelling continues to be seen as a way to connect intangible with tangible cultural heritage.

In some regions, a new sense of place identity is being constructed through gastronomy and wine production. This is the case in the Piedmont region of Italy and also in Greece, where the culinary features of the Cyclades islands are being promoted along with unique local wine production. This is also the case in Poland where the rediscovery of local cuisine in the recent period (after communism) has helped to stimulate cultural tourism based on local products. This depends upon the contours of the different types of contexts, including historic, geographic, cultural, social and economic features.

One interesting example of the invention or rediscovery of an intangible cultural heritage tradition was that of Poland. In Lower Silesia, there was no obvious relationship between tangible and intangible cultural heritage until fairly recently (last 20 years). This was because following the Second World War, the German population was expelled from Lower Silesia and the Polish population moved in from different regions of interwar Poland. This new population had no particular association with Lower Silesia. There was even hostility to the German traditions of the area because they were associated with the wartime enemy and this attitude was encouraged during the Communist era. Buildings such as castles and palaces were allowed to deteriorate because they were associated with the wartime German enemy. Churches and cemeteries were associated with Protestantism (the religion of the Germans) and therefore neglected. Linked to this approach, no history about the pre-1945 period was taught in schools. It was just a blank – and that extends even into the present-day period. Therefore the new populations of Lower Silesia were unaware of the intangible cultural heritage of the area.

However, 20 years ago a revival occurred. People started to discover the intangible cultural heritage of the region - for example, in the form of distinctive cuisine. It was reinvented. It started to be popular with visitors because a lot of tourists were German, so they wanted to experience it. For Polish visitors, it was something of a novelty to discover the different foods of the area and other traditions. Fairs, restaurants and events came into being. Palaces started to be restored. Cultural heritage was seen as being a way to discover and combine what was good from different countries.

Why did the Poles embrace German culture? At first, they resented it as part of a bad past but then they started to see it as trendy and became proud of that heritage. Indeed people travelled from other parts of Poland in order to experience this novelty.

One good example of this phenomenon is provided by Elisabeth von Küster, a German noblewoman who purchased her family's traditional farm complex and castle in Lomnica from the Polish government and recreated pre-war cultural heritage. This came to be seen as an example of good practice and is viewed quite differently by the new generations of Poles with no direct memories of the Second World War (http://ssmeder.com/lomnica-palace.html).

1.3. Cultural tourism and place identity

Finally, we turn to the issue of how cultural tourism can help to promote place identities for visitors and for local people. Storytelling and narrative emerged as a theme from our partners when discussing how cultural tourism promotes place identity for visitors (Germany, UK, Italy). Our partners noted that places and stories are under constant renegotiation and cultural tourism visitors a glimpse of the real lived experience of the local community, as opposed to an idealized or massified version of this experience. If done correctly, it highlights what is unique and special about the place. This is a goal of tourism in general, though cultural tourism is uniquely positioned to highlight important aspects of local culture in a way that globalized tourist attractions cannot, since cultural tourism activities can come from both bottom-up and top-down approaches and can highlight both grassroots and state-level cultural narratives and projects.

Marketing was also mentioned as an avenue of cultural tourism promoting place identity for visitors. Our Italian and Romanian partners noted that registering products as 'local' to a particular region and the creation of thematic routes has helped to establish place identity brands and further link them to European cultural routes (for example the Romanian Wine Route included in the European „Iter Vitis Route“). This was also the case in South Moravia. Although, our partners also caution over the dangers of narrative tipping into

stereotyping. Scotland is a significant example of this with ‘tartanry’: the Victorian narrative of Scotland as kilts, haggis, bagpipes and whisky. Our partners from Spain gave the example of the place identity of Barcelona being associated with more ‘general’ Spanish elements such as tapas, sangria, flamencos shows or bullfighting and the dangers of visitors associating inaccurate portrayals of a place with a place identity. This was also illustrated in Greece, where two-person jacuzzi bars have become synonymous with Santorini cliffs, despite not being traditionally part of the culture. This highlights the importance of communication in shaping the sense of place. Because tourism relies on marketing and communication, it is important to understand the power of communication in shaping the idea of place.

Our partners also discussed the concerns of what cultural tourism can do to place identity and to a place in the context of positives and negatives. Partners noted that cultural tourism can positively promote place identity by invigorating local cultures and identities but also cautioned over-commercialization, banalization, exoticization and trivialization of places (Estonia, Greece, Spain). However, if it is done right, cultural tourism allows local residents to experience, participate in, and celebrate local cultural practices, narratives, activities, traditions, and so forth with visitors, often acting as guides. It also allows them to take part in the planning and shaping of cultural/touristic agendas that emerge from the very identity of the place in question. As noted by our partners in Spain and Scotland, this vision is not always executed perfectly and globalized visions of tourist cities or specifically constructed narratives can sometimes obscure the local place identity in favour of an artificially created place identity, or perhaps the two can coexist, but one takes precedence on the international stage (e.g., Barcelona as a local Catalan/Spanish city of neighbourhoods vs. Barcelona as an international metropolis forex-pats; Scotland as an empty land of misty mountains, heather, lochs, vs. Scotland as a modern country with deep social divisions as presented in the film *Trainspotting*). In Italy literary tourism likewise takes two directions. On the one hand, the erudite „high culture“ is represented by the author Cesare Pavese and on the other hand, the popular culture is represented by Beppe Fenoglio as a Partisan fighter in the Second World War. These authors represent different layers of identity constructed through „lands of the imagination“ in Piedmont.

However, on the other side, other partners have seen a positive impact. For example, Ljubljana has seen a resurgence of restaurants featuring traditional Slovenian cuisine since its boom in tourism started. Nowadays, gastronomy in Ljubljana as a tourism offer has become one of the important aspects of tourism. Tourism management organisations are further developing this aspect of tourism and making it more sustainable by strengthening local and regional food production chains. This also empowers the so-called value of local experience. Indeed, the new integrated plan for Ljubljana focuses on local identities and gives residents a voice in the development of tourism.

We have touched upon the idea of storytelling throughout this report. Stories are a way of connecting information and creating a sense of place both geographically and through time. Reijnders has named this “diegetic” dimension of human life a universal anthropological feature of the human condition (Reijnders 2011). He describes the importance of “places of the imagination” as linking the real place with the story in the case of media tourism building on Nora’s idea of *Les lieux de memoire* (Nora 1984). Visiting a place of the imagination involves actions linking landscape, movement and action that relate the visitor to the place in new ways (Ingold 2000). Cameron (2012) relates how the reaction to the “cultural turn” and grand storytelling of the early 1990s has been to focus on the small story – the mundane and the banal – as a way of understanding the relationships between people and places (Cameron 2012). She cites in particular the work of Hayden Lorimer (2002) using diaries, photographs and field notes to reconstruct the experiences of a field camp in the Cairngorms in the 1950s and how the understanding of the landscape unfolds for the participants (Lorimer 2003). It has been suggested that humans are story-telling animals who make sense of the world, connect information and remember it through the narratives that are created (Gottschall 2012). Storytelling can be used self-consciously as a way of presenting places to visitors and a way of presenting places to residents. Digital media can be used for these kinds of presentations and in Doune (Scotland) we were involved with a project to create a tourist trail using QR codes with local residents narrating the significance of each place using local knowledge.

Popular media are one origin of stories influencing media tourism. Developing the idea of „lands of the imagination“, often the imaginative construction of particular places takes place through films, books or TV series. Hence, an idea of romantic Scotland associated with the 1745 Jacobite uprisings was created through a romantic story of time travel in the „Outlander“ series, which was particularly popular in North America and attracted many visitors to Doune castle and associated places. Stories about the tragic Mary Queen of Scots, William Wallace or Bonny Prince Charlie have had similar effects (Garrison 2020). The selective storification of history means that certain themes and certain places are highlighted. This follows a tendency originating in the nineteenth century with stories of Sir Walter Scott, which attracted visitors to certain locations due to the popular spread of his novels (Pittock 2007). The growth of popular media and popular culture has now spread these stories far wider than was possible through books alone and many stories have become part of common consciousness. Another example would be the 500 000 tourists annually who flock to the Glenfinnan Viaduct because it features in the Harry Potter films as a location where the „Hogwarts Express“ train traverses the valley.

1.4. Strategies and policies for promoting place identities

The ways in which a sense of place is manifested varied widely across our case study areas and depended upon who was telling the story and how it was done. However, a number of policies and strategies could be identified in relation to cultural tourism that offer examples of good practice:

- *Creation of place identity through interaction with civil society and local communities*. This was important for example in the case of Italy where place identities were constructed together with literary themes or Lower Silesia where civil society groups emerged to reclaim a sense of place that had been lost. Therefore for place identities to be realised it is important for cultural tourism to link with these local community groups.
- *Having a broad view of place identity*. The identity of the place could depend to a great extent upon which story was being told and how the place has evolved. This is starkly illustrated in the case of Israel, where different local communities might have different views of the value of the place. Therefore there is a question of whether one story is being presented or multiple stories – such is the case for example in the example of the cross-border locations such as Narva (Estonia) and Kormaro (Hungary-Slovakia). In some cases, such as Scotland or Romania, the place was meaningful on account of imaginary stories and locations associated with it. Place identity is more than just a geographical construct. Strategies and policies were most succesful where these multiple identities could be taken into account.
- *Integrating place identity with tangible and intangible cultural heritage*. Both types of heritage need to be taken into account and if possible synthesised. The best examples of this were the gastronomy or viticultural trails connecting places within countries and across borders as in Southern Moravia and Northern Italy. Cultural tourism can be developed by setting up and developing trails based upon gastronomy and viticulture. Elsewhere folklore and festivals associated with particular locations or particular historical features as was the case in Slovakia and Austria.
- *Developing story-telling techniques and digital communications.* Strategies to develop stories around the place associated with cultural tourism were important and could be more easily transmitted using digital communications to a wider audience. This audience could come from outside the area altogether (as with the Scottish Diaspora) or within the area, narrative and digital reconstructions can help to make sense of aspects of cultural heritage and provide an emotional appeal. In Hungary this took the form of digital game playing to encourage engagement with cultural heritage and in Scotland the role of travel vloggers was importnat.

1.5. Conclusions: Place identity and cultural tourism

A number of themes have emerged from these discussions, some of which are similar to discussions elsewhere but some are distinctive. Firstly, place identity is seen as something that is contested between

different groups and this is more obvious in some locations than others. Secondly, place identity is something that can be re-evaluated over time, as is the case with post-Communist countries. Thirdly, place identities are connected with regional policies and Destination Marketing Organisations and the commodification of culture. Fourthly, one of the ways in which places acquire meaning is associated with stories told about them and this can be connected with a popular culture which is in turn related to trends in globalisation.

What this suggests is that it is important for local communities to control and contribute to the narratives told about them rather than leaving this to popular media or Destination Management Organisations or generic representations. The cultural turn in tourism suggests that there is also an appetite for place marketing and representation among visitors.

2. How cultural tourism promotes an appreciation of “otherness”

2.1. What is “otherness”?

Similar to discussions over place identity, our partners grappled with the idea of ‘otherness’ and its place within and relating to cultural tourism. Otherness helps people establish and make sense of their own identity. In order to have a ‘we’, you must have an ‘other’. The ‘other’ is changing depending on who is being referenced. For example, our Estonian partners noted that demographically, the majority of people in Estonia identify as Estonian, however in the case study site, the majority of people identify as Russian. Examples from partners from Romania, Israel, Greece and Estonia noted the idea of positive marginalisation wherein a people/place is considered exotic and thereby, exciting to interact with. Our team from Spain noted that tourism, in its nature, tends to create greater degrees of negative ‘otherness’ with visitors being catered to by Destination Management Organisations and residents being treated as ‘other’.

While the negatives of ‘otherness’ in cultural tourism were discussed at length, so too was the idea of ‘otherness’ in a positive light. For example, several partners emphasised that otherness is critical to cultural tourism because curiosity is what fuels the desire to travel elsewhere and to experience cultural tourism. Indeed, there is no cultural tourism without „otherness“. It is well established that cultural tourists visit places to learn about different cultures, languages, traditions, and foods and in the process, connect visitors to the uniqueness of places, their traditions and their people.

Three different definitions of „otherness“ emerged in the discussions. First of all, there was the internal „othering“ of minority communities, secondly the „othering“ of the past and thirdly the „othering“ of a place as an attraction for visitors from elsewhere.

The first sense of othering is presented by the Hungarian case study, which looks at a community on both sides of the Danube, one part in Slovakia and the other part in Hungary. Here, by crossing the bridge between them there is a sense of othering. However, the region consists of both Slovak and Hungarian minorities with different cultures living on both sides of the river in different countries. By creating this as a common tourist area it was possible to find similarities or differences in ways of life or to other community members. In this way different layers of community and cultural heritage became relevant. This was not without tensions. For example, there were always complaints about the lack of language translation in each community. Conflict and dissatisfaction festered around historical wounds that people cannot easily forget.

Othering is a way of life and it is possible to see the “other” in anyone. People can feel detached/ alienated or attached/belonging. In the contemporary world, this is to some extent a matter of choice and „elective affinity“ as we discussed above in relation to place identity (Savage, Bagnall et al. 2005). The Hungarian case study highlights the role of local tour guides in creating a create sense of belonging, identity and inclusion, as we have discussed earlier.

Israel presents another example of internal otherness. In Beit She'an, the North African Jewish immigrant population who do not feel fully accepted and does not necessarily embrace archaeological heritage. Therefore many aspects of cultural tourism are neglected in Beit She'an. In a way, foreign tourists can be seen as more acceptable than local people who may be antagonistic to the touristic vision of the area. This is exacerbated by wider divisions between right and left-wing, regional government and local government, Kibbutzim and others played out in the wider society (Amit-Cohen and Sofer 2016).

Even in the Netherlands, there is an example of internal othering, since the Kinderdijk region is much more religious than other parts of the Netherlands, meaning that they may be reluctant to open facilities on a Sunday. This is in contrast to the liberal and cosmopolitan culture of the Netherlands found in other areas.

Our second sense of othering is seeing the past as other. Otherness can also be established along the lines of the passage of time, which is used as a selling point for visitors. For example, Slovakia and Estonia have original examples of dwellings from hundreds of years ago where the visitors can satisfy their curiosity about what life was like in centuries past. The same can be said for visitors to Scotland who tour castles. The United States as a nation is younger than most buildings in Scotland which creates this sense of exotic 'otherness' to the built heritage of Scotland. The Scottish Diaspora who see themselves as partially „other" but also as identifying with Scottish places is likewise a merging of the past and present. Cultural tourist destinations that try to recreate the experience of the past through food, multimedia or use as film sets create another sense of the „other". This is particularly manifested in the rediscovery of the past in countries emerging from Communism, and the Narva district of Estonia is an example of this as well as the Bužau region in Romania and the Lower Silesian part of Poland.

The third sense of otherness is that between visitors and local residents. However, the imposition of tourism through bussing people in and out can lead to a certain amount of alienation among local populations as they do not see themselves as necessarily benefitting from this stream of visitors. This was the case in both the Netherlands and in Scotland, where Doune castle attracted a large stream of visitors every year and yet few of them visited the village of Doune or spent their money there. Whilst businesses might welcome more tourism, for local residents in our surveys tourists were often seen as a source of noise, litter and taking up parking spaces, so they would prefer less of them. In Kinderdijk, the Netherlands, intrusion by drones was resented and many cultural venues restrict their use.

A major theme arising from our partners was the acknowledgement that otherness is NOT always appreciated and that there is room for improvement in this regard. It was noted that residents tend not to appreciate 'otherness' (i.e., it has resulted in situations of tension or even 'tourism-phobia'). This was particularly the case with Barcelona, an example of „over-tourism". Here the resentment against visitors destroying the quality of life of residents could take the form of anti-tourism movements and sentiments. A way to address this is to create more opportunities for small-scale cultural tourism offers which emerge from co-creative initiatives between local communities and the tourism sector. This can result in more reciprocal and creative cultural exchanges between residents and visitors. This was the case in the Czech Republic, where mass tourism in South Moravia represented by bus tours tended to alienate local residents. However, the „cultural turn" in tourism means that more individualised approaches can lead to a more creative appreciation of the „other".

In Slovenia, our partner identified two opposing views of cultural tourism with respect to othering. On the one hand, there was the promotion of tourism as a source of economic benefit to the economy and on the other hand, there was the resistance to the commodification of culture, seeing it as rather something that should be separated from capitalist incursions. This contradiction was also evidenced in the policy reports where cultural tourism was split between Ministries of Economy and Ministries of Culture with very different perspectives and priorities (See D2.1).

Cultural tourism helps to create a more cosmopolitan sense of place as seen by both visitors and residents. This is manifested partly in the increasing linguistic diversity prompted by cultural tourism in that information must be available in a variety of languages and guides as well as local businesses need to speak different

languages. This kind of linguistic diversity could also be seen as part of the creation of „othering“. However, it also encourages the integration of cultures through communication in different languages and dialects.

2.3 Strategies and Policies for enabling positive aspects of otherness

- *Strategies and Policies for bridging a sense of otherness*. In some places minotires within the area were seen as „other“ and not necessarily welcomed. Cultural tourism strategies can be a way of recognising this internal otherness by celebrating and exploring this diversity (as is the case with the Roma museum in Brno for example) or it can be a way of emphasising only one ethnicity/identity and burying others. It is important the cultural tourism should be a way of bridging identities rather than exacerbating tensions or ignoring minorities.

- *Strategies and policies should recognise past identities* of a given place and can even turn these into cultural assets, a way of rediscovering hiddent histories as was the case in the Lower Silesian and Narva (Estonia)

- *Strategies and policies should build on a sense of difference and strangeness* that different localities offer to visitors rather than resorting to cultural homogenisation through simple commercialisation. The unique and unusual aspects of a place were often those valued by cultural tourists

3. The impact of cultural tourism on minorities

Minorities take a number of forms and often the inclusion of minority cultures is a sensitive topic. Here we have focused mainly on ethnic minorities and to a lesser extent on age, gender, sexual minorities and disability. Cultural tourism can be an instrument of integrating traditions and making people feel more part aware of their heritage or it could be a way of further alienating and dividing populations.

3.1. Ethnic minorities:

Two kinds of ethnic minorities are discussed here. Firstly, the role of immigrant minorities who have arrived in tourist destinations in the recent past and form an important element of the workforce. Secondly indigenous minorities in the sense of different national groups that have been part of the local area over a longer period of time. In many areas, ethnic minorities are a very sensitive issue and have been the subject of persecution or insurgency in the last century or even in the last decades. Some of our case study areas were chosen precisely to exemplify this.

In Slovakia and Poland, the new immigrants from Ukraine form a substantial minority in many communities. These Ukrainians were present in large numbers as migrant workers, even before the current wave of refugees. There is a problem with understanding how to integrate them, especially since most of them are only earning money to send back home as remittances. In Poland, there is a suggestion that cultural tourism can help to integrate Ukrainian people. For example, Wrocław with 642,000 inhabitants now hosts 187,000 Ukrainians (https://metropolie.pl/fieadmin/user_upload/UMP_raport-Ukraina_ANG-20220429_final.pdf). Integrating Ukrainians is an issue for Europeanisation more generally and many countries have offered services for free (for example Germany and Austria), whilst others have rejected the presence of these migrants fleeing the war in Ukraine (for example Hungary). In Slovakia, there was an attempt to recognize this by creating a “border-free” travel area around the city of Nitra.

In Italy and Greece, there is a large immigrant community from around the Mediterranean, Africa and also Eastern Europe. However, they are mainly “invisible” to tourists even if they supply much of the labour. They form part of the casualized workforce necessary for any kind of tourism and many work in the informal economy.

What we might call indigenous national minorities were more prominent in some case studies than others. The gradual recognition of the Roma minority culture was starting to take place in the Czech Republic and in Romania. In Brno, there is even a museum of Roma culture. However, generally speaking, these are still stigmatized and hidden from the tourist gaze.

In Hungary, the role of minorities was the main focus of cultural tourism, with Komáron being seen as the centre of Hungarian culture in Slovakia. In Germany, there was the promotion of Sorbian culture through music, festivals and so on although the sustainability of this small and disappearing group is questionable. In the Estonian district of Narva, the majority Russian-speaking population means that they are an important factor in cultural tourism, although their identities might differ from the majority of Estonian populations elsewhere. Cultural integration through music and ballet has been part of the way to reconciling different linguistic and minority populations. However, this tourist focus is in danger of essentializing and instrumentalizing ethnic cultures, so it is important that it is done with participation from local communities.

As we have described above, some of the cultural tourism attractions feature past or “vanished” minorities. The celebration of Jewish cultures in some parts of Eastern Europe (for example in Poland, Slovakia, Estonia and the Czech Republic) is an example of this, although the Jewish population itself may be very small or non-existent, having been persecuted almost to extinction during the Second World War and thereafter. Shtetl tourism has become a phenomenon for Jewish people wanting to explore their past but also includes visits to cemeteries, synagogues and other monuments. These kinds of tours can be important for other visitors wishing to understand the cultural history of Europe.

Another vanished minority are the German populations of Poland and the Czech Republic. These minorities were mainly expelled or fled after the Second World War and those that remained were assimilated into the majority population. Nevertheless, there is a revival of these traditions through cultural tourism and the visitors that this has prompted from Germany. Some of these are visitors wanting to explore their cultural roots as well.

3.2. Age, gender and disability

Other kinds of minorities include age, gender, sexual minorities and disability. Most cultural tourists are older, middle class and white people (see D1.3 survey report). Therefore, there is an issue of how to interest younger people in cultural tourism. In Austria’s industrial heritage, art and festivals could be a way of integrating the experiences of different generations and discussing future developments for bringing people together. There is a certain nostalgia for mining cultures and for dressing up in traditional costumes and this can be carried out by youngsters as well as older people. Folklore is seen as a unifying activity and resource. Education through a school’s program can help to involve different community members (with different age groups, volunteers, retirees etc.) in the various activities. Similarly, in Abbotsford (UK), the Abbotsford Trust is developing a local school program to introduce pupils to the works of Sir Walter Scott. The Great Tapestry of Scotland is also developing an outreach schools program.

Elsewhere in Ljubljana, a cultural institution, the Museums and Galleries of Ljubljana have many programs dedicated to minorities, such as elderly people, children, schools etc. Its purpose is to connect the generations through cultural heritage and to keep it alive by introducing new ideas and pursuits to enrich existing heritage with contemporary views from the local residents and domestic visitors. An example is that during the corona pandemic, residents of Ljubljana were invited to participate in the making of a photography exhibition of empty streets of Ljubljana during the coronavirus lockdowns by sending in their own photographs.

In the winemaking areas of Italy, different generational groups were emerging and even some generational conflicts. There is generational conflict among stakeholders in winemaking, particularly among the more

traditional elements and young people (often women) with new ideas, wanting to do something new – linking wine with something else, innovation, and land art among the younger generation.

Other examples of this connection across generations can be found In Slovakia where they have promoted "University Days" with university students from everywhere in Slovakia and abroad. In Nitra, tourism has been a vehicle to integrate the surrounding villages from an administrative point of view. Also in Romania, the *Aluniș Arts Centre* has a cultural education program through which young people and children in vulnerable situations benefit free of charge from pottery courses and art/occupational therapy workshops. In Hungary and Estonia, there were some imaginative efforts to make cultural features attractive to children through the use of video games and virtual reality.

Turning now to gender, we can see that the tourism industry itself has a lot of hidden gender issues (e.g., gender role stereotypes in the hospitality sector). Cultural tourism can address these issues by raising awareness (creating visibility) through events like "Women in Tourism" day. Another issue is the urban-rural divide. Many of the case study areas are rural and therefore conservative in gender terms (e.g., Austria where the mining industry was very traditional in terms of gender norms). In the Netherlands, this is also associated with conservative religious attitudes. Do women in the periphery want to be "liberated", or are they content with their roles? In other countries, however, gender was not seen as such a burning issue. In Romania, the *Alunis Arts Centre* created the first potter women from Valea Buzăului (locals from Aluniș) and six jobs were created for locals (including five women).

However, women might also have a strong position in cultural tourism or can be seen to be rising in importance. In Israel, women are in a strong position as gallery owners or regional managers. In Italy, young women, as daughters within the family business, have started taking over the family business as winemakers and claim their space and role in the wine cultural milieu, which has traditionally been profoundly masculine and even misogynous. This is perhaps linked also to the restaurant and hospitality sector where senior and highest roles are still masculine.

Sexual minorities were explicitly recognized in some places and even seen as possible new visitors. This was the case in Italy for example, where gay tourism was a recognized category. However, in most places, this was not recognized at all. However, a number of places declared themselves as "safe" for different kinds of diverse tourism, including Nitra in Slovakia and Narva in Estonia.

Similarly, access for disabled or neurodivergent people was very limited across our different case study sites and many places were not accessible at all for disabled people. The more modern visitor centres in Abbotsford and in Galashiels in the UK were built in ways to make them disabled accessible, but most of our case study areas were not accessible for disabled people.

3.3. Strategies and Policies for ethnic and other minorities

The recognition and integration of ethnic and other minorities, either as visitors or residents, can be a very sensitive subject and needs to be approached tactfully. Many of these differences are only just being recognized.

- *Strategies and policies to recognize indigenous ethnic minorities.* It is clear that different minorities will be present in different locations with different relationships to the dominant culture. In some places these are recognized as objects of cultural tourism – as in the case of Slovaks in Hungary or Russians in Estonia. In other places there remain invisible. The strategies and policies to recognize indigenous minorities as part of cultural tourism needs to be culturally sensitive and above all to involve the ethnic groups in question rather than imposing dominant expectations upon them that

they might not always welcome. One way to do this would be to help them to benefit from the rewards offered by cultural tourism

- *Strategies and policies to recognize migrant groups.* There needs to be some recognition of the economic contribution of migrant groups that are often hidden from the tourist gaze and might work in precarious circumstances. This would need to link both immigration and employment policies.
- *Strategies and policies to recognize gender and age*. Cultural tourism often appeals to particular demographic populations -older people for example. Policies and strategies need to find ways to appeal to younger people and to children. The role of digital game-playing for example, as found in Hungary can be a way of engaging children and digital reconstructions of heritage using virtual reality techniques were used in Estonia.
- *Strategies and policies to recognize disability*. There needs to be urgent consideration of disabled access to cultural tourism sites, especially those in rural areas and consideration of neuro-diversity.

3.4. Conclusions: Cultural Tourism Othering and Minorities

Pulling together these different themes, it can be seen that cultural tourism can help to creatively address ideas of othering (whilst recognizing some of the tensions and conflicts arising in case study areas). The role of minorities can be a positive asset in the case of cultural tourism, although this is not always fully recognized and the recognition of cultural minorities, past and present, is one of the features of the cultural turn in tourism.

On the other hand, a lot of progress still needs to be made in the recognition of access for disabled people and sexual minorities.

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